



# THE REVOLUTIONARY RESURGENCE

DECEMBER 2025



## **Assalamu Alaikum wa Rahmatullahi wa Barakatuh,**

In Kashmir, public life has long been shaped by debate, disagreement and an ongoing search for dignity. Different perspectives often collide sometimes loudly, sometimes silently as policies shift, security concerns intensify and societal expectations evolve. In this environment, the role of Kashmir's educators, writers, journalists and students becomes deeply significant. They serve as bridges between memory and modernity, questioning and interpreting the forces that shape everyday existence. Whenever these voices face scrutiny or pressure, it inevitably affects how society understands itself and its future.

History here has never been static. Communities in Kashmir have experienced moments of progress and moments of deep uncertainty, each leaving its own imprint on culture and collective thought. People continue to navigate these changing realities with resilience adapting, learning and trying to preserve their identity while participating in a world that demands openness and reform. Because of this, the protection of intellectual spaces classrooms, libraries, media platforms, public conversations becomes essential.

These spaces allow young Kashmiris to think critically, to question respectfully and to engage with multiple viewpoints rather than inherit a single story.

The journey ahead calls for patience, clarity and mutual trust. It calls for empowering minds, nurturing curiosity and ensuring that disagreements never diminish our shared humanity. Kashmir's strength has always come from the wisdom of its people their ability to reflect, reassess and rise. As long as that ability is safeguarded, the region's political, cultural and spiritual identity will continue to evolve with both dignity and hope.

