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THE REVOLUTIONARY RESURGENCE





Every year, the people of Pakistan come together to observe 5th February as the Kashmir Solidarity Day. Many rallies are conducted across the country to show support for the struggle of Kashmiris against military occupation of their homeland on this officially designated public holiday in Pakistan. The people of this country truly deserve appreciation for their determination in standing up for the oppressed people of Kashmir all these years.

However, with India's projects of settler colonialism, mass extermination, and direct onslaught on the religion of Kashmiris, there arises some critical questions about the role of Pakistani government's seriousness and efforts in working towards the resolution of this conflict. The first question that, in the face of India's genocidal policies in the region, arises is: What kind of solidarity do a besieged, captivated, colonized and oppressed people need at a time when they are facing the worst genocidal policies of their oppressors? We have seen how people, irrespective of their religious identity, across the world stood against the Zionist terrorism in Palestine or for that matter, in past, against some aggressors in different regions. However, when we analyze the situation, it becomes evident that just empathy, the cornerstone of effective solidarity, or global awareness of the geopolitical intricacies that perpetuate oppression are not enough to stop horrendous brutalities faced by different oppressed nations in the world. Palestine serves as a prime example here. It is not just sad but an extreme act of cowardice that the Muslim world has abandoned Palestinians amid the ongoing Gaza genocide. They have, on all levels, failed the oppressed Palestinians and thrown them at the mercy of Zionist Hyenas. Even a layman can understand now the kind of support these oppressed people needed all these years when Israel was meticulously planning their complete annihilation.

Kashmir on the other hand faces a similar threat and if the Muslim world including Pakistan, a principal party to the Kashmir dispute, fails to take a bold stand, the situation will spiral out of control and might turn the South Asian region into ashes. It is high time to come out of rhetoric and take practical steps. Giving people of Kashmir the right to self-determination is in everyone's interest in the region.

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Monthly



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WE HAVE BEEN THE VICTIMS OF A STATE-SPONSORED OBFUSCATION OF OUR HISTORY AND LIVED REALITIES

Ashfaq Abdullah



On a cold February night in 1991, a unit of 4 Rajputana Rifles – 68 Mountain Brigade of the Indian Army – came to the twin villages of Kunan and Poshpora for a Cordon and Search Operation (CASO). While torturing men in an open place, separated from their women, they raped women as old as 80 and girls as young as 9, including a pregnant woman. More than 60 women in these twin villages became victims of this dastardly act. The incident took place in the bordering district of Kupwara, a densely militarized district in Kashmir which in itself is the most militarized zone in the world with an estimate of 9-10 lakh Indian military and paramilitary troops stationed here. While this was one of the most horrendous sexual assaults on Kashmiri women, it was certainly not the first or the last one. Rape has been used as a weapon of war in this internationally recognized disputed territory of Kashmir since Kashmiris took arms against the military occupation of their homeland.

So, why is it necessary to engage in renewed discussions about that dark night that has refused to end for 32 long years? India has consistently and with the active support of its armed forces, media, and different intelligence agencies tried to suppress this truth. They have continuously denied that any such horrible incident has ever taken place! The Indian occupational soldiers and their commanders have, besides denying the existence of this night, in turn, blamed Kashmiri women as characterless and sensual in the most derogatory

language. This suppression of truth and objectification of our women folk is not new. Kashmiris have been framed as “other” and their women as “trophies of war” upon whose bodies the soldiers of India and its masses have full ownership. This sexualization of Kashmiri women experienced an increase after August 5, 2019, when the Indian state constructed narratives portraying Kashmir as a trophy for the Indian masses, who could buy land, settle, marry, or, worse, rape any Kashmiri woman they desired.

