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Trajectory Of Terrorism & Counter-Terrorism Phenomenon: A Peace Conundrum For Kashmir Dispute

Abstract

Kashmir has been smoldering for the last seven decades without having any kind of permanent solution or bilateral arrangement agreed upon between India and Pakistan. Change of governments on both sides never changed the stance of each or the fortune of Indian Occupied Kashmiri people who have been killed and butchered like the sheep of a herd. Reciprocity of terrorism and counter-terrorism allegations on each other has totally changed the direction of the whole dispute. This study suggests that Terrorism and counter-terrorism approach is being used as a tool for deliberate deferral to this historical dispute for the last two decades. Therefore, the study focuses on Kashmir specific lethal trajectory of action and reaction syndrome, which is being used to keep the status quo in the hope to avail better bargain if and when time comes. Due to adoption of the phenomenon of terrorism and counter-terrorism approach, opportunists, elements of vested interests along with religious fanatics and offensive war-mongers have hijacked the whole process of bilateral relationship between India and Pakistan; therefore, the conflict over Kashmir is yet awaited to be resolved. With the changing game of power politics on international arena and the influx of regional power players, pseudo-defenders and proxy war handlers have further perplexed the ever-worsening gruesome situation in Kashmir. The study suggests adopting incremental efforts to coordinate through uninterrupted negotiations, which would give a shut up call to the peace-spoilers. As soon as both countries get close to each other it is only then any kind of permanent solution could be found.

Key Words: India-Pakistan Relations, Terrorism, Kashmir, Peace.

The phenomenon of terrorism has acquired the shape of a serpent in contemporary international system. The whole world has been suffering by this very deadly and lethal phenomenon. States are engaged in funneling their precious resources to control its effects, side-effects and after-effects instead of concentrating on the provision of better human life requisites to their citizens. Continents and regions are being polarized on the ideological and religious lines to counter this

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phenomenon. In this very confused situation where terrorists are busy in disparaging the very existence of human beings, many international power players and some states have deliberately adopted this phenomenon to achieve their desired interests. By using terrorism as a tool, states try to enforce their agenda on the weaker states or try to purchase time through lingering on the decades old and unresolved conflicts in the hope of a favorable outcome or to bring the opponent on weak table of talks for future. But such policies have always proved to be the dangerous ploys which only water the poisonous plant of terrorism that further spreads its roots in the body of hoisting states. To counter the ever-growing tentacles of terrorism, various counter-terrorism methods are employed. As terrorism is spread through various means and sources, so counter-terrorism policies are also adopted in various ways to check the spread of terrorism. Both terrorism and counter-terrorism tactics are dangerous and equally having high-risk factors within the paraphernalia of a state structure. Counter-terrorism policies are adopted to neutralize the negative effects created by the terrorists for the enforcement of their agendas in the targeted states. The most favoring yield of the terrorist's agenda is the spread of radicalization in the ranks and files of a state's entire system which automatically multiply their morbid ideology in the whole nation. As the spread of radicalization in a society is related to the ideological attack on the innocent minds of a society, so no law or punitive measure can counter such attacks. It can only be countered through the presentation and spread of a counter-narrative that would also indirectly multiply the yield of a healthy approach towards progress and slowing down rapidly accelerating pace of the menace of terrorism. However, it has been observed that some states use the counter-terrorism policies as a tool to defer or postpone the conflict resolution mechanism in the hope of achieving a better bargaining leverage against their rival. The net result of employing such policies by the states is due to the emergence of zero tolerance in the citizens of a state against its rivals that ultimately tow the lines of revenge by throwing its generations into the abyss of dismal future for decades.

