

2 CHAPTER

India's Foreign Policy and Terrorism

After reading the chapter, the reader will be able to develop an analytical understanding on the following:

- 9/11 and globalization of terrorism
- Threats faced by India
- India and CCIT
- India's international approach to terrorism
- India's regional approach to terrorism
- India at 70th anniversary of UN
- India and good vs. bad terrorism
- Changing security situation in Kashmir and the road ahead.

India has been fighting terrorism since the 1990s in Kashmir. India felt that 9/11 was a key event as it took the importance of the menace of terrorism at the international level. India had always tried to highlight the issue of terrorism at global platforms, but, the consensus has developed only after 9/11.



The Indian response has been to largely garner collaboration at the international level to curb terrorism. India has developed strong relations with Israel, Russia, Iran, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan to fight terror. India has also resorted to raising the issue of state sponsorship of terrorism by Pakistan internationally and has also supported the Comprehensive Convention for Combating International Terrorism (CCIT).

In the Nuclear Security Summit, 2016, India has supported the theory of the existence of a link between international terrorism and clandestine proliferation and has advocated the need to weaken the link by information sharing, national laws and multilateral and bilateral cooperation amongst enforcement agencies. At the regional level, the Indian strategy to fight terrorism has been mainly set through forging cooperation and alliances with other countries. At the international level, our strategy is to diplomatically present

evidence to world leaders about Pakistan's sponsorship of terror elements operative in India, which will in turn put pressure on Pakistan. India strives to globally work with other countries to arrive at a consensus for a definition of terrorism, and with the rise of new threats like ISIS, India has constantly pitched for the finalisation of CCIT at the earliest stage. In the 70th anniversary meet of the UN in 2015, India again pitched for a collective effort to contain terror. India has always maintained that there are no good or bad terrorists, as all terrorists and their ideologies are equally harmful. This is the reason by India has refrained from negotiating with the so-called good Taliban in Afghanistan. In the recent times, in 2016, China recently refused to ban Jaish-e-Mohammad (JEM) chief Masood Azhar and induct him in the UN terror list as being a sponsor of Pathankot air base attack of 2016. India objected to China's opposition and demanded close cooperation. India continues to advocate for CCIT and international community's determination to defeat terrorism.



China and Masood Azhar Issue 2016

In January 2016, the Pathankot airbase was attacked. The Indian agencies held JEM responsible. India in February 2016, moved to the sanction committee of UN and proposed the addition of JEM founder Masood Azhar as a terrorist. India advocated the inclusion of his name in 1267 committee¹ list. The inclusion would mean that Pakistan and others would have to take steps to ban Azhar and his travel and freeze all his assets. The meeting in February happened with 15 members in council, which included China. The 14 members in the meeting favoured the inclusion, but China refused to oblige. China decided to hold the issue on technical grounds. China did the same in June 2016 for Zaki Ur Rahman Lakhvi, who was the mastermind behind the 26/11 Mumbai attack. For India, the Chinese decisions were incomprehensible as JEM had already been listed as a terrorist group by the Sanctions Committee of UN since 2001. China offered no reasons except stating that such things like listing of individuals need to meet certain requirements. This case clearly signifies a lack of global consensus to tackle terror. In August 2016, Chinese foreign minister Wang Yi visited India. India again took up the issue of Masood Azhar with Wang Yi.



Indian Ocean- Rising Ambitions of China, its Security Implications on India and the Indian Response to the Samudra Manthan

In the recent times, China has expanded its footprint in the Indian Ocean (IO from now). It has recently established military bases in Africa. China asserts that the bases are to assist China in recuperating and seeking supplies. China has realized that to become a leading maritime power, it has to establish a firm position in the IO. This approach of China has alarmed the strategists in India who feel that a rising Chinese naval presence in IO could lead to a new security dilemma between India and China. John. F. Morton in his study has asserted that IO will remain the most significant region in the world in the times ahead due to economic growth in the rim states and rising demand of oil.

The importance of Indian Ocean for India can be judged from the points below.

1. India's half seaborne global trade happens through the IO.
2. Nearly 65% of world's oil is located in the IO.
3. Nearly 35% of global gas reserves are located in the littoral states of the IO.
4. Instability in the Middle East to Piracy in Africa and rising competitive pressures to fuel economic growth by demand of oil.
5. Nearly 90% of India's global trade happens through the IO.

