



## India-Pakistan Relations: Terrorism as a Significant Factor

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### Introduction

Terrorism is a long-standing occurrence, but it has taken on new characteristics due to advancements in technology and changes in society. The characteristics, objectives, and language used in terrorism have undergone significant transformations following the conclusion of the cold war and the rise of globalization. Presently, terrorism has evolved from being a means of violence within a single state to a global occurrence. It involves a loosely structured international network of terrorists who employ hired soldiers, organized criminal groups, advanced weapons, and modern communication technology to carry out their operations across different nations. As per the words of Mr. Jaswant Singh, The democratization of easy access to rapid communication, technology, easy travel, and weapons of destruction<sup>1</sup> has significantly contributed to the rise of transnational terrorism.

Advancements in science, technology, and communication have led to the belief that terrorists and state sponsors of terrorism are acquiring non-conventional weapons of mass destruction, such as nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons. Referred to as weapons of mass destruction, these are highly coveted by any terrorist organization. The September 11, 2001 attack showcased the extreme and horrifying aspects of transnational terrorism, involving the use of advanced technology, unconventional weapons, and international connections. The singular action has introduced a conceptual shift in the theory of terrorism warfare, wherein the concept of '*Idea terrorism*' has been employed.<sup>2</sup> Two Significant transformations have occurred in the methods employed to carry out terrorist acts against the world's most influential nation, without resorting to traditional weapons of terrorism. They employed the machinery, apparatus, and implements commonly found in advanced societies to carry out acts of terror. This involved transforming passenger planes, which were carrying aviation fuel, into explosive devices and using them as guided missiles to target the World Trade Centre and Pentagon, which symbolize the economic and military power of the United States. Through a swift and synchronized operation lasting under an hour, they inflicted extensive harm on multiple levels and successfully accomplished various goals: fatalities and destruction of property, tarnishing the reputation of the targeted country, triggering economic downturn and resulting in job cuts and subsequent unemployment. An evident occurrence was the shift in the American mindset. The event resulted in widespread social turmoil marked by racial animosity and outbreaks of violence targeting individuals from specific ethnic or communal backgrounds. The media extensively covered these incidents on a global scale for an extended period of time. This event would have never-before-seen consequences and patterns of response. Today, terrorists and terrorism have reached the level of a fully developed and uncontrollable '*Frankenstein Monster*'.<sup>3</sup>

Terrorism is a tactic that relies on creating a psychological impact. Typically, their capacity is quite limited.<sup>4</sup> Terrorism engenders violence, causing anguish and suffering that devastates both the perpetrators and their victims. Terrorism instills terror and exacerbates poverty, anguish, and casualties without yielding any discernible benefits to anyone. Terrorism, rather than offering or seeking solutions, employs destruction as a means of response. Acts of terrorism result in the erosion of human values.

There are five factors that contribute to terrorism, with the first factor being that terrorism arises from feelings of frustration and desperation. When individuals experience intense desperation in their pursuit of a specific objective and ultimately fall short, it can trigger a propensity for violence within them. The second factor is the belief in an unverifiable notion of merit and heaven: "If I perish while engaged in combat for God, I will ascend to heaven, as this is the divine will." The third characteristic is a firm conviction that "my way is the sole approach." The fourth factor entails disregarding human values in pursuit of a goal, while the fifth factor involves a deficiency in reverence for life itself. Terrorism arises from disparities and exploitation in politics, religion, and socio-economic conditions. It flourishes by capitalizing on grievances, whether they are genuine or imagined.

Terrorism is learned when the state or ruling oligarchy fails to address injustices or the infringement of rights through oppression. As long as there are economic, social, and racial injustices in the world, the terror itself will always exist. Terrorism has been employed by political, religious, nationalistic, and ethnic factions, as well as by governments themselves. Terrorism is a global occurrence. Terrorism primarily arises from the pervasive presence of societal injustice.<sup>5</sup>

India has encountered various instances of terrorism and insurgency since gaining independence. These situations have primarily centered on the idea of secession, with the objective of establishing separate and independent sovereign states. Despite our success in managing these divisive tendencies, Pakistan's involvement in promoting and supporting separatism in Jammu & Kashmir has introduced a dangerous element over the past twenty years. After unsuccessful attempts to forcibly annex Kashmir and



recognizing the pointlessness of engaging in armed conflict given the current security situation, Pakistan turned to what can be described as proxy war and cross-border terrorism.

