

# **‘South Asian Palestine’ and ‘Middle Eastern Kashmir’: Parallel Case Studies of Occupation Forces and Crackdown on Youth**

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## **Abstract**

As the world continues to watch, India and Israel continue their military control over Kashmir and Palestine respectively, resulting in two of the most protracted and deadliest conflicts with strong parallels. The United Nations (UN) Resolutions, 194 and 242 in the context of the Palestine-Israeli dispute; and UN Resolutions of August 13, 1948 and January 5, 1949 in the context of the Kashmir dispute, advocate the right of self-determination for Palestinians and Kashmiris, respectively. However, they have not been implemented to date. This article compares the two significant disputes by employing the Youth Bulge Theory to demonstrate that although both disputed territories are situated in different regions, yet their youth share similar accounts of subjugation, which have culminated in similar atrocities and massive crackdown on them by occupying forces. It has led to increased violence, deaths and frustration, producing generations of young freedom fighters involved in a political struggle. A comparative analysis draws on similarities and dissimilarities between these two disputes.

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**Keywords:** Crackdown on Youth, *Intifadas*, Occupation, Self-determination, Political Struggle.

## **Introduction**

The Kashmir and Palestinian conflicts emerged out of divisions under the British colonial policy of the 1940s. The historical struggle for the liberation of two disputed and occupied territories, Kashmir and Palestine, although located in diverse geographical regions, consist of similar as well as specific aspects. Kashmir and Palestine are the epicentres of violence and have resulted in major wars in the Middle East and South Asia. With the Indian Occupied Kashmir (IOK) issue still unresolved, its two nuclear armed protagonists have come to the brink of nuclear Armageddon several times since 1998, the most recent escalation in February 2019 after the Pulwama attack.

Given the persistent conflict, both Palestinians and Kashmiris remain victims of severe human rights violations. This further fuels resistance against the illegal occupations. Due to crackdowns, especially on youth, strife and civil war has increased within both Palestinian territories and Kashmir against Israeli and Indian occupying forces, respectively. The contemporary phases of active resistance movements by young freedom fighters in these occupied areas have remained a focus of global attention. This article uses the *Youth Bulge Theory* to explore their resistance movements, along with exploring the similar and differentiating dimensions between these movements. The *Intifadas* (until victory) led by the youth against the crackdown on them, steered by the occupying forces are so similar in nature that the two disputes can metaphorically be called 'South Asian Palestine' and 'Middle Eastern Kashmir'. In this context, the insight of the geopolitical analyst Parag Khanna is significant who regards the Middle East as the Western border of Asia:<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See, Parag Khanna, *The Future is Asian: Conflict, Commerce and Culture in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* (Simon & Schuster, 2019), 448.

## Theoretical Framework

The term 'Youth Bulge' was coined by Fuller in 1995 as the phase when youth between the ages of 15-19 and 20-24, reach a proportion of 20 per cent or more of the total population.<sup>2</sup> Huntington advocated Fuller's theory and regarded Youth Bulges as 'surging youth populations' suggesting the idea of the 'critical threshold,' while asserting that the propensity of feuds becomes very high in societies when 20 per cent of its population comprises of youth aged between 15-24.<sup>3</sup> Heinsohn reached a similar conclusion that if a society has more than 20 per cent of its population comprising of young people aged 15 to 24, there are more chances that it will undergo a civil war.<sup>4</sup> Fukuyama reckons that post-industrialised, democratic societies have made a transition into a world where feminised views regarding peace are instated and struggles are no longer military-centric, but economic in nature. However, these societies still encounter movements led by 'young ambitious, unconstrained' aggressive men.<sup>5</sup> Callous reminders of a victimised past, dehumanisation, denial of inalienable rights, poor governance, economic depravity, and difficulties of mobility created by occupation forces, are some of the factors which intensify hostilities in societies such as Palestine and Kashmir, where occupying forces execute hard-line policies to eliminate such youth bulges. Resultantly, the victimised youth become agitated and rebel against oppression.

The article addresses frequent crackdown and exercise of violence by occupying armed forces against the youth bulges in Kashmir and Palestine leading into their radicalisation.

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<sup>2</sup> Gary Fuller, "The Demographic Backdrop to Ethnic Conflict: A Geographic Overview," in *The Challenge of Ethnic Conflict to National and International Order in the 1990's: A Conference Report* (Washington, D.C: Central Intelligence Agency, 1995), 154, <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/1995-10-01A.pdf>.

<sup>3</sup> Marc Sommers, "Youth and Conflict: A Brief Review of Available Literature," (Washington, D.C.: USAID, 2006), 5, <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/9b75/ecbcd6a15ebcd1732b37ad8fadf8ca5641d.pdf>.

<sup>4</sup> Sophie Roche, *Domesticating Youth: Youth Bulges and Their Socio-Political Implications in Tajikistan* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2014), 14.

<sup>5</sup> Francis Fukuyama, "Women and the Evolution of World Politics," *Foreign Affairs* 77, no. 5 (1998): 36, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20049048>.

### **Similarities between the Liberation Struggle in Kashmir and Palestine**

There are several commonalities between the *Intifadas* in the Kashmiri and Palestinian disputes. Primarily, the reasons behind the youth cohorts becoming so embroiled at both ends is because they have encountered similar circumstances which generated disenchantment and grievances. This fuelled their resistance movements for self-determination against the occupying states. The states and their institutions failed to redress the issues, such as repudiation of right of self-determination and independence, abandonment of United Nations Resolutions (UNRs), betrayals, corrupt and unresponsive administrations, brutal violence and dehumanisation, lack of jobs leading to unemployment and under-employment, dilemmas regarding mobility and dearth of political freedom. Since the *Intifadas* in both these regions, were erupting in closer proximity of time, therefore, the young population found inspiration from each other's rebellions.

The youth adopted a culture of resistance, and have over a span of three decades varied their mechanisms of demonstrating and resisting between peaceful or violent campaigns. The most prominent commonality amongst these *Intifadas* has been the iconic non-violent stone-pelting images of youth.

The phenomenon of abandonment and alienation from their own indigenous leadership has existed in both case. *Intifadas* in Palestine and in Kashmir have been solely organised by youth, while forsaking the elders in the older parties. There is a deep distrust and crisis in both Kashmiri and Palestinian politics, and rulers have lost their legitimacy. Young voter turnout has remained low with weak participation by the youth in politics since they appear to have realised that real power lies not with the governments, but with the security forces.

The youth's political mobilisation against right-winged Hindu nationalism (*Hindutva*) and Zionism have impacted the people in Kashmiri and Palestinian societies, culminating in active resistance through rhetoric and protests for the right of self-determination. Since in Islam, getting martyrdom while fighting occupation, is considered the

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highest glorification and is eulogised, therefore young men are highly motivated to fight for freedom. They are also effectively inspiring their peers, resulting in a high percentage of local youth joining the struggle.

