

Influence of Cross Border Terrorism on India's defence policy in Jammu and Kashmir and Pakistan occupied Kashmir

Rashi Chaudhary

*School of International Relations and Strategic Studies
University of Mumbai*

Abstract:

Today, the majority of nations in the world face terrorism as one of the most significant threats. Over the past three decades, violent internal conflicts have erupted in India. The seeds of the ongoing conflict that has existed between India and Pakistan ever since their independence from British colonial rule in 1947 were sown by India's independence from British rule and its subsequent division into two nations, India and Pakistan. The Muslim-majority northern state of Jammu and Kashmir, which is now a part of India, has been the primary source of conflict between the two nations ever since India's partition. This reciprocal clash has had global ramifications throughout the long term. Three major wars and decades of conflict have contributed to a nuclear race between the two nations and the expansion of terrorism in the region. With the growing international threat of nuclear proliferation and terrorism, these two regional outcomes of the conflict have assumed global significance. The paper examines the cross-border psychological oppression among India and Pakistan. This paper also analyses how cross border terrorism has been one of the major factors impacting India's defence policy and actions in Jammu and Kashmir. It also throws some light on the way India has been dealing with Pakistan occupied Kashmir or Azad Kashmir despite it being the hub of cross-border terrorism.

Key Words: *Cross-border terrorism, Sovereignty, Government Policies, Defence, India and Pakistan, Kashmir, International Peace and Security*

Date of Submission: 03-08-2023

Date of Acceptance: 15-08-2023

I. Introduction:

The fight against militancy, terrorism and the nuclear threat constitutes one of the most urgent challenges that almost all nations are striving to address. If security issues are not addressed promptly, the country's overall development will come to a grinding halt. The threats in India encompass a wide range of issues, including communal and sectarian violence, jihadist terrorism, separatist uprisings in the northeast, and Naxals. The major external threats stem from the unresolved border dispute with the People's Republic of China and the ongoing cross-border jihadist terrorism in the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir, which is orchestrated by the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) and supported by the Pakistani-based Islamic fundamentalist organizations such as Lashkar e-Taiba (LeT) and Jaish e-Mohammad (JeM), which are inextricably connected to international jihadist groups such as the Taliban and Al Qaeda. Since independence, the Indian security foundation has been distracted by Pakistan's malign activities in the state of J&K and on the border with the rest of the country. As demonstrated in the follow-up conflicts of 1965 and 1971, India's conventional military superiority was not sufficient to offset the military threats of Pakistan. Despite this, Pakistan continued to be India's focal security. "To break through India's superior conventional capabilities, Pakistan resorted to the policy of bleeding India with 'thousand cuts' through sub-conventional warfare." The dynamics of the Pakistani military contributed to the emergence of separatist uprisings in the Indian state of J&K and in the state of Punjab in the 1980s, as well as the training of opponents of India's psychological oppression gatherings such as Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeTaiba) and Jaish-e-Mohammed (JeM). As a result, Christine C. Fair referred to this phenomenon as 'jihad within the nuclear umbrella'. Pakistan ensured that the Indian national security establishment remained cognizant of the terrorism problem by doing so. The Indian national security establishment has traditionally been cautious of taking risks when dealing with Pakistani terrorism on a cross-border basis. Its main concern was the potential escalation and nuclear exchange resulting from India's military response.

