

A Study on The Problem of Kashmir in Indo-Pak Relations- A Historical Perspective

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Abstract

Kashmir issue is still caught in the crossfire ever since British left and always claimed by India and Pakistan. The relations between India and Pakistan had been strained from the very beginning. As on today, the Indo-Pak relations are tense. A multitudinal factors have contributed to the worsening of the bilateral relations. Since Independence the relations between India and Pakistan have been conflictual, distrustful and problematic. There are various issues between India and Pakistan which should be clearly analysed. Terrorism has been regarded as one of the major issue which worsened the relations between the two countries. Before analysing deep into the problems between India and Pakistan it is necessary to examine the history of partition. This paper intends to analyze the history behind the emergence of the state of Jammu and Kashmir and causes and factors led to the accession of Kashmir to India. The article also discusses terrorism as a bilateral issue between India and Pakistan and how it has affected their relationship. The adversarial relations between India and Pakistan have largely been characterized by their outstanding territorial disputes, which owe their origin to the partition. The article aims at analysing how cross border terrorism affected India and Pakistan relations.

Key words: Cross border terrorism, international terrorism, trans-border terrorism, fundamentalism, authoritarianism, imperialism, boundary disputes.

1.Introduction

Terrorism is neither new nor a recent phenomenon in the human society. It has existed in all ages. It has grown in form and size along the evolution of society. There has always been dissent against the established authority irrespective of the fact that the authority is established under a feudal system, monarchic system or a democratic system. From the rule of the dominant to the rule of law, many stages have been witnessed in the evolution of terrorism. It has been identified with anarchists, with revolutionaries and with fundamentalists at different times of history. Terrorism did exist in all stages of history and the subjectivity of human mind identified it with revolutions which were far too different movements to bring about reforms in the society, with freedom struggles which had nothing to do with it and with social reforms that had nobler goals to achieve through the means of love and peace. The indo-Pak relations became worst due to the impact of terrorism across the borders.

Terrorism has become one of the most worrisome concerns of the present world .It is defined as the deliberate and systematic murder, maiming and menacing of the innocent to inspire fear for political ends. It is a term used to describe the method or the theory whereby an organized group or party seeks to achieve its avowed aims chiefly through a systematic use of violence. In the long run, it devours, the promoters themselves. “Terrorism is a psychological warfare. Terrorists try to manipulate us and change our behaviour by creating fear, uncertainty, and division in society”- Patrik.J.Kennedy. Terrorism has spread its tentacles far and wide in every sector of the society. It has taken the shape of a menace threatening the very existence of a civilized society. The adversarial relations between India and Pakistan

have largely been characterized by their outstanding territorial disputes, which owe their origin to the partition. The article aims at analysing how cross border terrorism affected India and Pakistan relations.

Objectives of the study

1. To discuss and analyse the impact of cross border terrorism in Indo-Pak relations
2. To analyse the historical factors and causes led to the partition of India and Pakistan.
3. To study the major bilateral issues and analyse terrorism as a bilateral issue that affected Indo-Pak relationship.

3.Methodology

The study is historical and descriptive in nature. The data is collected mainly from secondary sources. Secondary sources include books, articles, news papers and internet sources.

Cross Border Terrorism in Kashmir: A Historical Perspective

Cross border terrorism is that form of terrorism whose activities are sponsored and trained by a country other than its victims. Cross-border terrorism is a facile term for international terrorism which implies the involvement of foreign national in acts of terrorism on the soil of a neighboring country with the active connivance of the former. When two neighboring states are involved in terrorist activities across the border directly or indirectly it is called cross border terrorism. When third states are involved or when terrorist acts are abetted in a third country, terrorism becomes international. The cross-border terrorism is also very prominent concepts which affect the relations between nations. As we approach the cross roads in Kashmir the reasons behind India's largest -ever military mobilization need to be recalled.

For more than a decade New Delhi had just chosen to absorb from Islamabad's strategy of bleeding it through a thousand cuts." *The present situation in the Indian State of Jammu and Kashmir is the direct result of sustained cross-border terrorism emanating from Pakistan,*" *Sumit Seth, a First Secretary in India's UN Mission in Geneva .*

Pakistan has been indulging in this nefarious game against India from the beginning of its birth in the subcontinent especially by exploiting the sensitivities of India's religious and cultural communities. The ethnographic map of India depicting the spread of ethnic and religious minorities various geographical areas shows that several strategic border areas are predominantly inhabited by them.