Indian and Israeli forces get encouragement for state-sponsored terrorism through the instituted regimes of draconian laws which provides them *carte blanche* and impunity from accountability against inflicting inhumane brutalities. Both consider themselves emerging global powers in South Asia and Middle East, and for sustaining their influence as a preponderant state, they view all protests and demonstrations in Kashmir and Palestine as a threat to their security and integrity and do not hesitate to employ force to suppress resistance movements. Both regimes led by Hindutva and Zionist ideologies are conducting demographic engineering in Kashmir Valley and Occupied Palestinian Territories (OPTs) by settling more Hindus and Jews in the respective territories, which has stoked the flames of anger even further. Harassment, intimidation, exercising live fire at peaceful youth demonstrators has led to a growing trend of educated youths spearheading forceful movements in both Kashmir and Palestine. The urge to take revenge for their bereavements, while following and imitating glorified young rebels, has been elemental in increasing the number of attacks in these conflict areas.

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**Table-1**  
**Educated and Unemployed Youth joining Militancy in IOK**

Year	Number of Kashmiri Youth joining Militancy	Year	Number of Graduates turning to Militancy
2010	54	2010-15	14
2011	23		
2012	21		
2013	16		
2014	53		
2015	66		
2016	88	2016	37
2017	126	2017	49
2018	191	2018	82

*Source:* Data compiled by authors [Pushkar Banakar, “Post Wani Killing, Educated Youth drift Towards Militancy,” *New Indian Express*, September 23, 2018, <http://www.newindianexpress.com/thesundaystandard/2018/sep/23/post-wani-killing-educated-youth-drift-towards-militancy-1875806.html>; and, “191 Kashmiri Youths Joined Militancy in 2018: Official” *Economic Times*, February 4, 2019, <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/defence/191-kashmiri-youths-joined-militancy-in-2018-official/articleshow/67835737.cms>].

**Table-2**  
**Radicalisation of Educated and Unemployed Youth of Palestine**

Youth Background	Per cent
Palestinian youth enrolled in education	36.9
Youth with tertiary level education completed	22.3
Unemployed youth graduates	51
Educated youth who believed there are insufficient opportunities for growth due to unemployment and have grim future prospects. They believe they have 'nothing to lose'	86
Educated and unemployed youth relating current wave of violence to frustration with their economic state	33.8
Educated Palestinian youth who support attacks on Israel	80.8

*Source:* Data compiled by authors [Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs, *Palestinian Youth: With a Special Focus on Jerusalem* (Jerusalem: Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs, 2017), [http://www.passia.org/media/filer\\_public/4c/ae/4cae6026-4599-41c3-93c2-2d9f4d854b11/palestinian\\_youth-\\_english.pdf](http://www.passia.org/media/filer_public/4c/ae/4cae6026-4599-41c3-93c2-2d9f4d854b11/palestinian_youth-_english.pdf); and, Arab World for Research & Development, *Current Protests: An Online Study of Palestinian Youth (16-35 Years Old)*, (Ramallah: Arab World for Research & Development, 2015), <https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/images/palyouth.pdf>.

The youth in both Kashmir and Palestine dream of embracing martyrdom with honour instead of spending their lives under the shadow of constant tyranny. Therefore, they think that they should attack first and die in heroic manner if they are to be killed. They are relying on available

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tools to combat their states' enemy, for the attainment of right of self-determination. The far-reaching ability and impact of cyber space, especially social media, has contributed in deepening connections amongst forces constituting *jihad* across the world, and in the evolution of transnational *jihad*. Kashmir and Palestine's contemporary freedom fighters are also using the Internet as a weapon to accomplish what has been difficult to accomplish through rocks and guns.

These relentless resistance struggles have many a times rung alarm bells across the world, calling attention of global leaders and international organisations such as the UN and Organisation of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) to hold emergency meetings and pass important resolutions for de-escalation of crises. Unfortunately, the crackdown on youth by occupying forces continues unabated.

The Indian Constitution declares that India is a secular state. However, due to augmenting Hindu nationalism under the ruling Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP), India is digressing from its founding principles of secularism. Going against the dictates of its own Constitution and by revoking Article 370, India is now endeavouring to settle increasing number of Hindus into the disputed territory to change its demography. However, while Israel's Constitution is 'Jewish and Democratic' making it both communal and secular,<sup>6</sup> Israel instated the Law of Return in 1950 which includes the principle of *Aliyah* (ascent in Hebrew) sponsoring settlement of all Jews on Palestinian land.

### **Differences between Liberation Struggles in Kashmir and Palestine**

There are some differences between the struggles for liberation in Kashmir and Palestine. The Palestinian-Israeli conflict is a religious conflict involving Islam and Zionism. Palestine is the cradle of Abrahamic religions. Zionist Jews and Palestinians claim the same land of Palestine - Palestinians being the original inhabitants, while Zionists claiming ownership being descendants of Isaac.

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<sup>6</sup> "Constitution for Israel: Israel as a Jewish State," *The Knesset*, accessed July 30, 2019, <https://knesset.gov.il/constitution/ConstMJewishState.htm>.



The Kashmir dispute is not a religious issue per se. While majority Kashmiris are Muslims, Kashmiri Muslims have ties with indigenous Pandits and Sikhs, but New Delhi aspires to turn Kashmir's ethnicities against Muslims, in order to portray the conflict as a communal issue. In one instance, Indian troops killed 36 Sikhs in Chattisinghpora, hours before President Clinton's visit to India in March 2000, and accused Kashmir's freedom fighters of the act.<sup>7</sup> This was done to embitter the religious groups of Kashmir against Muslims and to ensure that President Clinton did not allude to Kashmiris' resistance struggle. Meanwhile, Zionist involvement in genocide of other Jews - just to highlight the Palestinian-Israeli dispute as even more communal - has not been witnessed.

Apart from its ethnic, national, historical, and religious roots, the liberation struggle in Palestine is also founded on lingual grounds.<sup>8</sup> Palestinians and Israelis trace their histories through their languages. Israelis – the occupiers - argue that Hebrew is the most ancient language of the land, while Palestinians (Arabs by ethnicity) are the original inhabitants of the 140-square-mile stretch of land located along the Mediterranean coast between Egypt and territory now known as 'Israel'. On the other hand, the Kashmir dispute is not based on lingual differences.

The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and Israel have not only recognised each other, they have reached formal agreements too. However, Kashmiris do not accept nor recognise the illegal occupation by India and there is no formal agreement between the All Parties Hurriyat Conference (APHC) and the state.