**SYED SALAHUDDIN AHMAD**

**UJC Chief and Supreme Commander of  
Hizbul Mujahideen**

*Monthly*



# **THE REVOLUTIONARY RESURGENCE**

*Editor in Chief*

**GOWHAR FAROOQ**

*Managing Editor*

**IDREES BHAT**

*Editorial Director*

**FAREEHA MAKHDOOMI**

## **Representatives**

Gohar Farooq

Muhammad Saqib

Saad Muhammad

Achakzai Idrees Bhat

Ashfaq Abdullah

Amandeep Singh

Srinagar

Jammu

Islamabad

London

New York

Ottawa

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

The Growing Hate against Kashmiris in the Indian National Psyche ..... **1**

Yes, Terrorism has a Religion ..... **3**

Kashmir on Sale ..... **7**

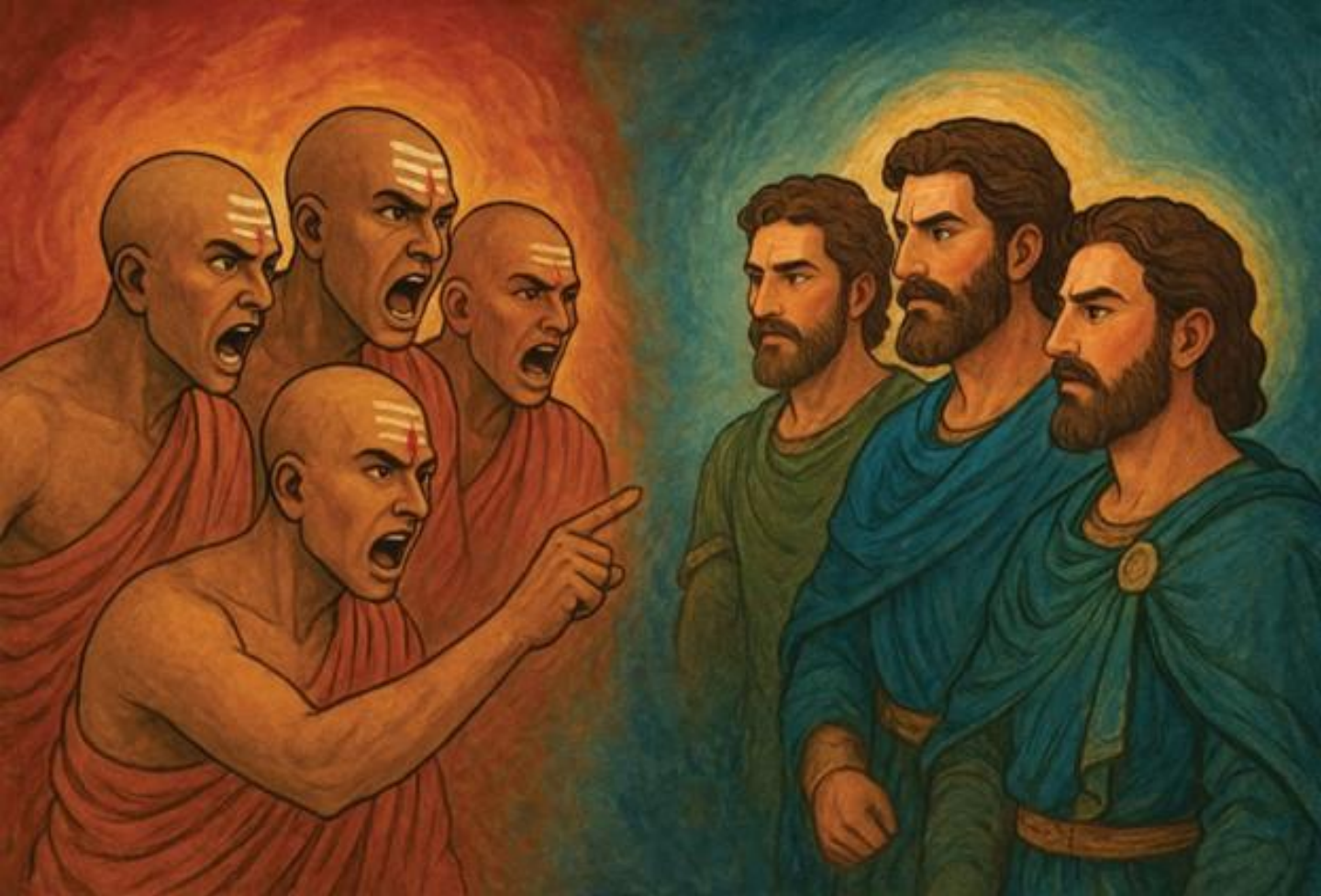
The Unending Saga of Crackdown against Kashmiris ..... **11**  
( How the Indian State Manufactures Guilt, Fear and Collective Punishment )

Gaza and the World Genocide Commemoration Day! ..... **13**

Interview with Commander Jahangir Saroori ..... **15**  
( Hizbul Mujahideen, Jammu & Kashmir )

.....