The two nuclear weapon states of South Asia i.e. India and Pakistan have also been the victims of terrorism that has strained the bilateral relationship since their inception as independent states in 1947. Both the states have fought three complete wars and various near-war scenarios in the past and are faced with warlike situation to date due to the unresolved issue of Jammu & Kashmir dispute. The issue has become a bone of contention between the two as both have equal claim for the ownership of Kashmir. It has been proven a hurdle in the economic prosperity and healthy mutual relations required for peaceful future and mutual co-existence. Many attempts have been made in the past to reach at any workable solution but all have failed due to the conflict of interests, mutual distrust, aggressive policies along the borders, ideological differences, hawkish attitude of certain people on both sides and a gap of more or less three generations that precludes every attempt for peace in one way or the other. Starting with the Karachi Agreement of 1949 in which Cease-fire Line was established, Simla Agreement of 1972, Lahore Declaration of Feb, 1999 and Gen Pervez Musharaf's Four Point Formula of Dec, 2006, all attempts for peace have failed or were made to fail by various ways. Whenever any process of peaceful negotiations manages to take off, some untoward incident takes place and the whole process again turns

into a fiasco while raising more apprehensions on the seriousness of discussions. Therefore, this study evaluates the trajectory of terrorism and counter-terrorism phenomenon in South Asia. The study aims at to find the possibilities of such phenomenon being used as a tool for deliberate deferral to the peace conundrum in South Asia in general and for Kashmir dispute in particular.

Terrorism And Counter-Terrorism Trajectory

Looking closely at the India-Pakistan relations and their efforts to maintain peace at their borders, it can be observed that a certain kind of pattern or a trajectory of terrorism and counter-terrorism phenomenon is dominant that ultimately determines the nature of relationship between the two states on the sub-continent. On one hand, India always alleges Pakistan for whatever untoward happens there, and on the other hand Pakistan sees mischievous Indian designs in every unrest situation on its side. This pattern is of a typical kind in Indo-Pak relations. If relations remain sour between the two states everything seems okay but whenever efforts are made to expedite the peace process, some terror related activity takes place and everything reshuffles to the standstill again. (Ajithkumar 2006, 99-103) It is very difficult to explain that whatever happens in India is called terrorism, and anything which is going on for the last two decades in Pakistan is called nurturing of extreme and radical ideology of 1980's. Although there are instances in which either of the states could be implicated easily keeping in mind the circumstantial evidences, yet nothing could be proven from both sides. After the nuclearization of South Asia, Indian Prime Minister, Atal Bihari Vajpayee came to Pakistan in Feb, 1999 and the 'Lahore Declaration' was signed on Feb 21, 1999. (Lahore Declaration Text 1999) It was agreed that bilateral process of negotiations would be restarted and dialogue to all pending issues including the dispute of Jammu & Kashmir would be kick started again along with confidence building measures (CBMs) to be adopted and the spirit of 'Simla Agreement' would be revived in letter and spirit. (Aziz 2009, 219-225) But, unfortunately Gen Musharraf's Kargil misadventure sabotaged the whole process. The bilateral relations again started taking roots of normalization after the severe tensions caused by the incidents occurred on Oct 1, 2001 when Indian Occupied Jammu & Kashmir's State Legislative Assembly complex was attacked by the terrorists, in which 38 people were killed. (The Tribune 2001) Another incident took place on Dec 13, 2001 when the Indian Parliament in New Delhi was attacked and five terrorists killed the seven people. (The Guardian 2001) Both these attacks were labeled on Pakistan-based Lashkar-e-Taiba and Jaish-e-Mohammad, committed with the backing of ISI without giving any substantial evidence by the Indian officials; although Pakistan denied it out rightly. (Rediff News 2001) This attack created the '2001-2002 Indo-Pakistan military Standoffs, in which both countries deployed their armies to the borders and the clouds of impending war started hovering under the nuclear umbrella again. India code named these exercises as 'Operation Pragram'. (Ganguly 2001, 87-91) The standoff between the two armies lasted for almost more than half a year till Oct, 2002. In 2006, General Pervez Musharraf presented his 'Four Point Formula' for the resolution of Kashmir dispute. (The Guardian 2006) It seemed that the solution presented by Musharraf was very much realistic, but it also did not work and process went to fail. Though Four Point Formula didn't work, yet relations were normalized and back-channel diplomacy