The story of cross border terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir begins with the massive tribal invasion of 1947 contrived by Pakistan and armed at forcibly grabbing the State of Jammu and Kashmir. The cease fire agreement brokered by the United Nations silenced the guns on the border but the Pakistani rulers "obsession with Jammu and Kashmir remained intact and undiminished. The Pakistan military's top brass were accordingly directed to work out a politico-military strategy to carry forward the war behind the enemy lines in relentless pursuits of national objective of making Kashmir an integral part of Pakistan.

The edifice of Pakistan was constructed on the "two nation theory. The people of Jammu and Kashmir, under the leadership of Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah had decisively rejected this theory as well as the very concept of Pakistan. This was made clear to Jinnah, the creator of Pakistan, in no uncertain terms during his visit to the Valley in May 1944. He was said to have felt humiliated and returned from Kashmir a very bitter man.

After partition and independence, Jinnah was persuaded to make an attempt to win over Sheikh Abdullah for the accession of Jammu and Kashmir to Pakistan. Sheikh Abdullah evaded the issue by arguing that his priority was to free his people from the "Dogra Yoke'

Kashmiri's Soul take a decision on this crucial issue only as a free people" he asserted.¹ The mounting bitterness and his dislike of Sheikh Abdullah bordering on hatred clouded his vision and impaired his otherwise sound judgment. In sheer desperation, he authorized the tribal invasion of Kashmir in 1947, planned and office by Pakistan military regulars. The Pashtun tribals were motivated in the name of Islam and Jihad. This historically marks the onset of Pakistan promoted terrorism from across the recognised borders of the State of Jammu and Kashmir. It may be pertinent to note that this misadventure did not enjoy even symbolic participation by any Kashmiri.

Bilateral Issues between India and Pakistan: a Historical Perspective

The relations between India and Pakistan had been strained from the very beginning. As on today, the Indo-Pak relations are tense. A multitudinal factors have contributed to the worsening of the bilateral relations. Before analyzing deep into the problems between India and Pakistan it is necessary to examine the history of Partition. The aim of the paper is to analyze the bilateral issues lead to the outbreak of cross border terrorism in Indo-Pak relations. No objective study of Indo-Pak relations is complete without an assessment of the role of imperialism in this subcontinent, both before and after the two countries became independent and sovereign states. For centuries this subcontinent has been the main base of imperialist expansion and domination. If we compare the total population of India in the late thirties with the eight leading colonial empires of the world, it will not be difficult to see that every other person in the colonial population of the world was an Indian. Thus pre-partition India was the largest and the biggest colonial possession of imperialism.

When we examine the geo-political aspect we will find that India occupies an important strategic position. The conquest of India therefore became an essential element in

the capitalist development of Europe and in particular of Great Britain. No two countries in the world perhaps have so much of persistent mutual hatred, suspicion, completion and rivalry as do India and Pakistan in the post-second world history of international relations. The two Koreas - North Korea and South Korea fought a war in early 1950s, signed and armistice agreement in 1953 and are officially at war even now. But they have not fought any war since then. Yet Indo-Pakistani relations have remained a burning example of hate-hate international relations.

At the time of partition, about 584 Princely States were scattered all over India. The overwhelming majority had Hindu populations and Hindu rulers, while half a dozen were Muslim. The general assumptions were that the Hindu states would join India, and the Muslims States, Pakistan. Nearly all the states joined either one country or the other. However the rulers of Junagarh, Hyderabad (in the South) and Kashmir (in the north) decided to join neither country. . On august 15, 1947 after ruling the sub-continent the British surrendered the power and India and Pakistan became two sovereign nations. Partition created several problems like rehabilitation and evacuee property, shearing of assets and integration of princely states etc the dispute over. the accession of princely states ;Junagadh ,Hyderabad and Kashmir in less than five months after independence two countries were on the verge of war over this issue.

Hyderabad's Muslim ruler against the wishes of his Hindu population, decided to join neither India nor Pakistan, but attempted to enter into special treaty relations with India in order to retain a fair measure of independence for his state. India demanded that the State should accede to India unconditionally, and that subsequently a plebiscite could be held to ascertain the wishes of the population. The Indian army forced its way into the state in September 1948, and Hyderabad became a part of India.