## **The Growing Hate against Kashmiris in the Indian National Psyche**

**Muhammad Firdous Baba**

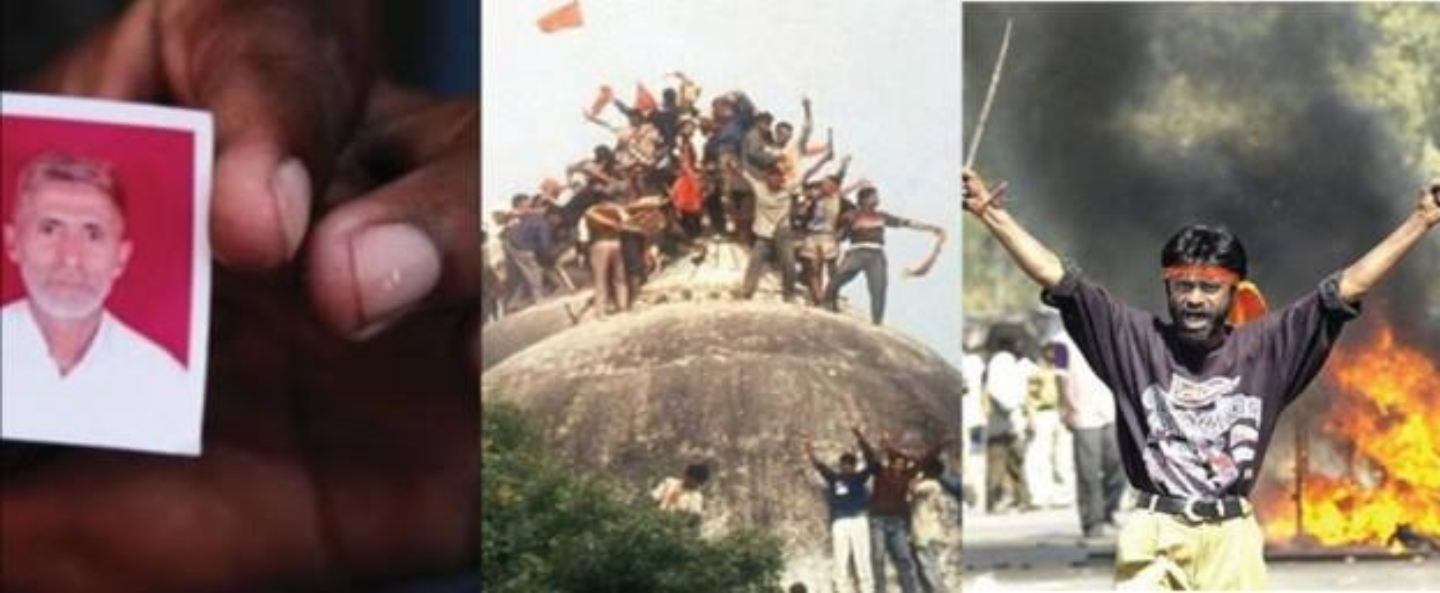
Public sentiment surrounding Kashmir has never been simple. Narratives travel fast, often faster than facts, shaped by moments of conflict, national anxieties and political transitions across decades. Events like the Pahalgam attack in 2025 left the entire region under a sharp and unforgiving spotlight, intensifying stereotypes about Kashmiris and straining relationships between communities. In a country as diverse as India, such heightened emotions can turn complex histories into oversimplified judgments, affecting how ordinary people are seen, treated and understood.

Yet Kashmir's story is far older than any single political era. It is shaped by centuries of cultural exchange, spiritual transformation and shifting governance experiences that have left different groups with memories that don't always align. The pain of migration, the trauma of militancy, the fear caused by cycles of violence and the lingering distrust between communities continue to shape how people recall the past and interpret the present. No perspective fully captures the dimensions of loss felt across the region.

What makes the current moment so sensitive is the emotional weight that identity carries. Many Kashmiris feel caught between how they see themselves and how they are portrayed elsewhere. Too often, individuals carry the burden of proving their loyalty or intentions, regardless of their personal beliefs or actions. This climate creates distance rather than understanding, especially when media narratives compete for attention in a polarized world.

For Kashmir to move toward a more peaceful and confident future, empathy must be allowed to take root alongside security concerns and political debates. Encouraging open dialogue, supporting diverse voices and acknowledging the lived experiences of all communities including those who left and those who stayed can help rebuild trust. The well-being of ordinary people, their dignity and their aspirations should guide decisions more than competing narratives or historical grievances.

Kashmir has always navigated difficult transitions with courage. Its future depends not on amplifying fear or suspicion but on protecting the space where people can be respected for who they are, not judged for what others assume them to be.



# Yes, Terrorism has a Religion

**Samreen Bhat**

Terror, Identity and the Politics of Narrative in Contemporary India

Public responses to acts of violence in India often reveal as much about social anxieties and collective memory as about the incidents themselves. The discourse that followed the recent blast in Delhi illustrates a recurring pattern in which entire communities become subjects of suspicion. Rather than awaiting the outcome of investigations, segments of society quickly turned to broad assertions linking terrorism with a specific religious identity. The reaction was immediate, widespread and indicative of deeper tensions within the national imagination.