Israel's creation on May 14, 1948, and subsequent 1948 Arab-Israeli War, drove out hordes of Palestinians (700,000 according to some estimates) from their homes. Right to return to their lands was promised to

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<sup>7</sup> Barry Bearak, "A Kashmiri Mystery," *New York Times*, December 31, 2000, <https://www.nytimes.com/2000/12/31/magazine/a-kashmiri-mystery.html>.

<sup>8</sup> Jacob M. Landau, "Hebrew and Arabic in the State of Israel: Political Aspects of the Language Issue," *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 67 (1987): 118, <https://www.degruyter.com/view/j/ijsl.1987.issue-67/ijsl.1987.67.117/ijsl.1987.67.117.xml>.

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refugees in the UNR 194. However, Palestinians are still struggling to gain access to their lands, and living as refugees in the Gaza Strip. On the other hand, Kashmir freedom fighters are struggling to gain freedom from Indian subjugation. They have their land but not the freedom to live peacefully in their homes.

Kashmir has a significant geostrategic location between three nuclear powers: India, Pakistan and China. It holds the key to the most important natural resource - water - being the epicentre of numerous rivers flowing between Pakistan and India. The Palestine-Israel conflict, on the other hand, impacts to the faiths of Muslim and Jewish people around the world. The original ownership and authority over Jerusalem is highly contested due to the presence of holy sites for Christians, Jews, and Muslims in the city. The balance of power is tilted in favour of preponderant Israel in the Middle East, unlike the state of equilibrium in South Asia, where Pakistan and India are still eyeball-to-eyeball over matter of Kashmir and pose a greater threat to world peace given their possession of nuclear weapons.

## **The Case of IOK**

### ***Background of Intifadas and India's Crackdown on Youth***

The environment in Jammu and Kashmir, is like Hobbesian 'state of nature', where the rights of weaker members of society are trampled with the use of force. The hegemony of Indian Security Forces (ISF) has completely violated the rights of Kashmiris to lead a normal life. Due to constant hostility in IOK, children who have grown up to be young men and women lost their childhood to daily violence and militancy. A large number of youth became entangled in the strife given continuous curfews, killings, arrests of Kashmiri leaders, molestation of women, dehumanisation, torture, harassment and random firing on peaceful processions employed by the ISF.<sup>9</sup> Kashmiri youth face discrimination

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<sup>9</sup> Inam ul Haq, "Exploring the Concept of Torture: An Analysis of Kashmir Valley," *Social Science Research Network* (2017): 9, [https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=2954374](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2954374).

because of their identity and religion. The high rate of disappearance of young freedom fighters has caused a serious blow to the socioeconomic and emotional condition of the families. Under continuous psychological pressure, the youth readily become recruits of militant outfits given their thirst for freedom and revenge. Due to constant victimisation and dehumanisation at the hands of Indian forces, along with limitations on mobility, the bulging youth of Kashmir resorted to a dissident armed struggle for self-determination, which after simmering for a few years, erupted into belligerency in the 1990s. Young men were the main strength of the mushrooming Kashmiri militant outfits during this era, consisting of either fundamentalists who wanted adherence to Pakistan or protagonists of Kashmiri Nationalism and independent Kashmir, such as Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF) and Hizb-ul-Mujahideen.

The issue which started in 1947 with Kashmir's ruler Hari Singh disregarding the Kashmiri Muslim majority to accede to the dominion of India, could not get resolved despite two resolutions passed by the UN, calling for a plebiscite to be held in Kashmir.<sup>10</sup> The matter of plebiscite kept vacillating till 1952 when Nehru suddenly retracted from it.<sup>11</sup> Attempts incongruent with the UNRs, were carried out for integrating Kashmir with India. At first Article 370 was infused in the Indian Constitution to render a unique status to Kashmir. However, later, pro-Hindu organisations conspired its erosion for complete integration of Kashmir into the Indian Union.<sup>12</sup> The Centre toughened its position regarding Kashmir by putting in place several central laws in the state. Repeated use of ruthless force by Indian forces on a widescale and recurrently rigged elections till 1987 caused fury, alienating the entire populace of the Valley.<sup>13</sup> This led to the realisation within the Kashmiri Muslims that since their efforts had failed in transforming the political

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<sup>10</sup> Victoria Schofield, *Kashmir in Conflict: India, Pakistan and the Unending Conflict* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2003), 28.

<sup>11</sup> Manesh Shankar, "Nehru's Legacy in Kashmir: Why a Plebiscite Never Happened," *India Review* 15, no. 1 (2016): 6, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14736489.2016.1129926>.

<sup>12</sup> Lubna Abid Ali, "Kashmiri Uprisings (1990) and Human Rights Violations by India," *South Asian Studies* 8, no. 2 (1991): 79, <http://pu.edu.pk/images/journal/csas/PDF/Volume%208,%20No.%202,%201991.pdf>.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 81.

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framework via democratic means, they would have to take up arms and change it with force. Thus, they increasingly started demanding freedom from Indian subjugation through their mass scale resistance movement. Hard-lined Jagmohan was appointed as the new Governor of Kashmir under Article 356 of the Constitution.<sup>14</sup> Draconian laws, such as the Jammu and Kashmir Disturbed Areas Act, 1990 (Governor's Act No. 12 of 1990), which authorised any magistrate or police official to use force to the extent of firing on any person, were enforced to crush Kashmir's movement of self-determination. To wipe out the resisting youth, the ISF killed 5,119 Kashmiris and thousands more were captured from 1990-94.<sup>15</sup>

The Valley witnessed the second largest demonstration against India's illegal occupation in June 2008 when millions of youngsters used the Internet for mobilisation. Though the level of grievances had become more intense, yet, this generation weaponised itself with the stone. In a worst crackdown on youth since 1990, Indian troops killed 14 peaceful protestors on August 12, 2008. March 2010 also led to intense protests when occupying forces attempted to brush the assassination of three Kashmiri civilians under the carpet by claiming they were Pakistani spies and terrorists.<sup>16</sup> Although the Kashmiri youth did not join militant outfits, their rhetoric became radicalised for redressal of their grievances; and it became clear that a new generation of militants was soon to command the freedom movement. The Indian government sees Kashmiri protesters as 'agitational terrorists' - a term utilised to assimilate Kashmir's protracted struggle with terrorism, even though the resistance struggle is largely

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<sup>14</sup> Meenakshi Ganguly, "'Everyone Lives in Fear': Patterns of Impunity in Jammu And Kashmir," *Human Rights Watch* 18, no.11(C), (2006): 37, <https://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/india0906web.pdf>.

<sup>15</sup> Sumantra Bose, "The Evolution of Kashmiri Resistance," *Al-Jazeera.com*, August 2, 2011, <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/spotlight/kashmirtheforgottenconflict/2011/07/2011715143415277754.html>.

