

## **INDIAN SECURITY PERSPECTIVES FROM TERRORISM AND TRIANGULAR RELATION OF PAKISTAN, AFGHANISTAN AND BALOCHISTAN.**

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India's diplomatic manoeuvring with respect to Afghanistan and Pakistan in the backdrop of terrorism which has umbilical cords connected need to be cut down drastically. Balochistan as troubled province of Pakistan is problematic for region is instrumental in growth of insurgency and terrorism of this pocket. The challenging security of India needs to be augmented well from all non-state actors posing threat and rogue states which are following terrorism as an instrument of foreign policy. The entangled relationship with these countries and terrorism needs certain coherence and objective in combatting terrorism. The crucial juncture will have strategic goalposts and determination to fight back growing menace of terrorism emanating from the fault line of the region.

There has been paradigm shift in India's AF- Pak policy. AF-Pak has been used by US foreign policy circle for the geopolitical space of the region. USA policy makers has crafted to curtail the growing influence of terrorist organisation like Al- Qaeda and its affiliates design against US. The hyphenated word was used to stress the compounded problem of terrorism and its splinter groups operating from the region as it was never intended to demean Pakistan. The region Af-Pak has common border line has been neglected from the historical annals with problems of ethnicity, tribalism and insurgency along the Durand line. Obama administration and foreign policy circle has created the terminology to fight back the efforts at war on terrorism. It is really problematic for US strategist to again dehyphenate the relationship between India and Pakistan. Again there is burgeoning relationship between India and US after period of imposed sanctions.

India has ensured the inclusion of Afghanistan in SAARC in November 2005. Afghanistan and Iran as important entry point and gateway to access central Asian oil and gas reserves through chahbahar ports. The AF- Pak region got prominence after the war in Iraq. The tribalism and insurgency in the parts of Afghanistan has led serious security consequences in Pakistan. US strategy towards AF-Pak region was based on war against terrorism and putting democratic regime in Afghanistan by disenfranchising the Taliban. The daunting task to stabilize and deradicalise the Af-Pak belt as the region remains the sanctuary and hideouts of transnational terrorist.

Pakistan has always treated Afghanistan as its sphere of influence to direct its foreign policy orientation against India. US has pumped money and financial aid in Pakistan to stabilise the region. The regional gimmick has key regional stakeholders like China, India, Iran and Russia in south Asian game plan. Afghanistan has been the biggest receiver of the aid and humanitarian assistance provided from India. The region is grappled into ethnic tension, insurgency and terrorism emanating from the vicinity. To quell the terrorism and regional solution the western alliance is sought after. Indian perspective to the Afghanistan protracted civil war for continuous unabated twenty three year has led to chaos in the region. India has always opposed the Pakistan and USA based clandestine assistance to Taliban war lords and militias to fight the soviet forces. The CIA and ISI has pumped money and resources in creating Taliban and Al-Qaeda. As a part of goodwill gesture and symbolism India is part of construction of Afghanistan parliament, Salma Dam, schools and Highways there by risking its technocrats and diplomatic personnel. Pakistan and Afghanistan remains the sanctuaries of terrorist. The regional problems like Durand line, federally administered tribal areas (FATA) and Balochistan remains the grey area of relationship. The region is enmeshed into insurgency by adjoining province of Pakistan and Afghanistan due to the resurgence of Taliban movement. Islamabad has severe accusation on the Kabul for supporting Baloch guerrillas and vexed situation in Waziristan.

### **Balochistan geopolitical significance and key regional conflict:**

Balochistan has historically witnessed the centralisation and marginalisation of Baloch people. Balochistan is the richest mineral and energy rich province of Pakistan. Balochistan is geopolitically located bordering Afghanistan to the Northern side and Iran to the west. It is

straddled between the cross roads of south and central Asia. The conflict ridden province is facing secessionist struggle with Baloch National and Pakistani establishments. The ethnic composition has created complex situation in the country. Tribal norms and customs provide the guidelines for conflict resolution and leadership role. There was a close connection between patriarchy and tribalism.