This impulse to assign collective blame especially upon Indian Muslims and Kashmiris emerges from long-standing stereotypes reinforced by selective retellings of history, political rhetoric and charged media narratives. The subsequent polarization is not only about specific events but also about how societies construct meaning around violence and culpability.



Public responses to acts of violence in India often mirror existing social anxieties. The reactions following the recent blast in Delhi reflected how quickly suspicion can attach itself to particular identities particularly Indian Muslims and Kashmiris sometimes even before investigative agencies release any information. Such reactions are shaped by past encounters, political narratives and the role of media in amplifying certain patterns while muting others.

India's security landscape, however, includes a wide spectrum of actors and motivations. Beyond Islamist militancy, the country has also witnessed violent movements rooted in separatist aspirations, ideological beliefs and socio-political conflicts. Khalistanis in Punjab, Naxalite insurgents in central India and organizations like ULFA and other Northeast-based groups have remained active in different time periods, each emerging from its own local context. These movements complicate assumptions about who participates in violence and why.

Public reactions after major attacks have not been uniform in whom they stigmatize either. There have been cases where individuals from non-Muslim communities faced hostility based on suspicion, appearance, or mistaken identity. Fear and uncertainty often redraw social boundaries in unpredictable ways.

Globally too, political violence is far from limited to a single faith. Groups such as the LTTE in Sri Lanka, the Irish Republican Army (IRA), ETA in Spain, FARC in Colombia and Aum Shinrikyo in Japan have operated with motivations ranging from nationalism to ideology to cult-driven extremism. These examples illustrate that violence used for political or ideological ends has been a recurring phenomenon across different cultures and belief systems.

Jammu and Kashmir is often central to discussions on conflict in India. The region's long history of insurgency and militarization has shaped both local experiences and national perceptions. There, the definitions of "threat", "resistance" and "victimhood" shift depending on where one stands and any interpretation is influenced by decades of personal and collective memory.

When public narratives emerge after acts of violence, they tend to draw from these histories rather than from immediate facts. The result is a discourse that highlights certain fears more than others and simplifies complex realities into convenient categories. The broader record of political and extremist violence in India spanning multiple regions, ideologies and communities continues to show that no single group can be exclusively associated with such actions.

## **Rethinking the Language of Blame**

Public debates on violence tend to revolve around simplified binaries that obscure more than they reveal. Assertions that terrorism is inherently tied to a particular community overlook the multiplicity of actors, motivations and historical circumstances involved.

A more grounded approach requires acknowledging:

That individuals, not communities, commit acts of terror.

That ideological extremism in India has surfaced across the spectrum.

That histories of mass violence leave enduring legacies that deserve recognition.

That public rhetoric influences the safety and dignity of vulnerable groups.

This reframing moves the discussion away from communal accusation and toward a more nuanced understanding of national security and social cohesion.

India's history of violence is neither linear nor confined to a single identity. It is a tapestry of varied motivations political, ideological, communal separatist. Recognizing this complexity is essential for and developing a mature and responsible national discourse. Rather than drawing sweeping conclusions about entire communities, a more productive path lies in analysing each incident on its own merits, acknowledging all forms of violence and fostering a public conversation rooted in accuracy rather than assumption.

Such an approach allows the country to confront its histories honestly while resisting the impulse to reduce its diverse population to reductive categories. Only then can national conversations move beyond reaction and towards understanding.

# KASHMIR ON SALE

## Kashmir on Sale

**Samreen Bhat**

Discussions about land and identity in Kashmir often evoke strong emotions and understandably so. Land here is more than property it holds memories, lineage and a shared sense of belonging that has shaped generations. Recent figures regarding non-local purchases have brought renewed attention to the balance between development and the preservation of Kashmir's unique cultural and social fabric. Investment, when positioned as a tool for progress, invites optimism for economic growth, tourism opportunities and livelihoods. Yet, when viewed through the lens of historical apprehensions, the same initiatives can be interpreted as unsettling or intrusive.



