CHAPTER – II

PAKISTAN’S SPONSORED ACTIVITIES IN PUNJAB, KASHMIR AND XINJIANG: A HISTORICO-GEOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND

KASHMIR

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Jammu And Kashmir State sprawls over the western Himalayas and the Karakoram mountains. It is the most northerly and mountainous state of India. It covers 222,236 square km of area. The state is bounded on the north by China, on the east by Tibet and on the south by Himachal Pradesh, Punjab and Pakistan. The valley of Kashmir nestled in northwestern folds of the Himalayas is a transverse valley, surrounded on all sides by high mountain ranges and characterized by snow covered lofty peaks. It has a length of about 140 kms and a width varying from 53 to 55 kms. The oval shaped valley of Kashmir is filled with thick deposits of alluvium, which have covered even the lower slopes of the surrounding ranges. It is bounded to the northeast by the Uighur autonomous region of Sinkiang and to the east by the Tibet, to the south by the Indian states, to the west by Pakistan, and to the northwest by Afghanistan. The northern and western portions are administered by Pakistan and comprise three areas: Azad Kashmir, Gilgit and Baltistan. China become active in the eastern area of Kashmir in the 1950's and since 1962 has controlled the northeast part of Ladakh.

India is a country of striking contrasts and enormous ethnic, linguistic, and cultural diversity. There are more than 1,600 languages, nearly 400 of which are spoken by more than 200,000 people. Many of the 28 states that make up India's federation are larger than most countries. Thirteen states have more than 20 million people, six have populations of 60 million, three exceed 80 million, and one has more than 140 million people. These states differ vastly in terms of their natural resources, administrative capacity, and economic performance. it is a country of continental dimensions inhabited by over 900 million people belonging to half a dozen religious communities and constituting a vast spectrum of ethnic and cultural diversities. The current political ethos of India flows from the 5,000-year-old Indian experience - the India that today no longer is but has been replaced by Pakistan, India and Bangladesh.¹

Jammu & Kashmir is the northernmost state of India and covers an area roughly equivalent to the size of Minnesota. This state is strategically located and is bordered by four countries, namely Pakistan in the west, Afghanistan and Tajikistan in the north, China and Tibet in the northeast. At present 35% of the state is illegally occupied by Pakistan and 17% by China. In addition, 2.3% of the state was gifted to China by

Pakistan. India governs only 45% of the original state which acceded to India in 1947 in accordance with the Indian independence Act. The population of the state governed by India is 6 million. Of this 64% are Muslims, 32% are Hindus, 2.2% are Sikhs and 1.2% are Buddhists. About 2 million Muslims also live in Pakistan occupied Kashmir (POK). Muslims would constitute 75% of the entire state, roughly 6% of India's 100 million Muslims. Prior to 1947, 500,000 thousand Hindus and Sikhs also lived in POK, which has subsequently been "ethnically cleansed" of all non-Muslim minorities by the Pakistan army. The state is divided into three main districts: Ladakh, Jammu and the Kashmir valley. The largest district by area is predominantly Buddhist Ladakh which constitutes 58%; while predominantly Hindu Jammu constitutes about 26% of the total area. Non-Muslims constitute a majority in 84% of the territory of the state. The Kashmir valley, where most of the present unrest is localized, constitutes only 16% of the area of Jammu & Kashmir state. It is important to note that 52% of the Muslim population lives in only 16,000 square kilometers of the state's territory. Prior to 1947, about 800,000 non-Muslims, mainly Kashmiri Hindus called Pundits, also lived in the valley. Since 1989, the valley has been "ethnically cleansed" of Hindus and Sikhs by Islamic fundamentalists, armed and supported by Pakistan.

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Table: 2.1
Ethnic Composition of Jammu and Kashmir (In %)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Muslims</th>
<th>Hindus</th>
<th>Buddhists</th>
<th>Sikhs</th>
<th>Others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>State-wise</td>
<td>64.19%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>1.17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total population</td>
<td>7718700</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kashmir valley</td>
<td>98%</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jammu region</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ladakh</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Geopolitical significance of Kashmir for India and Pakistan

The ethos of contemporary India has been greatly influenced by Hindu philosophy and religion which over the centuries absorbed and accommodated in its fold varying systems of faith and social organisation which infiltrated and invaded the areas around the Indus, Ganga and the Brahmaputra until the birth of Islam. Bleeding with the 1989 uprising in Kashmir over 40,000 people, freedom fighters and men from India's security forces and its army have died. The Indian states failure to fulfill its international commitment made under UN Security Council Resolution to hold plebiscite in Jammu and Kashmir and the valiant struggle launched by the Kashmiri freedom fighters promises that Jammu and Kashmir is likely to dominate India's bleeding wound for at least some time to come. In the Indian held Kashmir the military might of India boasts of the highest ratio of civilian to military presence. More than 600,000 men in uniform remain engaged in a low intensity warfare.  

Although the Indian states, Indian politicians and many opinion makers maintain that the survival of Indian secularism is linked to India's retention of Jammu and

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Kashmir, in fact the Indian atrocities committed on the Indian state of the Kashmiri Muslims have led to a grand scale alienation of Indian Muslims. The basis for an Indian majority consensus against granting self-determination to the Kashmiris is premised on four arguments:

- The defence of the Indian union.
- The Kashmir liberation movement is threat to Indian secularism.
- The need to safeguard India's annuitant legacy.

For our civilization Kashmir is important - it is Kashmir that seats of Hinduism were sown. The Kashmiri demand for self-determination is an anathema. There is also the geo-strategy dimension resulting from Jammu and Kashmir's location, its proximity to China and Central Asia. In both the countries, people will not accept any change in the line of control. New Delhi still is in favour of controlling and capturing the portion of Kashmir on the Pakistan's side while Islamabad on the other hand, is still shedding its tears for the rights of the Kashmiris people, self determination etc. The State of Kashmir remains a bone of contention between India and Pakistan since 1947. India considers Jammu & Kashmir as an integral part of it while Pakistan consider it as a disputed territory; Ever since, Kashmir issue has dominated the Pakistani politics, Kashmir has become a constant source of friction between the two nations, even the local politics of Pakistan is determined by the Kashmir issue. For Pakistan, Jammu & Kashmir is a core issue, and for India's its security is depended on its retaining control of Kashmir, as it shares common border with Afghanistan, Central Asian states and China. So, any erosion of India's jurisdiction over Kashmir diminishes its strategic defence capacity. Most important is the preservation’s of India’s territorial integrity, as it comprised number of states based on secular principle, based on multiplicity of identities and associations. The religious make up of Kashmir exemplifies the secular principles on which India was founded. While, on the other hand, Pakistan feels that if the Indian state of controlled Kashmir were to accede to Pakistan, this would reverse their humiliating defeat of the 1971 war by India also, it may challenge India’s territorial integrity. Also, feared, that if the Pak-occupied Kashmir decides to join India, the very foundation of Pakistan would be

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JAMMU AND KASHMIR (Picture in 1993-94)

threatened. So, Pakistani government believe in waging a proxy war, encourage militancy and terrorism in the region would caused substantial political damage to India’s territorial integrity and also, to tarnished its image in the international arena and opposed it at every level and also damage in economic and military terms. So, the damage to India in any form, diplomatic, economic, military, social, or political is perceived as a benefit to Pakistan.5

India’s security is dependent on India retaining control of Indian occupied Kashmir. What’s Nehru telegram to British Prime Minister Clement Atlee on 25 Oct 1947 says, Kashmir’s Northern frontiers run in common with those of three countries, Afghanistan, former USSR and China. Security of Kashmir, which must depend on internal tranquility and existence of stable government, is vital to security of India. According to retired Indian foreign Secretary, J.N. Dixit states, any erosion of Indian jurisdiction over Kashmir diminishes India’s strategic defence capacity. Most important is the preservation of India’s territorial integrity as India comprises of number of states, based on secular lines based on multiplicity of identities and associations. The religious make up of Kashmir exemplifies the secular principles upon which India was founded and India is keen to ensure that this situation continues. Kashmir separation from India considered as a challenge to the principles underlying India’s existence and to India’s secular and socio-political fabric. So, there is a fear, separation of one state will have knock-on-effects, other states in a similar way encouraged by successful succession elsewhere, to express their dissatisfaction with central rule in a similar way. So, India will never allow Jammu and Kashmir to be either merged or become independent. Many views may conflict in Kashmir as being beneficial to all Indian as it shows a desire on the part of the Indian government to uphold the Union.6

Terrorism related activities has even spread to other parts of Kashmir, like in Doda, Udhampur & Jammu where Hindu population is dominant as because the extremists want to drive the Hindu population from the region, so that the entire region be declared as a Muslim inhabited area and is dominated by Muslim population, so that the

geopolitical situation changes in Kashmir and Kashmir state is acceded to Pakistan, if plebiscite takes place in future. So, Hindu-Muslim population majority-minority played a bigger role in Kashmir. It is the Muslim populations that is in majority, and are poor, illiterate easily exploited by the Pakistan on religious lines and are been compelled to adopt steps, which are against the nation-state and its people. In case of both countries, Kashmir is the core issue in their foreign policy and considered important from strategic point of view, economic, political, etc. As Pakistan is well aware of the fact it cannot win a war against India, so it decided to wage a proxy war or cross-border terrorism in Kashmir against the civilians and the security forces.

Pakistan is continuing waging a proxy war in Kashmir against India in the name of Islam and hatred. Even, the Kashmir issue dominates the local politics of Pakistan.

- Pakistan sole objective is to acquire Kashmir state from India and is on the top priority of the foreign policy of Pakistan, also dominated the defence, economy and domestic politics.
- Pakistan also perceived ideological threat from India.
- Accession of Jammu and Kashmir with India affects its territorial integrity and ideology and also shatters its dream of becoming a leader of Islamic countries.

The challenges as perceived by Pakistan is to maintain territorial integrity and India’s efforts to undo politics of religion. Another threat is ideological threat. Co-existence of Hindus and Muslims erodes logic for the creation of Pakistan. The secular culture of India poses challenge to Pakistan as a nation i.e. Indian secularism is considered threat to theocratic Pakistan conquest of Kashmir could help Pakistan in many ways to overcome its weakness as a nation.

- It would enable Pakistan to regain its lost confidence of Muslim population in this region. Pakistan aim is to achieve leadership of Islamic countries.
- Conquest of Jammu & Kashmir would strengthen Pakistan’s urge for setting up an autocratic state in the garb of Islam.

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During the Cold War era, Pakistan became the frontline state of U.S. against expansion of the Soviet Communism, while U.S. provided the economic and military assistance to Pakistan against Russia but it was used against India and inspired Pakistan to settle its scores and Kashmir dispute by force and by sponsoring cross-border terrorism into Jammu and Kashmir. Even, today it is being treated and declared as a frontline state against terrorism by the U.S. and it is rewarded with generous aid & weapons. Inter service intelligence (ISI) of Pakistan openly backs many of the terrorist outfits in India and is provided with guns and explosives. State sponsored terrorism and religious extremists are the two forces that have been unleashed to weaken and destabilize secular activities in India\textsuperscript{10}.

The region of Kashmir that forms a part of Pamir has geostrategical and geopolitical characteristics that increase its strategical importance. Pakistan, China, Afghanistan and India are its direct neighbours. As a part of Pamir Plateau, Kashmir overlooks the lowland around it namely the Deccan Plateau, India Eastern Iranian Plateau and Afghanistan, Punjab plain in Pakistan, Tajikistan in central Asia, Tibet Plateau and Sinking in west China are lower than Kashmir region and Pamir. These regions therefore sense danger from Kashmir region from military point of view and presence or control of Kashmir by any neighbour in the region, considered as a source of temporary or permanent threat\textsuperscript{11}. The region of Kashmir serves as very important position, as it severs the link between South Asia with Central Asia and Tibet West China and Sinkiang East China. The region of Kashmir and northern part of India and west of Tibet form a watershed basin of five rivers, Sind, Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi and Sutlej and also form a topographic unit, and also its valley passes and course of its water direction are important from strategic point of view. So, control of whole of it or part of it by any neighbours considered as a permanent source of danger by others to their national security and vital interests. The Kashmir valley is the passageway through the Himalayas to the entire subcontinent. It is through Kashmir the various major rivers flows such as the Indus, Chenab, & Jhelum and Pakistan depends on them for water. As India's northernmost

\textsuperscript{10} Burke, S.M. (1973), Pakistan's Foreign Policy: An Historical Analysis, London: Oxford University Press.

territory, the state of Jammu and Kashmir provides a valuable window on the other regional powers, including China, Pakistan, Afghanistan, and the nearby former Soviet Republic of Tajikistan.