brought both sides close to each other. Diplomatic gestures were shared, road and railway services started, economic and cultural trades were exchanged, and visa regimes were softened. (Kasuri 2015, 343-351) But, on February 18, 2007 Samjhota Express train bombings again created a situation of shock and awe on both sides of the border in which 68 people were burnt and charred alive, and another 50 were injured. (The Washington Post 2007) It was a Delhi-Lahore train service between India and Pakistan respectively. Two carriages of the train were blasted with the flammable explosive material near the Indian city of Panipat. It was conducted a day before the visit of Pakistan's Foreign Minister's visit to India for the continuation of peace talks with Indian leaders. The attack was initially alleged on Pakistani based militant organizations by BJP opposition in India but it appeared to be more linked to the fundamentalist Hindutva militant group Abhinav Bharat within India, later on. (Hindustan Times 2010) Most of the dead and injured were Pakistanis in this tragic incident. Mr. Lalu Prasad, India's Railway Minister, condemned the incident and said, "it was an attempt to derail the improving relationship between India and Pakistan". (International Herald Tribune 2007) Indian Prime Minister, Manmohan Singh, also expressed anguished and grief, and promised to bring the culprits to task. Khurshid Mahmud Kasuri visited India and President Musharraf also stated that "such wanton acts of terrorism will only serve to further strengthen our resolve to attain the mutually desired objectives of sustainable peace between the two countries". (Reuters 2007) Relations did not sour too much as both sides had causalities and suspects initially. Another incident took place after the installation of new civilian government of Pakistan Peoples Party in Islamabad. 'Mumbai Attacks' of November 26, 2008 again distorted the whole effort of Confidence Building Measures (CBMs). It is also noteworthy here that the new government of President Asif Ali Zardari and his Prime Minister, Syed Yousaf Raza Gilani were interested in mending ties with India that was evident from the fact that the day Mumbai Attacks took place, the then Foreign Minister of PPP government Mukhdoom Shah Mehmud Qureshi was present in India for the official talks. Ten terrorists from Lashkar-e-Taiba carried out a series of 12 coordinated shootings and bomb attacks at ten different points across Mumbai. This whole episode continued from 26 Nov to 29 Nov, 2008 for four days. A total of 166 people were killed in all in these attacks. (The New York Times 2008) This time terrorist's attack was international in nature as the targets were not only the Indian interests but the Jews and American were also attacked and killed. Perpetrators of the terrorist attack were killed and one of them namely Ajmal Kasab was apprehended alive. David Headley, an American, who did the recce before this incident to carry out the attack, was caught from America and is still there in jail. (The US Department of Justice 2013) LeT Chief Hafiz Saeed and his Jamat were nominated by India for this attack. (Ahmad 2012) Although in 2009 Pakistan admitted that attacks were plotted from her soil, yet it categorically rejected any kind of state connivance or sponsoring by any of its institution. All kinds of relations whether economic, business, cultural, trade or travelling, were disbanded. India tried to make this incident a 9/11 of India and influenced international community to declare Pakistan as a terrorist state despite the fact that alleged people in this case are still under trial in the Pakistani Anti-Terrorism Courts since 2009. (Marinero 2009)