The Hindu ruler of Kashmir, whose population was 85% Muslim, decided to join India. Pakistan refused to recognise the ruler's decision to decide the fate of Kashmiri Muslims. Consequently war broke out between India and Pakistan. India brought the issue before the UNO, where a ceasefire in Kashmir was arranged in July 1949, and a plebiscite was provided in the Security Council Resolution of 5 January 1949. India remained committed to holding a plebiscite to determine the preference of the Kashmir population for India or Pakistan. Until 1956 Prime Minister Nehru publicly reneged on his solemn commitment for a plebiscite. In a series of statements and press conferences, Nehru offered a forceful defense of his new policy, observing that Pakistan had committed aggression in Kashmir and that circumstances had changed including US military aid to Pakistan and her membership in SEATO, and the Baghdad pact and the incremental integration of Kashmir into the Indian Union.

The decade of the 1950s saw the two main disputes between India and Pakistan, i.e, Kashmir and Indus Canal Waters Dispute. Apart from Kashmir, this decade was a notable impingement of the cold war on the relations between the two countries and the centrality of United States as a factor in Pakistan's domestic and foreign policies. Taking a total view of the India-Pakistan relations, one gets the impression that much of their discord emanates from basic differences in the outlook of the two countries, it is a clash of ideology. The bilateral relations between India and Pakistan come under various issues not merely Kashmir. These issues play a major role in the relations between India and Pakistan.

The major issues and problems determined the nature of Indo-Pak relations during the period 1947-65 are Transfer of population, Division of assets, Canal water Disputes etc.

Transfer of population

One of the most tragic and serious problems that emerged as the side effect of the partition was the transfer of population. Beginning with months before 1947, the migration was the largest in modern history, involving perhaps 12 million persons flowing both ways. In spite of such migration the problems of religious minorities were not solved in either State about 40 million Muslims remained in India and ten million Hindus in East-Pakistan. The fever of religious communalism was heightened by the unfortunate happenings of 1947. The legacy of the communalism of partition still sometimes leads to the occasional outbreak of communal riots.

Division of Assets

The problem of division of assets of India between Pakistan and India too kept Indo-Pak relations tense and strained during the initial years of the relations. On 14th August 1947 the cash balance of India was about Rs.4,000 million out of which Pakistan wanted Rs.1,000 million. India was not willing to give such a big share to Pakistan. The issue was, therefore referred to an Arbitral Tribunal which decided that Rs.750 million should be paid to Pakistan as its share. After initial hesitation India decided to implement the agreement. However, Pakistan refused to pay to India Rs.55crores which it was to pay as its share of the pre - 1947 foreign debt of India. At the time of partition, it was decided that India would take the entire responsibility of paying the foreign debts and Pakistan would pay its share led the development of bad blood between the two countries. Similarly the problem of division of military stores and delinking of banking services too acted as irritants in Indo-Pak relations. The problem of establishing trade and economic relations also caused tension. Areas that formed part of Pakistan were rich wheat and cotton producing area which used to supply these commodities to other parts of India. Likewise, India after partition came to be the

inheritor of rich sugarcane, coal and iron ore producing areas. The partition upset the complementarities of economic and trade relations. In 1947, both the countries signed a Stand Still Agreement which permitted free flow of goods between the two countries. However, this arrangement failed to work smoothly because there arose disputes over the issue of sharing the export duty on jute and other taxes levied and collected on such goods. Consequently, a new trade agreement was signed in May 1948. But this agreement too failed to resolve the trade tangle. The third agreement was signed on 24th June, 1949, but the devaluation of Indian rupee and Pakistan's refusal to do the same made the implementation of this agreement impossible. Thus, the differences over trade relations too kept the Indo-Pak relations tense and strained during the period under review.