Balochistan has created fresh turmoil in the region and provoked tension between the countries. There has been clear manifestation of low intensity conflicts, violence recorded by Amnesty international and Human rights watch group. There has been dismal records of human indicators and gross human rights violation as the right to self-determination of Baloch Peoples is out rightly rejected by Pakistan.

The Ethnic minorities of Hazara communities have faced the worst persecution and sufferings. There is targeted killing of Hazara community which leads to fleeing of them. The ethnic cleansing of the Hazara Shias have been done by the extremist groups of Lashkar-e- Jhangvi. Many terrorist groups are operating from here Balochistan is home to the Quetta Shura a Taliban leadership council operating from Quetta province and headed by Mullah Muhammad Omer. (Rumi 2016) Shura has precisely played a significant role in Afghan insurgency. The porous border of Balochistan and Afghanistan have infiltration and spill over of terrorism along the neighbouring provinces of Afghanistan in Kandahar, Zabul and Helmand. Taliban get there men, material, bomb and weaponry from Balochistan.

There are several incidents of disappearance of political activist from the Balochistan as it happened during the creation of 1971 East Pakistan. They have been either dumped or deserted in the parts of Balochistan. There has been serious allegation by American agency that Weapons are being used by Pakistan against the secular Baloch rebellion instead of using them against Al-Qaeda and Taliban. The mineral resource rich endowed province of Balochistan has been treated unfairly as and there is dispute pertaining to the autonomy and control over the region. There are accusation by indignant Baloch against the mishandling and exploitation of resources without proper inclusive growth and politics by Pakistan. "The overwhelming numbers of Punjab ethnic majority has great share in the recruitment of the Army, Bureaucracy, media and government

services and extracting the revenue and resources without giving adequate share to the local Baloch Peoples". (Akbar 2017)

The Pakistan can't destroy the basic freedom and human rights of Baloch nationals by targeted killings and torture. The government in Islamabad can't run away from the social and International media cannot provide Pakistan intelligence impunity from implicating it. The problem of Balocistan has to be settled in an amicable manner through diplomatic negotiation between countries as Baloch nationalists are always struggling to internationalise the entire gamut of Issue.

There was several incidents of insurgencies in Balochistan which occurred between 1948, 1958-59, 1963-69 and 1973-77. The fresh violence was ignited in 2006 by federalist leader Nawab Akbar Bugti in 2006. During Pervez Musharraf's regime Baloch leader Nawab Bugti the chief minister and governor was killed during military operation. The killing and martyrdom of aged Balochistan leader provoked anti-Pakistani feelings and separatist movements were organised on massive scale. These separatist movements were meant to get rid of the exploitative Punjab dominated federation. Pakistan's peoples Party has extended support by apologetic to the tension and turmoil created in the region and military operations which tolled the death of Baloch leader and tried to pacify the conflict by negotiation in the region. In September 2008 three armed groups- Baloch liberation Army, Baloch Republican Army cease fired. (Akbar 2017)

There is massive corruption and irregularities involved in the politico administrative in the deliverance of funds for development. The region has high geopolitical significance as it rich in oil, gas, and mineral deposits. Iran is working on the feasibility of laying down the pipeline project in the region. The significance of the region is determined by the geostrategic location of Balochistan close to oil lanes of the Persian Gulf and deep sea port at Gwadar which makes the connection to the Iran, Afghanistan and Indian Ocean. The Chinese development of Gwadar port will fructify if there is peace and stability in the region. The China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) connecting western China and Indian Ocean will assure economic development of the neglected and ungoverned territory of Balochistan. Pakistan government must address the core socio-economic issues involved about the backwardness, proper utilization of allocation of

resources, royalties earned to be channelized through developmental projects, infrastructure building, improving demographic dividend, and other indicators by social sector expenditures. The extra judicial killings and targeted persecution of certain communities on the fringes of societies must be stopped.