<sup>16</sup> Hafsa Kanjwal, *Kashmiri Youth: Redefining the Movement for Self-determination*, report (Mecca: Al-Jazeera Centre for Studies, 2016), <http://studies.aljazeera.net/en/reports/2016/03/kashmiri-youth-redefining-movement-determination-160315105907419.html>.

attributed to the lack of execution of plebiscite, and massive crackdown on the region's young population.<sup>17</sup>

### ***Contemporary Youth Radicalisation and Commitment to Liberate Kashmir***

The youth - 'new-age militants' - in Kashmir, are resorting to weapons against Indian occupation due to crackdown on young voices. It has led to the rekindling of turmoil in the Valley.<sup>18</sup> This contemporary radicalisation of youth at massive level is due to lack of reconciliation and *status quo*, dearth of political freedom, extreme militarisation and vigorous human rights violations. The pledges to dispense effective administration in the state by the coalition government of BJP and the People's Democratic Party (PDP) in Jammu and Kashmir were never implemented.

The augmentation of right-wing Hindu nationalism has carved out both Indian identity and nationalism. India now perceives itself as an emerging global power and for sustaining this 'projection of a powerful state', upholding territorial sovereignty becomes essential, even with conduct of force, since any predicament to its integrity can leave a dent on its identity.<sup>19</sup> Being a young Kashmiri Muslim, in many ways, leads to a form of triple marginalisation by dominant Hindus.<sup>20</sup> They are, therefore, reshaping their Kashmiri-Muslim identity as a counter-identity, and through this chronicling a narrative for demonstrating defiance and struggling for the sake of their survival and independence. Lt. Gen. Satish

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<sup>17</sup> Ather Zia, "Resistance is a Way of Life for Kashmiri Youth," *Al-Jazeera*, April 26, 2017, <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2017/04/resistance-life-kashmiri-youth-170425081937812.html>.

<sup>18</sup> Harinder Baweja, "Kashmir's Disturbing New Reality," *Hindustan Times*, December 17, 2015, <https://www.hindustantimes.com/static/the-young-militants-of-kashmir/>.

<sup>19</sup> Haris Zargar, "Why Violence in Kashmir is Getting Worse," *Diplomat*, April 27, 2016, <https://thediplomat.com/2016/04/why-violence-in-kashmir-is-getting-worse/>.

<sup>20</sup> Fabian Alexander Hartwell, "Burhan Wani and the Masculinities of the Indian State," *Journal of Extreme Anthropology* 1, no.3 (2017): 11-12, <https://www.journals.uio.no/index.php/JEA/article/view/4688>.

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Dua, referring to the youth bulge in Kashmir, stated that 60 per cent of Kashmir's population is less than 30 years old, while Superintendent of Police at Pulwama, Tejinder Singh deems that Kashmir's younger population is getting highly impacted due to the accessibility of videos on social media.<sup>21</sup> Waheed-ur-Rehman Para, youth president of the PDP, has admitted that 'sixty five per cent of Kashmir is made up of youth, and it is a separatist constituency' and that 'the militancy is coming because there is army.'<sup>22</sup> Young, tech-savvy and completely ingrained with the 'freedom doctrine', the new rebels of Kashmir (similar to Burhan Muzaffar Wani-the 22 year old commander of Hizb-ul-Mujahideen), effectively inspire youth to actively fight the ISF in Kashmir's war for liberation.

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<sup>21</sup> Baweja, "Kashmir's Disturbing New Reality."

<sup>22</sup> Praveen Donthi, "Season of Discontent," *Caravan*, June 1, 2016, <https://caravanmagazine.in/perspectives/season-of-discontent-unrest-kashmir-failure-pdp>.

**Table-3**  
**Demographic Details of Youth in IOK 2011**

Demographic Data of IOK	Figures
Total Population	13 million
Total Youth Population	2.4 million
Youth Population (15-19 years)	1.2 million
Youth Population (20-24 years)	1.2 million
Male Youth Population	1.24 million
Female Youth Population	1.15 million
Sex Ratio of Youth	928 females per 1000 males
Number of Youth Literates	2 million
Literacy Rate	83.2%
Male Literacy Rate	89.6%
Female Literacy Rate	76.2%
Work Participation Rate of Youth	29.5%
Total Muslims	9 million (68.3%)

*Source:* Data compiled by authors [Frederika Meijer and C. Chandramouli, A *Profile of Adolescents and Youth in India*, report (India: Government of India and United Nations Population Fund India, 2014), [https://india.unfpa.org/sites/default/files/pub-pdf/AProfileofAdolescentsandYouthinIndia\\_0.pdf](https://india.unfpa.org/sites/default/files/pub-pdf/AProfileofAdolescentsandYouthinIndia_0.pdf)].

In July 2016, the extrajudicial killing of Burhan Wani triggered a new upsurge of protests against India in IOK. While India considers him a terrorist; young Kashmiris see him as someone who epitomised their ambitions and are prepared to adhere to his doctrine, in quest of steering Kashmir closer to their aspiration of statehood.<sup>23</sup> The current Indian state

<sup>23</sup> Fahad Shah, "Burhan Wani's Killing Brings Kashmir to a Crossroads," *Diplomat*, July 14, 2016,

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is confronted with his brand of ideology (many call it *Wanism*), manifested in the outburst of youth.<sup>24</sup> The exponential increase in Kashmir's youth employing stone-pelting approach, while resorting to non-violent protests is being increasingly called the *Intifada*.<sup>25</sup> These infuriated remonstrations are a distressing admonition that widely held emotions ought not be overlooked simply because they fail to correspond with an illegitimate regime. India's own intelligence officer has expounded:

While India had earlier been able to condemn attacks as being 'part of Pakistan's proxy war against India,' it will be harder for India to dismiss the more local roots of the insurgency.<sup>26</sup>

The Indian government is implementing a hard-line approach known as the Doval Doctrine, and has been looking at Kashmir from a law-and-order dimension, rather than from a political point-of-view. The callous clampdown in 2016, gave rise to 'world's first mass blindings.'<sup>27</sup> Amartya Sen alleged that the brutal clampdown of the protests was 'the biggest blot on India's democracy.'<sup>28</sup>

The world has witnessed the power of youth in Arab Spring for acceptance of their demands. Guided by notions of these powerful and triumphant rebellions, this contemporary *Intifada* by youth of Kashmir,

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<https://thediplomat.com/2016/07/burhan-wanis-killing-brings-kashmir-to-a-crossroads/>.

<sup>24</sup> Shujaat Bukhari, "Why the Death of Militant Burhan Wani has Kashmiris up in Arms?" *BBC.com*, July 11, 2016, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-36762043>.