Normalization could not be re-initiated again afterwards for seven long years. Governments changed on both sides but still a lukewarm attitude was seen on the Indian side. Now the government of Hindu nationalist party BJP along with her allies is installed in India who does not want to have a peaceful relations with Pakistan. Indian PM Narendra Modi tried to malign Pakistan at every international fora and never paid any heed towards normalization of relations. After a long time under severe American pressure, he stopped in Pakistan while coming back from his trip to Afghanistan for some time on Dec 25, 2005 and the hopes for new chapter of peace were rekindled. (Naseer 2015) But how could it go smoothly as the peace-spoilers again came into action and only after a week of his departure, on Jan 2, 2016 Indian Air Base at Pathankot was stormed by the terrorists. (The Tribune 2016) India provided communication leads of terrorists to Pakistan and the handlers of this attack were found seemingly associated with Pakistan according to the Indian claims. (Pakistan Working on 'Leads' Provided by India to Counter Terrorism 2016) This time India behaved sanely and avoided any confrontation under the strong American pressure. (The Express Tribune 2016) India agreed to give access to a Pakistani investigation team to visit the attacked Pathankot Air Base for collecting the evidence. Though this access was limited, yet it was a first ever co-operation of both these states in which India declared that no involvement on the part of Pakistani government was found but the handlers of the attack must be brought to justice as they are members of the Pakistani based militant organization Jaish-e-Muhammad. (Dawn, No Evidence of Pakistan's Involvement in Pathankot Attack: Indian NIA Chief 2016) While keeping in view the trajectory of terrorism, Pakistan also claims that India is involved in subversive activities in Pakistan. This claim proved prudent in favor of Pakistan in 2016 when the Pakistani forces captured a high level Indian spy Kalbhushan Jhadev from Baluchistan who is a serving Lt-Col of Indian Navy and who admitted that he had been spying for Indian secret agency RAW to destabilize Balochistan for a long time. (Dawn, Transcript of RAW Agent Kulbhushan's Confessional Statement 2016) His admission has proven the Pakistani stance that India has been involved in terror related incidences in Pakistan to destabilize it through Afghanistan and Iran borders. This time, India could not negate that the man does not belong to India and requested Pakistan for consular access, which was declined due to the investigation process. (India's Request for Consular access to RAW Officer Under Consideration 2016) As far as Pakistan's involvement for terrorist activities in India is concerned, the recent investigations by Indian agencies about Pathankot incident have also shown that the poor security arrangement of the highly sensitive location is one of the major reasons for terrorist attacks. (Arunima 2016)

The new wave of freedom movement in the Indian held Jammu & Kashmir after the brutal killing of young freedom fighter Burhan Muzaffar Wani by the Indian forces on July 8, 2016 again brought the Kashmir dispute on the international arena and made it clear that Pakistan was not backing the Kashmiri freedom fighters logistically or through any other proxy means being labeled by India on Pakistan. It was recognized by the international community as well as by various Indian analysts themselves that the movement had indigenous roots. (APP 2016) Indian forces used pellet guns, tear gases and unprovoked firing on the peaceful protestors which has killed more than 100 people since the killing of Wani and after the passing of more than hundred days under curfew so far. (Kashmir Crisis:

How 100 Days After Burhan Wani Have Changed the Valley 2016) The brutal use of pellets have blinded more than 100 people completely and another around 700 with a very little chance of recovery in either of the eye. (Al-Jazeera 2016) In this scenario, Pakistan decided to muster up its diplomatic efforts for Kashmiris and found a chance to get international community to realize about the brutalities being committed to the Kashmiris by India. (The Hindu 2016) International community seemed convinced to listen to the voice of Kashmiris this time. As Pakistan's Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif was to raise the Kashmir issue forcefully from the United Nations General Assembly's forum, the hawkish and non-state elements again came into action. On Sep 18, 2016, four terrorists attacked on Indian army's 12th Brigade headquarter in Uri, Jammu & Kashmir, killing 17 Indian soldiers two days before Nawaz Sharif's address to the UNGA on Sep, 21 in New York. (Al-Jazeera 2016) India without wasting a moment, blamed on Pakistani based jihadi organization Jaish-e-Mohammad for this act of terror. As always without conducting any inquiry and providing any concrete evidence, responsibility was squarely laid on Pakistan and was threatened for the strict action to be taken by India. (Daily Times 2016) Resultantly, Mr. Nawaz Sharif's diplomatic efforts again just became writing on a piece of paper to read out. Terrorists again succeeded in achieving their ulterior motives in which oppression and suppression committed to Kashmiris became a secondary issue replaced by the terrorism as the first hand agenda. Uri attack totally favored India who was previously being criticized in the world due to the new killing spree and brutalities being committed in the Jammu & Kashmir. The act of Uri attack put the Kashmir Issue on the backburner and relations between India and Pakistan are again moving towards hostility. The bilateral relations are now again on the nosedive and have their negative impact on the region as well. The SAARC Summit conference, which was going to be held in Islamabad on 9-10 November, has been cancelled. After the rift between Pakistan's Interior Minister Ch. Nisar and his counterpart from India Mr. Rajnath Singh on the occasion of SAARC Interior Ministers' meeting on 3rd August that was left by the later due to Ch. Nisar's candid stance on Kashmir uprising, it seemed obvious that India might refuse to attend the SAARC Summit in Pakistan. (Ganjoo 2016) Apprehensions proved exactly right when India pulled herself out of the summit on the pretext of Sep 18, 2016 Uri attack by the terrorists in the Indian held Jammu & Kashmir and abruptly alleged Pakistani involvement without any evidence and inquiry to be held. First of all India and after that three of its closest regional allies and members of the SAARC namely Afghanistan, Bangladesh and Bhutan also refused to join the summit, which ultimately resulted in the cancellation of the SAARC summit, a great set back to the prospects for regional cooperation and prosperity. (Hindustan Times 2016)

