Cross-Border Terrorism in Kashmir and Counter Terrorism Strategy

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ABSTRACT
This paper shows a number of terrorists/insurgency-related situations, which have revolved around perceived concepts of secession with the aim of creating separate independent sovereign states. Although we have been able to control such fissiparous tendencies, a dangerous dimension has been added for the last two decades by the involvement of Pakistan in adding and abetting secessionism in Jammu & Kashmir.

Keywords-- Terrorism, Kashmir, Pakistan, Strategy

I. INTRODUCTION

Concept of Terrorism
Terrorism is an age old phenomenon but has acquired new dimensions in view of technological and societal changes. The nature, targets and rhetoric of terrorism have changed dramatically since the end of the cold war and the emergence of globalization. Terrorism today, has changed from being a vehicle of intra-state violence to a transnational phenomenon, where loosely organized international network of terrorists use mercenaries, organized crimes cartels, sophisticated weaponry and modern communication to operate from, through and into various countries. To quote Mr. Jaswant Singh, Four democratizations: of easy access to rapid communication, to technology, to easy to travel and democratization of access to weapon of destruction, has largely been responsible for the increasing trend towards transnational terrorism.

With the development in science, technology and communication knowledge, terrorists and states sponsoring terrorism, are believed to be gaining access to non-conventional weapons of mass sponsoring terrorism, are believed to be gaining access to non-conventional weapons of mass destruction like nuclear, biological and chemical weapons. Termed as weapons of mass destruction, these are the dream of any terrorist group. One of the most violent and horrendous dimensions of transnational terrorism using modern systems, non-conventional weapons and having transnational linkages was seen on September 11, 2001. The single act has brought a conceptual change in the terrorism warfare theory where ‘idea terrorism’ has been used. Radical changes have taken place in the ways in which terrorist acts have been committed against the most powerful country of the world without using conventional terrorism weapons. They used equipments, machines and tools of terror of modern developed societies as weapons by converting passenger planes laden with aviation fuel into a bomb and converting into a guided missile against World Trade center/ Pentagon (symbol of US economic and military strengths). With a single Coordinated action lasting less than an hour, they caused multi level damages and achieved several objectives- loss of life and property, loss of image of the target nation, economic recession and layoffs causing unemployment. One of the most perceptible things that happened was the change in the American way of thinking. It caused social unrest characterized by racial hatred and riots against people of particular origin/community, and the media gave it worldwide publicity for several months. Such an event would have unprecedented ramifications and response patterns. Today, terrorists and terrorism have assumed the stature of a full blown ‘Frankenstein Monster’.

Terrorism is a strategy based on psychological impact. In most cases, their capability is rather slim. Terrorism wreaks violence, inflicting pain and suffering that destroys perpetrators and others. Terrorism induces fear and increases poverty, suffering and loss of life with no apparent gain to any one. Instead of offering or seeking solutions, terrorism looks to destruction as an answer. In acts of terrorism, human values are lost.

There are five factors which causes the terrorism: the first factor is terrorism is caused by frustration and desperation. When people are desperate to achieve a stated goal and fail, the desperation brings up violence in them. The second factor is belief in a non-verifiable concept of merit and heaven: “If I die fighting for God, then I will go to heaven, because God wants this act to happen.” The third is a staunch belief that “my way is the only way.” The fourth factor is ignoring human values in order to achieve a goal and fifth, the lack of respect for life itself.

Terrorism manifests itself in political, religious and socio-economic inequalities and exploitation. It thrives on Grievances, real or imaginary. When the state or the ruling oligarchy fails to redress injustices, infringement of rights of oppression the terrorism is learnt. So long as the world of economic, social and racial indignities remains, the terror per se would always be there. Terrorism has been used by political, religious, nationalistic and ethnic groups.
and by governments themselves. Terrorism is a worldwide phenomenon. The terrorism is mainly product of injustice prevailing in society.

Since independence, India has faced a number of terrorists/insurgency-related situations, which have revolved around perceived concepts of secession with the aim of creating separate independent sovereign states. Although we have been able to control such fissiparous tendencies, a dangerous dimension has been added for the last two decades by the involvement of Pakistan in adding and abetting secessionism in Jammu & Kashmir. Having failed in its attempts of annexing Kashmir by force and realizing the futility of carrying out an armed adventure in existing security scenario, Pakistan resorted to what can be termed as proxy war and cross-border terrorism.