The ISI has been working towards the dismemberment of India ever since the time of its raising in 1949. Pakistan is not comfortable with India which is seven times its size and would like India’s northern, eastern, and southern wings to be plucked and severed, so that, what remains of India approximates Pakistan’s size. Prior to 1971 the ISI aided and abetted insurgencies in eastern India and, in the post 1971 period it enlarged its activities to encompass Punjab and Jammu & Kashmir and later Tamil Nadu. Kashmir and its annexation or liberation would continue to be the prime objective of the Pakistan army and hence the basic aim of the ISI. Pakistan would not be happy with an independent Kashmir as it could be under the sway of other countries. The origin of the current wave of terrorism in Jammu & Kashmir can thus be traced to the loss of Siachen in 1984 and the movement for the restoration of democracy in Pakistan directed against Gen Zia-ul-Haq’s military dictatorship. To divert attention from this military setback and domestic problems, the military regime chalked out a strategy to create trouble in Punjab and Jammu & Kashmir.

Pakistan Sponsored Terrorism: Kashmir:

Pakistan’s game plan in Kashmir has been to engage Indian troops in low intensity proxy wars in order to bleed India and keep world attention focused on the troubled region. Pakistan instigated a wave of terrorism and Islamic fundamentalism in the valley. The terrorists are given help in the form of training, sanctuaries, weapons, financial assistance and media publicity by Pakistan. It is always keen to get India to pits its regular troops against mercenaries as part of such a strategy, particularly in Kashmir.

Three immediate objectives can be discerned in Pakistan’s support and encouragement to militancy and terrorism as a means to attain primacy among Muslims.

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countries. First, to target India by unleashing a sustained campaign of sabotage, subversion, assassinations and kinds of terrorist activities in as many parts of India as feasible and thus create chaos and strife in the country. The second objective related to Afghanistan the idea was to install an Islamic government and a puppet in the hands of Islamabad amenable to protect and promote its interests. By exporting Islamic militancy and terror, Pakistan intentions is to exercise a commanding ideological and politico-economic influence over preponderantly Muslims areas of erstwhile Soviet Union and Xinjiang, the Muslims majority region in north-west China. Third, the Islamic militant force would be useful in promoting the cause of Islam by violent and terrorist means in other parts of the world.

Pakistan has organized a well-armed jihadi force, which could operate across international borders. These forces are armed with high-technology weaponry and provided with a sophisticated command and communication network. Even Muslims of Xinjiang and Qinghai regions in China are supported by radical Islamic groups operating from the Pakistan region. It is using these forces as a front to ward off the dangerous consequences of a conventional war. Terrorism, which forms the cutting edge of Pakistani designs against India, aims to erode the fabric of the Indian secular society, tire out its armed forces and subvert its administrative system. The Pakistan designs which at involving the region of attrition and expanding its strategic frontiers can prove extremely dangerous for the entire world. Pakistan demands and expects unqualified support of the Islamic world for its pan-Islamic policies in the south and central Asian regions. Pakistan sponsored terrorism seeks to affect changes in ethnic ratios and change of political boundaries in Indian Kashmir. Pakistan’s coercive jihadi diplomacy in south and central Asian region has attained dangerous dimensions because it has spun out of its control and has become part and parcel of a larger jihadi movement Pakistan ultimate motive and aim is to grab Kashmir for furtherance its strategic objectives with intention of gaining territory and expansion and its influence in south and central Asian regions. Pakistan policy aims to bring the Muslim countries of the region in to the Islamic block in order to occupy the center stage in central Asian politics. Terrorism was made an instrument of

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spreading its tentacles inside the Indian Territory with the objective of causing destabilization. Pakistan's proxy war against India is based on four major planks: interlinking of terrorist organization in Punjab, Jammu & Kashmir and Afghan Mujahidden, intelligence encirclement of India, proliferation of small arms, and invoking of religious fundamentalism. Pakistan has also invoked Islamic fundamentalism as an instrument of its politico-diplomatic strategy vis-à-vis India. Pakistan ambition with the help of other Islamic countries is to export their version of Islam to central Asia and Kashmir and Xinjiang, Qinghai in a way of exerting their authority. It is using Islam to gain power and political influence in south and central Asia it is a move to gain economic and strategic advantage in an oil-rich area\textsuperscript{16}.

The strategic location of these camps at the cross roads of south and central Asia put them within easy reach of the targeted areas of central Asia and India specially in Kashmir, Xinjiang, Qinghai and Tajikistan. The ethnic composition of the terrorist groups facilitates easy passage across international frontiers because of religious, lingual and cultural affinities in the targeted countries. Pakistan has become the main launching pad for militant Islam, as it is sending fanatical terrorists groups on missions to destroy infidels and restore the kingdom of Allah\textsuperscript{17}.

Pakistan sole objective is to acquire Kashmir state from India and is on the top priority of the foreign policy of Pakistan, also dominated the defence, economy and domestic politics.

- Pakistan also perceived threat from India.
- Ideological threat from India.
- Fear of accession of Jammu and Kashmir with India, as its affects the territorial integrity and ideology.
- Pakistan looks towards Kashmir to compensate the loss of Bangladesh.
- Pakistan aims to achieve leadership of Islamic countries and also it may solve its internal problems in Sindh and Baluchistan; so, this is the reason. It gave utmost priority to Jammu and Kashmir State and its accession to Pakistan state.

\textsuperscript{16} Grower, Verinder (ed.) (2002). \textit{Encyclopedia of International Terrorism, Documents and Studies on Terrorism and World Countries.}

STAGES IN THE CREATION OF THE STATE OF JAMMU AND KASHMIR

Till date, Pakistan has used all acceptable foreign policy investments to conquer Jammu and Kashmir i.e. through political processes, through warfare, (1948, 1965, 1971 and in 1999), through international organisation, diplomacy and propaganda and through foreign aids. Foreign aids in terms of economic assistance and military assistance used by Pakistan to achieve its foreign policy goals in Jammu and Kashmir. The external aid given to Pakistan by Arabs and Americans is used by Kashmiri militants. Money and defence equipment supplied to militants in Jammu and Kashmir across the borders into India and also mercenary training provided to Kashmiri militants by the Pakistani army. During the Cold War era, Pakistan became the frontline state against expansion of the Soviet Communism, U.S. provided the economic and military assistance to Pakistan against Russia but it was used against India and inspired Pakistan to settle its scores and Kashmir dispute by force and by sponsoring cross border terrorism into Jammu and Kashmir. The annual flow of sophisticated weapons into Pakistan during 1979-1982, estimated to be around $1 billion. As the International scenario was not favourable enough to declare war against India. So, Pakistan use these weapons for abetting terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir and elsewhere in India and its vicinity and also indulged in organizing bases for military training for the militants and the agents provocations engaged in subversive activities against India. Majid Jehangir, divisional commander of the insurgent group Hizbul Mujahadeen, told in a recent interview. Kashmir's Muslim militants have tried to “internationalize” the Kashmir issue; in addition to kidnappings, they have relied on sieges at Kashmir's most revered and famous holy shrines to generate attention and sympathy for their cause.

The state terror in Kashmir, like the genocide in Bangladesh, has its roots in the partition of the Indian subcontinent after the end of British colonial rule in 1947. The partition created two independent nations, India and Pakistan (the latter divided into west Pakistan and east Pakistan, now Bangladesh). Kashmir emerged as one of the flashpoints between the two countries when its then ruler, Maharaja Hari Singh, refused to accede to

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either nation, apparently in a bid to preserve Kashmir’s independence. However, an invasion by Pakistani tribesmen in August and September 1947, and an uprising among Kashmiri Muslims in the state’s western regions, ultimately compelled Maharaja to seek the assistance of India. Nehru agreed to send troops only if Kashmir formally acceded to India. On October 27, 1947, the Maharaja agreed to Kashmir’s accession to India on the condition that Kashmir is permitted to retain its own constitution. Indian troops succeeded in halting the Pakistani forces, driving them back to the western third of the state, which then came under Pakistan’s control as ‘Azad’ (free) Kashmir.” The Indian-held portion became known as the state of Jammu and Kashmir, with the population of the outlying Jammu region being mainly Hindus and Sikhs. Another corner of Kashmir (Aksai Chin) is claimed and occupied by China, the border dispute contributed to a brief but bloody war between India and China in 1962. Although a ceasefire between India and Pakistan was achieved under United Nations supervision in January 1949, the dispute subsequently gave rise or contributed to four wars between the two countries (1947, 1965, 1971 and 1999). Both India and Pakistan are nuclear-armed states and Kashmir is the likeliest flashpoint for the outbreak of nuclear war in the near future.

Pakistan is continuing its proxy war in Kashmir region against India harming it on every diplomatic front. The separatist movement in Kashmir began to metamorphose in the military in 1988, and later, the movement was taken over by Pakistan ISI, sponsored radical Islamist groups, making terrorism, insurgency and ethnic cleansing as its main weapons.

22 Grover, Virender and Ranjana Arora (ed.): Fifty years of Indo-Pakistan Relations, New Delhi: Deep and Deep Publication, UNO.
Pakistan Waging a Proxy War in Kashmir

- To acquire Kashmir
- Compensate the loss of Bangladesh
- Leadership of Islamic countries
- Regional power

- Ideological threat
- Maintain territorial integrity
- Strategic space and base
- Domestic stability

Figure 2.1: Showing Factors to which Pakistan is Waging a Proxy War in Kashmir

Genesis of Terrorism in Kashmir

The root cause of the crisis in Kashmir is the struggle between two systems of values and political organization. To India, Hindus and secular Muslims, the subcontinent is like the USA, one nation, multi-cultural, multi-ethnic and multi-religious. To Pakistan and orthodox Muslims, the subcontinent is two nations— one theocratic Islamic and the other every-body else. This dichotomy resulted in the Muslim demand and agitation for a separate country in 1931; and eventually led to the partition of India in 1947, when the country achieved independence from the British. The 584 princely states, constituting 45% of undivided India were free to join secular India or Muslim Pakistan. The ruler of Jammu & Kashmir was in a quandary. Its Muslim population, which formed an overall majority, lived in only 16% of the total area. Non-Muslims were a majority in 84% of the area. For this reason, the ruler hesitated in making a decision. Pakistan believed that since the State had an overall Muslim majority it would join Pakistan.

Ever since Pakistani raiders and Razakars invaded Jammu & Kashmir in October 1947 and the state acceded to India, Pakistan has been unable to accept what it perceives as a wrongful loss. The state remains a bone of contention between the two countries even after over 50 years of independence. The Pakistan Government calls it the 'core'

issue and says that the eventual merger of Jammu & Kashmir with Pakistan is the only acceptable solution to the problem and that it is the 'unfinished agenda of partition'.

Having failed to annex Jammu & Kashmir by force in the several wars initiated by it against India over the last 50 years, and emboldened by its acquisition of nuclear weapons in 1987, Pakistan hatched a new conspiracy for the annexation of Jammu & Kashmir by waging a covert 'proxy war' against India through a strategy of 'bleeding India by a thousand cuts'. Operation 'Topac', under which Pakistan launched its proxy war against India, was brilliantly conceived and skillfully executed. Pakistan's President, General Zia ul Haq's concept was to exploit the religious sentiments of the Kashmiri people, whip up passions on communal and sectarian lines, fan the flames of religious fundamentalism and, in the process, gradually create conditions for waging a jehad. Before launching its proxy war in Kashmir, Pakistan also initiated measures to exploit the disgruntled elements among the youth of Punjab to fight for the creation of an independent Sikh state of Khalistan. The intention was to destabilise India by creating conditions of insecurity in two contiguous front-line Indian states and to tie down the Indian security forces, particularly the Indian Army, in internal security duties. It was expected that prolonged employment in internal security duties would weaken the Indian Army and degrade its conventional superiority over the Pakistan Army. All this was to be achieved through a low-cost option, without getting directly involved.

The Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) Directorate of Pakistan was entrusted with the responsibility of executing the plan. The ISI had gained immense experience in organising guerrilla warfare in Afghanistan, with sabotage and terrorism as the weapons of choice, while working together with the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). The ISI had also surreptitiously siphoned off nearly 60 per cent of the small arms, light weapons, ammunition and explosives supplied to it by the CIA for onward despatch to the Afghan Mujahideen. It has been reported that arms and ammunition worth US $5 billion had been pumped into Afghanistan by the US and its allies. In addition, the erstwhile Soviet Union had supplied arms and ammunition worth US $5.7 billion. Large numbers of these weapons became available to the ISI for equipping Kashmiri militants.

21 Ibid.
when the Soviet forces withdrew from Afghanistan in 1989. Profits from the clandestine sale of freely available narcotics from Afghanistan, "donations from Muslim zealots in other countries" and profits from large-scale smuggling activities across the Indian border provided adequate funds to finance an uprising in Jammu & Kashmir. Massive rigging of elections to the Jammu & Kashmir Assembly in March 1987 and the Kashmiri people's disillusionment with Mr. Farooq Abdullah’s allegedly corrupt and inefficient administration, led to spontaneous protest and a call for azadi (independence). Thus the situation was ripe for exploitation and the ISI, which was ready and waiting, stepped in to fan the flames.  

The strategic design of Operation Topac was to launch a proxy war against India in a phased manner. The salient aspects of Pakistan’s plan were as under:

- Initiate a low-level insurgency to interdict communications networks and subvert the police and financial institutions.
- Subsequently, exert direct pressure along the Line of Control (LoC) by large-scale sabotage and infiltrate mercenaries and special forces to attack vital targets in rear areas.
- At an appropriate stage, using religion as a motivating and binding factor, give a nudge to the Jehad to peak and, if necessary, be prepared to exercise the military option to liberate Jammu & Kashmir.

While Jammu & Kashmir was to remain the focus of all ISI activities, Operation Topac also envisaged the provision of support and encouragement to insurgent and militant groups in the north-eastern states of India and the spread of terrorism progressively to other parts of India, in keeping with the strategy of bleeding the country through a thousand cuts. It is axiomatic that for the Pakistanis, a continuing crisis in Kashmir and tensions along the LoC with India provide an excellent diversion from frustrations at home. These are time-tested methods for mobilising the masses, for gaining the support of fundamentalist Islamic parties and the mullahs within Pakistan and in other Islamic states. It also enables the civilian rulers and the bureaucracy to keep the Pakistani army gainfully employed in directing and supporting the slickly packaged 'just

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26. Pakistan-The chief promoter of Islamic militancy and..., (www.idsa india.org/an/html)
cause' of the Muslim brethren of Kashmir and, as a corollary, away from harbouring thoughts of another military coup. Another major aim is to internationalize the Kashmir issue, contrary to the spirit of the 1972 Shimla agreement, by raising the bogy of the denial of the Kashmiri people's right of self-determination. It is conveniently ignored that Pakistan itself had impeded the process of the holding of a plebiscite in Jammu & Kashmir by not vacating its illegal occupation of Pakistan Occupied Kashmir (POK), which is called Azad Kashmir in Pakistan. The playing up and highlighting of trumped up human rights violations in the international media is also part of a well-orchestrated campaign.

Pakistan's proxy war campaign is carefully calibrated to ensure that India's perceived 'threshold of tolerance' is not transgressed. Though Pakistan would prefer to avoid escalation of the present low intensity conflict (LIC) situation to conventional war, it has apparently vectored in the risks involved in pursuing its proxy war strategy into its operational plans. Yossef Bodansky writes that, "Pakistan knows that the active pursuit of the current Kashmir strategy may lead to an escalation of the face off with India. Islamabad is ready to deal with this eventuality while increasing its all out support for the Kashmiris." In mid-February 1995, a Foreign Ministry spokesman warned that 'if India carries out another aggression and war breaks out between Pakistan and India, it would not be a war of a thousand years or even a thousand hours, but only a few minutes and India should not be oblivious to the potential destruction.' Pakistani officials add that "Pakistan is really in a position to strike a heavy blow against India through its nuclear capability." Pakistan also believes that its nuclear weapons and missiles provide the cheapest option for peace.

Pakistan's Aggression: 1984-1998

Pakistan's policy with regard to India and other neighbours like Afghanistan is not determined only by the civilian government but it has always been the prerogative of the armed forces and, more particularly, the Inter Services Intelligence (ISI). The ISI is often referred to as a state within a state. The ISI received a boost when it served as the front-line conduit for the training, arming and support of the Afghan Mujahideen during

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28 Pakistan-The chief promoter of Islamic militancy and... (www.idsa india.org/an/html)
the war against the erstwhile Soviet Union. It was associated with the use of the heroin trade to finance the Afghan Mujahideen’s operations and the former Prime Minister of Pakistan, Nawaz Sharif, had once told the Washington Post that his top army brass had approached him for approval to use drug money to finance the ISI’s operations against India. The ISI is closely associated with the Taliban movement both in imparting training and in battlefield strategy and operations.

India has always remained a prime focus of the ISI’s activities and with regard to Jammu and Kashmir, the ISI has been pivotal in organising operations of mercenary outfits like the Harkat-ul-Ansar, declared and subsequently banned, as a Pakistan-based terrorist outfit by the United States of America. The Harkat-ul-Ansar owes its considerable arsenal in large measure to the generosity of the Pakistani government, or, more specifically, its intelligence service. Harkat-ul-Ansar trained not only extremist Pakistanis and Kashmiris, but also cadres for operations in Tajikistan, Bosnia, Myanmar and even the Uighurs of Xinjiang Province of the People’s Republic of China. Pakistan first used the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front, with its pro independence ideology, to mobilize a mass movement. The period between 1989-90 was marked by the targeted killing of government officials, media personnel, members of the judiciary, and members of the minority Kashmiri Pandit (Hindu) community and Kashmiri Muslims who dared question the terror tactics and excesses of the terrorists.

On the militant front, there is growing evidence that Kashmiri involvement in the militancy has ceased. Violence does recur sporadically, but is now largely the work of mercenary groups comprising Pakistanis, Afghans and others operating in the valley under the Lashkar-e-Toiba and the Harkat-ul-Ansar. This has given a new dimension to the nature of militancy. Pakistan’s role in sponsoring terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir is well documented by the international media, independent observers and even the U.S. State Department. The latter has identified the Harkat-ul-Ansar as a terrorist outfit operating from Pakistan. Virtually discomfited in the Kashmir Valley, the ISI has sought to move terrorist operations to Poonch, Rajouri, Doda and Udhampur sectors, with the

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objective of targeting Hindus in the hope of inflaming communal passions and inciting communal conflict\textsuperscript{30}.

**Tribal Raids and the Accession:**

Pakistan then sent tribal invaders and ostensibly decommissioned Pakistan army officers into Jammu and Kashmir. While Pakistan has always claimed that its government was not behind the raids and that these were spontaneous expressions of Muslim sentiment following reports of killing of Muslims in Jammu and Kashmir, the facts are revealed by Major General Akbar Khan, the officer given responsibility for organising the raids. "The raiders advanced into Baramulla, the biggest commercial centre of the region with a population then of 11,000, until they were only an hour away from Srinagar. For the next three days they were engaged in massive plunder, rioting and rape. No one was spared. Even members of the St. Joseph’s Mission Hospital were brutally massacred"\textsuperscript{31}.

Unable to prevent the raiders’ brutal advance which was marked by large-scale killings, loot and arson, The Maharaja, on October 24, 1947, appealed for military assistance from the Government of India. The Indian Government felt that only if the state had acceded to India then there would be the legal basis for India to intervene, whereupon the Maharaja signed the Instrument of Accession on October 26, 1947. A simultaneous appeal for assistance and for the state’s accession to the Indian Union was also made by Sheikh Abdullah, leader of the National Conference, and the undisputed leader of the people, who had for his views been imprisoned by the Maharaja’s government in September, 1947 and released only under pressure of India’s Prime Minister\textsuperscript{32}. On receipt of the signed Instrument of Accession from the Maharaja, preparations were made to fly Indian troops to the State. The formal letter of acceptance of the Accession was signed by Lord Mountbatten on October 27 making Jammu and Kashmir an integral part of India even as Indian forces were airlifted to Srinagar\textsuperscript{33}.

\textsuperscript{32} Chibber, M.L. (1998), Pakistan’s Criminal Folly on Kashmir, New Delhi: Manas Publications.
The Accession of Jammu and Kashmir was final and unconditional. It was offered and accepted in the same manner and according to the same legal stipulations as the accession of princely states, to Pakistan. The decision was made by only the ruler of the princely state as required under the India Independence Act. In the case of Jammu and Kashmir, there was further endorsement of the accession by the largest Kashmiri Party, the National Conference, and subsequently the State’s own popularly elected Constituent Assembly.

The United Nations:

The United Nations Security Council first took cognizance of the Jammu and Kashmir issue in 1948 after the accession of the State to India, and at India’s behest. A distortion of the nature of the Security Council’s involvement has been fostered over the years by Pakistan to try and project that it was the status of Jammu and Kashmir that was the subject under discussion. It was India that approached the Security Council on January 1, 1948 with the request that the Security Council intervene to vacate Pakistan’s aggression and illegal occupation of Indian Territory of the state of Jammu and Kashmir. India approached the Security Council of January 1, 1948, and said: “Such a situation now exists between India and Pakistan owing to the aid which invaders, consisting of nationals of Pakistan and of tribesmen from the territory immediately adjoining Pakistan on the North West, are drawing from Pakistan for operations against Jammu and Kashmir, a State which has acceded to the Dominion of India and is part of India. The Government of India request the Security Council to call upon Pakistan to put an end immediately to the giving of such assistance which is an act of aggression against India. India was the complainant before the Security Council against aggression by Pakistan.

The United Nations Security Council appointed a United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP). Initially Pakistan continued to deny any role in the tribal raids maintaining that it was a natural response of the martial tribes to reports of killings of Muslims in Jammu and Kashmir. Later, however, in July 1948, Sir Zafarullah Khan admitted to the UNCIP that three regular Pakistani Brigades had been fighting in

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Kashmir territory since May 1948. The UNCIP taking note of the developments adopted a resolution on August 13, 1948, divided into three parts. The first part called for a cease-fire. The second part called for Pakistan to withdraw its nationals and tribesmen and to vacate the territory occupied by it. Then after the above stipulation had been implemented India was to withdraw the bulk of its forces from the state leaving an adequate number behind to ensure that the Government of Jammu and Kashmir maintains law and order and peace, a clear indication that the UNCIP believed that Jammu and Kashmir was a part of India. Part (3) of the Resolution to be implemented after parts (1) and (2) stated that both India and Pakistan had reaffirmed their wish that the future status of Jammu and Kashmir shall be determined in accordance with the will of the people. Even after the adoption of the resolution, Pakistan brazenly advancing deep into Baltistan and Ladakh, hundreds of kilometres to the east while the so-called Azad Kashmir forces, which were to be disbanded, were expanded and consolidated and formed what the UNCIP Military Adviser described as a "formidable force".36

A subsequent resolution was adopted by the UNCIP on 5, January 1949 on the same issue. However, this resolution was to be binding only if the stipulations of the resolution of August 14, 1948 had first been met. India accepted this resolution also. It is noteworthy that while India accepted the two resolutions, Pakistan balked at implementing even the first one and has still, even after the passage of fifty years, not vacated the territories of Jammu and Kashmir seized by it. Indeed, the portion of the State now called the Northern Areas, has been declared a part of Pakistan, separate to the entity named "Azad Kashmir" It is very significant that during the debates in the UN Security Council and in the wording of the two resolutions the sovereignty of India over Jammu and Kashmir was taken as accepted.37

The execution of the provisions of the resolution of 1948 might create more serious difficulties than were foreseen at the time the parties agreed to that. Whether the UN representative would be able to reconstitute the status quo which it had obtained ten years ago would seem to be doubtful." If, in 1957 and 1958, Mr. Jarring and Mr. Graham felt that the resolutions of 1948 and 1949 could not be implemented because of the

changed situation, the sheer implausibility of these resolutions having any meaning today is self-evident. The State of Jammu and Kashmir to which these resolutions applied does not exist any longer with a part of the territory having been handed over to China by Pakistan and demographic changes having been effected in Azad Kashmir and the Northern Areas.