### **Cross-Border Terrorism in Kashmir**

Kashmir is an awe-inspiring manifestation of natural beauty. Kashmir is renowned for its stunning lakes, snow-covered mountains, grand rivers fed by the mighty Himalayas, saffron fields, cherry blossoms, and china trees. It is truly a heavenly destination. Furthermore, it is strategically positioned, with Tibet to the northeast, the Sinkiang province of China to the north, Turkistan to the northwest, Pakistan to the west, and Himachal and Punjab to the south.

The current state of this land, known for its exceptional natural beauty, is characterized by unrest and instability. The enraged youth residing in the valley have resorted to firearms. Equipped with contemporary weaponry and receiving training from abroad, the misguided young individuals, along with numerous foreign mercenaries, have significantly disrupted the calm waters of the Jhelum river. Over the course of 59 years, a staggering 80,000 lives have been tragically lost. The Kashmir issue originates from the events leading up to and following the partition of India. The nature of the Kashmir problem has evolved in response to developments in South Asia and the changing international landscape. This is evident in the period following the end of the Cold War.

The Kashmir issue continues to be a source of disagreement between the two nations. Pakistan's primary national objective has been the annexation of Kashmir, whether through the use of force or diplomatic means. According to certain assertions, Pakistan is unable to sustain itself without the region of Kashmir. Pakistan's military and political leaders asserted that the economic prosperity of the Pakistani people is inherently connected to the issue of Kashmir.<sup>6</sup> Sardar Abdul Kayum Khan, the president of Azad Kashmir, asserted that Pakistan's continued assertion of its claim on Kashmir is essential for its existence as a sovereign entity. The entity will become a virtual captive to India and its survival will be contingent upon the duration that India permits it to exist.<sup>7</sup> Z.A. Bhutto also noted that the people of Kashmir share a deep connection with the people of Pakistan in terms of blood, flesh, culture, geography, history, and every other aspect. If required, Pakistan would support them until the very end.<sup>8</sup> These perspectives give rise to the belief that Kashmir's incorporation into Pakistan was not merely a matter of preference, but an imperative for its distinct existence.<sup>9</sup>

The Muslim fundamentalists and a faction of the Pakistan army view the liberation of Kashmir from Indian rule as a religious obligation. In addition to launching a military attack on India, she also made an effort to incite rebellion in Kashmir by sending infiltrators into the region in August 1965. However, the Pakistani strategy was unsuccessful, primarily due to the lack of cooperation from the Kashmiri people themselves.

In the late 1980s, the Soviet armed forces withdrew from Afghanistan and the geographical situation changed. Additionally, there were internal political developments in Kashmir. These circumstances presented Pakistan with a chance to pursue its Kashmir policy according to its own preferences. This involved offering moral and material assistance as well as training to militant groups, with the aim of engaging India in a proxy war. Pakistan opted to downplay the significance of military intervention. In 1988, General Zia-ul-Haq, the President of Pakistan at the time, presented a confidential plan called Operation Topac to high-ranking military personnel with the intention of annexing Kashmir. Presenting the strategy to ISI and other officials, General Zia emphasized the need for an operation that would effectively dismantle the enemy's determination, undermine their political influence, and reveal their oppressive nature to the global community.<sup>10</sup>