### **India's strategic choices and policy option for Balochistan:**

There has been stalemate in the relationship between India and Pakistan for long time. The dialogue has been suspended without yielding a fruitful result due to terrorism perpetrated from Pakistan soil. The Prime Minister Modi's address to nation from the ramparts of Red Fort on 15<sup>th</sup> August 2016 was clearly to deter the Pakistan's clandestine approach to the Terrorism by referencing Balochistan in his speech. The strategic doubtful about India is targeting Pakistan indirectly through the Balochistan. The Deterrence strategy adopted by India requires more subtle approach by directly supporting Baloch Movement and rebel groups in Media, supporting their leaders and providing material support needed to them, using covert operations there. "The aggravated Balochistan rebellion has given India a leverage either to compel or punish Pakistan for using asymmetric terrorism strategy." (Rajgopalan 2016) The terrorism has always been used by Pakistan as an instrument in achieving foreign policy objectives by it. The covert actions and intelligence can be strengthened in Balochistan by supporting the Balochistan.

India has no choices left but to initiate the talks and establish contacts. The Pakistan's nefarious design can be contained by pressuring and multilateral diplomacy through different global players. Pakistani security establishment seems and draws an analogous or parallel between that India's involvement in Balochistan for Indians as tit for tat or copycat for Pakistan's blatant support for Islamist militancy in Indian Kashmir. The purported role of India's in Balochistan is seen from scepticism. Even the Shia killings in the region is doubted by alleged US involvement in the region.

Prime Minister Modi has talked about sectarian conflict going on between Ethnic minorities and have urged Diplomats and media to capture the attention on going developments there. It was obviously anticipated that Pakistan would try to react and it has called it breach of International norms and intrusion to sovereignty of country. India has garnered the support of Hamid Karzai

Afghan former president and Bangladeshi government. Pakistan has been accused of supporting Taliban and Proxy war in the region. The diplomatic and back channel of negotiations must be opened by bringing all secessionist leaders to the negotiating table and they should be brought back to the mainstream politics.

US can help in serving as a mediator to the India-Pakistan bilateral issue perhaps, Pakistan wants India to reduce its footprint in Afghanistan and halt the militant support in Balochistan to develop faithful relation with Pakistan would be positive steps for sustaining relationship. (Dawn 2017) Pakistan is fighting both extremism and separatism in the region. There has been simultaneously talks about Gilgit Baltistan and Balochistan is equated with Kashmir. The lingering regional security dynamics revolve around the Kashmir condominium between the Pakistan and Afghanistan. (Dawn) The situation in Balochistan is not exaggerated it is the vulnerable part of Pakistan and inevitable for the stabilising situation on both sides. Pakistan is fixated to its issues and we have to stop aiding and abetting terrorism from the soil of Pakistan.

### **India and Afghanistan strategic relationship under the guise of Terrorism:**

India has historical and civilizational linkages with the India. The last two decades India and Afghanistan relation has achieved a milestone as India's role in economic development, assistance and reconstruction has been remarkable. India's assistance programme is widespread in different socio and economic sectors. The onerous task of constructing mega infrastructure projects are in pipeline are completed. "Despite grave security threat analysis the Zaranz to Delaram 218 Km road was constructed in Nimroz Province and there was construction of 220 KV transmission line Pul-e Khumri to Kabul via substation at Chimtala which was handed over to Afghan government". (MEA Annual Report 2015-16) We also expecting the construction of Salma Dam in the Herat Province of Afghanistan about its completion very shortly. India has shown its commitment to transform Afghanistan into trade, transit and energy hub and working as crossroad of civilizational linkages to connect south Asia and central Asia. The Afghan Parliament was dedicated to the nation which was recently constructed by Indian technocrats and Mi-25 helicopters were incorporated for enhancing the defence and security capability of the nation.