Amid this level of ahistoricization and obfuscation of history and suppression of truth, some Kashmiri women have bravely documented such incidents and rebutted the constructed narratives of our occupying state. Besides, the victims/survivors of this dark night and many similar incidents have redefined bravery and courage by refusing to yield to insurmountable pressure and threats to their lives. They have continued to shine a light on the injustices perpetrated against them. It is thus important to consistently write about such assaults and fight the state-sponsored projects of obfuscation and distortion of realities.

The sexual assaults on women under the garb of Cordon and Search Operations (CASO) continues with reports of molestation by Indian military and paramilitary troops amid such operations across Kashmir. There are credible reports of the Indian military threatening people by stating that their womenfolk would be raped if they failed to provide information about armed resistance fighters. The people in the region live under constant fear of nocturnal invasions.

Now, as we remember what the Indian occupational forces did to our womenfolk in Kunan and Poshpora villages, we must continue discussing such incidents and ensure that our realities are not obscured in any way. In preserving the memory of these harrowing events, it is our responsibility to amplify the voices of those affected and demand justice for the survivors. By unflinchingly shedding light on the atrocities committed against our communities, we contribute to the collective awareness needed for meaningful change. We must stand united, and resilient in the face of attempts to silence our narratives, and work towards a future where such injustices are no longer perpetrated. Irrespective of how fearful the environment is, we must come forward and resist any attempt by Indian military and colonial settlers to assault our honour.

ZIONIST COOLIES: INDIAN SOLDIERS IN ISRAELI ARMY

Gowhar Bhatt



As many as 300 Indian soldiers have joined the Israeli Army as the war on Gaza intensifies. What are these soldiers doing there and is there any pact of military assistance between India and Israel? These and many more such questions arise as the reports of the worst war crimes perpetrated by Indian soldiers in Gaza emerge. Reports suggest that many of these soldiers are Indian-origin Jews and recent immigrants. Almost 80 percent are reported to have volunteered to join Israeli mercenary forces.

Recently, a picture of two Israeli mercenary soldiers went viral on different social media platforms. The picture shows them posing in the bed of a Palestinian child they had killed in the Gaza Strip moments earlier. What was shocking for many people across the world was the fact that both of them were Indian soldiers who had volunteered to massacre Palestinian children

in October last year. A report suggests that the first Israeli soldier to be killed in Gaza was an Indian. The worst crimes perpetrated against Palestinians in Gaza have been committed by these Indian soldiers. The genocide operations are being supported by the Indian military, Intelligence agencies and the government of India. These Indian soldiers have been sharing the genocidal policies and mass extermination plans with Indian agencies who have been applying a similar model in Kashmir. The intelligence sharing between India and Israel is helping the Modi-led government to create its blueprint in Kashmir. With the occupational administration in Kashmir pursuing the Israeli model to make their settler colonial project a success in the occupied territory, the barbarity of Israeli soldiers in the Gaza Strip is becoming a great source of inspiration for the fascist state of India. A report by anonymous Kashmiri and Palestinian research scholars titled as India's Impunity in Kashmir: Surveillance, Counterinsurgency and Politics of Fear reveals that India is following an Israeli model in the occupied region to mass exterminate Kashmiris.

It should not come as a surprise if tomorrow Israeli soldiers are seen in the streets of Kashmir to help their fascist counterparts in the mass extermination of Kashmiris. There are already reports of Israeli soldiers taking part in anti-resistance operations in the region. In October 2017, Israel's Chief of the Ground Forces Major General Yakov (Kobi) Barak visited the Indian Army's Northern Command headquarters in Jammu and Kashmir (J&K). The same year witnessed an Indo-Israeli Friendship Society delegation visiting Kashmir. Post 5th August, a team comprising senior Israeli military officials visited the ceasefire line in different parts of northern Kashmir.

WHEELS OF OCCUPATION AND THE QUESTION OF ALLOWING OPPRESSORS THE LUXURY OF TIME

Syed Suhaib Abdullah



On 12th December Indian judiciary reiterated the settler-colonial project and proved once again to be another cog in the wheel of the military occupation apparatus. However, this common Kashmiri wit has always treated the Indian courts and every Indian symbol as an instrument of occupation. The unnecessary brokered reliance on the Indian system by the brokers and advocates of status quo polity and beneficiaries of military occupation is just a mechanism to further and strengthen India's writ and might. This also forces a shift in the narrative and our goal posts.