FLUCTUATING INDIA-PAKISTAN RELATIONS SINCE 1999

Date	Event	Reflections	Sabotage
Feb 21, 1999	Lahore Declaration	After nuclear explosions BJP & PML governments came close to other.	Dialogue suspended due to Kargil war of May, 1999
July 14-16, 2001	Agra Summit	Talks between President Musharraf & PM Vajpayee held in India. Agra Agreement escaped approval but Bilateral relations normalized.	J&K state assembly attacked & 38 people were killed on October 1, 2001
Dec 13, 2001	Indian Parliament attacked, 7 people were killed.	Pakistan under severe criticism as L-e-T & J-e-M were implicated	Total suspension of dialogues and Military Standoff 2001-2002
Nov 26, 2003	Cease-Fire Agreement	After Musharraf's call for a ceasefire along LoC at UNGA meeting, tensions were cooled across the de facto borders.	Agreement signed & relations again started taking off.
Jan 4-6, 2004	12 th SAARC Summit Islamabad	Vajpayee & Musharraf held direct talks, Composite Bilateral Dialogue process begins, and officials of military & government at various levels started discussions.	New Indian PM Manmohan Singh announced reduction of troops from J&K & relations improved.
Dec, 2006	Musharraf's Four Point Formula	A positive gesture agreed by India but could not materialize due to apprehensions over Musharraf's military govt. Economic, cultural, trade & government relations improved despite non agreement over Musharraf's proposal.	Samjhota Express train bombing & killing of 68 people near Panipat, India on Feb 18, 2007. However, Dialogues did not suspend due to Pakistan's commitment towards peace despite having more casualties of Pakistanis.
Feb 18, 2007	Samjhota Express train bombing & killing of 68 people near Panipat, India	Sanity prevailed on both sides though a greet setback.	Mumbai attack & 166 people were killed including foreigners on Nov 26, 2008.
July 11-16, 2009	15 TH NAM Summit in Sharm-el-Sheikh Egypt.	India & Pakistan PM met on the sidelines & issue a joint statement of future talks. Singh, however, ruled out resumption of Composite Dialogue Process.	
May 26,	Oath Taking	Good gestures were	FS Level Talks cancelled