Concerns about transparency and the future of ownership deserve careful engagement rather than dismissal. Kashmiris have lived through decades in which trust between the state and the citizen has been fragile and therefore public conversations must acknowledge that sensitivity. Property laws, if evolving, should be understood clearly not only by those who implement them but also by those who are most affected. The objective should be to ensure that change does not distance communities from their homeland or weaken their emotional connection to it.

The fact remains that people across India increasingly see Kashmir as a place of beauty and opportunity. Responsible investment can play a role in preserving its environment, revitalizing infrastructure and boosting employment, provided local voices remain central in decision-making. Equally, ecological care and thoughtful planning are essential so that natural heritage is not compromised by commercial ambition.

For Kashmir to feel secure within any development framework, policies must prioritize openness, consultation and a shared vision for the future. Respecting cultural identities, ensuring fair legal processes and protecting community rights can allow progress and preservation to coexist. The story ahead should not be one of fear or displacement but of partnership where growth does not come at the cost of belonging and where Kashmir's character continues to be defined foremost by its own people.

Investment activity in Jammu & Kashmir has seen a sharp rise since the abrogation of Article 370, driven by new industrial policies, promotional efforts and improving infrastructure. This shift has encouraged proposals in tourism, manufacturing, IT and food processing. Yet, while these signals point toward renewed confidence in the region's economic future, the real impact on employment and income remains limited and uneven.

Since 2019, the administration has announced investment proposals totalling an estimated ₹1.2–1.7 lakh crore, which, if fully executed, are projected to create around 5–6 lakh jobs. But most of these commitments have not yet been materialised. Realised investments so far stand closer to ₹10,000–10,500 crore, resulting in the establishment of roughly 1,900–2,000 new industrial units by late 2024. Foreign direct investment remains extremely low just ₹7–10.5 crore over the past few years making J&K the lowest among Indian states and union territories in attracting global capital. Despite the sizeable number of MOUs and agreements signed, translating them into functional enterprises has proven slow.

There are, however, areas where growth is visible. Tourism has revived with strong momentum, bringing record visitor numbers and generating opportunities across hospitality, transport and small businesses. Newly allotted industrial estates and formal-sector expansion have supported urban economies and boosted investor interest, particularly in Jammu, which benefits from better connectivity and industrial infrastructure. Economic indicators show a modest improvement in labour force participation and a gradual recovery from the disruptions of 2019–20 and the pandemic years. Even so, J&K's growth continues to trail the national average, underscoring the challenges still ahead.

Employment remains the central yardstick through which people judge these developments. Government recruitment drives have filled around 29,000–30,000 posts since 2019 and the operational industrial units are estimated to have generated around 63,000 jobs. But these figures fall short of expectations raised by large investment announcements. Youth unemployment continues to be a serious concern. PLFS-based estimates place unemployment among the 15–29 age group at nearly 18% in 2020–21 subsequent trends have shown volatility, with joblessness and at times exceeding pre-2019 levels.

For many young Kashmiris, major policy changes that promised economic revival have yet to bring visible, widespread opportunities.

Several constraints continue to slow progress. While security incidents have declined overall, periodic attacks and uncertainty still influence investor sentiment, particularly in sensitive parts of the valley. Land acquisition challenges, infrastructure gaps and financing issues delay the implementation of many proposed projects, ultimately limiting the pace at which new employment reaches local communities.

Jammu & Kashmir's post abrogation of article 370 investment story is therefore one of transition marked by more visible development activity than in the past, but also by a significant gap between promise and performance. Industrial expansion, infrastructure improvements and tourism growth indicate movement in a positive direction. At the same time, job creation at the scale envisioned remains distant, especially for the region's youth. The outcome of this economic transformation will depend on whether the current wave of proposals evolves into lasting opportunities on the ground. For now, the path is upward, but the destination has not yet been reached.