India’s Position on Kashmir:

India has remained committed to developing and maintaining close and friendly relations with all its neighbours. It has promoted regional cooperation in social, cultural, political and other fields through the SAARC mechanism and in other ways. This would be the best guarantor of an improvement in the living standards of the people of India and its neighbouring countries. With Pakistan, India has remained committed to the establishment of a cooperative relationship based on mutual respect and a regard for each other’s concerns. There is much that the two countries can do together in the fields of trade, agriculture, industry, in environment, in the promotion of cultural and people to people contacts. India will work towards the resolution of all outstanding issues, including Jammu and Kashmir, through a direct bilateral dialogue process as mandated in the Shimla Agreement. There is no place for any third party involvement of any nature whatsoever in such a process. With regard to Jammu and Kashmir there can never be any question of any discussion on the status of the state or on the question of its accession to the Indian Union. These are unalterable facts of history which cannot be re-opened or questioned. India has concerns about continuing Pakistani support to and instigation of terrorism in the State of Jammu and Kashmir as well as its illegal and forcible control of part the State’s territory since 1947. India’s commitment to a peaceful resolution of the issue is reflected in its agreeing to uphold the status-quo as has existed since 1947. It is significant that the cease-fire line was changed to the Line of Control in 1972. This was


not merely a change of nomenclature but a consequence of an agreement, seeking to adhere to the status quo by all means.\footnote{Gulati, M.N. (2001), \textit{Pakistan's Downfall in Kashmir: The Three Indo-Pakistan Wars}, New Delhi: Manas Publications.}

Pakistan's attempts over the past nine years to alter the status quo through proxy war are headed for failure as its earlier attempts through open hostilities and war failed in 1948, 1965 and 1971. India has been regarded as the world's largest functioning, stable and secular democracy since its independence over five decades ago. The democratic tenets that govern the rest of India have also held sway the State of Jammu & Kashmir. If indeed the desire of the world community is to ensure peace and stability and to permit the people of Jammu and Kashmir the right to determine their own destiny in an atmosphere of freedom, this can only be achieved under the democratic framework of modern India and not under the kind of extremist, obscurantist polity that the ideology of the terrorist and mercenary groups seeks to impose on the people of the State.\footnote{Saha, B.P.: \textit{Trans-Border Terrorism: Internationalization of Kashmir Tangle}, New Delhi: Har Anand Publication.}

Accordingly, the Indian position, in the face of Pakistan's propaganda over the years has remained consistent.

- The accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir took place as per the provisions of the India Independence Act and is final and legal and cannot be disputed. The States that acceded to Pakistan did so in the same manner and the rulers decision was accepted. Pakistan made no attempt to ascertain the will of the people of these states. If there is any "unfinished" business of partition it is the requirement that Pakistan relinquish control of that part of Jammu and Kashmir that it illegally occupies.

- The UN Resolutions calling for the will of the people to be ascertained are no longer tenable because Pakistan has not fulfilled the precondition of withdrawal from the territory it occupied through aggression. This resulted in a long delay in the implementation of the Security Council Resolutions and led Mr. Gunnar Jarring, the Representative of Sweden on the UN Security Council and the President of the Council, who had been requested by the Council to explore
options of arriving at a solution through discussions with India and Pakistan, to observe in his 1957 report to the President of the Security Council that “The Council will, furthermore, be aware of the fact that the implementation of international agreements of an ad hoc character, which has not been achieved fairly speedily, may become progressively more difficult because the situation with which they were to cope has tended to change”. In the meantime, the will of the people of Jammu & Kashmir has been repeatedly determined through elections in India.

After Pakistan’s attempts to alter the status quo by force of war in 1965 it has forfeited the right to invoke the UN Resolutions. The fact that the Council stopped recalling the resolutions of 1948 and 1949 underscored the irrelevance of those resolutions with the passage of time.

The will of the people does not need to be ascertained only through a plebiscite. Democratic elections are a recognised means of ascertaining the wishes of the people and the people of the State of Jammu and Kashmir have repeatedly participated in such elections. The same cannot be said of the parts under the occupation of Pakistan where, in the Northern Areas, adult franchise has still not been granted.

Kashmir is not an Islamic or a religious issue and the two-nation theory has been seen to be irrelevant. A sizable Muslim community chose to live in India at the time of partition rather than move to Pakistan. The most prominent Kashmiri political party, the National Conference, headed by a popular Muslim leader, Sheikh Abdullah sought and endorsed the accession of Jammu and Kashmir to India. The emergence of Bangladesh as an independent nation proved conclusively, if further proof were needed, that the notion that all Muslims of the sub-continent would wish to be a part of Pakistan, which is the basis of Pakistan’s claim to Jammu and Kashmir, was a fallacy.

The extremist structure that Pakistan wishes to impose on Kashmir is alien to the Kashmiri ethos which has been one of tolerance and coexistence with its origins in the Sufi expression of Islam that is Kashmir’s heritage.
The problem of Kashmir today is one of terrorism sponsored by Pakistan. The targets are Muslims in Kashmir, belying Pakistan’s argument that it is concerned about the welfare of Muslims in Kashmir. The international community must impress upon Pakistan to desist from such terrorism so that the democratic political process, which India has restored to the state, is not held hostage by terrorists who, even now, continue to target political leaders, the majority of whom are Muslims.

The internal situation of Jammu and Kashmir is, by the will of its people, strictly India’s affair and there is no call for any international intervention.

India is committed to protecting the human rights of all its citizens and for this purpose militancy must be eradicated. Every State has the duty to protect the life and property of its citizens and cannot countenance their security being threatened by armed terrorists. Any discussion of the question of human rights must take into account the environment in which the state authorities have to function. Jammu and Kashmir has been a target of Pakistan sponsored terrorism for years and this aspect is fundamental to any discussion of human rights. The Indian Government has sought to maintain transparency in the state. International and Indian media personnel, foreign diplomats, the International Committee or the Red Cross, all have free access to Jammu and Kashmir.

In order to destabilize India and surrounding nations, the ISI has funded separatist and extremist movement against the government of India. ISI has been reported to operate training camps near the border of Bangladesh where members of separatist groups of the North Eastern states, known as the "United Liberation Front of Seven Sisters" [ULFOSS] are trained with military equipment and terrorist activities. These groups include the National Security Council of Nagaland [NSCN], People's Liberation Army [PLA], United Liberation Front of Assam [ULFA], and North East Students Organization [NESO].

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During the height of the Sikh separatist movement (Khalistan) in the early 1990's, the ISI supported Sikh militancy. The ISI continues to try to revive the militancy though the movement has subsided. Besides India, Pakistan supports Islamic terrorism in the Xinjiang province of China as an instrument of ensuring its enduring centrality in the evolving regional dynamics. The ISI has as for the past two decades incited, supported, funded and participated in militant movements that destabilize countries surrounding Pakistan in the Central and South Asia in an attempt to achieve power in the region through violence and terrorism.\textsuperscript{46}

ISI terror network indirectly is the cause of violence ranging from the US to Philippines. Any efforts to eliminate terrorism will be unsuccessful until the ISI is eliminated. ISI is responsible for the training, arming, organizing and creation of several militant groups within Pakistan, India, China, central Asian states, Afghanistan and Bangladesh. They have armed more than 100,000 fighters in the past 20 years. The ISI also controls the Pakistani political system and has backed several coups including the current dictatorship of General Pervez Musharraf. The ISI are also the creators of the Taliban. The ISI has direct ties to the following terrorist organizations:

- Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF)
- Lashkar-e-Toiba (LeT)
- Jaish-e-Mohammed (JeM)
- Hezb-ul-Mujahedin
- Harakat-ul-Ansar
- Harakat-ul-Mujahedin
- Al Umar
- Al Barq
- Muslim Janbaz Force
- United Liberation Front Of Seven Sisters [ULFOSS]
- National Security Council of Nagaland [NSCN]
- People's Liberation Army [PLA]
- United Liberation Front of Assam [ULFA]

Pakistan Sponsored Terrorism: Punjab

The most significant reason for the blood shed in Punjab in 1980's is Pakistan support to militants for secessionism of state from India and the creation of an independent Sikh nation i.e. Khalistan. Punjab was targeted as its shares borders with Pakistan even shares common, social and political feelings on both sides of the border. In 1947 major part of Punjab goes to Pakistan and the main source of livelihood was scrapped. People of Punjab lost their commercial base, losing economic resources, bloodshed in riots compelled people to migrate to India and also, may lost their centre of religion. Political, Economic, Religious, Defence and Regional, all these factors were as foreign policy goals for Pakistan in Punjab. The 1971 war for the independence of Bangladesh was the turning point in Indo-Pak relation. India’s active participation in the guerrilla war by the Mukthi Bahini against Pakistan government hanged the entire gamut of relationship between the two countries. Pakistan foreign policy makers intend to average the loss of East Pakistan in 1971 war by helping Punjab in creation of separate Sikh state. Also, defeat in 1971 war, caused fear psychosis of being contained by India and Pakistan leader arc reluctant to accept India's hegemony in the region. So, in a well-planned strategy, Pakistan launched state sponsored terrorism in Punjab to create Khalistan. As Pakistan itself was created on the basis of ethnic demography and religion, Pakistan leads as branded India as repressive ‘Hindu’ regime rather than a secular state. So, create communal rift in Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir and also, it aims to weaken India’s defence strength by fragmenting it. Pakistan wanted to create a buffer state in the form of Punjab between them and also, its creation cuts Jammu and Kashmir from rest of India.7

The nature of terrorism in Punjab was alienation of Sikh population from the mainstream of India. Also, it emphasized need for conversion of the state machinery and

mass agitation against the government. Also, the people of Punjab become victims of violence and counter violence by the militants and the administration respectively.

Pakistan provides infrastructure to Sikh militants through intelligence and Pakistan based Panthic committee. Panth and politics go together in the social and political life of Punjab because of religious interference in politics which is the way of social life in Punjab. So, Panthic committee propagated hatred and violence against the government of India in Punjab. The religious position is emotionally exploited by the Panth and the religious sentiments swayed people marched on the path of no return.

Pakistan provided popular support, weapons, a sanctuary, and moral support to the extremist of Punjab. Pakistan aim was to destroy the confidence which the Sikhs have in the government by causing them to act outside the law, to bring about the moral alienation of the Sikhs masses from the government until it was complete and irreversible. The genesis of terrorism in Punjab is a combination of region, religion, economy and political motivation which gets juxtaposed. The contours of terrorism was confined to three districts which borders Pakistan i.e. Amritsar, Gurdaspur, Ferozepur and partly Faridkot which borders Ferozepur. The economic frustration has been duly exploited by religious fundamentalists and political ideologues for its own purpose and motives. Islamabad has been training Sikh and other Indian separatists movements as part of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto’s strategy of “forward strategic depth and also as a part of his effort to gain revenge for India’s support of an independent Bangladesh. Pakistan was quick to exploit the opportunity from strategic point of view, Pakistan has encourage the creation of a Sikh state of Khalistan in the Indian Punjab in order to make the Indian defence of Kashmir difficult. Islamabad as determined to exploit the growing tension in Kashmir to destabilize India and therefore began to provide better training and military assistance for Sikh militant.