II. Literature Review:

1. Dhruv C Katoch, *Combatting Cross-Border Terrorism: Need for a Doctrinal Approach*: This paper examines the way and the characters involved in cross border terrorism between India and Pakistan. It analyses the core reason of the conflicts in Jammu and Kashmir
2. Muhammad Amir Rana, *Gateway to Terrorism (2003)*: Based on interviews with terrorists in Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Azad Kashmir, this book entails a detailed account of the terrorist activities conducted in Azad Kashmir.
3. Harsh Pant, *The Routledge Handbook of Indian Defence Policy, (2022)*: This book discusses several key debates that have shaped the defence strategies through the years; military doctrine and policy, internal and external security challenges, terrorism and insurgencies etc.
4. Jacek Salij, "The Significance of "Ineffective" Methods of Fighting Terrorism, 2005, The author addressed the significance of ineffective methods of fighting terrorism. He defines terrorism as the unlawful application of violence or the threat of its application for political purposes and insists that the root cause of terrorism has to be sought out and then cured by means of moral persuasion.
5. Rajesh Rajgoplan, *Force and Compromise: India, Counter-Insurgency Grand Strategy, April 2007*, This paper looks at the theory of counter-insurgency warfare in order to situate the Indian approach. It argues that conventional forces tend to have difficulty fighting counter- insurgency campaigns because the most effective and appropriate method to fight such wars, which requires dispersal of forces and small unit operations, are also the most difficult for conventional forces to adopt because the latter tend to emphasize the opposite: concentration of forces and large-scale operations.

Hypothesis:

India's borders with most neighbours are porous (not protected) and are extremely easy to cross. This factor has made cross border terrorism much more prevalent. India's defence policy in the Himalayan region, particularly in POK and Jammu and Kashmir is influenced by this cross border terrorism.

Research questions:

- 1) What and why is cross border terrorism carried out in Kashmir?
- 2) How does strict defence policy in these areas impact the Indo-Pak relations?
- 3) What are some other measures India can undertake to tackle cross border terrorism?

III. Methodology:

The methodology used in this paper is qualitative data analysis. In this paper, the research is based on secondary data taken from variety of books, journals published by authorised experts of world politics, research papers published by scholars and experts of defence studies, human rights activists, from interviews of experts like NSA chief, and articles from newspapers and reports published by the defence ministry and ministry of external affairs of government of India.

What is Cross Border Terrorism?

Cross-Border Terrorism is a type in which one nation's soil is used to terrorize neighboring nations. It is an undeclared war known as a "grey zone conflict," and it is thought to be the best way to bleed a nation for a long time with insignificant efforts.

Factors facilitating cross border terrorism¹

1. Geographical Factors:
 - A. Length of Borders
 - B. Extreme geography
 - C. Shifting courses of rivers
2. India's economic and military rise
3. India's neighbourhood challenge
4. Territorial Ambitions of Pakistan
5. Boundary disputes

¹ https://ciaotest.cc.columbia.edu/olj/sa/sa_jan02jan01.html

Terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir and PoK:

India allocates approximately USD 1.46 billion per year for CI-OPS (counter insurgencies operations), while Pakistan allocates USD 24 billion per year to sustain militancy in the Kashmir Valley. These figures demonstrate that each dollar spent on terrorism necessitates a significantly larger investment in counter-espionage, terrorist activities and physical expenditure in the targeted nation. The annual cost of funding terrorism in the Kashmir Valley is estimated to be between USD 70 and USD 80 million, which equates to USD 400 to USD 500 crore per year. It is important to note that even a major terrorist organization such as Hijb ul Mujahideen has a presence in the valley, with a total of 10 to 15 such organizations. To effectively combat terrorism, a multi-pronged approach should be adopted, including tackling all sources of funding, such as narcotics, extortion, counterfeit goods, and fake charities, as well as the financing methods of Hawala and Front Companies.

In the past few days, intelligence sources have reported an increase in the activities of Terrorist Training Camps and Launch Pad in the PoK region of Pakistan. This comes at a time when cross-border terrorism is on the rise due to Pakistan's recent removal from the FATF's grey list. It has been reported that Terrorist Camps and Launch Pads have been relocated to a number of locations close to the border, with houses along the border being used as base of operations. Additionally, Terrorists are actively searching for new infiltration routes. There are currently more than 20 Launch Pads in PoK, where the number of Terrorists has suddenly increased. Both Pakistan's army and ISI are providing help to them, sources said, adding that ISI had been conspiring to infiltrate terrorists into India through PoK. "Of 118 terrorists from Jammu and Kashmir's Doda and based in Pakistan or Pakistan-occupied Kashmir (PoK), 10 are most active in spreading violence in the region by recruiting the youth, a top police officer has said. SSP Doda Abdul Qayoom told news agency ANI that two of those 10 militants have been declared as 'individual terrorists' and two others as 'proclaimed offenders'. The police have also seized the properties of one of the POs and are preparing a dossier against those attempting to revive terrorism in the region, reported ANI quoting Qayoom."²