# **The Unending Saga of Crackdown Against Kashmiris**

*How the Indian State Manufactures Guilt, Fear and Collective Punishment*

**Syed Qurat-ul-ain Bukhari**

Moments of security anxiety in any region often amplify fear, uncertainty and reactive decision-making. The recent incident in Delhi has understandably triggered a series of investigations and heightened vigilance, but it has also reignited long-standing concerns among many Kashmiris who feel they are disproportionately scrutinized whenever unrest erupts elsewhere. For students, workers and professionals living or traveling outside the valley, news of detentions or questioning can deepen a sense of vulnerability that already exists due to decades of mistrust and political turbulence.



Such situations highlight the importance of balance ensuring that safety and justice reinforce each other rather than compete. Investigations must follow facts and procedures, not assumptions or stereotypes. The dignity of individuals, including those who are asked to cooperate with authorities, should remain intact throughout. Profiling or generalized suspicion can fray the social fabric, making coexistence harder for everyone involved.

Kashmir has always had a vibrant and thoughtful intellectual community: scholars, doctors, lawyers and young researchers who contribute meaningfully to society both within and beyond the region. Safeguarding their freedom to think, express and engage is crucial to maintaining a healthy civic culture. Genuine security is strengthened when ideas are allowed to flourish, when diverse voices can speak and when legal systems operate transparently and fairly.

Across India, countless families Kashmiri and otherwise simply want to live without fear of being misunderstood or misrepresented. Efforts to reduce tension must include respectful communication, clearer legal processes and mechanisms that allow community concerns to be heard constructively. The coming years will be shaped not only by political decisions but by how successfully human connections are protected.

Trust grows slowly and only where empathy and accountability coexist. In times of uncertainty, reinforcing those values can help ensure that individuals are seen not as symbols of suspicion but as citizens deserving of fairness, respect and the chance to contribute to a peaceful future.



## **Gaza and the World Genocide Commemoration Day!**

**Gowhar Farooq**

The International Day of Commemoration for Victims of Genocide is meant to serve as a reminder of how fragile human dignity can be when violence escalates beyond reason. Each year, this day invites the world to pause, reflect and reaffirm the value of every life regardless of geography, faith or nationality. Yet remembrance often feels hollow if it is disconnected from the suffering that continues in our time. Across different parts of the world today, families still face the terror of displacement, indiscriminate bombings and the relentless uncertainty of survival.

What makes these moments so painful is not only the scale of the loss but the sense of isolation communities feel when their cries seem unheard. People look to global institutions to embody justice and solidarity, to respond swiftly when human lives are at stake. However, diplomacy often moves slowly, constrained by politics and competing priorities that rarely match the urgency on the ground. This gap between principles and practice can deepen mistrust and make individuals believe that their grief is invisible.

History has shown that societies are strongest when empathy guides action when acknowledgment of suffering leads to tangible efforts to protect and rebuild. Even when international systems struggle to keep pace with unfolding crises, civil society, humanitarian workers and ordinary people around the world continue to push for relief, accountability and peace in whatever ways they can. Their voices form an important counterweight to despair, reminding us that humanity's conscience is not limited to formal statements or official power.

As we reflect on past atrocities on December 9th, our responsibility is not only to remember but to remain alert to the dignity of people living through trauma today. A sincere commemoration demands that we listen carefully, support those in peril and ensure that future histories do not describe us as indifferent. The measure of our global compassion lies in how we respond when others stand at the edge of unbearable loss not in the perfection of our systems, but in the persistence of our concern and collective hope for a more humane future.