2014	ceremony of 15 th Indian PM Modi in New Delhi, PM Nawaz Sharif participated on invitation	shared, commitment to bury the “legacy of mistrust” with Foreign Secretary to meet soon to carry forward the bilateral agenda.	due to Pakistani High Commissioner Abdul Basit’s meeting with Hurriyat leader Shabir Shah.
July 10, 2015	Ufa meeting between PM Modi & Nawaz Sharif on the sidelines of SCO summit in Russia	Five pronged strategy of progress announced, both countries’ NSA’s would meet, military to military level talk would be revived with PM Modi to attend the SAARC Summit to be held in Islamabad next year.	Gurdaspur attack, terrorists killed 7 people including an SP in Indian Punjab on July 27, 2015. Meeting between Ajit Doval & Sartaj Aziz cancelled which was going to happen very in two days time.
Dec 8, 2015	Heart of Asia Conference in Islamabad	External Affairs ministers Sushma Swaraj & Sartaj Aziz met and consensus was made to the resumption of Composite Dialogue Process	
Dec 25, 2015	PM Modi’s surprise visit to Pakistan	On his way back from Afghanistan PM Modi stopped in Lahore & participated in the Nawaz Sharif’s granddaughter’s marriage by rattling the status quo. Start of NSA’S meeting in early Dec at Bangkok, the process of bilateral negotiations seemed again on track with PM Modi’s positive gesture.	Pathankot Air Force base attack, 8 Indian solders & five attackers were killed on Jan 2, 2016.
Jan , 2, 2016	Sanity prevailed & India didn’t mistrusted Pakistani efforts to hold the inquiry with allowing Pakistani investigative team to visit the air base.	Terrorists from J-e-M were alleged in the killings meant to sabotage the peace initiatives recently started	Killing of young Indian freedom fighter Burhan Mazaffar Wani on July 8, 2016 by Indian forces and the emergence of a new indigenous freedom movement in India
Sep 18, 2016			Uri attack on brigade headquarter in J&K. 18 Indian soldiers killed in the attack on Sep 18, 2016.

Intervening Conflict Of Interests

The Situation is still very grim in the Kashmir Valley as India has imposed a curfew from 8 July 2016 and a complete media blackout is also being observed to date. Hurriyat leaders have been detained by the Indian security forces, acute human

rights violations and humanitarian issues are rising with every passing day; unarmed protesters are being treated savagely by the Indian forces, while the international community is pressurizing India to stop her brutal tactics and talk to Kashmiris and Pakistan for peace and a solution of the dispute. (The Frontier Post 2016) Such lethal trajectory of killings and terror related phenomenon are still persistent and people on both sides in general and Kashmiris in particular are suffering too much due to the unending deadly course of action and reaction syndrome. It has now been established that the phenomenon of terrorism is being used as a tool to derail the peace processes whenever any peace effort is tried to be pursued. Is it just a co-incidence or weakness on both sides that despite having all available resources both states have been unable to hinder the terrorist's movements and become victims, whether it is India or Pakistan? The answer is No. The situation is not as simple as it seems on the surface. It is the conflict of interest between both the countries that is being utilized by the rogue elements for the purpose of sabotage. This conflict of interest is surrounded by various strategic interests of both the states which include; conflict over Indian held Jammu and Kashmir to the borders of Afghanistan, building of a port in Chabahar (Iran) to counter the development of strategic Gwadar Port of Pakistan, development of multibillion dollar China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), seeking the NSG membership without fulfilling the necessary pre-requisites of the nuclear regime and the Indian designs of hegemony in the region and for a permanent seat in the UNSC. Different governments in New Delhi have different agendas to deal with Pakistan. On the other hand opinion in Pakistan is also divided regarding mutual relations with India. There are hawkish elements in Pakistan who don't want to have any kind of relations with India, and there are dovish elements who believe that negotiations and other channels must be intact to remove differences with India. So there is no permanent position of either side to deal with each other. This is the weak point which is being abused by the spoilers on both side. (Kasuri 2015, 39) Therefore, terrorism and counter-terrorism phenomenon has dragged both the countries towards a lethal trajectory and stalemate. There have been certain incidents and subversive activities in Pakistan that indicate the Indian involvement in it, and in the same way there are some jihadi elements in Pakistan that secretly operate and create difficulties for the state of Pakistan. As both India and Pakistan have failed to counter such non-state elements on either side, it casts doubts on either side's genuine efforts for peace. Therefore, one can assume that it is actually the conflict of interest between the two states that has made it very difficult for both the states to come close to each other. (Walpert 2010, 211) Apart from such eventualities another contributing factor towards the trajectory of terrorism is the presence of fanatic and fundamentalist element in both the countries. Unfortunately, the religious elements in both countries have stark differences. Pakistani Muslims have a monotheistic belief whereas Indian Hindus have polytheism as their religious adoptability. Islam strongly rejects the polytheism. This is also one of the basic reasons that relations between the two states could not have been mended so far. Fundamentalists at both sides play to the gallery for their influence in public and resultantly a perennial acrimony has been engraved in the soil and social fabric of both the countries. (Abbas 2005, 69), (Gupta 2008, 113) One can also observe some important idiosyncrasies found in the India-Pakistan relations. These include: to some extent India-Pakistan seem non-serious in