These news bytes are nothing new to India as it very well understands and knows that Pakistan does sponsor, and gives all sorts of "refuge" to terrorists. And India is also aware that Pakistan having failed to grab Kashmir despite fighting conventional wars has resorted to the strategy of terrorism. Conventional wars are expensive and the chances of achieving political objectives through wars have diminished due to the development of nuclear weapons and the possible international reaction.

India's defence policy measures:

To tackle these atrocities, India has undertaken a variety of initiatives which are listed below:

1. The Prevention of Terrorism Act, 2002.
2. Surgical Strikes: In response to specific terrorist attacks originating from Pakistan, India conducted surgical strikes to target terrorist launch pads and infrastructure across the Line of Control (LoC) and the international border.
3. Increased Border Security: India has strengthened border security by deploying additional troops, enhancing surveillance technology, and constructing physical barriers to prevent infiltration.
4. Intelligence Sharing and Collecting : India collaborates with various international intelligence agencies to share information on terrorist activities and networks operating across borders. The Directorate-Internationale for Information (DIA) and the Intelligence Directorate-General of the Armed Forces (IGA) are responsible for the collection of tactical intelligence in the context of counter-terrorism operations in the areas where they are employed.
5. Diplomatic Pressure: India has sought international support to exert diplomatic pressure on countries that harbor or support terrorist groups operating against India.
6. Freeze on Financial Assets: India has taken measures to freeze the financial assets of known terrorist organizations and individuals to disrupt their funding networks.

² <https://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/118-terrorists-of-j-k-s-doda-based-in-pakistan-pok-police-101677663593368.html>

7. Enhanced Counterterrorism Operations: Indian security forces have conducted targeted counterterrorism operations to neutralize terrorist operatives within the country.

8. Multi-Agency Coordination: India has established specialized agencies like the National Investigation Agency (NIA) to coordinate efforts between different law enforcement and intelligence agencies to combat terrorism.

9. Border Fencing: India has been actively fencing vulnerable areas along its borders to prevent illegal crossings and infiltration by terrorists.

10. Stricter Visa and Travel Norms: India has implemented stricter visa policies and enhanced background checks for individuals coming from countries with a history of supporting terrorism.

11. Development and Outreach in Border Areas: The Indian government has focused on developing infrastructure and providing socio-economic opportunities in border regions to reduce the vulnerability of local populations to terrorist recruitment and influence.

12. The army: The Army is often requested to provide assistance when the law enforcement and law enforcement agencies are unable to handle a terrorism-related situation. However, due to the large-scale infiltration of Pakistani mercenaries in J&K and the presence of large numbers of these mercenaries, many of whom are former military personnel, the Army plays a more prominent and permanent role in counter-terrorism operations.

In addition to the measures outlined above, there are a number of multi agency centres that have been re-organised in the wake of the 26/11 attacks. Additionally, a Combatting Financing of Terrorism Cell (CFT-cell) has been established to address the policy issues related to the fight against terrorist financing and counterfeit Indian currency. Furthermore, India is a member of the Financial Action Task Force (FATF) which seeks to develop international standards for the prevention of money laundering and the financing of terrorism. The challenge of terrorism remains multifaceted and constantly evolving, necessitating continuous efforts to guarantee the security and prosperity of the nation.

Suggested policies and Strategies on Cross Border Terrorism:

Its important to note that the situation is complex and dynamic, and policies should be developed with careful consideration of the specific circumstances and context on the ground:

1. Bilateral Dialogue: Encourage and facilitate open channels of communication between India and Pakistan to address concerns and find peaceful resolutions to outstanding issues, including terrorism. Engaging in diplomatic talks can help reduce tensions and foster mutual understanding.