# **Interview with Commander Jahangir Saroori**

*Hizbul Mujahideen, Jammu & Kashmir*

**(Conducted by Owais Bilal)**

Jahangir Saroori is a well known divisional commander of Hizbul Mujahideen in Jammu & Kashmir. For the past 34 years, he has remained active in the freedom struggle across the mountainous belt of Jammu province particularly in Kishtwar and Doda. Known for his unmatched courage, tactical skills, and strong resistance against the Indian army, he is often called “Pahadoon Ka Beta” meaning “Son of the Mountains”.



Since joining the ranks of the Mujahideen in 1992, he has carried out numerous operations many of which even Indian intelligence agencies and media outlets were forced to acknowledge. His years of resistance have continuously unsettled the enemy and he remains a key figure in the ongoing struggle for Kashmir's war for liberation.

This interview was conducted from one of his concealed hideouts where he remains steadfast and undefeated while surrounded by enemy forces from every side.

**Question: Jahangir Bhai, where are you at the moment and what is the situation around you?**

**Answer:** Owais bhai, I am currently in a location where the enemy has encircled the entire area. The situation is extremely difficult but the help of Allah is with us. The resources here do not seem limited, and people appear to be doing well enough that they are unlikely to join or support the resistance we are trying to promote

**Question: Tell us about your long journey in this struggle. What experiences have shaped you since 1992?**

**Answer:** When I joined the Mujahideen in 1992, the path ahead was of faith, sacrifice and steadfastness. Allah blessed us with victory on many fronts. The Indian army and their intelligence agencies tried every possible tactic to stop us but we never backed down.

**Question: What role have converts (those who embraced Islam) played in the Kashmir freedom movement?**

**Answer:** Our brothers who embraced Islam have made unforgettable contributions. After accepting the faith, they dedicated their lives entirely to the cause of freedom. Men like Kuldeep Singh (Akhtar Ansari), Rajinder Singh (Rizwan-ul-Haq), Utam Singh (Saifullah Khalid), Kuldeep Kumar (Kamran Bhai) and Subhash Kumar (Wasif Ali) carried out remarkable actions against the Indian forces.

Even a fighter from Nepal, Tayyib, attained martyrdom in this path.

All of them upheld the honor of the Kalima and strengthened the movement. The perspective of people in Kashmir regarding the Quran is rooted in its core teachings of peace, mercy, and compassion. The Quran is understood as a guide for moral living, patience, and respect for human life not as a justification for violence or bloodshed. There is a clear rejection of the idea that killing innocents or engaging in terrorism leads to jannat, as such acts go against the very essence of Islamic teachings. In Kashmir, faith is seen as a path toward harmony, self-reflection, and coexistence, not resistance through violence.

**Question: What methods are the Indian army and government using to suppress this movement?**

**Answer:** The Indian Army and the government have maintained a firm and clear stance of zero tolerance toward terrorism. This approach is being matched with sustained efforts on the ground, particularly in the area of employment generation and economic development. Owais Bhai, the Kashmir freedom movement is currently at its lowest point and lacks support from local Kashmiris. Sustaining or financing the resistance would require a significant amount of resources and funds. Several initiatives by the Indian military and government are already underway to provide opportunities, stability, and a sense of direction to the local population.

These measures aim to address long-standing concerns by focusing on livelihoods rather than conflict. As daily life becomes more structured and predictable, priorities among the people are steadily shifting. The younger generation, in particular, appears more focused on education, careers, and personal growth. There is little inclination among them to associate with or support groups rooted in resistance or violence. Instead, aspirations are increasingly aligned with progress, normalcy, and long-term stability.

This evolving outlook reflects a broader change in mindset across society.