The religious fanatics and political opportunists found its supporters in India only among some pseudo-intellectuals and the nouveau riche. The real inspiration for the demand came from the drawing rooms of the wealthy Sikhs who were ensconced in the U.S.A., U.K., Canada and Germany. By 1982, the districts of Amritsar, Gurdaspur,
Ferozepur and Jalandhar were fully in the grip of terrorism. Except Jalandhar, All three had borders forming a part of the international border with Pakistan, making it easy for terrorist to procure arms, temporary shelter and even some training in Pakistan. A large number Gurudwaras in Tarn Taran, Patti, Moga and Muktsar etc. were converted in to sanctuaries for the terrorist. The terrorist also established strong centers of support in Jammu in the north and Ganganagar in the south, both of which bordered Pakistan. The first strategy Pakistan adopted was to alienate Sikh community from the mainstream of India’s socio-economic and political life. Pakistan supplied arms and ammunitions for the cause of Bhidranwale. The Sikhs were provided fund and moral support. It along with many militant organizations created public opinions through distorted facts and figures against India, which was propagated by Pakistan agents. The government of Pakistan openly supported the idea of Khalistan and provided infrastructure facilities to the intellectuals working under Bhindranwale. Pakistan came forward to train the school dropouts and the unemployed youths in Lahore and Karachi where they were trained under command of Pakistan Generals and later were sent back to Punjab for subversion. Pakistan provided moral support and various telecommunication facilities.

**Genesis of Terrorism in Punjab:**

The terrorists in Punjab have openly declared that their main objective is the establishment of Khalistan. The genesis of present terrorism is usually related to the Anandpur Sahib Resoulution which along with many other things, demanded greater autonomy for the state of Punjab, a step towards separation from India. The British rulers in India reinforced the crisis of identity, which the Sikhs have been experiencing from the very beginning. Also, not only the religious and political leaders of the Sikh community but also their counterparts of the Hindu community in Punjab contributed, intentionally or unintentionally to this psyche of the Sikh community. Up to the fourth Guru of Sikhs equal stress was laid on the preaching of the Hindu, Muslim, and Sufi saints. Main attack of these gurus was not on the philosophy of Hinduism but on its ritual

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cult, particularly the idol worship, and on some social evils, like untouchability. Sikhism had maintained equal distance from Islam and Hinduism as fear as the ritual cult was concerned. Use of Sikh soldiers by the British rulers to suppress the independence movement in 1850 annoyed the Hindu leaders. Further the dominance of the non-Sikh administrative personnel, who belonged to the eastern and southern regions of India, in the administration of the Punjab, kept the question of separate identity alive. The Hindu leaders lent full support to Sikhs to fight against the Gurudwaras Mehants patronized-patronized by the British rulers; and many Sikh leaders made sacrifices for achievement of freedom of the country. As a result of nefarious design of the British rulers at the time of partition to instigate the Sikh leaders to ask for a homeland probably compelled the Hindu leaders, like Gandhi and Nehru, to promise a place for Sikhs in northern region to accommodate their aspirations. After independence the Sikh leaders continued to insist on a separate state because the Akalis could not form a majority government and were not satisfied with a coalition government. Ultimately, the Punjab Suba was created in 1956 by separating Haryana and Himachal Pradesh.

The process of creation of Punjab on the basis of Punjabi speaking area annoyed the Sikh leaders and the masses as well. The Hindus, whose mother tongue was Punjabi, declared Hindi as their mother tongue. As a result, some of the Punjabi speaking areas was separated from Punjab. A desire to have dominance of the Sikh community in the power structure of the state has gone deep in to the Sikh psyche. The Anand Sahib Resolution which demanded greater autonomy of the state, was in fact, a manifestation of this psyche. Another element of the Sikh psyche is the belief in the association of the spiritual and temporal power religion and politics. The Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee (SGPC) holds full control on religion, politics and the psyche of the Sikh community as a whole. Many vested interest groups, such as frustrated retired military personnel, unemployed youth, smugglers, black marketers, and the illegal Sikh migrants to foreign countries, like the U.K. and Canada, gave all sort of support to Bhindranwale. The foreign powers also contributed to Bhindranwale popularity and strength and tried to

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52. Pakistan lend support to Sikh militants in Indian Punjab’, (www.fas.org/irp/congress/1993)
use it to weaken the unity of the country by exploiting the separatist tendency in the Sikh psyche. The role of militant groups, such as All India Sikh Students Federation and Bhindranwale Liberation Force, has been remarkable in spreading terrorism on communal basis.

The terrorist activities began with the killing of the Hindus and their leaders and the threatening letters to the administration and police personnel hijacking of planes was another feature of terrorism. Slogans for a separate Sikh law, different pattern of dresses and abolition of the use and sale of tobacco, meat and wine at Amritsar, which were supported both by the militant groups and Akali leaders, provided strength to terrorism. Scale of the potential of terrorism became manifest after the Blue Star Revolution in the Golden temple in Amritsar in the first week of June 1983 and the subsequent revolt by some Sikh soldiers in army. Although militant groups had been weakened by the killing of Bhindranwale, removal of terrorists from the temple, seizure of arms and arrest of Sikh youths and leaders, yet it was a temporary phase. The terrorist’s strength resulted in the assassination of the Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi.

The massacre of Sikhs in Delhi and other places following the assassination of Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi was appreciated by some sections of the Hindu community. They considered it a good lesson to all Sikhs in general and the Sikh militants in particular. It was a great blow to the Sikh psyche. The media played a role, biased or unbiased, in tarnishing the image of the Sikh community in India and abroad, which shook the Sikh community. All this adversely affected the Hindu Sikh unity, at least at psyche level. More harm could be done to the unity had the riots erupted in Punjab as a fall out of the Delhi killings of Sikhs. There were other factors other than the historical factors and the exploitation by foreign powers and the Sikh leaders which could explain the cause of terrorism, its then present state and future direction. Affluence of the state, emergence of various interest groups, population composition of the Sikhs in Punjab and in other parts of India, and the hold of one section of the Sikh community, The Jats on the religious and political institution, and the factional conflict within Jat

leaders are some of the important factors which need attention for comprehension of the problem.8

In terms of per capita income Punjab has attained the highest position among all the states of India, but in case of industrial sector, this lags far behind many states. The second feature is the multi-faceted tension political, economic and religious. Rapid industrialization is essential because farm economy cannot sustain the level of economic aspirations of the rural youth. They fail to get jobs in urban areas and find no attraction in jobs at farm. Restricted occupational mobility has resulted in social tension, at least partly. Failure on the part of the government to create opportunities to fulfill the aspirations of the educated unemployed youth is one of the possible explanations of the tension manifested in the form of organized terrorism and extremism. The root cause lies in the political and economic interest groups not only within the state of Punjab but also in other parts of India. The inter-state disputes on water and territory and the issue of state autonomy give the tension a national dimension, whereas the economy of remittances and smuggling give it an international dimension.59

The Khalistan Movement in Punjab:

The Khalistan movement was aimed at establishing an independent sovereign state through an armed struggle. The formal declaration of Khalistan was made by his ardent followers from the Damdami Taksal in April 1986, 22 months after Bhindrawale’s death. Its collapse was evident by the end of 1992. By then over 25,000 people had been killed in Punjab in the terrorist and counter-terrorist violence, and over 705 of the killed were Sikhs. “The violent movement is over and thank god for that”, observed Jagjit Singh Chauhan, president of the National Council of Khalistan at the end of 1993. He accused Pakistan of “cynically exploiting the Sikhs”60.

According to Peter Van Der Veer, it was the demand for Pakistan which led to the partition of India in 1947. When a demand for Khalistan or a separate Sikh state was raised by some people during the 1940s, it was clearly designed to counter the move for

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the creation of Pakistan. Master Tara Singh’s often quoted questioning: “The Hindus got Hindustan and the Muslims got Pakistan, what did the Sikhs get?” expressed an undercurrent of an imagined Sikh nationalist grouse. However, the political struggle of the Sikh political leadership in post-independent India centered round the formation of Punjabi Suba and greater autonomy for the state in their Indian federation. The Shiromani Akali Dal which claimed to be the sole spokesman of the Sikh community did not at any time support the idea of the separate Sikh state. Two developments in the mid-1960s augmented far-reaching changes in the world of Sikh politics. One was the formation of Sikh majority state. It unleashed in the Akali leadership exclusive claims to rule in the secular domain of the state politics. The second development related to the prosperity of the green revolution. The new entrepreneurial rich agricultural class, which it created, aspired for a share of political power commensurate with their economic clout. These two developments also altered the terms of trade in politics.

The legislative leadership of Akali Dal gained greater importance than religious/SGPC leadership. Its bid for wider support base and alliances favoured secularization of its political agenda. The Sikh community was not homogenous. It was divided by caste and class, as also religious sects. On the other hand, the emergence of Indira Gandhi at the national scene posed a formidable challenge to the Sikh ruling class in its aspiration for political domination in Punjab. The early experience of the fall of the three coalition governments during 1967-70, the centralizing nation-building agenda of the congress and programmes like that of land reforms, increased the threat perception of the landlords and facilitated the construction of the other. Both Indira Gandhi and the Indian government became the symbols of the anti-Sikh Brahminical forces. The consumer culture, corruption, drug addiction and the fast lane success-at any cost mindset was seen to be playing havoc with religion and morality. The Sikh youths were found to be ignoring Sikh norms and falling in to the ways of the others. On the other hand, widening class differences in the agricultural population increased social tensions and a threat perception among the socially and economically marginalized sections. The slogan

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of threat to religion, and assertion of identity appeared in such a context, to be a useful instrument to the competing political interests.

The demand for Khalistan or a sovereign Sikh state was first made through a paid half-page advertisement in the New York Times in USA on Oct. 12, 1971 in the name of Jagjit Singh Chauhan. Chauhan had been a minister in Lachhman Singh Gill’s short-lived government in Punjab during 1967-68. In 1978, a pamphlet on Khalistan circulated by a newly established outfit Dal Khalsa was also regarded as a gimmick. Another dramatic announcement of Khalistan was made in 1980 by Balbir Singh Sandhu, secretary of the National Council of Khalistan, founded by Jagjit Singh Chauhan in London. The release of Khalistani passports and Khalistani currency notes by him to some journalists in the Golden Temple, Amritsar.63 Bhindranwale came to public after the armed clash between the angry Sikhs sent by him and the Nirankaris gathered at their Samagam at Amritsar on 13 April 1978, in which 13 of these men were killed. This was the first indication of Bhindranwale’s role in inciting violence.64

Bhindranwale’s and his followers were allowed not only to preach violence, organized collection and supply of weapons inside the sacred temple but also to turn the Akal Takht in to a fort. Some of the leaders were believe to have thought that they could fulfill their power aspirations by riding on the back of Bhindranwale. The logic and method of Bhindranwale’s programme which became the basis for the Khalistan movement.

- Bhindranwale’s first concern related apparently to moral degeneration among the Sikhs. For a ‘good life’ of ‘purity’ as he viewed it, it was necessary to make them confirm to the Khalsa Sikh identity.
- The chief concern in his mind was related to an anxiety that the Sikhs were under siege in the Hindu dominant India. “The Hindu”, as he told his close aides “wants the Sikhs to surrender their identity and dignity to his over lordship”. The Hindu was a threat to the Sikh religion in the sense of a wily character ‘robbing’ the Sikhs of their overwhelmingly masculine character.

64 Harish K. Puri and Paramjit S. Judge, “The Khalistan movement” pp.378-396
The leadership of the Akali Dal and the SPGC were too power obsessed and corrupt to protect their interest of the Panth constitutes the third element.

Another significant element consisting of recourse to violence killing of the 'enemy', as a religious duty. The Tenth Guru had laid down that recourse to arms was legitimate when all other means failed. To Bhindranwale, that time had come because all the means used by the constituted religious and political leadership of the SGPC and Akali Dal had failed to ensure a place of dignity and autonomy to the Sikhs.

The preaching event along with action and preparations for a bigger battle. Killing of Hindus, Nirankaris and government officials' by armed groups operating from the sanctuary of the Golden Temple accelerated with organized recruitments and training in arms, collection of arms and military fortifications of the Akal Takht in the Golden Temple.