resolving their core differences and obviously the issue of Jammu & Kashmir, the success of terrorists in derailing the peace process every time it starts to take off has only encouraged the terrorist, the terrorism and counter-terrorism phenomenon on both sides has taken the same course of action and reaction syndrome for decades, and last but not least that such terrorism and counter-terrorism phenomenon has genuine implications for regional peace and stability. Therefore, it should be dealt through coordinated efforts bilaterally on priority basis as there are no ulterior forces working more powerfully than this phenomenon to create a gulf of fractured and torn relations of both these states in general and between the people of both nations in particular.

The phenomenon of terrorism and counter-terrorism has now took a specific lethal trajectory as apart from the destitute Kashmiris who are fighting for their natural birth right of freedom, thousands and thousands of people and precious resources have been consumed so far in the hypothetical war of self-pride and attrition on both sides. Due to the hollow policies and strategies being adopted, it seems to be a deliberate effort of deferral specifically on the part of India to keep the Kashmir issue lingered on and leave the border unmanaged in the hope of maintaining the status quo or the merger of Kashmir in the Indian union at any later stage. But time has proven that by burying ones head under the sand, realities never change at all. The role of alleged Pakistani involvement and its strategies of blowing hot and cold together without analyzing the ground situation have further helped to defer the unresolved issues and have created the peace conundrum of South Asia. So, like the terrorism and counter-terrorism phenomenon the game of action and reaction is being played by the both at the cost of Kashmiri freedom for seven long decades.

The Peace Conundrum

After the Kashmir uprising of 1989 and the emergence of Taliban phenomenon in the region, the conflict between India and Pakistan has taken a new direction. If we go by the Indian term of this phenomenon, the elements of terrorism and cross-border terrorism have added new chapters in the already complicated conflict resolution mechanism of Kashmir issue while Pakistan overtly expresses the political, diplomatic and moral support for the Kashmiri mujahedeen and considers them freedom fighters, whereas India alleges that this Pakistani stance is the intervention in her state's affairs, and calls the mujahedeen as Kashmiri militants backed by the Pakistan in their armed struggle against India. (Sattar 2006, 189) Indian stance of militancy in Kashmir has given space to the entry of terrorists in the case of Kashmiri independence. There is no doubt in it that states use every mean to achieve their national interests and objectives at all costs, and if one closely look at the whole situation prevailed in both these countries, one can find that on both sides there are people and certain sections that always try to deviate from the whole peace process, if they consider that negotiations are not going to be held on their lines of interests. (Rafiq Dossani, Henri S. Rowen 2005, 131) India claims that Pakistani backed terrorists always attack and interfere against the Indian interests, whereas Pakistan says that it does not adopt terrorism as the state policy, and the success of operation Zerb-e-Azb against the terrorists' organization and their infrastructure is the befitting proof in this regard. (Pildat 2014) Suppose, if terrorism is taken as the state policy of Pakistan to derail the peace process, it