<sup>25</sup> Tom Hussain, "Two Centuries of Oppression in Kashmir," *Al-Jazeera*, July 19, 2016, <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2016/07/centuries-oppression-kashmir-protests-india-pakistan-160719122312549.html>.

<sup>26</sup> Sudha Ramachandran, "New Generation of Militants Emerging in Kashmir," *Terrorism Monitor* 14, no. 8 (2016), <https://jamestown.org/program/new-generation-of-militants-emerging-in-kashmir/>.

<sup>27</sup> Faheem Abdul Muneeb, "Valley of Unrest," *Dawn*, March 16, 2017, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1320671>.

<sup>28</sup> Mirza Waheed, "India's Crackdown in Kashmir: Is This the World's First Mass Blinding?," *Guardian*, November 8, 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/nov/08/india-crackdown-in-kashmir-is-this-worlds-first-mass-blinding>.



hails in an era of information empowerment which has assisted this youth in creating their own version of the Arab Spring through social media platforms.<sup>29</sup> The acquaintance with social media is empowering the worldwide 'jihad' and the development of a phenomenon of trans-national jihad.<sup>30</sup> Kashmir's contemporary youthful freedom fighters have accomplished with the aid of their new tools (i.e. mobiles, images, videos, internet and social media displaying Kashmiri rebellion and registering their protests against the coercive mechanisms employed by the Indian troops such as excessive use of the teargas and firing of stray- bullets) what was difficult to be done by just resorting to guns.<sup>31</sup> The multiplying access to smartphones and internet has acted as a significant and novel dynamic in providing new impetus to the present phase of the struggle.

This *Intifada* in Kashmir is being compelled by both ordinary masses and the highly literate youth bulge- particularly unemployed- who serve as guiding forces for emancipating the whole society from Indian manipulation and conferring accreditation to the resistance struggle that it deserves. Students across Kashmir display resistance and protest in a united and unprecedented way and females are equally enthusiastic to accept fatalities, as their counterparts. Remonstrating pupils are suggesting that the state's 'millennials' have been bequeathed with the saddles of the protracted struggle to harness the movement and they confront the Indian forces in a highly courageous and spirited manner.

The Modi-led Indian administration is diligently carrying out demographic changes in Kashmir Valley. To do so, settlements of Indian Hindus in the Valley have increased. The central government's proposal to establish colonies for retired soldiers to bring the 'fragrance of Indianness...to valley to overcome the smell of stone pelting and guns'

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<sup>29</sup> Anuradha Bhasin Jamwal, "Burhan Wani and Beyond: India's Denial, Kashmir's Defiance," *Economic and Political Weekly Journal* 51, no. 30 (2016), <https://www.epw.in/journal/2016/30/web-exclusives/burhan-wani-and-beyond-indias-denial-kashmirs-defiance.html>.

<sup>30</sup> Hartwell, "Burhan Wani and the Masculinities of the Indian State," 13.

<sup>31</sup> Michael Safi, "WhatsApp Warriors on the New Frontline of Kashmir's Conflict," *Guardian*, July 8, 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/jul/08/kashmir-whatsapp-warriors-frontline-conflict-india>.

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has stoked the Kashmiri anger.<sup>32</sup> India revoked IOK's special status under Article 370 on August 5, 2019,<sup>33</sup> to dilute the concentration of Muslims in the Valley and to make the disputed territory part of India. Near-total shutdown of businesses, schools and civilian activity in the disputed region has continued since then.<sup>34</sup> These measures are being undertaken to ensure that in an event of referendum, the outcomes benefit India, rather than Pakistan, and added a new chapter of savagery in this 'long drawn out, blood-drenched saga.'<sup>35</sup>

The credit for internationalisation of the Kashmir issue, goes to Prime Minister Modi himself, who by acting in an irresponsible manner, ordered for pre-emptive airstrike on Pakistan, and prompted the latter to respond with a counter-strike. The Modi administration, brought the world to the brink of nuclear Armageddon, exhibiting to regional and extra-regional powers and institutes that IOK is the biggest threat to the peace and stability of the globe. The OIC and its Independent Permanent Human Rights Commission (IPHRC) have reprimanded India over the acute viciousness and atrocities that it has inflicted on Kashmiris, through a declaration and via successfully passing a resolution.<sup>36</sup> Moreover, the annual US State Department country report highlights the high magnitude of violations exercised in IOK.<sup>37</sup> Giving references from the unprecedented report issued by Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) in June 2018, this country report verifies 145 deaths of civilians by Indian forces during the period

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<sup>32</sup> Donthi, "Season of Discontent."

<sup>33</sup> "India Revokes Occupied Kashmir's Special Autonomy through Rushed Presidential Decree," *Dawn*, August 5, 2019, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1498227>.

<sup>34</sup> It was still ongoing at the time of this article's finalisation.

<sup>35</sup> Arundhati Roy, "Kashmir is Potentially the Flashpoint for a Future Nuclear War," *Huffington Post*, March 1, 2019, [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/our-captured-wounded-hearts-arundhati-roy-on-balakot-kashmir-and-india\\_n\\_5c78d592e4b0de0c3fbf82bf](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/our-captured-wounded-hearts-arundhati-roy-on-balakot-kashmir-and-india_n_5c78d592e4b0de0c3fbf82bf).

<sup>36</sup> OIC, *Resolutions on Political Affairs Adopted by the 46<sup>th</sup> Session of the Council of Foreign Ministers*, report (Abu Dhabi: Organization of Islamic Cooperation, March 1-2, 2019), 38, <https://www.oic-oci.org/docdown/?docID=4442&refID=1250>.

<sup>37</sup> USDoS, *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2018: India*, report (Washington, D.C.: US Department of State, March 13, 2019), <https://www.state.gov/reports/2018-country-reports-on-human-rights-practices/india/>.

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July 2016-April 2018. The report by OHCHR, has indicted India for steering state terrorism in IOK, and called for the appointment of a special rapporteur for scrutinising the contraventions of civil rights and liberties. Since the August 5 decision, the establishment has arrested thousands of separatist leaders, protesters and pro-Indian Kashmiri politicians, including terminally ill and minors, and brought thousands of additional troops to one of the most militarised zones in the world.

## **The Case of Palestine**

### ***Background of Intifadas and Israel's Crackdown on Palestinian Youth***

When Israel was created in 1948, 700,000 indigenous Palestinians were driven out of their lands and deprived of their right to return to their homes which were now part of Israel. Therefore, they became refugees who had to settle in refugee camps in surrounding areas. Moreover, the Six-Day War of 1967 and the annexation of West Bank, Gaza Strip, and parts of East Jerusalem by Israel, led to full occupation of Palestinian lands, and even more Palestinians became refugees. These occupied areas since then have been under occupation by the Israeli military, which constricted movement by creating mobility barriers and constant bulldozing of Palestinian homes.