Canal Water Dispute

The division of Punjab into West Punjab, which came to be part of Pakistan, and East Punjab, which remained with India, brought with it the problem of distribution of canal waters. This problem arose out of the unnatural partition of Punjab. East Punjab in India was relatively under-developed in irrigation works, while West Punjab in Pakistan included most of the canal system of the pre-partition Indus-Basin; but most of the Pakistani canals originated in rivers and head works located in and controlled by India. In 1947, both the countries agreed to maintain *status quo*; Pakistan agreed to pay for the continued flow of water from Sutlej and Ravi rivers which flow through India. After the expiry of this agreement in April 1948, the East Punjab Government cut off the supply of water to Pakistan. The farmers of Pakistan strongly rallied against the failure of the Government to settle the question of supply of water. This gave issue to a big pressure on Pakistani Government and on May 4, 1948, after ministerial level talks, India and Pakistan signed a new agreement. Under this agreement India agreed to supply water to Pakistan but the latter

was called upon to build its own irrigation resources. It was agreed that India would gradually reduce and ultimately stop the supply of water to Pakistan. However, later on this agreement was repudiated by Pakistan and it asserted the right to get an uninterrupted supply of water from Indian rivers. It started challenging the Indian plans for the constructions of new dams and canals which were to provide irrigation facilities to the dry lands of East Punjab and Rajasthan. Pakistan wanted to maintain the status quo and desired that the dispute should be referred to the International Court of Justice. This demand was rejected by India.

In March 1952, Mr. Eugene Black, President of World Bank offered mediation with India and Pakistan for settling and the two countries accepted a draft treaty in 1959. However, it took 16 more months for finalising the Indus Water Treaty, which was ultimately signed by Nehru and Ayub at Karachi on 11 September 1960. The treaty gave India the full right to utilise the water of three rivers Sutlej, Beas and Ravi and accepted the right of Pakistan to use the water of Jhelum, Chenab and Indus. The Treaty also provided for the establishment of a permanent Indus Commission and Indus Basin Development Fund. The Fund agreed to pay most of the cost of building 400 meter of canals in Pakistan and two large storage dams. India too obtained financial assistance from the World Bank and the U.S for the construction of the Beas Dam. The canal water dispute was as such amicably resolved and Indus Treaty now stands fully implemented.

Boundary Disputes

After Partition both the countries started the process of demarcating, on the basis of Radcliff Award, the boundaries between them. The rational compromises reached through mutual negotiations, both the countries accomplished the gigantic task in approximately 25 years. The demarcation of East Punjab, Pakistan boundary was completed in June 1960 and

the Rajasthan - Pakistan boundary in 1963. However the two sides failed to demarcate the Kutch Sindh boundary. India was of the view that the Government of Bombay's resolution of February, 1964, had settled the matter finally. Pakistan did not accept the view and asserted that the issue was still in dispute and that Kutch - Sindh boundary had never been demarcated. In early 1964, Pakistan sent some of its troops to occupy Chhad Bet area of North Rann of Kutch. In June 1965, both India and Pakistan agreed to cease for which was to be effective with effect from 1st July 1965. Afterwards, it was agreed to refer the dispute to a three Judge Arbitration tribunal. Tribunal gave its award in February 1968 and decided against the Pakistan case that the International boundary of the Rann passed through its middle. Nevertheless, it awarded to Pakistan some 350sq.metres of the disputed area. India though did not regard the decision as just decided to accept it unconditionally because of the terms of the June 1965 agreement. The Pakistani invasion of Kutch was, however, really designed to test its army and guns for the future aggression against India, which came in September 1965.

Some other major problems that worsened Indo-Pak relations during the last 70 years were Kashmir issue, Nuclear - tests, Issue of Terrorism, Siachen Glacier issue, Sir Creek - 60 km long channel which separate Gujarath and Sindh, etc. The major issue that the article discusses is about the Kashmir problem which badly affected India Pakistan relationship.

Kashmir issue

Kashmir today is easily the most inflammable issue and it remains unfinished agenda of partition. The crisis of Kashmir has been the outcome of the deep-rooted discontent accumulated over the past several decades. The disaffection in Kashmir has very deep roots, going back even beyond its accession with the Indian Union. After the accession; the political arrangement that evolved in the state has suffered a serious crisis of legitimacy. In

fact, the successive governments both at the level of the state and the centre, have only aggravated the situation to the extent that the accumulated discontent has burst in a violent manner.