Some may now advocate and fight for statehood, some for early elections and some for other eye washes within the ambit of the "Indian constitution" - which is actually the framework of Occupation and a book of managing and normalizing the slavery.

However, for us, who fight the Indian military apparatus, we need to know what has been done and what further can be done to our land, resources, aspirations and our bruised bodies.

We need to put forth our priorities. As the settler colonial project is progressing to wipe us out like a toad under the engine, we are facing the might of Indian occupation. The choice is ours - either to take on with all our resources and fight or to please ourselves with the mirage of resistance.

As has been stated before by our leaders. Occupations are multifaceted and ugly – our resistance can't be a symbolic monolith but a multi-faceted machinery equipped with all the resources, ready to fight on all fronts. Our resistance can't be a beautiful bunch of roses and pacifism! We must push beyond our capacities and act rather than hang behind and wait!

We are right now providing a breathing space and time for Indian occupation and that way we are only providing nutrition to the tree of occupation ... We are nurturing it

We the proclaimers of resistance, the descendants of Syed Ali Shah Geelani, the custodians of martyrs and martyrdom are becoming Collaborators by allowing India the luxury of time. Time and space for Indian occupation is a boon that we are nurturing with. And time and space are the luxuries that we won't and can't afford to waste in resistance.

(...to be continued

KASHMIR SOLIDARITY DAY: WHAT DOES IT MEAN FOR THE OPPRESSED KASHMIRIS?

Idrees Bhatt



Kashmir Solidarity Day, a day observed by Pakistan since 2004 on 5th February to show solidarity with Kashmiris struggling for freedom from Indian occupation. Conceptually, it's a great idea, but solidarity isn't a word that's meant to be taken lightly. It carries a lot of burden and a lot of responsibilities, it cannot be reduced to mere symbolism. It isn't supposed to be a day to mark just another holiday with rallies, banners and speeches. Although words matter a lot, solidarity comes from concrete actions more than anything else.

As Kashmiris, we appreciate every act of solidarity, however small it may be. But when it comes to solidarity from Pakistan, the bar is much, much higher. Pakistan isn't just any other nation that is simply doing a good act for the sake of humanity by observing solidarity with Kashmir. To be fair, Pakistan is Kashmir and when we say that Kashmir is under the Indian occupation, it means that Pakistan has been occupied.

So, giving fiery speeches, taking out huge rallies and showing heartfelt emotions for Kashmiris is something we deeply respect. It does raise awareness and bring people close to the struggle of Kashmiris. And the diplomatic approach through Pakistani embassies in various countries on this day also works to keep due global attention on the military occupation of Kashmir.

But when actions are reduced to mere symbolism, which has unfortunately been happening with 5th October commemorations lately, it starts to lose its meaning.

Solidarity without concrete actions or without a plan to convert solidarity into a sustained action-model eventually becomes meaningless and turns into a futile redundant exercise. It's clear what's happening in Kashmir, the resistance movement has been crushed,

people have been silenced, and there are unprecedented levels of fear set among Kashmiri populace by Indian state machinery. There's a silence of graveyard in Kashmir. The oppression touches new peaks every day and the silence keeps getting even more deafening. Talk to any Kashmiri, he will tell you how sordid the affairs are in Kashmir right now. People are even scared to express a simple opinion on social media. The print and digital media has been completely overtaken by Indian state. They have become mouthpieces of Indian Hindutva government.

Any person who was capable of leading Kashmiris out of this despairing situation has been jailed. Kashmiri armed resistance has lost its strength but the resistance fighters haven't given up. They are still sacrificing their lives for the noble cause. Muslim organizations of all sorts have been subjugated.