Khalistani Terrorism & Pakistan:

Pakistan's State-sponsorship of terrorism against India in Indian Territory is not related only to Jammu & Kashmir. This started in the North Eastern tribal areas of India in the 1950s, spread to the Punjab in the 1970s, to Jammu & Kashmir in 1989 onwards and to other parts of India, including New Delhi, since the late 1990s. In the late 1970s, the ISI contacted some members of the Sikh diaspora in the UK and Canada and instigated them to take up a fight against the Government of India for what was called an independent Khalistan in Indian Punjab. A number of terrorist organisations came into being such as the Dal Khalsa, the Babbar Khalsa, the International Sikh Youth Federation (ISYF), the Khalistan Commando Force (KCF) etc. The ISI gave them funds, arms and training in camps set up in Pakistani territory. The highjackers were not kept in a prison. Instead, they were allowed to live in the Nankana Sahib Gurudwara in Lahore and direct the terrorist activities in Indian Punjab from there. From the Gurudwara, they orchestrated four more hijackings by different Sikh groups. After repeated Indian protests, the Pakistani authorities held a sham trial in which the hijackers were sentenced

Harish K. Puri and Paramjit S. Judge, "The Khalistan Movement" pp.378-396
to various terms of imprisonment. Instead of sending them to jail after their conviction, different Pakistani administrations allowed them to continue to live in the Gurudwara and organise terrorist activities in Indian Punjab.

Talwinder Singh Parmar, a Canadian national, had the Kanishka aircraft of Air India flying from Toronto to India blown up off the Irish coast, killing all the passengers. As the Canadian investigation into the terrorist incident zeroed in on the involvement of Talwinder Singh Parmar, he escaped to Pakistan and took up residence in the Nankana Sahib Gurudwara and from there, guided terrorist activities in the Indian Punjab. To repeated requests from the Canadian and US authorities for tracing and arresting Talwinder Singh Parmar and Lal Singh, the Pakistani Government replied that they were not in Pakistan and might be operating in Indian Punjab. Ultimately in 1992, the Canadian and US authorities obtained conclusive evidence that both of them had been living in Lahore. When they again took up the matter with Islamabad, the ISI asked them to leave the country. They both entered India, where Lal Singh was arrested by the Indian police and Talwinder Singh Parmar was killed in an encounter with the Punjab police along with a Pakistani national, who was suspected to be an official of the ISI. The Pakistani authorities refused to accept his dead body under the pretext that he was not a Pakistani national, but his relatives demonstrated in their home town in Pakistani Punjab demanding that his dead body should be brought back to Pakistan for burial. During his interrogation, Lal Singh gave complete details of Pakistani sponsorship of terrorism in Punjab. The Government of India invited the counter-terrorism experts of the US and other Western countries to come to India and interrogate him. They were assured that no Indian official would be present during the interrogation so that they could satisfy themselves that no force or torture was used. Some Western countries accepted the offer and sent their experts to interrogate him. They went back satisfied that India’s complaint of Pakistani sponsorship of terrorism in Punjab stood fully corroborated.

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67 ‘Pakistan lends support to Sikh militants in Indian Punjab’. (www.fas.org/frp/congress/1993)
Pakistan-Afghanistan was the main epicenter of international Islamic terrorism inspired by Bin Laden and the Taliban and there was a large flow of funds to various organisations in Pakistan associated with terrorism from contributors in Pakistan, the West, Saudi Arabia and other members of the Ummah. On the contrary, the total amount was derisively low. The two accounts of the HUM had a total of Rs. 4,742, the JEM had Rs. 900, the Al Rashid Trust, which handled the accounts of the Taliban and the LET, had Rs.2.7 million and US $ 30. Ayman Al-Zawahiri, of the Al Jihad, Egypt, who operated the accounts of the Al Qaeda, had just US $ 252. Pakistani Rs.68 are equivalent to one US dollar. The "News" of Islamabad reported as follows on January 1,2002. “The frozen accounts had a balance of $190,554 and close to Rs 10 million till December 20,2001.

Operation Blue Star in Punjab, 1984:

Punjab was split into three - the present Punjab (with a Sikh majority), Himachal Pradesh and Haryana (both preponderantly Hindu). The seeds of prosperity sown during the Green Revolution, which made Punjab the most affluent agricultural state in India, were sown the seeds of discord between the Punjabi Hindus and Sikhs. They were allowed to grow and spread like venomous weeds fouling the political, social and economic atmosphere of the whole of Northern India. The only weed-killers our inept and thoughtless rulers could think of were guns and tanks. Guns and tanks do not kill weeds, but only make the ground more fertile for them to grow. The bloody storming of the Golden Temple in Amritsar in the first week of June. The Sikhs bitter in anguish. The Hindus of Punjab relieved that Bhindranwale lay dead and hopefully, terrorism stamped out.

Operation Blue Star highlighted the tremendous mismanagement of the affairs of the state by the government. Bhindranwale, Amrik Singh and Shabbeg Singh, the architects of the bloody war inside the holy temple, were killed. But the destruction of the Akal Takht also delivered a grievous hurt to the Sikhs all over the world. Not the ghost of Bhindranwale, but the collective humiliation of a whole community had ominous

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implications. As revenge, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was assassinated by her Sikh security guards three months later. The orgy of violence in which thousands of Sikhs were massacred in Delhi and other places soon after smacked not only of the breakdown of order but also complicity of men from the ruling party. The leaders of the Damdami Taksal, its rival Babbar Khalsa, the All India Sikh Students Federation (AISSF) and those who had forged a militant outfit, Khalistan Commando Force (KCF) were restive for vengeful action.\(^{72}\) On April 29, the Panthic Committee announced the formation of Khalistan. This was done as per the blessing of “Raj Karega Khalsa” given by Guru Gobind Singh on the Baisakhi of 1699. It, therefore, “fulfilled the dream of the Sikhs to create their own homeland”. All the governments of the world and the UN were asked to grant recognition to the new state. The government of India was directed to complete all religious and military formalities consequent upon the creation of Khalistan.

The Sikhs living in other parts of India outside Punjab were invited to settle in Punjab so that “they don’t have to meet the same fate as they did in November 1984”. A directive was given to all the political organizations to announce their agreement with and ‘loyalty’ to Khalistan. All the leaders of Khalistan left the Golden temple soon after the declaration. Some of them such as Wassan Singh Zaffarwal, member of the Panthic Committee, and Gurjit Singh, chief of a faction of AISSF, crossed over to Pakistan. The day after the declaration when the police force was sent in to the temple with a view to flush out the militants, there was nobody for a catch\(^{73}\). The sentiments for Khalistan or for sheer vengeful action against perceived enemies apparently prevailed among a large number of militant young men. Many among the around 700 released from long detention by the Barnala government were believed to be restive for violent action. About 350 of those who had crossed over to Pakistan during the frightening combing operation (Operation Woodrose) had reportedly returned from Pakistan. The increasing infighting among the Akalis a pervasive anti-congress sentiments in the Sikh community and a large-scale inflow of arms from Pakistan created a more encouraging environment for the


The Panthic Committee had recognized Khalistan Commando Force (KCF) led by self-born ‘General’ Hari Singh as the exclusive guerrilla organization. The KCF was one of the prominent militant outfits, which emerged after Operation Blue Star. Most of its “400 well armed guerillas” belonged to the Majha region consisting of two districts of Amritsar and Gurdaspur.

The operations and objectives of the fighters, according to the field study conducted in the villages of Amritsar and Gurdaspur districts revealed, had no relation with ideology, or religious interest. The motives of a vast majority were found to be related to a lust for adventure, weapons, making quick money and kith-and-kin interest. Most of the recruits belonged to families of poor, small or marginal farmers; were illiterate or school dropouts and weighed down by a low self-esteem and uncertain future. They ended up joining a militant group more by accident than political design. Access to weapons such as AK-47 assault rifles according to the people of their villages, provided to the militants a sense of ‘empowerment’.

Pakistan’s Foreign Policy Goals in Punjab:

- To avenge the loss of Bangladesh. India’s active participation in the guerilla war by the Mukti Bahini against Pakistan government changed the entire gamut of relationship between the two countries.
- East–West divide: it was only with the co-operation of India that volunteers were trained in guerrilla warfare against the government of Pakistan. Thousands of them were recruited for training in subversion, without which Bangladesh could have remained a dream project. After the liberation of Bangladesh, Pakistan foreign policy took a vindictive turn towards India.
- There were three major foreign policy objectives of Pakistan in Punjab. First, the creation of a separate Sikh state, second, to discredit India’s secular credentials, third, the fragmentation of India.

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Terrorism was the sole weapon of Pakistan in Punjab. Khalistan is of strategic importance to Pakistan. Pakistan’s foreign policy analysts always perceive threat from India. They believe that security of the Indian sub-continent is divisible and can be shared by both India and Pakistan. Pakistan in the northwest and India in the northeast. Creation of Khalistan at the north–west border would achieve this objective and can eliminate this threat perception. Pakistan believes that non-existence of a barrier at the Indo-Pakistan border is a dangerous situation for security of Pakistan. Khalistan as a buffer state would provide barrier, which would ensure territorial integrity of Pakistan. Simultaneously, carving out Khalistan will cut the Jammu & Kashmir from Indian roadways and railways, which is crucial for India. This situation will help Pakistan to capture Jammu & Kashmir in the same way as Bangladesh was created. Creation of Khalistan would bring domestic stability in Pakistan and exalt its status at a regional power at par with India.

The nature of Pakistan-sponsored terrorism in Punjab is different from other regions but geostrategic realities and aims are same. The most dominant factor is religion i.e. religious sentiments are exploited by Pakistan in Jammu & Kashmir. Pakistan taken steps which are not counter productive of its territorial integrity. Therefore they have adopted a path of calculated risk in abetting terrorism in Punjab. The objective of Pakistan-sponsored terrorism in Punjab is cessation of the state from India and to promote secession and create a separate Sikh state. Pakistan tries to achieve the same by sponsoring terrorism with the help of local population of Punjab. The infrastructure provided to Jammu & Kashmir militants were also made available to the Sikh militants, it helped Pakistan in two ways: firstly, the government created dissension and law and order problem for India. Secondly, raised funds for its ordinance factory by selling arms to the militants. Sikh militants were encouraged to buy arms and ammunitions whereas Jammu & Kashmir were aided and funded.

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78 ‘Pakistan lend support to Sikh militants in Indian Punjab’. (www.fas.org/irp/congress/1993)
Muslim Separatist Movement in Xinjiang (Province of China)

Xinjiang is the nexus between China, the Middle East and Russia; it also lies at the cultural crossroads between the Islamic world and the Han Chinese heartland. More importantly, since the collapse of the Soviet Union, the vast energy supplies of the former Soviet Central Asian republics are becoming a focus of geopolitical attention as regional and extra-regional states seek to secure access to new sources of oil. Even some of the vital mountain passes and trade routes criss-cross this region; this enhances its geostrategic importance. Further, some of China’s vital defence establishment related to its nuclear programme are located in this region. These factors combine to make the outcome of the separatist struggle in Xinjiang of growing international strategic importance and will influence developments in the region. This paper considers the origins and extent of the Pakistan role and Muslim separatist movement in Xinjiang region. The Xinjiang Uighur autonomous region (XUAR) is situated in the northwest part of China. Its surface is over 1.6 million square km., and occupies one-sixth of the whole of China. It is rich with natural resources including wide number of minerals: iron, copper, aluminium, zinc, manganese, chromium, lead, mica, asbestos etc. The XUAR has the largest coal reserves in the country, along with the significant reserves of oil, salt etc. The Uighurs constitute 47.14% of all population of the region. Xinjiang is a vast, largely desert area, which contains many valuable resources including oil, lead, zinc and gold. Xinjiang will remain vital to China’s long-term energy requirements because of its location next to the proven oil reservoirs in the neighboring Central Asian republics\(^79\).

The Uighurs are the most important Muslims of Turkic origin and are the dominant ethnic group in Xinjiang, numbering about 7.2 million out of a total population of some 15 million. Beijing’s crackdown on Muslim unrest in Xinjiang is ostensibly a response to a perceived threat to the stability of a region deemed to be of vital strategic significance. Xinjiang is an important strategic region both in its location and in its resource potential; it is also an area where the native population’s desire for cultural, linguistic and religious autonomy is stymied by a rigid colonial tradition.