OPTs covering Gaza Strip and West Bank comprise of the most deprived youth bulges of the world, where they are subjected to increasing violence and conflict. In the 1970s, OPTs comprised of 18.6 per cent youth of the total Palestinian population, along a very high fertility rate. According to Heinsohn, Palestinians 'have no future other than war.'<sup>38</sup> Exasperation and embitterment has been inevitable, and discontentment increased when the Israeli Defence Forces (IDF) made approximately 300,000 arrests during twenty years of their full occupation from 1967 till 1987. Palestinians have been the target of dehumanising and vitriolic

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<sup>38</sup> Gunnar Heinsohn, *The 'Youth Bulge' Phenomenon*, report (New York: Gatestone Institute, January 15, 2009), <https://www.gatestoneinstitute.org/221/the-youth-bulge-phenomenon>.

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rhetoric by Israelis at numerous instances. Former Prime Minister Ehud Barak stated publicly that Palestinians were 'like crocodiles, the more you give them meat; they want more.'<sup>39</sup>

This occupation resulted in Palestinian nationalism getting coupled with resistance against Israel. The first *Intifada* occurred in December 1987, characterising organised mass civil resistance by embroiled Palestinian youth, with an underground leadership. As a result of the occupation and divide and rule policy of Israel, Hamas was born - an Islamic resistance movement determined to fight against the seizure of Palestinian territories by Israel.<sup>40</sup> Forming an indigenous system of resistance, the Unified National Leadership of the Uprising (UNLU), comprised of young Palestinian populations played a persistent role in the *Intifada*, spurring it on as a solitary actor without consultation with the PLO.<sup>41</sup> Remaining peaceful, they propelled stones at Israeli tanks, which caught the attention of the international media turning Palestinian youth into a symbol of the Palestinian struggle. Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir ordered for tackling the *Intifada* like any other war challenging Israel's integrity, making IDF expend all coercive mechanisms such as live ammunition.<sup>42</sup> During the first *Intifada*, Israeli forces killed 1,376 Palestinians, which comprised of 281 children.<sup>43</sup> The Madrid Conference of 1991 followed by the Oslo Accord of 1993 between Israel and PLO established the Palestinian National Authority (PNA) as a self-governing interim administration in the Palestinian territories. PNA was being affixed with elevated expectations by the youth for acquiring their aspired

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<sup>39</sup> "Netanyahu Calls Arabs 'Wild Beasts' While Announcing Israel Wall Plan," *Middle East Eye*, February 10, 2016, <https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/netanyahu-calls-arabs-wild-beasts-while-announcing-israel-wall-plan>.

<sup>40</sup> However, later on in 2007, Hamas was one of the political forces to capture Gaza which created more divisions among Palestinians due to rivalry between Fatah and Hamas.

<sup>41</sup> Ayad Ahmed, "Palestinian Youth: Between Patriarchy and Politics," (The Atkin Paper Series, International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation and Political Violence, 2013):9, [https://icsr.info/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/Atkin-Paper-Series\\_Ayed-Ahmad.pdf](https://icsr.info/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/Atkin-Paper-Series_Ayed-Ahmad.pdf).

<sup>42</sup> Don Peretz, "Intifadeh: The Palestinian Uprising," *Foreign Affairs*, (1988): 5, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/israel/1988-06-01/intifadeh-palestinian-uprising>.

<sup>43</sup> B'Tselem, "Statistics: Fatalities in the First Intifada," May 12, 2011, [https://israelipalestinian.procon.org/files/First\\_Intifada\\_Tables.pdf](https://israelipalestinian.procon.org/files/First_Intifada_Tables.pdf).

state very soon. However, PNA was overshadowed by patrimonialism and extensive bureaucratic politics. The miserable youth was disappointed of the political process. Moreover, Israel's endeavours of imposing an Israeli-American solution on them by ignoring UN Resolutions further alienated them.

The second *Intifada* broke out on September 28, 2000 when Ariel Sharon stormed Al-Aqsa Mosque compound in the Old City in Jerusalem.<sup>44</sup> The succeeding violence persisted till November 2005, followed by huge Palestinian casualties. Young Palestinian militants were held in high esteem during the second *Intifada*, since the forces of PNA had failed in protecting civilians against the repeated attacks by the IDF troops. The *Intifada* was exploited by Israel for aggrandizement of its settlements, erection of a 'separation barrier' and for reinforcing an 'apartheid regime on both sides of the Green Line', resulting in profound differences amongst the populations in Palestinian communities and in Israel.<sup>45</sup>

The split between Fatah and Hamas in 2006 after Yasir Arafat's death in 2004, and the subsequent capture of Gaza by Hamas in 2007, left the youth horror-struck. It exacerbated the divisions within Palestinians, resulting in separate parties commanding Gaza and the West Bank.<sup>46</sup> Incited by the power of people in Tunisian and Egyptian Arab Springs, the Palestinian youth bulge, steered the third *Intifada* demonstrating on *Nakba* (Creation of Israel) Day and *Naksa* (Six-Day War) in May and June 2011, respectively.<sup>47</sup> The young protesters demanded end of the domination of Israel; recrudescence of the dysfunctional Palestinian Legislative Council (PLC); and aspired for the creation of their own 'democratic and free state

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<sup>44</sup> Ahmed, "Palestinian Youth," 11.

<sup>45</sup> Toufic Haddad, "Palestine" in *Dispatches from the Arab Spring Understanding the New Middle East*, ed. Paul Amar and Vijay Prashad (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013), 291.

<sup>46</sup> Elizabeth Marteu, "Fatah and Hamas Face Huge Challenges Despite Reconciliation Agreement" (London: The International Institute of Strategic Studies, October 18, 2017), <https://www.iiss.org/blogs/analysis/2017/10/fatah-hamas-reconciliation-agreement>.

<sup>47</sup> Haddad, "Palestine," 297-98.

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in agreement with UN Resolution 194.<sup>48</sup> The IDF troops once again inflicted callous atrocities on the protesting youth.

***Youth Radicalisation and Resistance Movement***

The 'Oslo generation' - today's youth of Palestine who were born after 1993 - consider signing Oslo Accords as a huge mistake, denying them the likelihood of acquiring their own state. After a decade, the two Palestinian rival movements, Fatah and Hamas, reconciled in Cairo on October 12, 2017. For the youth of Palestine this reconciliation, which aimed at handing over control of Gaza back to the Fatah-led PNA, was meaningless. According to the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics (PCBS), young people between the ages of 15 and 29 represent 30 per cent of the total Palestinian population.<sup>49</sup> This means that 30 per cent of Palestine's population grew up with the news of partisan rivalries and the sounds of war. At present, unemployment rate in Gaza has peaked by climbing to 44 per cent.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> Ahmed, "Palestinian Youth," 14.