Kashmiri organizations that are pro-freedom have been banned, their cadre has been suffocated through arrests, raids and huge piles of cases against them. Their properties have been seized and they have been eventually forced to lay low whereas Indian stooges are being given new platforms with all resources put at their disposal by Indian occupational forces. The current Indian establishment is also attacking the economic structures of Kashmir. We have been crippled economically and the economic independence that Kashmiris had is being eroded with each passing day. Every single Kashmiri social/political/educational/economic institution has been taken over by Indian Hindutva agents. The current BJP/RSS govt. in cahoots with Indian corporations has started to loot Kashmiris. Eventually, Kashmiris have been left hopeless in every sense. Kashmiris are just surviving one Indian assault after another. We have been forced into a very basic survival mode.

The situation with educational institutions is most horrifying. Islamic curriculum is being forcibly removed from schools and strong attempts are being made to introduce Hinduism-tinted education in schools, in which Indian establishment has succeeded to a significant extent. Muslim Waqf Board of Kashmir has been taken over by Hindutva agents. The very Islamic character of Kashmir is under attack.

Indian propaganda regarding Kashmiris is at its zenith. They have enormous IT cells and personnel dedicated for dissemination of pro-India, pro-Hindutva propaganda, and vilification of Kashmiri Muslims and Kashmiri resistance. Hindu settlements are being planned, occupational forces are given residential status in Kashmir. Kashmiri Muslims are being denied access to their own land and their own resources. Our lands are being snatched and handed over to Indian Hindutva enablers. There's a full-fledged plan rolled into action that aims at changing the Muslim demographics of Kashmir.

In light of all the above mentioned things, even after all these suppressive measures

employed by Indian state; still what has crushed the back of Kashmiri freedom movement aren't the actions of Indian state, but the apathy of Pakistan. There's no material support for Kashmiri resistance on the ground from Azad Kashmir.

There's no Kashmiri freedom movement without Pakistan, because the very movement of freedom in Kashmir has its genesis in the creation of Pakistan. Pakistan movement and Kashmiri freedom movement have the same roots. It has been noticed throughout the history of Kashmiri movement that when Pakistan distances itself from materially supporting the Kashmiri resistance, it starts to crumble. Kashmiris cannot be suppressed by Indian occupational machinery, as long as Pakistan continues to stand firmly behind the Kashmir freedom movement.

Pakistan needs to own the Kashmiri movement. Azad Kashmir, as a base of resistance, has to get directly involved in the armed resistance and help it with advanced weapons, training and in every other manner possible. Even after three decades of continuing armed resistance, it surprises me that the most advanced weapon available to Kashmiri fighters is still the same old Kalashnikov. Shouldn't it raise some serious questions about the kind of support Kashmiri resistance receives? Why has there been no sustained and upgraded support for armed resistance?

There has to be a direct, loud and explicit involvement in freedom movement of Indian Occupied Kashmir through the Azad Kashmir government. Anything less than that would only reflect that there's no seriousness regarding the issue.

On this 5th February, I hope people in both Pakistan, especially Azad Kashmir look at these words with open hearts and minds. I hope that they establish a concrete framework to support Kashmiri resistance. Like Gaza rose in rebellion, Kashmir will rise too, but for that to happen we need actual material support just like the resistance in Gaza had.

The true act of solidarity on 5th February would be to materially renew the commitment of Pakistan to the Kashmir cause and provide all the possible resources to armed resistance groups, to not keep the issue of Kashmir on the back-burner and to make it the foremost cause of Pakistan.

WALKING WITH MUJAHIDEEN-1

THE BEAR

Hameem Hussain

Some of what I may write can have implications for me and my family's safety. I therefore am avoiding some information that may be precarious. Allah gave me a chance to work with - Burhan Saeb, Riyaz Saeb, Manan Saeb, Bashir Lashkari, Adil Reshi, Mudasir Khan and many more, some of whom are either in jails or in graves. They have all left an impression on my life and I want to preserve their memory as small stories.