Xinjiang has been a strategic backyard of China both in security and economic terms. In economic terms, the fabled silk route passes through the resource-rich region of

Xinjiang. It contains approx. two-fifth of China’s oil, 40 percent of its coal and rich resources of gold and copper. In security terms, Xinjiang’s 9 to 10 million Muslims, deeply influenced by 900 years of Islamic influence, pose a threat to its integration with China\textsuperscript{80}. Three points which have triggered awakening among the Muslims of Xinjiang about their Islamic and pan-Turkic identity are:

- The demise of the former U.S.S.R. and the establishment of independent Central Asian states.
- The freedom to practice religious and cultural rites after 1978, further aided the rise in ethno-nationalist activities in Xinjiang.
- The increased trans border trade and traffic between Xinjiang and Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Pakistan has resulted in greater interaction among the Xinjiang people and their ethnic counterparts in central Asia, Pakistan, Turkey and Saudi Arabia.

**Xinjiang Province of China: History and Uighur Separatist Movement**

Xinjiang is situated in northwest China, some 4000 km from Beijing, and represents the eastern extremity of the larger Turkic cultural community, which extends from Turkey in the west through post-Soviet Central Asia and Afghanistan. The region is known locally as East Turkestan, signifying its historical and cultural distinctiveness from China. The indigenous population of Xinjiang is predominantly Turkic or Indo-European in origin and the main languages have Turkic or Mongolian roots. The most important Turkic groups are the Uighurs, Kazakhs, Kyrgyz and Uzbeks. The Tajiks, the other significant Muslim minority, are linked linguistically to modern Iran through their Indo-Persian language. All of these ethnic groups have much in common with their brethren in the newly independent Central Asian republics of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. The Sunni branch of Islam has been the dominant cultural and religious force in Xinjiang since the 10th century\textsuperscript{81}.

The Uighurs are an ancient people in the region with an estimated population of 8 million people living under the jurisdiction of nine states in Central Asia. Most of the


\textsuperscript{81} Fredrick, S.S (2004), Xinjiang: China’s Muslim Borderland. Armonk, M.E. Sharpe.
### Table: 2.2
Ethnic Population of Xinjiang Province (In Thousands)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>Population (In Thousands)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Uighur</td>
<td>7195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Han</td>
<td>5696</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kazak</td>
<td>1107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hui</td>
<td>682</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyrgyz</td>
<td>139.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mongol</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kara kalpaks</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian</td>
<td>8.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tajik</td>
<td>33.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uzbek</td>
<td>14.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tatars</td>
<td>4.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koreans</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dongxiang</td>
<td>56.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turks</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukrainians</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Byelorussians</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germans</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


![Ethnic Population of Xinjiang Province](image_url)
# Table 2.3

**Changing Ethnic Composition in Xinjiang**

1949, 1995 and 2002 (In %)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Groups</th>
<th>1949</th>
<th>1995</th>
<th>2002</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Han</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>40.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uighurs</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kazak</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyrgyz</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hui</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mongolian</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

population is located in Xinjiang (New Territory) Province in western China. A people related to Turkic nations to the west of China the Uighurs have formed their own kingdoms and states in centuries past and maintained their own cultural identity in practice and literature for more than 2000 years. They have modern aspirations to form a new state called East Turkestan which would border Kirgisia, Tajikistan, Afghanistan and Pakistan on the West and China on the East.  

Table: 2.4  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Hans</th>
<th>Uighurs</th>
<th>Dunghans</th>
<th>Kazakhs</th>
<th>Mongolians</th>
<th>Kyrgyzs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>292</td>
<td>3291</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>444</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>6164.8</td>
<td>7697.3</td>
<td>740</td>
<td>1217</td>
<td>151.9</td>
<td>156.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Himalayan and Central Studies, Jan-march 1999.

History records many unsuccessful attempts by the Chinese to conquer East Turkestan since at least the second century B.C. It was not until the Manchu dynasty invaded in 1759 that the Chinese finally gained control of the territory, ruling it until 1862 despite more than forty major revolts. A major Turkic uprising then drove the Chinese out and the region briefly enjoyed independence. This, however, was the period during which Tsarist Russian expansion into Central Asia was perceived as threatening to British colonial interests in India. In what is known as "The Great Game", the British sought to check Russian ambitions through a series of alliances and military assistance to friendly powers, because they were concerned that Russia would move into East Turkestan, the British financed the Manchu dynasty's reconquest of East Turkestan in 1876. East Turkestan was renamed Xinjiang and formally annexed to the Manchu Empire in 1884. Relations with Beijing have been fractious ever since. The reason is simple: the native population of Xinjiang has no cultural, ethnic, linguistic or religious connection to China, which, in essence, is a "foreign" occupying power. In fact, the very name

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"Xinjiang", which means "New Frontier" in Mandarin, emphasizes the region's place at the periphery of the Han Chinese Empire\textsuperscript{85}.

**Table: 2.5**

**Demographic Profile of Xinjiang**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1945</th>
<th>1982</th>
<th>1996</th>
<th>2002</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Uighur</td>
<td>2,988,528</td>
<td>5,995,947</td>
<td>7,916,013</td>
<td>8,692,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Han</td>
<td>222,401</td>
<td>5,283,971</td>
<td>6,432,816</td>
<td>7,595,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kazak</td>
<td>38,575</td>
<td>903,337</td>
<td>1,258,521</td>
<td>1,333,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hui</td>
<td>99,607</td>
<td>567,689</td>
<td>760,181</td>
<td>854,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyrgyz</td>
<td>69,923</td>
<td>112,366</td>
<td>160,483</td>
<td>171,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mongol</td>
<td>59,686</td>
<td>117,510</td>
<td>155,415</td>
<td>163,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xibe</td>
<td>10,626</td>
<td>27,377</td>
<td>38,854</td>
<td>41,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian</td>
<td>19,392</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9,206</td>
<td>11,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tajiks</td>
<td>8,210</td>
<td>26,573</td>
<td>38,900</td>
<td>40,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uzbek</td>
<td>10,224</td>
<td>12,188</td>
<td>13,498</td>
<td>13,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tatar</td>
<td>5,614</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4,700</td>
<td>4,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manchu</td>
<td>762</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>20,559</td>
<td>23,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daur</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6,386</td>
<td>6,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>81,802</td>
<td>74,577</td>
<td>77,368</td>
<td>98,900</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Xinjiang Tangji Nianjian, 2003 (Xinjiang statistical year book).*

A small part of northern Xinjiang enjoyed a brief period of independence in 1944 when a Muslim republic of East Turkestan was proclaimed out of the chaos of China's war with Japan. Following Mao Tse Tung's victory over the Nationalist forces in 1949, Xinjiang was brought back into the Chinese fold through a combination of political duplicity and military force. Despite the position of the Chinese communist party during the civil war that ethnic groups in regions such as Mongolia, Tibet and Xinjiang would be free to choose their own future, Mao Tse Tung repudiated self-determination as an option.

\textsuperscript{85} Fredrick, S.S (2004), Xinjiang: China's Muslim Borderland, Armonk, M.E. Sharpe.
when he took power and rejected any prospect of dividing China into federated republics. Instead, Mao created the concept of "autonomous regions, provinces and districts" within which the various ethnic groups were promised "equality" with the Chinese majority. Most of Xinjiang's inhabitants were thus persuaded to rejoin greater China, and the People's Liberation Army quickly crushed any opposition. The Uighur Autonomous Region was proclaimed in 1955. In fact, as the most westerly outpost of the Chinese empire, Xinjiang has always been treated in a typical colonial fashion by whichever faction ruled in Beijing—Feudalists, Nationalists and Communists—since the Manchu dynasty. When Mao Tse Tung seized power in China, the Uighurs constituted some 80 percent of the population of Xinjiang. In the 50 years since then, the Han Chinese population in the province has grown from about 10 percent to perhaps 50 percent today. The Han are heavily concentrated in the northern part of Xinjiang, in and around the capital Urumqi. The southern, less habitable, part of Xinjiang remains dominated by native groups with the Uighurs being the most important of these. The growth of the Han Chinese population of Xinjiang has been achieved by flooding the region with massive numbers of Chinese immigrants. Initially, from the 1950s, Han Chinese migration to Xinjiang was officially encouraged to support agricultural development and to promote security with respect to the putative Soviet threat to the lightly populated territory. Since the 1980s, official support for migration has been toned down, possibly in response to increasing tensions with the local populace, but immigration to Xinjiang has proceeded apace.

The Cultural Revolution was particularly hard for all religious groups in China, especially the Tibetan Buddhists and Muslims. In Xinjiang and throughout China, mosques were destroyed or closed and ancient religious sites desecrated. After Deng Xiao Ping took power, the situation improved rapidly for the Muslims and there was a return, of sorts, to religious tolerance. Mosques were rebuilt or reopened and greater interaction between China's Muslims and the wider Islamic community was permitted. Chinese Muslim participation in the annual Haj pilgrimage to Mecca grew steadily from

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Table: 2.6
Population of Main Ethnic Groups in Xinjiang
(July 1990 census)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Group</th>
<th>%Age</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Uighurs</td>
<td>47.47</td>
<td>7,194,675</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hans</td>
<td>37.58</td>
<td>5,695,626</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kazakhs</td>
<td>7.30</td>
<td>1,106,989</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huis</td>
<td>4.49</td>
<td>6,81,527</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mongols</td>
<td>0.91</td>
<td>1,37,740</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyrgyzs</td>
<td>0.92</td>
<td>1,39,781</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tajiks</td>
<td>0.22</td>
<td>33,512</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

the mid-1980s, exposing many ordinary people to international Islamic thought and political developments. Similarly, foreign Muslims were allowed to visit Islamic sites in China, creating a greater awareness of the wider Muslim community. Very quickly, these openings generated renewed affinity with Islam in Xinjiang and created an intellectual climate conducive to thoughts of separatism and autonomy. Sensing a threat to its power, the Chinese government responded by restricting contacts between its Turkic Muslims and visitors from the Middle East. By the early 1990s, mosque construction and renovation was severely curtailed, public broadcasting of sermons outside mosques was banned, religious education was proscribed, only religious material published by the state Religious Affairs Bureau was allowed, religious activists were purged from state positions and Haj pilgrimages were tightly controlled and limited to participants over 50 years of age. The first serious outbreaks of violence directed at the Chinese authorities occurred in response to the imposition of these restrictive measures and reflected the local communities’ anger and frustration at Beijing’s about-turn on greater religious freedom.

Table: 2.7
Nationality Structure of the Districts in the XUAR in 1994 (In %)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Districts</th>
<th>Uighur</th>
<th>Han</th>
<th>Kazakh</th>
<th>Dunghans</th>
<th>Kyrgyz</th>
<th>Mongolian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lli Kazakh</td>
<td>16.01</td>
<td>44.33</td>
<td>26.32</td>
<td>8.09</td>
<td>0.47</td>
<td>1.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lli county</td>
<td>26.90</td>
<td>32.70</td>
<td>23.13</td>
<td>10.81</td>
<td>0.76</td>
<td>1.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tarbagatay</td>
<td>4.63</td>
<td>57.83</td>
<td>25.13</td>
<td>6.54</td>
<td>0.23</td>
<td>3.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Altay county</td>
<td>1.82</td>
<td>42.38</td>
<td>50.53</td>
<td>3.43</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boratola</td>
<td>13.34</td>
<td>65.30</td>
<td>10.32</td>
<td>3.25</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>7.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mongolian Distt.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>district</td>
<td>4.13</td>
<td>74.76</td>
<td>8.35</td>
<td>11.51</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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88 Xinjiang: oppression hidden under the guise of anti terrorism’. (www.alkhilafah.info/massacre/xinjiang)
The Uighurs used to be in a preponderant majority, but this has been slowly eroded under a policy of assimilating the non-Han minorities with the Han majority. Beijing calls this the policy of "hanhua", meaning, "making them Chinese". The Uighurs denounces it as a policy of Han colonization, which threatens to reduce the non-Hans to a minority in their traditional homelands. The extent of the alleged Han colonization of Xinjiang would be evident from the fact that the Han Chinese today constitutes 38 per cent of the population in the province (total population of the province 16 million) and 80 per cent in Urumqi, its capital, as against 15 per cent and 20 per cent respectively in 1950. The benefit of this economic development has mainly gone to the Han settlers, thereby aggravating the feelings of alienation of the Uighurs. However, amongst other aggravating factors are:

- The rigorous enforcement of the local directive permitting only two children per family in the urban areas and three in the rural areas.
- Prohibition of religious books not published and printed by the state.
- Ban on Government servants attending prayers in mosques.
- Ban on receipt of funds from abroad for religious purposes.