2. Strengthen Border Security: Enhance surveillance and monitoring of the borders to prevent infiltration of terrorists and weapons. This can involve increased deployment of border forces, installation of modern surveillance technology, and cooperation between security agencies.

3. Intelligence Sharing: Promote greater cooperation and sharing of intelligence between national and international security agencies to identify and thwart potential terrorist activities. Improved intelligence sharing can lead to more effective counter-terrorism operations.

4. Counter-radicalization Programs: Invest in community-based initiatives that aim to counter radicalization and promote a sense of belonging and inclusivity among the local population. Such programs can help prevent vulnerable individuals from being recruited into terrorist organizations.

5. Law Enforcement and Capacity Building: Strengthen the capacity of local law enforcement agencies and security forces in Jammu and Kashmir to respond effectively to terrorist threats. This can involve training, equipping, and supporting the police and security personnel.

6. Combating Terrorist Financing: Implement measures to disrupt the funding sources of terrorist groups. Identify and block channels through which funds are funneled to support terrorist activities.

7. International Cooperation: Work with other countries and international organizations to combat cross-border terrorism. Collaborate on intelligence sharing, capacity building, and joint counter-terrorism operations.

8. Address Root Causes: Address the underlying socio-economic and political issues that contribute to the spread of terrorism. Investing in development, education, and infrastructure in affected areas can help reduce the appeal of extremist ideologies.

9. Media and Public Relations: Develop effective media strategies to counter terrorist propaganda and misinformation. Promote accurate and balanced reporting to prevent the glorification of terrorists and their activities.

10. Multilateral Treaties and Conventions: Ratify and implement international treaties and conventions related to counter-terrorism. Engaging in global efforts against terrorism can strengthen national efforts and cooperation.

11. Internal stability: India must recognize the significance of peace and harmony among all religious and ethnic communities in India, with particular emphasis on Muslims and people from the North-East states and the Red Corridor. For many years, Pakistan has taken advantage of this discontent and provided both clandestine and overt support for the proliferation of insurgency in these areas.

India must develop a comprehensive national anti-terrorism strategy that covers a wide range of topics, including defence, law and order, intelligence and diplomacy, economic growth, education, and the promotion of social and political justice, all within the framework of policies that promote national security.

It is important to remember that no single policy or strategy can entirely eliminate cross-border terrorism. A comprehensive approach that involves multiple stakeholders, both domestic and international, is necessary for long-term success in combating terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir and Pakistan occupied Kashmir.

IV. Future:

Relations between India and Pakistan have deteriorated significantly since February 2019, when an Indian paramilitary convoy was targeted in Pulwama, Jammu and Kashmir. In the weeks following the attack, both sides launched air strikes, cut diplomatic relations, and suspended trade. Relations have since worsened further, and backchannel talks reportedly broke down last year. In the midst of this dismal bilateral situation, Pakistani Prime Minister Shahbaz recently called for talks with India that would be "intimate and sincere." In India, however, Sharif's offer has been met with skepticism. Is he trying to distract attention from Pakistan's multiple crises at home, or does he have the support of the Pakistani military?

Kashmir is a deeply emotional issue in Pakistan. Civilian leaders are often wary of any hint of compromise, as their opponents label it as a "betrayal." The Pakistani military establishment has repeatedly made clear that Kashmir is a "red line" for them. So it is no surprise that Sharif has made it a top priority.³ "Moreover, just as Pakistan insists on Kashmir being the key issue, cross-border terrorism is the key question for India. If the Shehbaz Sharif government made a serious offer on the issue of terrorism, he could get the talks he wants. As things stand, there seems to be no forward movement after the initial "We want serious and sincere talks" statement." (Source: The Print Opinion)