<sup>49</sup> Adnan Abu Amer, "Will Tables Turn in Favour of Youth in Palestine?" *Al-Monitor*, January 13, 2016, <https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2016/01/palestinian-youth-factions-intifada-west-bank.html>.

<sup>50</sup> Amnesty International, "Six Months On: Gaza's Great March of Return," (2018), <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/campaigns/2018/10/gaza-great-march-of-return/>.

**Table-4**  
**Demographic Details of Youth in Palestine**

Demography	Figures
Total Population	5 million
Annual Population Growth	3%
Population of West Bank	3 million
Population of Gaza Strip	2 million
Youth Population 15-19 years	37%
Youth Population 20-29 years	63%
Total Youth Population in Jerusalem	29.4%
Median Age	20 years
Sex Ratio (Youth)	104 males per 100 females
Total Fertility Rate (births per woman)	4
Life Expectancy at Birth	73 years
Total Literacy Rate (15-24 years) (2016)	99.38%
Male Literacy Rate (15-24 years) (2016)	99.45%
Female Literacy Rate (15-24 years) (2016)	99.31%

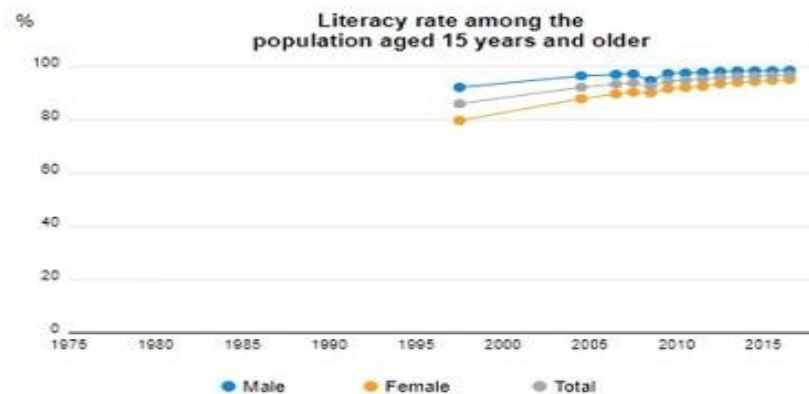
*Source:* Data compiled by authors [UNESCO Institute of Statistics, "Palestine: Education and Literacy," <http://uis.unesco.org/country/PS>; and, PASSIA, *Palestinian Youth*].

Roughly four and a half million Palestinians have lived under Israeli military occupation, and another million and a half have been second class

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citizens in the state of Israel.<sup>51</sup> Many amongst the youth in OPT know nothing beyond the West Bank 'apartheid wall'. On the one hand, this young generation is the most educated one in Palestinian history; while on the other hand, it is the generation with the bleakest prospects of finding relevant work. The more autocratic and gerontocratic the PLO has developed, the more land of the West Bank has been filled with Israeli settlers, and more alienated the 'Oslo generation' has become.<sup>52</sup> Palestinian President, Mahmud Abbas failed in winding up the 'security cooperation' taking place between security forces of Israel and Palestine targeting Hamas.<sup>53</sup> This embittered the youth bulge of Palestine even more. Therefore, an estimated two-thirds of West Bank Palestinians want him to resign.<sup>54</sup>

**Figure-1**  
**Literacy Rate among Palestinians (Aged 15 and Older)**



Source: UNESCO, "Palestine: Education and Literacy," *UNESCO Institute of Statistics*, Accessed August 1, 2019, <http://uis.unesco.org/en/country/ps>.

<sup>51</sup> Haddad, "Palestine," 285.

<sup>52</sup> Dag Tuastad, "The Violent Rise of Palestine's Lost Generation," *Middle East Critique* 26, no. 2 (2017): 168, <https://doi.org/10.1080/19436149.2017.1291197>.

<sup>53</sup> Peter Beaumont, "Violence in Israel and the Palestinian Territories," *Guardian*, October 9, 2015, <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2015/oct/07/violence-israel-palestinian-territories-guardian-briefing>.

<sup>54</sup> Tuastad, "The Violent Rise of Palestine's Lost Generation," 160.



The deadly conflict in October 2015, after a Jewish couple was ostensibly killed by members belonging to Hamas, and the subsequent Israeli military's manhunt of the perpetrators, leading to excessive infiltrations into the West Bank, attacks on homes and thousands of arrests, broadened the magnitude of antagonism and vulnerability felt by the Palestinians.<sup>55</sup> The utilisation of most readily available tools i.e. knives and vehicles by 'lone wolves' (individuals, without the sponsorship of any armed group), commit stabbings and vehicular ramming attacks, in Palestinian areas adjoining Jerusalem, for fighting with the enemy shows the dearth of political patronage by Palestinian political parties for a violent *Intifada*.<sup>56</sup> It manifests the lop-sidedness of not just armaments and capability to inflict harm but also patronising of the political parties. Netanyahu's cabinet unleashed live-fire on Palestinian demonstrations.<sup>57</sup> Amnesty International has cautioned that:

While Israel has the right to enact necessary and proportionate measures to protect those under its control, Israeli forces must not respond to these attacks with...disproportionate actions, which would themselves violate international law.<sup>58</sup>

A stabbing is not an arbitrary, unplanned aggressive act, but is part of an unadulterated uprising - a manifestation of the exasperation that is

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<sup>55</sup> Nigel Wilson, "Intifada or Not, Something Powerful is Going On," *Al-Jazeera*, October 17, 2015, <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2015/10/palestine-intifada-powerful-151016094419464.html>.

<sup>56</sup> Montse Ferrer, *The War Report 2017: The Armed Conflict in Israel-Palestine* (Geneva: The Geneva Academy, 2017), 2, <https://www.geneva-academy.ch/joomlatools-files/docmanfiles/The%20Armed%20Conflict%20in%20Israel-Palestine.pdf>.

<sup>57</sup> Peter Beaumont, "What's Driving the Young Lone Wolves who are Stalking the Streets of Israel?," *Guardian*, October 18, 2015, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/oct/18/knife-intifada-palestinian-israel-west-bank>.

<sup>58</sup> Emily Mulder, "Palestinians Reeling Amid 'Collective Punishment' After Tel Aviv Attacks," *Middle East Eye*, June 9, 2016, <https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/palestinians-reeling-amid-collective-punishment-after-tel-aviv-attacks>.