I want to narrate a story about Shaheed Burhan Saeb. It was 2013, and Arif Khan as we used to call him in Tanzeem, was active mostly in the Tral belt. As he roamed in an orchard at night, treading on a narrow path in between the fences, suddenly a bear appeared in front of him. He whispered to another colleague, asking him to not move forward. The colleague somehow managed to flee, creeping underneath the barbed wire of the orchard.

Burhan Saeb almost stunned, froze in front, he had no option but to open fire, but that would mean the army from the camp below the orchard would rush and lay a cordon around the orchard.

The bear had moved close enough to notice any movement and was staring at Burhan Saeb, in the moonlight. He was about to pull the trigger but that would also be threatening for his colleague and some more Mujahideen in the area who could have been traced and trapped by the army.

Burhan Saeb surrendered to the will of Allah and stayed there, the bear brushed with Burhan Saeb's body and walked slowly ahead! He felt the Bear's fur and flesh. It was a miracle.

Later he added how only some years before, he would not dare to go alone in the dark at his home and now in the path of Allah, is rubbing his skin in the wilderness of night with wild Bear's. He lived that day and forever to tell this story.

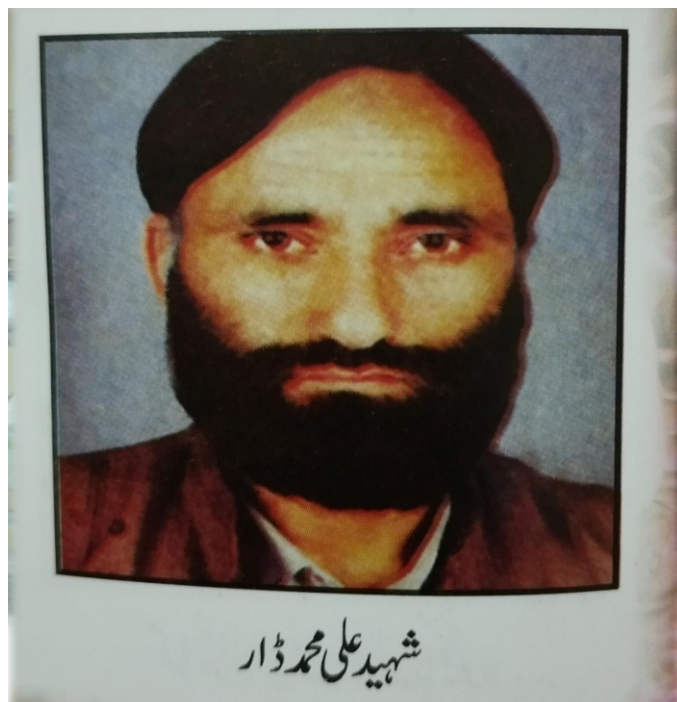
More stories soon...

— FROM THE PEN OF MARTYRS —

COMMANDER BURHAN-U-DIN HIJAZI

Shaheed Abdul Basit

Finally, I arrived at the residence of my close associate after a long and arduous journey of 8 to 9 hours. After having our dinner and finishing Isha prayers, this close associate broke the news of Ali Muhammad Dar alias Burhan-u-din Hijazi's martyrdom! Surprised and momentarily rendered breathless by the unexpected news, I found myself on the edge of unconsciousness. Sensing my emotions and the turmoil within me, my steadfast friend gently stepped in and started to calm me down by reminding me of the goals of this struggle and that we should not let such



news, albeit heartbreaking, overpower our spirit. Still, my heart and mind refused to accept the reality. I felt my beloved organization Hizbul Mujahideen was orphaned. I was sure my fellow freedom fighters from both sides of the border were feeling the same. Memories of the past eight years spent with this great commander began to reflect in my mind. It was indeed the toughest time of my life.