After the political vacuum created by US led North Atlantic Treaty Organisation withdrawal from Afghanistan in 2014 the India is keen to preserve its interest in the region. India has always considered the security of neighbouring states with its own security. Securing the security and stability of the periphery is the prime concern of India. India does not want any turmoil in the neighbouring countries. The changing trajectory of the foreign policy envisages the greater proactive role by India to assert the global power status in the region. The Soviet Union occupation of Afghanistan for decade and protracted civil war in Afghanistan has changed the course of foreign policy and has consequences in the region. The key geopolitical implications is manifested by the different proximity in the region as there is chances of Islamist instability cascading in the region by Russia to its 'soft belly' in the transported to the parts of Central Asia. "There was conundrum in policy making circles to evolve a coherent policy with regard to Afghanistan when Taliban dominated the anti- soviet phase which was characterised by chaos and corruption. Though India tried to support Northern Alliance through money and material supply line." (Pant 2012) From the foreign policy perspective it was imagined and assumed it would be catastrophic and disastrous for India's security if Taliban comes to the power with covert or overt support of ISI and Pakistan's military. (Ibid) Taliban's militants have blown up the Indian embassy in 2008 which showed India was trying to be part security dynamics of Afghanistan.

"India had been recreate its diplomatic presence felt in the Afghanistan after 9/11 by free riding US and NATO security umbrella." (Fair 2011) C Raja Mohan doyen of south Asia security Expert has eloquently said about India's grand strategy with respect to Afghanistan in particularly three aspects India wants to preserve its Hegemonic power in South Asia, wants to determine the dynamics of regional security environment by securing strong position in Indian Ocean, and further wants to prevent any development which undermines India's strategic interest. (Ibid)

All militant and radical organisation operatives HUJI, Lashkare-e-Taiba (LeT), Harkat-ul-Mujahedeen, Harkat-al-Ansar, working against India are virtually and literally trained and in Afghanistan and are having connection with the Taliban. Pakistan has deliberately tried to undermine the position of India by supporting Afghan Taliban, Haqqani network, etc. which

destabilises regional security and stability. After Taliban was started routed in 2001 India's humanitarian aid and assistance and development programme was increased. Pakistan believes that Afghanistan has clandestinely supported the India purportedly ant-Pakistan designs. Afghan has supported and harboured the Baloch rebels and leaders for long time.

Brahma chellaney strategist has figured out American objective has been to prevent the Afghan territory and soil being used by any external non-state actors and state actors to instigate and inflame sectarian violence by using Taliban. Taliban has no capacity to fight back US as it has been completely decimated by Drones used by them. Insurgency along the Durand line of Afghanistan and Pakistan is led by Taliban's Mullah Omar, TTP and Hizb-e-Islami led by Hekmetyar.”(Chandran & Jacob 2010)

Af –Pak belt remains to be the nursery of International terrorism to flourish. The International terrorism has been threatening to US and its allies world over. The gravity of problem in Af-Pak region has many divergent interest from US, China, India, Iran, Pakistan and Russia. US Global war on Terror has different manifestations and objectives to permanently station the troops at troubled zone of world. “US tries to play a strategic anchor in Iraq by maintaining troops there and also maintain military base in Afghanistan after end of Afghan war.”(Chellaney 2011) US objective is clear that no safe havens from Al Qaeda can launch attacks on US homeland and their allies. US has historical involvement in the Af-Pak belt since soviet has invaded Afghanistan in the late 1979 which was a trijunction of Iranian revolution, set the beginning of Iraq-Iran war and Afghan war all led to radicalisation on greater extent. The CIA covertly supplied US manufactured arms to fight back Soviets to the Mujahedeen's. US has created the war lords and guerrilla militias there.