**Question: How do you view the future of the Kashmir freedom movement?**

**Answer:** We should pray for those few among us who are still walking on the path of resistance, hoping they find clarity and peace. True change begins within, and only when perspectives evolve can society move forward collectively. While intentions may be driven by emotion or past experiences, the reality on the ground is very different from what some continue to believe. The environment here is steadily changing, and people are choosing stability over confrontation. There is a growing understanding that violence and unrest only deepen suffering rather than resolve it. Many now feel that progress comes through patience, dialogue, and constructive efforts. The desire to bring about change remains, but the methods are being rethought. Aspirations are shifting toward education, employment, and a dignified life. This shift is especially visible among the younger generation, who are looking ahead rather than holding on to conflict. They are more inclined to build futures than to inherit struggles. Daily life, responsibilities, and opportunities are shaping a new mindset. Faith, hope, and resilience are being redirected toward personal and collective growth. Even as some cling to older narratives, the broader movement of society is clearly heading in a different direction. This transformation reflects a deep realization that lasting peace cannot be achieved through resistance, but through understanding and progress.

**Question: What message would you like to give?**

**Answer:** I urge everyone to pray for the few among us who continue to stand by and support us in whatever way they can. The situation remains extremely difficult, yet we refuse to lose heart. At the same time, living here in Kashmir often brings its own quiet dilemmas.

Contrary to many assumptions, people here do have the freedom to follow Islam and it is not a minority faith in this land. The call to prayer is heard, namaz is offered five times a day, and Eid is celebrated openly. For ordinary people practicing their faith, life continues with dignity. The presence of the Indian military, as it is often explained, is directed against terrorism rather than against Islam itself. Observing this reality at times leaves me conflicted, forcing me to question our choices and to reflect deeply on what it is that we truly seek and what direction we are moving in.

Allah tested His prophets and granted them the highest ranks, and we remind ourselves that trials have always been a part of the path of faith. Owais bhai, when Adam (AS) was tested, he was made the father of humanity. Musa (AS) was tested and became Kaleemullah. Ibraheem (AS) was tested and became Khalilullah, his obedience was so beloved to Allah that even the footprints he left behind were made sacred. Allah tested him through every bond, and later commanded him to build the Ka'bah, a task he fulfilled alongside his son Ismail (AS). Because of their obedience, Allah honored them among all people of divine faiths. We continue to believe that truth will ultimately prevail, and that patience and unity remain our greatest strength.

The Muslim ummah must come together like the beads of a tasbeeh—connected, balanced, and unbroken. I also wish that just as the youth and people of Kashmir are striving to move forward, the people of Pakistan may experience similar progress and stability. Development and growth should become a shared reality for every citizen. Pakistan holds immense potential, which can be realized by investing in its own people through education, employment and social well-being. Addressing internal challenges with sincerity and focus is the need of the hour. Peace, economic opportunity, and stability can transform lives and strengthen society.



The aspirations of the youth deserve constructive direction, and only lasting stability can allow any nation to truly prosper. I sincerely hope that the ongoing unrest in Pakistan comes to an end soon, opening the path toward peace and progress.

**Question: Finally, what does this struggle mean to you personally?**

**Answer:** This struggle has become the very meaning of my life. It is not only about the freedom of Kashmir, it is a battle between truth (Haq) and falsehood (Baatil) that I witness with my own eyes every single day. My faith gives me the strength to move forward, but there are moments when my heart feels heavy. At times, I find myself lost in doubt, unable to decide whether the path we have chosen is right or wrong. The ideas I once held with certainty now feel unsettled, and I struggle to reconcile what I thought I understood with what I am experiencing. This quiet confusion weighs on me, forcing me to question my choices and intentions. I can only hope that this discomfort is part of finding clarity, and that somewhere within this uncertainty, I am still walking the right path. I miss my family deeply, their presence, their warmth and in those quiet moments, a painful question haunts me: have I betrayed them? Have I betrayed my mother, my sister, or my entire family? The weight of this thought breaks me from within. And yet, despite this pain and confusion, I remain unwavering, still holding on to the path of resistance. I pray that Allah understands my heart, accepts our efforts and guides us safely to our destination.

*Wassalamu Alaikum wa Rahmatullah.*



# THE REVOLUTIONARY RESURGENCE