As the Indian economy grows, India would need to ensure unhindered access of energy and goods from the region. India's entire developmental process depends upon the region of IO.

To tackle threats ranging from piracy to terrorism arising from the sea, India has decided to exert more influence in the IO. Indian strategists have asserted that IO is India's backyard and Indians draw inspiration to assert in the IO from Alfred Mahan. Mahan asserted that which ever power controls IO would eventually maintain hegemony in Asia. K.M. Pannikar too asserted the need for India to be dominant in IO. Even though there has been an intellectual consensus of India's role in the IO, the civilian political leadership in the post independent India have not adequately responded to make India a predominant maritime power. In the initial years, the focus of India was to tackle territorial threats from Pakistan and China. The naval modernization got majorly neglected. India was unable to equip the navy with the needed offensive punch to project power. Throughout the Cold War, Indian strategy was to push out extra regional naval powers from IO and ensure that IO remains a 'zone of peace'. This made India's littoral neighbors quite apprehensive about India as they perceived that India's behavior is in sync with its own intention to dominate the IO region. Since the end of Cold War, India has recognized the importance of naval modernization and naval power projection. In the recent times, India's desire to modernize its navy is also driven by threat assessments done by R&AW which asserts that India could witness sea borne attacks by terrorists. Keeping these challenges in mind, India has announced its own version of maritime doctrine. The doctrine asserts that India must look at the naval security as an arc extending from the Gulf to Malacca as an area of legitimate interests. India has embarked upon an attempt to enhance naval capabilities to achieve the objectives said above. China in 2006 in a Defense White Paper has announced that Chinese needs to enhance their defensive and offensive naval capabilities to maintain strategic depth in the IO. Thus, for India, China remains the biggest competitor in the IO. China is preparing its navy to assert itself as a regional hegemon and a future superpower. China is driven by an urge to assert to India that it needs to remember that IO cannot be a backyard of India.

China is trying to tell India that it also has a responsibility to ensure a stable, peaceful and a secure IO. China has established a submarine base in Sanya in South China Sea. The Sanya base has underground tunnels to hide submarines and is merely 1200 nautical miles away from Malacca waterway. The Indian strategists feel that the base in Sanya is an attempt by China to consolidate its presence and control in the Indian Ocean and may restrict the Indian freedom to maneuver in the region. A recent attempt by China to boost its presence in the IO can be seen in the Chinese

attempt to construct the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor. All these, along with Chinese strategy of String of Pearls have affirmed to India that China is making all attempts to control the global energy jugular. India has decided to respond to China through a trinity strategy. India has firstly started undertaking naval modernization. This is an attempt by India to enhance its naval capabilities. Secondly, India has started using its navy as a tool of diplomacy. India is diplomatically undertaking joint naval exercises and port visits to friendly states. Thirdly, India has positioned its navy as an effective tool to provide instant disaster relief missions. This trinity strategy is adopted by India to position itself as a Net Security Provider in the IO region. India has joined hands with USA, Japan and Australia to shape up the strategic environment of the Indian Ocean in the near future. Doing all this is likely to position India as a medium power. A medium power is one that has a great economic potential with rising military potential. The situation of 21st Century in the IO of power competition between India and China is akin to 20th Century power competition between the US and Japan in the Pacific.