By early 1992, the ISI had achieved unified control over the various military factions of organizations that had rapidly expanded, following the model of the Mujahidins in Afghanistan and the overall trend of Islamic militancy in other regions. In the autumn of 1991, it successfully facilitated and resolved a negotiation between the military factions of Hizb-ul-Mujahidins, Allah Tigers, and Ikhwan-ul-Musalmeen to initiate collaborative and synchronized operations. Despite being somewhat uncertain, the ISI's control facilitated the transportation of weapons, ammunition, and funds to the militants, as well as the implementation of training and indoctrination programs. The training camps had begun producing increasingly resilient and driven gangs, highly skilled in the utilization of advanced weaponry, explosives, and radio equipment. In 1988, there were 390 reported cases of terrorism, whereas in 1992, the number significantly increased to 4,971. The number of incidents against the security forces experienced a significant surge, rising from 6 in 1988 to a peak of 3,413 in 1992. Between 1994 and 2005, India has suffered a loss of approximately 47,371 lives due to terrorism and extremism. The total number of individuals involved in this includes 18,151 civilians, 6,728 security personnel, and 22,492 terrorists. The increasing number and superior quality of weapons seized by the security forces is evidence of the deteriorating state of the ISI. In 1988, the number of recovered AK-47s (or its subsequent iterations) was only 34, but it dramatically increased to a staggering 3,775 in 1992.<sup>11</sup>



Pakistan has been actively supplying diplomatic, political, moral, and financial aid, as well as providing arms and training to the militants. Pakistan's provision of financial and military assistance resulted in a surge of violence in Kashmir. Kashmir, previously regarded as a paradise, has transformed into a place infested with murderers. The level of militancy reached its zenith in 1993-1994. During this time period, the number of terrorist incidents amounted to 8784, with a slight decrease to 8731 in 1995. In that very year, Chiara-e Sharif was ravaged by a colossal conflagration caused by terrorists. Large numbers of Kashmiris gathered on the streets, loudly chanting the slogan, "Those who demand Pakistan will receive a graveyard." This incident further solidified the disillusionment of the Kashmiri people towards Pakistan. Jack Cunningham, the leader of the British opposition, stated that the current situation in Kashmir involves heavily armed insurgencies that are receiving significant support from external sources. This behavior is deemed unacceptable and it must be brought to an end.

John Mallot, the former Principal Secretary of the United States for South Asian affairs, stated that militants in Jammu and Kashmir have resorted to acts of terrorism. He expressed ongoing concern regarding a reliable report indicating that the government of Pakistan has been providing substantial support to certain militants. Support of this nature must be terminated in order to ensure the future of Indo-Pak relations and achieve a lasting resolution to the Kashmir issue. The former US ambassador to India, Frank Wisner, strongly criticized what he referred to as the "promotion of terrorism in Kashmir."<sup>12</sup>

Both the decrease in popular support for terrorists among Kashmiris and the occurrence of terrorist incidents have declined. However, Pakistan persisted in its use of proxy warfare against India. It is possible that the declining support from the local population prompted the ISI, Pakistani army, and rulers to escalate the conflict by deploying mercenaries led by Pakistani regulars in Kargil in 1999. The primary objective of this incursion was to conquer Leh and subsequently seize the entire region of Kashmir through extensive infiltration. Pakistani soldiers were disguised as Mujahidins. A contingent consisting of 10-45 soldiers was armed with firepower equivalent to that of a battalion. The Indian army required over two months to evacuate the area using the military operation known as 'Operation Vijay'.

Gen. Parvez Musharraf, who is regarded by the Indian establishment as the mastermind behind the Kargil intrusion, assumed control of Pakistan on October 12, 1999, leading a new military regime. During a television interview, General Musharraf expressed his belief that expecting peace between India and Pakistan without first resolving the Kashmir issue is merely an unrealistic fantasy.<sup>13</sup> Within a short span of time after assuming authority, the General took a significant position on the matter of Kashmir. He stated that the previous administration of Pakistan regarded Kashmir as merely one of several matters in the Indo-Pak relationship. Now, however, it is the primary concern for a new government.<sup>14</sup> Indeed, General Musharraf stated that Pakistan would refrain from engaging in discussions with India regarding any other matter until the Indian government presented substantial and beneficial negotiations concerning the Kashmir issue. The Indian government attempted to exert diplomatic pressure on the military regime in order to curb Islamic militancy originating from Pakistan, which engages in cross-border terrorism in Kashmir under the guise of Jihad.