V. Conclusion

To ensure that Pakistan remains on its toes and deterred by Indian actions, India will need to make sure that Pakistan doesn't evade accountability on terrorist financing. Terrorism, the —cancer of the modern world, a growing threat to the maintenance of an orderly society and a scourge which undermines development, economic and political stability and democratic institution is one of the most challenging problems of the modern times. An unethical, low cost, surrogate war undermines the full exercise of human rights and threatens the stability of many societies in the world. The Indian government's initiative to tackle terrorism by cooperating with Pakistan raises serious questions. "In fact before developing any strategy to deal with Pakistan, which has been sponsoring and abetting terrorism in India, the government must formulate its own strategy to deal with internal security. Instead of relying support from the United States or from the military rulers of Pakistan, India must rely on its own mechanism to deal with terrorism and other extremist outfits like the Naxal movements."⁴

³ <https://theprint.in/opinion/sharif-knows-benefits-of-india-ties-but-to-convince-military-he-needs-face-saver-on-kashmir/1392196/>

⁴ Kamboj, Anil; *New Adventure in Afghanistan: The Pakistan Nexus*, World Focus, July, 2006.

References:

- [1]. Ahmad, Ishtiaq; State, Nation and Ethnicity in contemporary South Asia, PINTER, London and New York 1996, P.171 Ibid, P.102.
- [2]. Shrivastava, Dr. L.S. & Prof. V.P. Joshi; Internal Relations, Goel publishing house, Meerut, 1982-83, P.75. Ibid, P. 78-79.
- [3]. Ahmad, Ishtiaq; State Nation and Ethnicity in Contemporary South Asia, PINTER, London and New York, 1996, P.143.
- [4]. Chintamani Mahapatra; Jihad: A Threat to India, World Focus, Nov. - Dec. 2006.
- [5]. Kamboj, Anil; New Adventure in Afghanistan: The Pakistan Nexus, World Focus, July, 2006.
- [6]. Sharma, Ashok; Terrorism in India: an Assessment, World Focus, Nov.- Dec. 2006. Ibid
- [7]. Cherian, Saji; Terrorism & Legal Policy in India, [http:// www.satporgtp/publication/faultlines/ volume15/Article.6.htm](http://www.satporgtp/publication/faultlines/volume15/Article.6.htm).
- [8]. Maheswari, S.R., Comparative Government and Politics. Agra: Lakshmi Narain Agrawal, 1998, P.182.
- [9]. Singla, Anish Kumar; Terrorism Needs a Newton's Second Law of Motion, dated February 22, 2007.
- [10]. Purshotham and M.Veera Piasad; Addressing Frontier-Terrorism- INDIA NEEDS GLOBAL COUNTER-TERRORISM. SFRATEGY, The Indian Journal of Political Science, Volume LXX, No No2, Apr- June,2009.
- [11]. Evans, A., (2000). —The Kashmir Insurgency: As bad as it gets!, Small Wars & Insurgencies, Vol. 11, No.1, pp. 69-81.
- [12]. 12. Basrur, R. M., (2002). —Kargil, Terrorism, and India's Strategic Shift!, India Review, vol. 1, No. 4, October, pp. 39-56.
- [13]. 13. Henderson, J. C., (2003). —Terrorism and Tourism: Managing the Consequences of the Bali Bombings!, Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing, Vol.15, (1), pp. 41-58.
- [14]. Chen, R. J. C., & Chen, J. S., (2003). —Terrorism Effects on Travel Arrangements and Tourism Practices!, International Journal of Hospitality & Tourism administration, Vol.4, (3), pp. 49-63.
- [15]. Salij, J., (2005). —The Significance of Ineffective Methods of Fighting Terrorism!, American Behavioral Scientist, Vol. 48, No. 6, February

Rashi Chaudhary. "Influence of Cross Border Terrorism on India's defence policy in Jammu and Kashmir and Pakistan occupied Kashmir." *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science Invention (IJHSSI)*, vol. 12, no. 8, 2023, pp. 41-46. Journal DOI- 10.35629/7722