I somehow controlled my emotions. In that moment my mind echoed with a great lesson drawn from the battle of Uhud where a victorious battle took an unexpected turn after the dissemination of news of the martyrdom of Islam's last prophet Muhammad (PBUH) among Sahaba, his beloved and devoted companions. Gripped by devastation, the Sahaba found their patience waning and minds clouded with various thoughts and each heart among them was shattered. During such searing times, Hazrat-e-Saabit ignited enthusiasm among them by his fiery speech reminding them that although their beloved prophet may have been martyred but that Allah is alive and will remain eternal forever and insisted upon the fact that they were all fighting in the way of Allah. And thus, with renewed vigor, Muslims again started marching towards the battlefield.

One and a half years before, Burhan-u-din Hijazi was selected as the commander of Hizbul Mujahideen after the martyrdom of commander Ghazi Naseebu Din Shaheed. Not only

did Hijzai fill the void left by the martyrdom of Ghazi, but he also systematically organized Hizb. Amid tremendous pressure and tough circumstances, he went into every nook and corner of the valley and reorganized the organization besides injecting new life among the cadre who were heartbroken after Ghazi's martyrdom.

Hijazi's real name was Ali Muhammad Dar. Shaheed Ali Muhammad Dar was an exceptional military commander whose actions struck fear into the hearts of the enemy forces across the occupied region. It really is very hard to even talk about this name let alone write about his contributions to the struggle for freedom. I sincerely request my fellow mujahideen and countrymen to continue in his footsteps and do not weaken the pious and noble mission of Jihaad and Qitaal until our last drop of blood is shed.

A seemingly simple man, Shaheed Ali Muhammad Dar embodied a movement in himself. He would often remain silent but when it was his turn to speak, everyone was captivated and fully engaged. He was indeed an exceptional orator. Describing the depth of this great commander's character and contributions is a challenge but I lack words to write about his character and contributions.

It was early 1991 and I had arrived in the base camp a few days ago. There, I met Shaheed Ali Muhammad Dar at Jamat-e-Islami Azad Jammu and Kashmir's central office in Muzafarabad. Before this, I had only heard of this great soul from Mujahideen in the occupied territory. After the initial training, I was given a responsibility in the central office where I developed a close bond with Shaheed Dar. It was the time when Syed Salahuddin went to the occupied territory from the base camp. Since I had newly arrived in the base camp, Syed Salahuddin Sahab used to come to me for appreciation and encouragement. After he went into the battlefield, Shaheed Dar Sahab frequently used to meet me and with each passing day, our bond got stronger. If I made any mistake, he used to forgive me and never reprimanded me in any harsh way. Besides devising strategies, he used to talk on myriad topics including Jihad, Qitaal, Hizbul Mujahideen, Tehreek-e-Islami and military strategies.

Although I was too young in age, wisdom and experience, Shaheed Dar Sahab always used to greet me with deep respect and shook hands whilst an unforgettable smile on his face.

Commander Dar Sahab had sent letters from the occupied territory to different Mujahideen in the base camp. One was addressed to me. This letter infused a new life in me and made me ready for the battlefield with much enthusiasm and courage. His foresightedness and courage reflected from each word of this letter. It was filled with

sheer wisdom and unmatched military strategies that we were supposed to implement in the battlefield.

Shaheed Dar Sahab used to live among the common Mujahideen. In a historic Ijtima organized by Jamat-e-Islami Pakistan in 1995, Commander Dar was also present there. It had been a few months since his arrival from the occupied territory. Several Kashmiri Mujahideen participated in this religious gathering. I vividly remember how a Rafeeq-e-Jamaat from Manserah arranged some rugged mats for us and Shaheed-e-Muhataram, while wearing an extremely simple dress, sat on those mats with us during all those days. It was unbelievable for most of the people there when I told them that the man sitting amid us was our Deputy Supreme Commander Burhan-u-din Hijazi.