The State Department's report, "The Pattern of Global Terrorism," has emphasized that elements within Pakistan have been providing support for terrorism in Kashmir. Pakistan's response to the accusation has been ambiguous, as it continues to assert its longstanding stance of providing moral, political, and diplomatic assistance to freedom fighters in Jammu and Kashmir. The Pakistani ruling elites have utilized the insurgency in J&K as a cost-effective means to engage the Indian military without direct involvement from the Pakistan military. This proxy conflict seems to be a component of a strategic plan aimed at draining India in Jammu and Kashmir and maintaining a state of perpetual instability, with the objective of altering the existing situation in Jammu and Kashmir.

The September 11 event marked a significant turning point in the global understanding and awareness of terrorism. The Laskar-e-Taiba (LeT), Jias-e-Mohamad (JeM), and Tahreek-e-Kassak (TeK) carried out a series of terrorist attacks on various locations in India. These locations include the Red Fort in New Delhi, the J&K State Assembly House in Srinagar, the Indian Parliament House in New Delhi, the Swaminarayan Temple in Akshardham, Gujarat, and the twin bomb blasts in Mumbai on July 30 and August 25, 2003. Additionally, on December 28, 2005, there was an attack on the Indian Institute of Science in Bangalore. An educational institution in India was subjected to a targeted attack for the first time. On July 5, 2005, heavily armed militants launched an attack on the Ram Janmbhoomi/Babari Mosque complex in Ayodhya, Uttar Pradesh.

The security forces successfully thwarted this assault, resulting in the elimination of the assailants. A total of 65 individuals lost their lives due to three explosions that occurred in the capital city on October 29, 2005, just prior to the celebrations of Dipawali and Id festivals. In 2006, there were multiple explosions in Mumbai's suburban trains during the evening rush hour, resulting in the death of 250 individuals on July 11th. Varanasi experienced a series of three bombings, targeting both a temple and the railway station. As per officials from the home ministry, terrorists caused damage to property worth Rs.116.7 million in the initial half of 2006, which is nearly twice the amount of damage caused in 2005.



The acts of terrorism carried out by terrorists, with the support of Pakistan, are extremely horrifying and cannot be explained by any rational reasoning. George Bush, the American President, has requested General Musharraf to initiate measures against the LeT, JeM, and other terrorist organizations, as well as their leaders and financiers.<sup>15</sup> Musharraf froze the assets of LeT and later arrested its leader in response to this exhortation. President George Bush emphasized the utmost significance of Musharraf issuing a definitive statement to the global community, expressing his commitment to take decisive actions against terrorism.<sup>16</sup> General Musharraf reiterated, "I assure you that there is no infiltration occurring across the Line of Control." Pakistan unequivocally prohibits the dissemination of terrorism from its territory to any part of the world.<sup>17</sup>

The Indian government has actively pursued a political resolution to the issue and has implemented various measures in this regard. These include the visit of Atal Bihari Bajpai, the former Prime Minister, to Lahore, the invitation extended to Gen. Musharraf to Agra, a unilateral ceasefire against militants, the release and rehabilitation of surrendered militants, several Composite Dialogues on Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) and nuclear CBMs, and the recent proposition to establish a bilateral mechanism to address terrorism. During the NAM summit in Havana on September 18, 2006, Manmohan Singh, the current Prime Minister of India, stated that Pakistan had made a clear commitment to collaborate with India in the fight against terrorism. When questioned about the potential impact of another terrorist attack in India on the peace process, Singh responded by acknowledging the complexities of life that go beyond simple categorizations of right and wrong.

We have made progress, so let's test it out and address all aspects of the India-Pakistan relationship with honesty and genuineness.<sup>18</sup> The outcome of the current peace negotiations with Pakistan will have a significant impact on the extent to which they cooperate in combating terrorism and unconventional warfare in both India and Afghanistan. Persistent international pressure on Pakistan may compel the country to undergo political transformation, leading to reforms and the establishment of a democratic system. Addressing this issue will be one of the most important priorities in global security in the near future, and India aims to collaborate closely with other countries in this field.