II. CROSS-BORDER TERRORISM IN KASHMIR

Kashmir is one of the most wonderful creations of the nature. Known for its beautiful lakes, snowcapped mountains, its majestic rivers carrying the water of great Himalaya, saffron fields, cherry blossoms and chinar trees, Kashmir is certainly a “paradise on Earth.” But, more than that it is strategically situated, in the North-East it is bound by Tibet, in the North by Sinkiang Province of China and in the north-west by Turkistan, in the West, in the West its borders Pakistan and in the South- Himanchal and Punjab.

This land of extraordinary scenic beauty is in turmoil today. The angry young men of valley have taken to the gun. Trained and armed with modern weapons across the border, the misguided youth along with thousands of foreign mercenaries have deeply disturbed the placid water of Jhelum. More than 80,000 lives have been lost during 59 years. Kashmir is an issue which has its roots in the developments leading to and following the partition of the India. The nature of the Kashmir problem has undergone change in keeping with developments in the south Asia, on the one hand, and the changing international scenario, on the other. This is clearly manifested in post cold war period.

The Kashmir problem remains a bone of contention between the two countries. Kashmir’s annexation by force or by diplomacy has been key national objective of Pakistan. According to some articulations, Pakistan can not survive without Kashmir. The Pakistan military and political leaders propagated that the economic wellbeing of Pakistan is inalienably linked to Kashmir. Sardarabdul Kayum Khan, the president of Azad Kashmir, said: Pakistan cannot exist as an independent entity by withdrawing its claim on Kashmir. It will be turn into virtual hostage to India and its lease of life will depend upon the period, which India will allow to exist. Z.A. Bhutto also said, the people of Kashmir are part of the people of Pakistan in blood, in flesh, in culture, in geography, in history and in every way and in every form, if necessary Pakistan would to end. These view generate opinion such as Kashmir’s accession to Pakistan was not simply a matter of desirability but of absolute necessity for its separate existence.

So called liberation of Kashmir from Indian rule is considered to be religious duty by Muslim fundamentalists and a section of the Pakistan army. Besides attacking India military, she also attempted to ferment rebellion in Kashmir by sending infiltrators into Kashmir in August, 1965, but Pakistani strategy failed particularly because Kashmiri themselves did not cooperate in the endeavor.

The withdrawal of Soviet armed forces from Afghanistan and the changing geographical scenario in the late 80’s and the internal political developments in Kashmir provided Pakistan an opportunity to pursue its Kashmir policy on its own terms, i.e. –providing moral and material support and training to militant groups to engage India is in a proxy war. Pakistan decided to underplay the role of military action. In 1988, the then Pakistan , Gen. Zia-ul-Haq, Placed a draft of secret mission, Operation Topac for annexing Kashmir before senior military officials. Outlining the plan to ISI and other officials, Gen. Zia said, “We must adopt and operation, which will destroy the will of enemy, damage his political capacity and expose him to the world an oppressor.”

In early 1992, the ISI had established a common command over the disparate military arms of organizations that had mushroomed, true to the example set by the Mujahidins of Afghanistan and the general pattern of Islamic militancy elsewhere. It succeeded in the fall of 1991, in mediating and settling an agreement between the military arms of the Hizb- ul- Mujahidins, the Allah Tigers and the Ikhwan-ul-Musalmeeen to launch joint and coordinated operations. Though somewhat tenuous, the ISI control helped in funneling arms, ammunition and money to the militants, besides conducting training and indoctrination programmers. The training campus had started turning out more hardened and motivated gangs, well-versed in the use of sophisticated weapons, explosives and radio sets. Whereas a total of 390 cases of terrorism were reported in 1988, the number spurted 4,971 in 1992. There was a substantial increase in the incidents against the security forces form 6 in 1988 to a high of 3,413 in 1992. India has lost nearly 47,371 lives to terrorism and extremism between 1994 and 2005. This includes 18,151 civilians, 6,728 security personnel and 22,492 terrorists. The quality and the quantity of arms captured by the security forces, too, is indicative of the growing involution of the ISI. In 1988, only 34 AK-47s (or its later versions), were recovered, the figure went up to a whopping 3,775 in 1992.