Changing Security Situation in Kashmir and the Road Ahead

Since 8th July 2016, Kashmir has become volatile after the elimination of Burhan Wani, the HM commander of South Kashmir. The elimination of Wani has seen not only a rise in the recruitment of more militants but also a spike in terror attacks in the valley. Pakistan wants Kashmir on religious grounds only. However, Kashmir practices a distinct form of Islamic culture that is quite different from the Pakistani propagated Islamic culture. The blend of Islam in Kashmir is called Kashmiriyat that accepts all religions along with Islam. The strategy adopted by Pakistan is to destroy this Kashmiriyat and impose a Saudi funded fundamentalist Wahabi Islam. Pakistan intends to polarize the society and exclude other faiths and thereby eventually break up Kashmir. Pakistan has received initial success by driving out Kashmiri Pandits. Wajahat Habibullah asserts that India too has focused less on the demands of the Kashmiri people and has been more reactive than being proactive. Though Pakistan has tried to undertake polarization, but, the polarization strategy of Pakistan has not met with much success as Kashmiri people have rejected the Pakistan attempts to polarize Kashmir. Since 2014, the Indian government has adopted a hardline approach. This has led to elimination of many prominent militant heads. Though Pakistan does enjoy a limited constituency of support in Kashmir through the separatists. But, the government decisions to raid the Separatist parties (by N.I.A. in 2017) for financial support from Pakistan has thwarted the Pakistani attempts to provide money to the separatists. . In the recent times, there is a threat of the ISIS that has developed a thrust towards sub nationalist insurgencies like Kashmir problem. ISIS has declared Pakistan as apostate that has allied with western powers and resisted Sharia. Thus, ISIS has got a new opportunity to present itself as an alternative to Pakistan in Kashmir. Many disgruntled cadres of Pakistani sponsored militant groups have picked up an affinity to the goals of ISIS as it helps them establish their cults in Kashmir. Zakir Musa, the successor of Burhan Wani, has quit HM to establish an Islamic State of Jammu and Kashmir. He has succeeded in uniting

Kashmiri Taliban and Harkat ul Mujahedeen.

Some of the key objectives Pakistan intends to achieve with respect to creating trouble in Kashmir are as bellow:-

1. Pakistan wants to usurp Kashmir to revenge its defeats.
2. Pakistan wants to take a revenge for the 1971 war.
3. Pakistan wants to impede India's growth by fomenting security troubles for India
4. Anti-India rhetoric gives Pakistani army an edge over civilian political structures.
5. The Pakistani strategy is in sync with Chinese strategy to destabilize India
6. Pakistan continues to use the nuclear bogey with India
7. Pakistan continues to internationalize the Kashmir dispute
8. Pakistan wants to alienate Kashmiri people from India

To tackle the external threats from Pakistan, India needs to establish a coherent strategy with the following points below.

1. The government needs to ensure that all intellectuals, officials and politicians are put on the same footing with respect to the issue and speak the same language ensuring a common intellectual understanding.
2. A separate ministry of J&K affairs to manage issues can be established.
3. A strong surveillance needs to be done by Intelligence Bureau on the separatist leaders and their source of financing to ensure Pakistan does not support them to cause street violence.
4. India should continue to engage with civilian leadership of Pakistan with an intention to reduce the influence of Pakistani army in India-Pakistan relationship
5. India should use 'hit to hurt' policy at the Line of Control for any Pakistan sponsored terror attacks on the Indian soil.
6. India should carry out covert operations in Pakistan to eliminate heads of Lashkar and other terror groups.

Some specific points need to be kept in mind while tackling Kashmir problem.

- Kashmiri people are very sensitive. There is a need to adopt a therapeutic approach. The Kashmiri people have witnessed a lot of trauma due to ongoing crises since 2016. There needs to be a healing therapy.
- The government can establish an interactive forum to bring together all the segments of multilayered Kashmiri society.
- The PDP party favors soft separatism. It means that they allow opposition forces to voice their concerns. The separatists should be encouraged to come within the democratic mainstream. Dialogue is the only way out.
- At the administrative level, the government needs to focus of job creation and horticulture sector. The horticulture sector, which is the mainstay of the economy, has been damaged due to instances of insecticide strains.
- The government also has to address the issues related to missing persons. Every month, on the 10th, the Association of Parents of Disappeared Persons holds meetings. After proper investigations, the issues pertaining to missing persons needs to be closed. Such meetings don't allow the wounds to heal.
- At the law and order level, there is a need to keep a watch on the usage of

Track-2 funds used by R&AW and IB.

- The security forces need to be more proactive with sadbhavna (perception management) programs.
- The government, in collaboration with the civil society, needs to initiate a counter narrative campaign to de-radicalize the youth

1. The Al-Qaida Sanctions Committee (officially Security Council Committee pursuant to resolutions 1267 (1999) and 1989 (2011) concerning Al-Qaida and associated individuals and entities) was established on 15 October 1999, pursuant to UN Security Council Resolution 1267.