The Ethnic polarisation along the Durand line has created the great divide between the Pashtun communities on the two sides. Even Taliban is hobbled today because of the crumbling edifice of Pakistan, hostilities among non-Pashtun communities, other militant groups. The Afghanistan has already fragmented because of autonomous non-Pashtun provinces. India was major supporter of the Northern Alliance which with US air support drove Taliban out of power after

war on terror. “The Indo-Afghan partnership is built on principle of enemy’s enemy is a friend and India has extended cooperation in all fields.”(ibid)

### **India and Pakistan state of affairs in recent terrorist attack:**

Indian Air force station at Pathankot was attacked by terrorist on 2 January 2016. Syed Salauddin hailing from United Jihad Council (UJC) has taken the responsibility for those terror attack banned terrorist group of Jaish-e- Mohammed (JeM). On the issues of international terrorism India’s natural allies are china and Russia. The new sense of Realism is gratifying as Delhi is in no position to stabilize Afghanistan security environment. There has been substantive evidence in support of Pakistan not working to dismantle the terrorist infrastructure, financing, training camps, and launch pads. The hideouts of terrorist are located in Pakistan. India there is lack of strategic space to manoeuvre policy toward Pakistan’s orbit of terrorism. Pakistan security and regional stability is affected by non-state actors who have created alternative power centres.

There are numerous incidents of terrorism incidents perpetrated by Pakistan to get their terrorist exchanged in lieu of civilians. It is very difficult to circumscribe the terrorist intentions and heinous design. Harkat-ul-Jihad-al-Islami (HUJI) has orchestrated the hijacking of IC 814 Indian Airlines flight from Kathmandu in 1998 for the exchange of terrorist captives for on-board passengers. Masood Azhar one of the freed terrorist the linchpin of Jaish-e- Mohammad formed this new group having blessing from ISI and support from Taliban has been threat to Indian security.

Pakistan has inflicted numerous terror attack on Indian democracy, there was attack on Indian Parliament in December 2001, later on Kargil and Mumbai attack on December 26, 2008 has deeply disturbed the fragile relationship between two countries. Pakistan double standard and double speak has resurfaced in many times as diplomatic overtures has failed to yield any negotiated settlement for the Kashmir decade old imbroglio. Terrorism being sponsored by ISI has been witnessed since Mumbai March 1993 gruesome bombings. Pakistan is shying away and being cornered on the issue of to bring to the book terrorist organisation like Lashkar-e-Taiba and Jaish-e- Mohammad. Pakistan being on the verge of failed state is all aspect is trying to have face saving by preventing direct confrontation and engaging in diplomatic shadow boxing. “The

track 1 diplomatic negotiations and summits have been eroded and faded from public and foreign policy memories as low intensity war has wounded the Indian republic.” (Dwivedi 2008) Track 1 diplomacy usually involves the discussion with high level politicians and military leaders focussing primarily on Cease fires, peace talks, treaties, release of joint statements and agreement followed by high tea. The problem today between the two estranged neighbours is lack deep communication. Pakistan should have continuity in the policy of terrorism being faced by India. Terrorism is also a domestic concern for Pakistan. Afghanistan territory is being used by Pakistan to wage conventional, Non-conventional, asymmetric and covertly against India. The Indo-Pak peace process has been derailed by the Mumbai terror attack of 2008 which has led to shrinking of relationship between two countries.

There has been lots of controversial issues regarding Indo-Pak relations which are having bone of contentions on specific issues of hydroelectric resources, Indus water treaty of sharing water between two countries on India uses Sutlej, Beas and Ravi while Pakistan was given Indus, Chenab and Jhelum. “The controversy revolves around India violates the treaty by reducing the water levels of river given to them. Further to add on Pakistan has raised questions over Indian projects like Wullar barrage, (Tulbul navigation project), Kishan Ganga hydroelectric project, Baglihar hydropower project.” (Chandran & Jacob 2010)

“The 1947 war led to the formation of Pakistan Occupied Kashmir (POK) and it was referred by Pakistan as Azad Kashmir. Some of the terrorist groups are building pressure on the Indian state to give up Kashmir by plotting terrorist attacks are Lashkar-e-Taiba, Jaish-e-Mohammed, al Badr, Harkat-ul- Mujahedeen.” (Kaul) In Azad Kashmir, many political parties like Pakistan people’s party and Muslim conference wants Kashmir conflict by bringing it into Pakistan’s fold. Jammu Kashmir liberation front (JKLF) that seeks united sovereign and independent Kashmir. Various separatist and nationalist party called ultras who are extremist are at play. “Prominent among them are Hurriyat Conference, Kashmir Muslim conference, J&K Democratic freedom Party, J&K Democratic liberation Party and United Kashmir People’s Party they are opting for secession or co-opting to join Pakistan.” (Kaul)