Pakistan has been actively providing diplomatic, political, moral, and financial and arms assistance and training to the militants. The financial and military support by Pakistan led to increase violence in Kashmir. Once considered to be “Heaven on Earth”, Kashmir became the “abode of killers”. The militancy reached its peak in 1993-1994. In these years the terrorist incidents reached to 8784, but it decreased marginally in 1995 to 8731. In the same year charar-e Sharif was destroyed in a massive fire by terrorists. Thousands of Kashmir’s took to streets chanting
slogan, “Jo mangega Pakistan, Uskomilega Kabristan.” This incident completed the disenchantment of Kashmiri people from Pakistan. The British opposition leader, Jack Cunningham told, “What is going on in Kashmir today, is well armed insurrections well supported from outside. It is unacceptable and must stop. John Mallot, former Principal Secretary of the US for South Asian affairs, said, “In J&K militants have restored to terrorist acts we continue to be concern by credible report that the government of Pakistan has been providing sufficient support to some of the militants. Any such support must come to an end for the future of Indo-Pak relations and far solution of the Kashmir issue. The then US ambassador to India, Frank Wisner, Condemned, what he termed as, “export of terrorism in Kashmir.”

Not only the decline of popular support of Kashmiri’s to terrorist, but also the concurrence to terrorist incidents decreased. Yet, Pakistan continued its proxy war against India. Perhaps the waning support of the local population provoked ISI. Pakistani army and rulers, to enhance the level of the conflict and to send mercenaries led by Pak regulars in Kargil in 1999. The planned motive of this incursion was to win over Leh and there after to capture entire Kashmir by massive infiltration into it. Pakistani soldiers were camouflage as Mujahidin’s. A Unit of 10-45 soldiers was equipped with battalion sized fire power. It took more than two months, for Indian army to evacuate the area through ‘Operation Vijay’.

On Oct. 12, 1999, a new military regime came in power in Pakistan headed by Gen. Pervez Musharraf, who is considered by the Indian establishment as an architect of kargil intrusion. In an interview to a T.V. channel, Gen. Musharraf has stated,” If one feels that peace will prevail between India and Pakistan before resolving the Kashmir issue, then it is only pipe dream.” In just a few weeks after assuming the power, Gen. Adopted an important stand on the Kashmir issue. He said “For the previous government of Pakistan, Kashmir was just one of many issues in Indo-Pak relationship. Now however, for a new regime it is the sole issue. Infect, Gen Musharraf declared that Pakistan would not enter into dialogue with India on any other issue till the Indian government made concrete and useful talks on the Kashmir issue. The government of India government made concrete and useful talks on the Kashmir issue. The government of India tried to put pressure on military regime through the international community, to rein in the Islamic militancy based in Pakistan who indulges n cross-border terrorism in Kashmir in the name of Jihad.

The pattern of Global Terrorism, a report brought out by the State Department (USA) has highlighted that element within Pakistan were supporting terrorism in Kashmir. The Pakistan response to the charge has been ambivalent and it reiterates its long held position that it is only extending morale, political and diplomatic support to freedom-fighters in J&K. Through the insurgency in J&K the Pakistani ruling elites have engaged the Indian military through a low cost option without the Pakistan military getting directly involved. This proxy war appears to be a part of a long term strategy to bleed India in J&K and keep it Perpetually destabilized with aim to change the status quo in J&K.

September 11, 2001, represented a watershed in international perception about terrorism. The Terrorist attacks by Laskar-e-Taiba (LeT), Jias-e-Mohamad (JeM), Tahreek-e-Kassak (Teh) on Red Fort, new Delhi, J&K State Assembly House, Srinagar, Indian Parliament House, new Delhi, Swaminarayan Temple, Akshardham in Gujrat, and twin bomb blast July30 and August25, 2003 in Mumbai, on December28, 2005, and attack on the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore. An educational institution was targeted for the first time in India. The Ram Janmbhoomi/ Babari Mosque complex at Ayodhya in U.P. was attacked by heavily armed militants on July5, 2005. This attack was foiled by security forces and the attackers were killed. Three blasts in the capital ahead of the festivals of Dipawaliand Id on Oct.29, 2005 killed 65 people. Year 2006 alone has seen a series of blasts in sub-urban trains during rush hour in the evening in Mumbai which killed 250 people on July 11, 2006. There were triple bombing at a temple and the railway station at Varanasi. According to home ministry officials, property worth Rs. 116.7 million was damaged by terrorists in the first six months of 2006, almost double of 2005.

These horrific acts perpetrated by terrorists aided and abetted by Pakistan, defy any logic. The American President, George Bush, has asked Gen. Musharraf, “to take action” against the LeT, JeM and other terrorist organization, their leaders and their financiers. It was in response, to this exhortation that Musharraf first froze the assets of LeT and later arrested its leader. President George Bush said, “It is very important for Musharraf to make a clear statement to the world that he intends to crack down on terror. Gen. Musharraf reaffirmed, “I give the assurance that no infiltration is taking place across the line of control. Pakistan will never allow the export of terrorism any where in world from Pakistan.