In 1996, we announced a unique daily gathering Akhuwat ki Basti in the base camp. I perfectly remember when it was time to sleep after attending the meeting, Shaheed Dar Sahab, even after the insistence of fellow Mujahideen, refused to leave and slept there like a common Mujahid.

A DREAM

One day, Shaheed Dar Sahab told me about a dream he had a few days ago.

“I was sitting on top of a mountain in the occupied territory and thinking, while still awake, about what kind of Mujahideen do we need to continue our struggle for liberation and take the movement to its logical conclusion. I was lost and fell asleep. What I saw in the dream was thought-provoking. I saw a tall and extremely steep mountain in front of me climbing which looked impossible for anyone. A Mujahid with rugged clothes and tiredness reflecting on his face was continuously climbing it. His entire body was sweating yet he was not giving up and continued his efforts to cross it. His clothes were dirty and his nails were long. His face was full of dirt and yet he was adamant to climb it anyhow without caring for anything around him. After waking from sleep, the whole scene left indelible marks on my mind and heart. I immediately understood that we need such kind of Mujahideen for our pious and sacred cause. I got an answer to my concerns!”

It was due to this dream that Syed Moududi Training Camp was established by commander Ali Muhammad Dar. Here, Dar Sahab gave special training to Mujahideen and it was not surprising that Mujahideen from this camp were the most battle-hardened and competent guerilla fighters.

REMEMBERING THE FEARLESS SHAHEED IMTIYAZ AALAM

Syed Salahuddin Ahmad

UJC Chief and Supreme commander of Hizbul Mujahideen

Shaheed Imtiyaz Aalam was a towering figure in the struggle for freedom against Indian occupation of our homeland. A man of exceptional intellect and courage, he spurned the lure of material gain and instead joined the ranks of Hizbul Mujahideen in 1990. In the face of the toughest challenges, he played a pivotal role in uniting and strengthening the Mujahideen across the region. Not only did he provide Mujahideen with armed training, he also worked tirelessly to fortify their mental resolve. In 1990, Aalam was severely wounded in the Zafar Khanni battle in Kupwara district and was subsequently arrested. Despite spending two years in jail, he remained undeterred and rejoined the resistance upon his release. The Indian occupational forces, in a desperate bid to break his spirit, martyred his father and brother and razed his ancestral home in the Kupwara district. But Aalam remained steadfast. His unwavering faith in the cause of freedom was unshaken. Shaheed Imtiyaz Aalam was a fearless and valiant Mujahid, a true embodiment of the spirit of resistance. Although the enemy orchestrated his martyrdom in Burma Town when he was coming out from a Masjid after evening prayers,