### **Strategies to Counter Terrorism in India: Proposed Recommendations**

According to Walter Laqueur, the most successful strategy to combat terrorism in contemporary times has been the infiltration of terrorist groups and the employment of informants. The effectiveness of counterterrorism in democratic societies primarily stems from the utilization of sophisticated computer technology and the collaboration of a populace that offers crucial information. 24 Jennifer Jane asserts that domestic counterterrorism measures prioritize five fundamental aspects.<sup>19</sup>

1. Utilization of extraordinary legislation,
2. Sustaining an extensive intelligence network,
3. Establishment of proactive measures to regulate political activity,
4. Deployment of military forces in response to civil unrest, and
5. Formulation of a crisis communication strategy for media management.

Here are some suggestions for combating terrorism in the Indian environment:

1. Developing a proactive national policy to provide a clear and focused direction to the counterterrorism mechanism.
2. In order to effectively address terrorism, it is crucial for all political parties to prioritize national security over their own political interests and adopt a unified approach within the constitutional and sovereignty framework. This requires abandoning the practice of appeasing minority groups and granting excessive autonomy to certain states.
3. India should implement a comprehensive policy that focuses on eradicating the root causes of militancy, engaging in international diplomacy, and imposing significant costs on Pakistan to deter them from using this option against India.
4. Enhancing the internal mechanism - restructuring and modernizing the Police Forces and implementing effective Border Management.
5. intelligence System.
6. Promoting development through effective governance.
7. Thorough scrutiny of international financial support to terrorists.
8. Establishment of a central agency to oversee the investigation of military cases.
9. Allocation of development funds.



10. Media management should involve widespread dissemination of information through prominent scholars in national and international newspapers and journals, condemning terrorism and countries that support it.
11. Diplomatic assistance plays a crucial role in counter-terrorism efforts, particularly when acts of terrorism originate from one country and are supported by another country.

## Conclusion

Terrorism can be effectively controlled and potentially eradicated. India must overcome the inherent challenge faced by democracies in effectively mobilizing the political determination, resources, and strategic measures required to successfully combat terrorism. The majority of indigenous terrorism can be addressed through necessary reforms aimed at eliminating economic and caste-based disparities, promoting transparent and ethical governance, and implementing efficient law enforcement measures. The Indian government should be willing to increase the level of tolerance towards cross-border terrorism and demonstrate a strong commitment to exercising its right of hot pursuit. India is willing to consider adopting the Bush doctrine of pre-emption and taking appropriate overt or covert measures to neutralize terrorist bases outside its borders if there are no other viable options available. Once India's capabilities and determination are effectively demonstrated, the state sponsors of terrorist activities targeting Indian interests would come to understand the excessively high and unacceptable expense associated with such sponsorship.

To effectively combat terrorism, it is necessary to educate our citizens and instill in them a clear understanding of Pakistan's actions and methods. This will help them stay vigilant and collaborate with counter-terrorism agencies to counter the activities of the ISI within our borders. Additionally, it fulfills the function of providing reassurance to the general population that the government is fully aware of its obligations in regards to countering the influence of the ISI. These endeavors should be characterized by transparency. They cannot be executed covertly. An urgent and ongoing political campaign should be initiated to gain the support and trust of the Kashmiri people, alleviate their feelings of pain and neglect, and restore their wounded dignity. The populace of Jammu and Kashmir must be persuaded that their destiny is intertwined with that of India. The government should initiate a persistent media campaign, both domestically and internationally, to emphasize Pakistan's extensive role in promoting terrorism and insurgency in J&K and other regions of India.

It is necessary to exert international pressure on Pakistan to stop its malicious intervention in India's domestic matters. Primarily, it is crucial to rally public sentiment in order to demonstrate the nation's unity with the Kashmiri people in their protracted and valiant fight against the proxy war instigated by Pakistan.

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