Kashmir is primarily a dispute about justice and people, although its territorial dimensions are complicated enough. The dispute has become firmly wedged in the internal politics of both countries. Kashmir found in the minds of politicians, strategists and scholars a place where national and sub national identities are ranged against each other. The conflict in this Kashmir is as much as clash between identities, imagination and history as it is a conflict over territory, resources and people. Pakistan's failure to gain control over the whole of Kashmir created substantial resentment among the Kashmiri Muslims in the Azad Kashmir region. To placate its own Kashmiri population, Pakistan tried repeatedly to create communal divisions and unrest in Indian Kashmir by fomenting religious nationalist sentiments among the valley Muslims. In these efforts aimed to undermine India's hold on Kashmir from within Pakistan failed. The initial obstacles for Pakistan were the immense popularity of Sheikh Abdullah and his National Conference among the Valley Muslims. Ideologically, Sheikh Abdullah was a staunch nationalist and secularist and vigorously championed the cause of Kashmiriyat. As a secular leader, he ideologically disagreed with the Two Nation Theory of the Muslim League, on which tested claim over Kashmir. Moreover, he was determined to prevent Kashmiri from being along communal lines. Sheikh Abdullah's successors went even further in advocating a greater integration of Kashmir with India. During this time, Kashmiri Muslims too were unwilling to be swayed by the appeals of religious nationalism. This was the high water mark of Indian secularism. At the national level the Indian Government was successful in curbing the activities of the Hindu nationalists. Moreover, with the assistance of the Indian government, economic

reforms were being gradually carried out in Kashmir which diluted the economic motives for nationalism.

Having failed to loosen India over Kashmir issue by fomenting communal divisions and unrest, Pakistan sought to isolate New Delhi, diplomatically in international bodies such as the U.N.O. Ironically, it was India, which had referred the Kashmir question to the UN during the first Indo-Pakistan war in the hope that the world organisation would settle the issue in India's favour. India's expectation in this regard proved unrealistic for a number of reasons. The internationalization of the Kashmir dispute however benefited Pakistan in a number of ways. First by taking the issue to the United Nations, New Delhi undercut its own claim made persistently before international community "that Kashmir had become an integral part of India by virtue of accession, and that the plebiscite or referendum was a unilateral of India to a segment of his own people". Secondly, by taking the Kashmir issue to the UN and thereby giving it character of an international dispute. New Delhi not only provided the UN with an opportunity to overcome the obstacle of Art 2 (7) of the charter (which prevented the UN from unilaterally intervening the domestic affairs of a sovereign state) but also gave Pakistan the right to present its case as strongly possible before the international community. Finally India took the Kashmir dispute to the UN under chapter VI of the charter. Consequently, when the UN Security council expressed its inability to compel Pakistan to withdraw from the Azad Kashmir region, India's criticism of the UN seemed self -contradictory and was tantamount a diplomatic victory by Pakistan.

During the deliberations on Kashmir at the UN Security Council, Pakistan again diplomatically outmaneuvered India. After India took the Kashmir issue to the UN Security Council in January 1948 and after hearing the complaints of both sides, passed a resolution on 21 April 1948. After that a commission was appointed i.e. UN Commission for India and

Pakistan (UNCIP) visited Kashmir and passed a resolution on August 13, 1948, called upon Indian Government to withdraw troops from Kashmir after the commission had determined that all Pakistan regular forces and Pathan tribesmen had withdrawn from the Azad Kashmir region. The deadlock over the interpretation of the UNCIP resolution of August 1948 made further suggestions that the difference over interpretation be referred for arbitration to the International Court of Justice the proposal was accepted by Pakistan but rejected by India. Another UN proposal of February 1950 to demilitarise the State of Jammu and Kashmir met with the same fate. As a result, Pakistan earned a lot of sympathy in international circles at India's expense. India's action suggested a lack of interest in resolving the Kashmir dispute through negotiation and a satisfaction with the status quo.

In the early 1950s both India and Pakistan sought to integrate their respective portions of Kashmir. In 1950 the Pakistani part of Kashmir was split into two areas; the area that bordered China and the Soviet Union was grouped into the Northern Areas, while the remaining territory continued to be called Azad Kashmir. By this time serious frictions had started surfacing in Sino- Indian relations which erupted into open warfare in 1962. In 1971, another war, though not directly over Kashmiri erupted between India and Pakistan. The Pakistan military's crack down on the Bengali secessionists in East Pakistan precipitated this war by creating an enormous humanitarian crisis. The war in East Pakistan lasted two weeks and resulted in a complete defeat of the Pakistan military; Indian forces took around 93,000 Pakistan prisoners of war and paved the way for the creation of the independent State of Bangladesh. During this war to counter the Indian military's strategic advantage in East Pakistan, the Pakistani military opened a front across the cease-fire line in Kashmir.