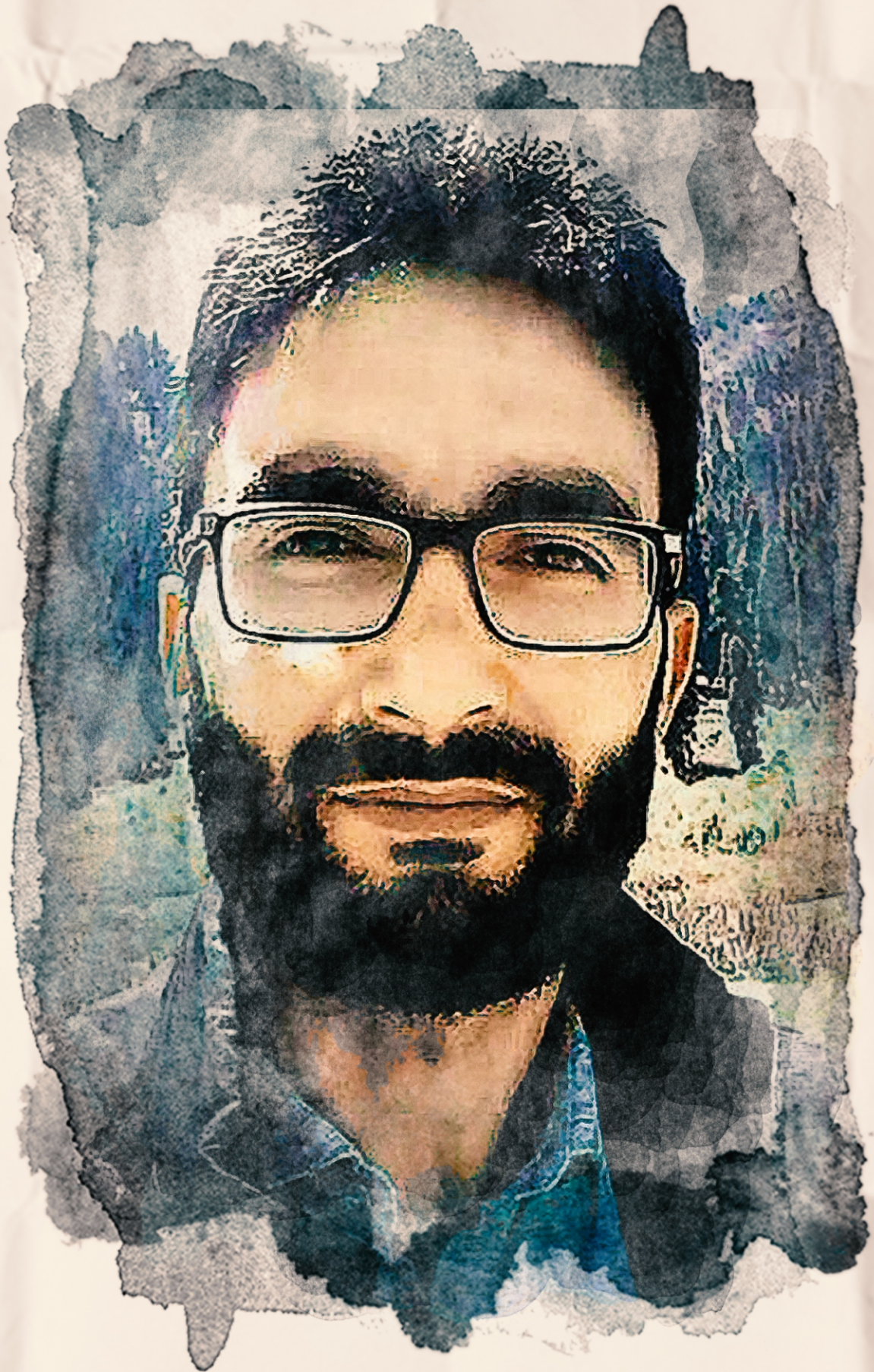


Aalam's mission will continue and Kashmir will see the dawn of freedom, InshaAllah. His mission will continue, come what may, and there will be hundreds of Imtiyaz Aalams ready to follow in his footsteps.

WE ARE WATCHING YOU!

The Indian state machinery has deployed some youngsters, having some alleged affiliation with some political and religious organizations in the past, across Kashmir to convince people about the benefits of occupation and discourage resistance. These charlatans are strategically deployed in universities, colleges and schools to strengthen statist narratives and tell people to get ready to shun resistance and accept defeat. You see these snitches active on social media platforms where they float the idea of “political participation” and normalize criminalizing dissent. While we refrain from explicitly naming these individuals here, a thorough research into their backgrounds, affiliations, and activities has unveiled whose agenda they are serving and thus they have now become the legitimate targets.

There should be no doubt in the fact that the guardians of martyrs are very much alive and will not hesitate to cut open these fink blabbermouths. People should not get confused. There are no grey areas to play in. Every one of us knows the gravity of the situation. The Indian state wants a complete surrender from us and aims to tarnish the image of resistance loving organizations/people. Since this is not easy, they have employed some squealers to normalize things and construct narratives amenable to the political interests of the Indian occupying state.





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