India has levelled allegation against the Pakistani government and Intelligence agency for aggravating tension in the country by spreading hatred and enmity by terrorism and anti-India campaigns. The Indian army Brigade in the Uri was attacked which left 18 Indian soldiers died and Indian Army retaliated by attacking and destroying the terrorist launch pads of Pakistan Administered Kashmir region which bolstered the moral and images of Indian soldiers. The criticism of collateral damage was ruled out by preventing any unnecessary damage.

After 2001 Global war on Terrorism the Pakistan foreign policy has adopted Zero tolerance to the national securitization by elimination of Talibanization and Al Qaeda. Pakistan region of Federally Administered tribal Area in North West part of Khyber Pakhtunia bordering Afghanistan and Pakistan borderline has been limelight and gained attention on global politics. These regions have tribal dominance with feudal structures, with history of autonomous structures parallel to Federal government. There is ethnic cleavage with linguistic diversity and religious differences. “India has established diplomatic presence in Afghanistan by opening four consulates in (Herat, Jalalabad, Kandahar and Mazar- e- Sharif) closed to the tribal sub regions of Pakistan and is fomenting conflict there.” (Hilali 2010) For both Pakistan and India Afghanistan can't be considered as a Zero sum game. (ibid)Zero sum game is situation where each participants gain or loss of utility is balanced by others loss or gain. Net change or benefit is zero. Pakistan has brought Afghanistan to its sphere of influence and used it as a strategic depth against India to protect its security interest. Pakistani defence expert and military strategist have criticised and busted the myth of strategic depth in Afghanistan in dead-end street. Pakistan does not have any effective diplomatic move to counter India's shrewd policy of “strategic encirclement” on western Border. Through US support and India's role in triggering of Baluchistan issues and try internationalise the issue may have serious repercussion to region and will backfire the plan of militancy being faced in Kashmir.

India needs proactive engagement without halting the cooperation in Afghanistan and fighting terrorism without obfuscating the key objectives of the region to benign neighbour by providing humanitarian assistance. The proxy war by Pakistan can be brought back to grinding halt by Popping up the vexed situation in Balochistan. India's determination is to stabilise regional conflict and create international pressure for Balochistan. Balochistan and Kashmir cannot be

juxtapose together as both have different problems being faced aftermath of terrorism. Securitisation should be the goal from the arc of foreign policy to deter the increasing influence of Non-state actors and terrorist organisations. The three regions Balochistan, Afghanistan and Pakistan are taken together in consideration to curb the terrorism. Regional security and stability is the prime goal as the region is entrapped with lots of Vulnerabilities and there is robust need to sabotage the efforts of Terrorist. Pakistan has been vindictive of increasing India's footprint in Afghanistan and turbulences in Balochistan Insurgency. The sinister design to offshore terrorism by Pakistan is checked as it covertly supports the Afghan Taliban's by weaponising and funding them. Thus concluding remarks and observations can be summarised by Provocation from Indian side on Pakistan's Balochistan troubled and conflicted sub autonomous region reflects the anticipation and exasperation shown by Pakistan. The bottom line and crux of the matter remains that India, Pakistan and Afghanistan cannot sustain the terrorist violence's and irritants in relationship is terrorism emanating from the region. The contours of foreign and security policy is to secure the vast swathes of border from the terrorist plots, fight terrorism and extremism in the country. All these South Asian countries have historical records of suffering at the hands of terrorism and needs effective counterterrorism measures. The situation in Afghanistan and Balochistan has ramifications in the region for the spread of religious extremism which dampens the state of relationship. India cannot tolerate any act of terrorist incidents on Indian Territory so it needs to augment its security architecture by pre-empting its adversaries.

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