The article intended to analyze the significance of cross-border terrorism which worsened the India Pakistan relations. Trans-border Islamic terrorism gained of worldwide

attention for the last several years. Horrendous bloodshed, unprecedented exodus and endemic instability have pockmarked the history of the Kashmir Valley. A flurry of political experiments, Pakistan's glareous attempts to internationalize the issue, shrill anti-India campaign's etc have only enhanced the crises. The defunct political parties and the activists still cling to the umbilical cord of their deficient leaders and are averse to any pragmatic change. Hence the people of the valley visualize a bleak future and unable to decide the appropriate step for leavening thoughts and moulding aspiration.

There are about 56 large and small terrorist groups operating in the Kashmir region. Among them Jammu Kashmir liberation front(JKLF),Hizbul –Mujahideen (HUM), Lashkar-E-Toiba etc were prominent and actively engaged in these activities. The militants enjoy the support of a sizeable local populace. In addition, a large number of public servants have been covertly cooperating with the militants, compromising the secrecy of the state government, leaking out movements of the security forces and ignoring instruction of the state government. Terrorism is coated with religious sentiment and has succeeded in rationalizing the wild and excited activities. The situation sharply deteriorated right from 1989. Hopeless people practically have submitted to the will of the outlaws. Administration was unable to curb or contain the outrages. Minorities especially, Hindus deserted the valley and took shelter in Jammu or in Delhi. In short, innocent persons had been living under night- marish experience. At one point of time, panic- stricken people were inclined to believe that the success of the militants was knocking at the door and Pakistan's evil design was going to triumph.

The Kargil war was also a tragic incident in the history of Indo-Pak relations .The military Government in Pakistan tried to overcome its frustrations over the Kargil fiasco by massively stepping up its support of the Jihadi insurgent and terrorist outfit operating in

Indian Kashmir. In a bid to attract US meditation in Kashmir, President Musharraf also stressed that the unresolved nature of the Kashmir dispute had the potential to unleash a nuclear war in South Asia in the near future. This signalled Musharraf's complete rejection of the Indian position that a mutually acceptable solution to the Kashmiri dispute could be achieved through Indo-Pak bilateral discussions and negotiations.

India has remained unconvinced by President Musharraf's pledge that the Pakistani military and the ISI has stopped all support to Kashmiri insurgents and terrorists, since the infiltration of militants across the LOC and the frequency and intensity of terrorist attacks in Indian Kashmir has not come down considerably Musharraf's regime.. However the fact that infiltration has not come down significantly and also that training camps in the POK are still in operation could mean President Musharraf may not have total control over his own military .The successive governments followed by Musharraf followed the same path .The February election put the Pakistan People's Party led by Asif Ali Zardari, husband of the assassinated Benazir Bhutto, at the head of a fragile coalition government with former Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and his Pakistan Muslim League-N. The country moved from a moth-eaten Musharraf dictatorship to a moth-eaten democracy.

Recent developments in Kashmir

On august 5,2019,India had decided to take a long-considered move using article 370 of its constitution to change the status of the state although New Delhi made this effort to stabilize Jammu and Kashmir and integrate it more fully with Indian state. The Modi Governments' effort is aimed at promoting local governance and encouragement in investment in a state that has lagged behind decades. The lack of effective local governance has hampered the development of the entire state. A lot of criticisms levelled against the move .Some argue that India's unilateral decision to revoke the article 370 has severely hampered the chances of the

renewal of the peace process between New Delhi and Islamabad. But India's stand is that the move is an internal issue of India. According to Pakistan's perspective the Indian action constitutes a grave violation of the UN Security Council Resolution on Kashmir and Indo-Pak bilateral agreements such as the 1972 Shimla agreements and Lahore Declaration. This decision will have far reaching consequences for Indo-Pak relations and regional peace and security. But it is to be noted that the issue remains unchanged.

The years since independence have brought warfare, vituperation, frustration and fear. Instead of devoting all their resources to economic development both countries have spent millions of rupees on defense against each other. The root cause of trouble lies far back in history, present day Indo-Pak tension is a prolongation of Hindu Muslim feelings that characterised India long before Independence and partition. The Kashmiri question is still continuing and it has become an important cause of tension in Indo-Pak relations.

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