The government of India has been seeking a political solution to the problem and took a number of steps towards such a solution, like Atal bihari Vajpayee, the then Prime Minister visit to Lahore, inviting Gen. Musharraf to Agra, unilateral ceasefire against militants, release and rehabilitation of surrendered militants, several Composite Dialogues on CBM’s and nuclear CBM’s and the recent proposal to form a bilateral mechanism on terror. Manmohan Singh, the present Prime Minister of India said in NAM summit held in Havana on September 18,2006. That Pakistan had given “an explicit commitment that they will work together” with India in combating terror. Asked if another terror attack in India could jeopardize the peace process again, Singh said: “life is much more complicated than black and white. We have made an advance, Let’s give it a try, and approach all aspects of India-Pakistan relationship with sincerity.”

Much will depend on the success of the ongoing peace process with Pakistan and its approach towards support to terrorism and irregular warfare both in India and Afghanistan. If international pressure on Pakistan continues, it may force, Pakistan to change and to reform and democratize its polity. This would clearly be among
III. COMBATING TERRORISM IN INDIA: SOME SUGGESTIONS

Walter Laqueur argues that the only effective weapon against terrorism in the modern era has been the infiltration of their ranks and the use of informer. Counter terrorism’s success in democratic societies is mainly due to advanced computer technology and the cooperation of a population that provides important leads. Jennifer Jane argues that domestic counter terrorism measures focus on five main aspects.

1. The Use of exceptional legislation.
2. Maintenance of a vast intelligence network.
3. Development of pre-emptive controls on political activity.
4. Military involvement in civil disturbances, and
5. The development of a media management strategy in times of crisis.

Some of the Suggestions that might form part of the combating terrorism in the Indian environment are as follows:

1. Evolving a pro-active national policy to give a clear direction to the counter terrorism mechanism.
2. National consensus and popular support to deal with terrorism, within the constitutional and sovereignty framework, all the political parties should rise above the vote bank politics and treat terrorism as a threat to national security and leave the policy of appeasement of minorities and states autonomy for some states.
3. India needs to adopt a policy that includes eliminating the cause of militancy, resort to international diplomacy and make it too expensive for Pakistan to exercise this option against India.
4. Strengthening the internal Mechanism—reorganizing and modernization the Police Forces and Effective Border Management.
5. Intelligence system.
6. Development with Good Governance.
7. Proper checking of foreign funding to terrorists.
8. Central Agency to monitor investigating of military case.
10. Media Management- there should be extensive propaganda in national and international news paper and journals against terrorist and states sponsoring terrorism by eminent academics.
11. Diplomatic support is an important component of counter-terrorism, when terrorism emanates from another country and is sponsored by another country.

IV. CONCLUSION

Terrorism can be contained and could even be defeated. India has to overcome the general inability of democracies to put together the political will, the resources and the strategies that are necessary to prevail over terrorism. Most of the indigenous terrorism can be handled through required reforms that would remove economic and caste-based inequalities, good and honest governance and effective Policing. The Government of India should be prepared to raise the threshold of tolerance in relation to cross-border terrorism and to serve credible notice that India is ready to exercise her right of hot pursuit. The determination should be made evident that, if left with no other viable alternative, India would not be averse to adopting the Bush doctrine of pre-emption and take suitable overt or covert action to neutralize the bases of terrorism outside of our national borders. Once India’s capabilities and determination are made clear, the state sponsors of terrorist acts against Indian interests would realize the prohibitively high and Unacceptable cost of such sponsorship.

Combating terrorism also require educating our own people and creating in them an aware. Ness of Pakistan’s role and modus operandi- so That they remain alert and co-operate with the counter-terrorism agencies in countering the activities of the ISI in our territory. It also serves the purpose of reassuring the public that the Government is alive to its responsibilities relating to countering the role of the ISI. These efforts should be transparent. They cannot be done secretly. A sustained political campaign must be immediately launched to win the ‘hearts and minds’ of the Kashmiri people, assure their feelings of hurt and neglect and restore their bruised and battered dignity. The people of J&K need to be convinced that their future lies with India. The Government deep-rooted involvement in fostering terrorism and insurgency in J&K and other parts of India. International pressure must be brought to bear on Pakistan to desist from its nefarious interference in India’s internal affairs.

Above all, public opinion must be mobilized to express the nation’s solidarity with the Kashmiri people in their long drawn out and courageous struggle against Pakistan-sponsored proxy war.

REFERENCES

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