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simmering in the youth in Palestinian society for decades and is now erupting. The UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon disapproved of Israel's reaction saying, 'Palestinian frustration is growing under the weight of half a century of occupation and the paralysis of the peace process.' Netanyahu responded stating 'There is no justification for terrorism. The Palestinian terrorists do not want to build a state; they want to destroy a state.'<sup>59</sup>

Apprehensions amongst Palestinian youth have for a prolonged period been seething regarding Israel's strategy of inflating Jewish presence in Jerusalem, by expansion of Jewish rights to worship in Temple Mount, constricting the admittance of Muslims.<sup>60</sup> Israelis are performing ethnic cleansing in Jerusalem, slowly and gradually by prompt deaths in capital punishments and disseminating terror amongst Palestinians to force them to abscond from Jerusalem. On the issue of preservation of Jerusalem and Al-Aqsa Mosque, Palestinians are ever-ready to embrace martyrdom.<sup>61</sup> The hostilities rocketed in July 2017 at a compound at Al-Aqsa Mosque owing to Israel's levying of supplementary security enhancing moves at the compound, which were perceived by Palestinians as desecration of holy sites. Hundreds of young Palestinians remonstrated and the IDF expended stun grenades and rubber bullets to disband protests. The escalating violence provoked the UNSC to summon a session to pacify the agitation.

On December 6, 2017, President Donald Trump formally announced the U.S' recognition of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel. Mahmud Abbas immediately disqualified the US as a peace mediator between the two sides.<sup>62</sup> An abrupt hue and cry was witnessed at the

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<sup>59</sup> Jihan Abdalla, "Analysis: Palestinian Youth Rejecting Israel and the PA," *Jerusalem Post*, February 21, 2016, <https://www.jpost.com/Jerusalem-Report/The-deadly-current-445220>.

<sup>60</sup> Wilson, *Intifada or Not*.

<sup>61</sup> "Al-Quds Intifada has Started and Flames Will not be Quenched," *Middle East Monitor*, October 10, 2015, <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20151010-al-quds-intifada-has-started-and-flames-will-not-be-quenched/>.

<sup>62</sup> Peter Beaumont, "Palestinians No Longer Accept US as Mediator, Abbas Tells Summit," *Guardian*, December 13, 2017,

international level after Trump's announcement and the UN General Assembly had to pass a Resolution on December 21, 2017, asserting that all measures adopted with the purpose of modifying Jerusalem's 'character, status or demographic composition,' shall be of no effect and its 'final status issue to be resolved through negotiations in line with relevant UN resolutions.'<sup>63</sup>

The fence separating Gaza and Israel became a hotbed of violent clashes on March 30, 2018. Demonstrations erupted against the eleven year-long blockade of Gaza by Israel. Those who had been displaced and become refugees, along with other Palestinians of the Gaza Strip, launched the Great March of Return to acquire the right of return to their villages. On May 14, 2018, amidst this uprising, at the historic day completing seven decades of *Nakba*, U.S transferred its embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. Although, Israel faced no threats from unarmed protesters, the IDF still killed 190 Palestinians in this March of Return.<sup>64</sup> Whereas the figures registered by *Al-Mezan* till October 2018 indicated that 217 Palestinians were killed in the Gaza Strip.<sup>65</sup> To add to the antipathies of the Palestinian youth, when Palestinian authorities demanded a thorough investigation of the war-mongering demeanour of Israel and IDF, US National Security Advisor John Bolton cautioned the International Criminal Court (ICC) not to conduct any scrutiny against any measures or policies of IDF expended towards Palestinians.<sup>66</sup> This

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<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/dec/13/recep-tayyip Erdogan-unite-muslim-world-trump-east-jerusalem>.

<sup>63</sup> United Nations News Centre, "General Assembly Demands All States Comply with UN Resolutions Regarding Status of Jerusalem," December 21, 2017, [http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view\\_doc.asp?symbol=A/ES-10/L.22](http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/ES-10/L.22).

<sup>64</sup> US Department of State, "Israel and the Golan Heights 2018 Human Rights Report," March 13, 2019, <https://www.state.gov/reports/2018-country-reports-on-human-rights-practices/israel-golan-heights-west-bank-and-gaza/israel-golan-heights-west-bank-and-gaza-west-bank-and-gaza/>.

<sup>65</sup> "305 Palestinian Protesters Wounded by the Israeli Military at Friday Demonstrations in Gaza," *Al-Mezan Center for Human Rights*, October 19, 2018, <http://www.mezan.org/en/post/23300>.

<sup>66</sup> "Full Text of John Bolton's Speech to the Federalist Society," *Al-Jazeera*, September 11, 2018, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/09/full-text-john-bolton-speech-federalist-society-180910172828633.html>.

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constant patronage of Israel, has consolidated Israel's anti-Palestinian policies with Netanyahu adopting a more hard-line approach in rhetoric, becoming more vocal about 'state minus'.<sup>67</sup>

### **Conclusion**

The study explains that both Kashmir and Palestine, historically and at present, have witnessed crackdowns on huge youth cohorts by occupying forces. Youth has played an active and resistant role in their unadulterated Wars of Liberation, fighting against profound levels of political violence in both lands. Based on this study, it can be concluded that Kashmiris and Palestinians have encountered similar subjugation due to which the two disputes have adopted a similar character and mechanisms. Therefore, one may metaphorically call Kashmir the *South Asian Palestine* and Palestine as *Middle Eastern Kashmir*.

To deprive anyone of fundamental right of life is prohibited according to international human right laws. Having been signatory to conventions such as International Covenant for Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), India and Israel are censurable for conducting state-sponsored terrorism and disproportionate forceful actions against Kashmiris and Palestinians. Even instances of national emergency do not justify the use of torture and under Article 4, 6 and 7, any kind of torture and denial of right to life, are outlawed. The UN has recognised in the OHCHR report that state-terrorism is steered by India in Kashmir. It now needs to be seen what punitive measures are adopted by UN against Indian contravention of civil rights and liberties of Kashmiris. Further research needs to be carried out to explore the impact of the resolution of the Kashmir issue and aspirations of youth in the changing nature of commerce, culture and security. Only when the thirst for freedom is satiated, would it be possible to transform Kashmiri youth into a demographic surplus.

The 'Deal of Century' is being propounded by President Trump for resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. However, while its contents

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<sup>67</sup> Jeremy Sharon, "Netanyahu Calls for Palestinian 'State-Minus'," *Jerusalem Post*, October 24, 2018, <https://www.jpost.com/Israel-News/WATCH-LIVE-Netanyahu-addresses-the-GA-570153>.

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remain hidden, it can be foretold that it may further deprive Palestinians from attainment of their own state. Greater affinity between the US and Israel and trampling of Palestinian rights would further complicate the situation and conflict de-escalation and resolution would become a difficult task. A likely coalition of right-wing Israeli political parties may further shrink the physical and socioeconomic spaces around Palestine's youth. The trials and tribulations of the OPTs will persist unless the US re-orient its stance and restores balance of power in the region. Otherwise, a change in *status quo* is remote. ■