can be observed that India has been deferring the peace process through the misuse of counter-terrorism allegations on Pakistan, which are being adopted as the state policy by India. In the guise of counter-terrorism policies, propaganda is being made by India in the international community that until or unless terrorism is stopped, they won't talk to Pakistan. By declaring Pakistan as a terror-sponsor state and showing itself as a victim, India deliberately postpones every kind of peace initiatives taken by Pakistan. (Hussain 2008, 304-308) Starting from participation of Pakistani Prime Minister, Muhammad Nawaz Sharif in the inauguration ceremony of Indian Prime Minister Narindra Modi's Oath taking ceremony to the Indian External Affairs Minister Sushma Swaraj's visit to the Heart of Asia Conference in Pakistan followed by the meetings of National Security Advisors of both sides, Pakistan has shown a positive attitude to restart the Comprehensive Dialogue Process despite the Indian reluctance. (Dawn, India Stalling Dialogue to Avoid Negotiations on Kashmir 2016) However, the efforts for peace went to no avail when India suspended the dialogues again on the pretext of Pathankot incident. (BBC News 2016) India's such counter-terrorism policies have been counter-productive because they have been unable to deter the terrorists for committing devastative acts for years. Putting negotiations on halt serves the objectives of terrorists rather than serving the counter-terrorism interests, and encourages the terrorists to continue their activities in order to derail the peace process. On the other hand, Pakistan says that India is involved in spreading terrorism in her Baluchistan province, FATA region and the worst Karachi situation through her Afghanistan based Consulates as a state policy (The News 2016) and therefore, it seems that India has adopted terrorism as a counter-terrorism policy against Pakistan. Moreover, Indian objection to the China's multibillion dollar CPEC project with Pakistan, Afghanistan's ever-growing harsh treatment towards the state of Pakistan, the development of Chabahar Port in Iran to counter the strategic Gwadar port, and the troika of US-Afghanistan-India to encircle and isolate Pakistan in the international community has further raised the eyebrows of strategists in Pakistan who look it from the prism of nefarious Indian designs in the region in general and against the state of Pakistan in particular. (Khan 2016) Such kind of strategic environment has served to create suspicion on both sides in the sub-continent and has polluted the minds and ideology of the people in each country where wrong policies are being towed by both the states for decades and have pushed Kashmir issue inferior to the issue of terrorism in the eyes of international community. (Kasuri 2015, 159) Emergence of the issue of terrorism in the sub-continent at first priority for the international community has relinquished the Kashmir issue from the high tables of international affairs. Setting aside the Kashmir issue on the pretext of terrorism serves only the Indian desired objectives. It can, therefore, be argued that the terrorism and counter-terrorism phenomenon has served the Indian interests, and therefore adopted by India as a tool for deliberate deferral from negotiated settlement of the Kashmir dispute with Pakistan.

Conclusion

Looking closely at the present situation and after going through the past archives, one can find a certain kind of trajectory regarding terrorism and counter-terrorism phenomenon in the relations of both the countries that have adversely affected the

Kashmir dispute, and its end consequences are being faced by the Kashmiris. Terrorists entered in the scene due to flawed policies and objective lines being taken by the Indian state at regular intervals against the freedom movement of Kashmiris. Moreover, Taliban phenomenon, proxy war of USA being waged by Pakistan, hawkish elements on both sides, religiously fanatic class on either sides have helped a lot to make this pattern a material trajectory in the worsening Indo-Pak relations. To sum up, there is no alternative to peace as neighbors cannot be chosen by one's own wishes nor can be changed likewise. The permanent solution of Kashmir issue in the present situation seems unlikely, yet the issue can be managed through Conflict Management Mechanism. Peace talks should be continued along with people to people contacts, diplomatic, political, and cultural and economics reciprocities till the final resolution of this issue, and it is the only solution available right now. To stop terrorism, bold initiatives would have to be taken on both sides. Adoption of those policies which might give space to the terrorists to attack on India or Pakistan would annihilate both the nations one day, as both are now nuclear powers and have influential fanatics who are utilizing this lingered on conflict for their heinous interior motives. After looking closely at the history of India and Pakistan relations, it seems that deliberate efforts are being made to keep the Indo-Pak relations unmanaged. As after a passage of about seven decades, peace could not be maintained on both sides and all efforts are being sabotaged by the terrorists to come to peace terms. The whole arc of Indo-Pak relations and the saga of Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) along with ever-worsening situation along the LoC and in the Indian held Jammu & Kashmir has made this whole episode a conundrum. (Cohen 2013, 137-139) Finally, the only solution available right now is that, both the states should coordinate through uninterrupted negotiations, which would give a shut up call to the peace-spoilers. As soon as both countries get close to each other it is only then any kind of permanent solution could be found.

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