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89 Xinjiang: oppression hidden under the guise of anti terrorism", (www.alkhilafah.info/massacre/xinjiang)
MUSLIM MINORITIES IN CHINA

CHINA'S MUSLIM MINORITIES

- National capital
- Province capitals

Table 2.8

Muslim and Han population Growth in Xinjiang, 1940--1990

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Group</th>
<th>1940-41</th>
<th>1953</th>
<th>1982</th>
<th>1990</th>
<th>Population increase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Han</td>
<td>202,000</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5,287</td>
<td>5,695,626</td>
<td>15.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tatars</td>
<td>6900</td>
<td>6900</td>
<td>4100</td>
<td>4821</td>
<td>0.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kazak</td>
<td>319000</td>
<td>492000</td>
<td>904000</td>
<td>1106000</td>
<td>2.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyrgyz</td>
<td>65000</td>
<td>68000</td>
<td>113000</td>
<td>139781</td>
<td>1.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hui</td>
<td>92000</td>
<td>150000</td>
<td>571000</td>
<td>681527</td>
<td>6.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uzbek</td>
<td>5000</td>
<td>14000</td>
<td>12000</td>
<td>14456</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tajiks</td>
<td>9000</td>
<td>14000</td>
<td>26000</td>
<td>33512</td>
<td>2.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uighurs</td>
<td>2941000</td>
<td>3640000</td>
<td>5950000</td>
<td>7194675</td>
<td>2.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total population</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4874000</td>
<td>13082000</td>
<td>15155778</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: National Population Census Office, Major figures of the fourth national population census, 1991

These incidents indicate that ethnic marginalisation and religious suppression, combined with the example of the accession to independence of the CARs, have thus again rekindled the desire of the Uighur Muslims for an independent state to be called either Uighurstan or East Turkestan in which the 10 million Uighurs of Xinjiang and about half a million of their community presently scattered in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan can live. Two important developments of the 1980s helped the separatist movement. The first was the Afghan war during which the Jamaat-e-Islami (JI) of Pakistan and the Hizbe-Islami, the Afghan Mujahideen group of Gulbuddin Heckmatyar, recruited Sunni Muslims from Xinjiang, without Beijing raising any objection, for fighting against the Soviet troops. After the war, these elements returned to Xinjiang and joined the nationalist movement against Beijing and the Han settlers.\(^{90}\)

\(^{90}\) Foltz, R.C. (1999), Religions of the Silk Road, London: Macmillan Press Ltd.
XINJIANG UIGHUR AUTONOMOUS REGION
(Distribution of Major Ethnic Groups/Nationalities)

During the US anti-terror war in Afghanistan, some separatists groups in Xinjiang joined some training programs abroad. Chinese police had caught some terrorists who returned to Xinjiang secretly after receiving training in the terrorist camps of Afghanistan & Pakistan and from other countries. The police of those countries concerned had also extradited and handed some of those terrorists to China.

- The paper on the East Turkestan terrorist forces issued by the State Council Information Office had made it clear that various terrorist activities had been under way in Xinjiang since the 1950s. Incomplete statistics showed that from 1990 to 2001, the East Turkestan terrorist forces inside and outside Chinese territory were responsible for over 200 terrorist incidents in Xinjiang, resulting in the deaths of 162 people of all ethnic groups, including grass-roots officials and religious personnel, and injuries to more than 440 people.\(^1\)

Amongst the major terrorist/extremist organisations of Xinjiang identified so far are the Eastern Turkestan Islamic Party, the Eastern Turkestan People's Revolutionary Party, the Eastern Turkestan Independence Organization, the Eastern Turkestan Grey Wolf Party, the Eastern Turkestan Liberation Front, the Islamic Movement of Eastern Turkestan, which could be identical with the Eastern Turkestan Islamic Party, the Home of East Turkestan Youth, which is described by some analysts as the Hamas of Xinjiang, as highly motivated and as radical as the Hamas, the Turkey-based East Turkestan National Center, headed by Reza Berken, a retired Uighur Colonel of the Turkish Army, and the Committee for Eastern Turkestan, based in Kazakhstan.\(^2\)

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Table: 2.9

The Uighur Population’s Proportion by Districts in 1991-1994 (In %)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>1991</th>
<th>1994</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>XUAR</td>
<td>47.23</td>
<td>47.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hi Kazakh district</td>
<td>16.25</td>
<td>16.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hi county</td>
<td>27.29</td>
<td>26.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tarbagatay county</td>
<td>4.73</td>
<td>4.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Altay county</td>
<td>2.07</td>
<td>1.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boratola Mongolian distt.</td>
<td>14.17</td>
<td>13.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sandji-huai district</td>
<td>4.06</td>
<td>4.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khamit county</td>
<td>20.80</td>
<td>20.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bayangol Mongolian distt.</td>
<td>35.80</td>
<td>34.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turfan county</td>
<td>74.25</td>
<td>73.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aksu county</td>
<td>78.45</td>
<td>77.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyzylsu kyrgyz dist.</td>
<td>64.77</td>
<td>64.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kashgar county</td>
<td>91.17</td>
<td>89.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khotan county</td>
<td>96.62</td>
<td>97.13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Himalayan and Central Asian Studies vol 3 no. 1 Jan.-March 1999

Discriminatory policies favouring the Han Chinese over the locals in access to jobs, education, health care and other services, combined with Beijing’s insensitivity to traditional cultural and religious mores in Xinjiang, have compounded Muslim resentment at being treated as second-class citizens in their homeland. The Communists banned the traditional Arabic script that had been used in the region for more than a thousand years and destroyed thousands of historical books. In order to take advantage of any economic opportunities, the native population is obliged to learn Chinese. Meanwhile, very few Chinese bother to learn the local languages. The cultural, linguistic
and religious distance between the two peoples is not closing and social interaction remains negligible. China’s assimilation policies are particularly offensive to traditional values.

Table: 2.10

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cities</th>
<th>Population (Million)</th>
<th>GDP (RMB bln)</th>
<th>Industrial output (RMB bln)</th>
<th>Retail sales (RMB bln)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urumqi</td>
<td>1.589</td>
<td>24.9</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kashgar</td>
<td>3.342</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>1.38</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Xinjiang Statistical Year Book, 2003

Xinjiang Separatist Movement: China and Pakistan: Friends or Enemy:

China cannot accept the demand of the right of self-determination of the Uighurs of Xinjiang. If it is allowed to separate, Tibet will follow suit and the issue of Taiwan will further complicated. These will undermine the very concept of Chinese nationhood and identity. China has been annoyed with the Pakistani Inter-Services Intelligence’s role in training Muslim separatists in the Xinjiang province. India’s mounting of pressure on Pakistan to stop supporting cross-border terrorism and to crack down on religious extremists and terrorists works to China’s advantage. China has extended full support to the US war against terrorism and welcomed the military strikes on the Taliban and the Al-Qaeda - they fueled the Uighur separatism with arms and fighters.

The government of China seeks to suppress the Uighurs and wages a daily suppression of their culture and Turkic identity. China does this through means of displacing Uygurs by transmigration programs moving 20 million lowland Han into the Gobi desert territory of Xinjiang. Beijing has systematically sought to manage and control religious activities throughout China, allegedly to safeguard national unity and stability. In Xinjiang, because Islam is essentially indistinguishable from local cultural and national identity, Beijing perceives a particular threat to its rule. As a result, mosques

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Table: 2.11
Comparison of Xinjiang’s Educational Level with that of other provinces.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regions</th>
<th>Provinces</th>
<th>No. of Universities /Colleges</th>
<th>No. of Middle Schools</th>
<th>No. of Primary Schools</th>
<th>Illiteracy Rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>North China</td>
<td>Hebei</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>5,076</td>
<td>46,243</td>
<td>14.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North east China</td>
<td>Liaoning</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>3,517</td>
<td>14,386</td>
<td>12.13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East China</td>
<td>Zhejiang</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>3,444</td>
<td>19,700</td>
<td>17.61%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central south China</td>
<td>Guangdong</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>4,795</td>
<td>24,700</td>
<td>6.86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North west China</td>
<td>Xinjiang</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2,090</td>
<td>6,692</td>
<td>24.68%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Compiled from various Internet Websites

Graph: Comparison of Xinjiang’s Educational Level With that of other provinces
and religious schools in Xinjiang, which are regarded as hot-beds of anti-régime sentiment, have periodically been closed and religious activists arrested and harassed.

There is also evidence of trade in heroin and weapons over Xinjiang's borders with Pakistan-occupied Kashmir, Afghanistan and three CARs. The Chinese have been co-operating with the US in its war against terrorism in Afghanistan in the hope that the success of the US counter-terrorism strikes against the Taliban and the Al Qaeda could help them in their own operations against the pan-Islamic elements in Xinjiang. They have reasons to be concerned over the dregs of the Al Qaeda and other members of the International Islamic Front gravitating towards POK and the Northern Areas (Gilgit and Baltistan) as this could add to their security problems in Xinjiang. The recent grenade attack in Pakistan by suspected pro-Bin Laden terrorists on a party of German and other tourists travelling by the Karakoram Highway to Xinjiang would indicate the presence of some of these dregs in the vicinity of Pakistan's border with Xinjiang. Beijing's central authority has been under increasing challenge from Muslim separatists in the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region of western China in recent years. There have been steady reports of bombings and assassinations in urban centres in Xinjiang, as well as three separate bomb attacks in Beijing in the spring of 1997 which were attributed to Muslim separatists. The Beijing bombings are significant in that they marked an expansion of the violent campaign for independence in Xinjiang into the Han Chinese heartland.

Thus far, the independence movement in Xinjiang has failed to generate widespread support and remains too fractured to present a meaningful threat to Beijing's rule. There are indications, however, that the increasingly savage suppression of Muslim protests is generating unprecedented unity within the various separatist groups in Xinjiang and greater coordination is quickly developing. The stakes are potentially high and Beijing is undoubtedly concerned that separatist activities hold the prospect of becoming a significant threat to China's long-term political stability. The ethnic problems

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96 Gaye, Christofferson (2002), 'CCC-China War on Terrorism in Xinjiang', (www.ccc.nps.Navy.mil/east asia-esp-56k)
the central government faces in China's peripheral regions are widespread, serious and growing. In particular, separatism in Xinjiang lends support to the active independence movement in Tibet and influences nascent ethnic unrest closer to Beijing in Inner Mongolia. Moreover, economic factors are of equal significance. Xinjiang contains major oil deposits, which, if proven, will be of enormous benefit to China's economic development prospects. It has been estimated that China will need to import 21 million tons of oil by 2010 if it is to maintain its present economic growth rate, and energy security is a major consideration in Beijing's policy towards the region.

Both China and India are confronting with a similar threat of Islamic extremism and terrorism. China confronts it in its restive Xinjiang province and India in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. Both the countries are on the same side in a fight in which Pakistan's role is dubious is immensely significant, while calling for restraint and revival of dialogue, has refrained from asking sides. The problem of terrorism/religious extremism faced by China in Xinjiang has certain similarities with that faced by India in the Punjab in the past and in Jammu & Kashmir presently. The first similarity relates to the role of some members of the diaspora in fomenting terrorism. In India, Sikh terrorism in the Punjab was initially started by some members of the Sikh diaspora in Canada, the USA, the UK and other western countries, with the encouragement of Pakistan’s Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) and the USA's Defence Intelligence Agency (DIA) during the Nixon Administration, but it could never gather much support from amongst the Sikh population of Punjab. This facilitated the counter-terrorism operations of the Punjab Police. On the contrary, terrorism in Jammu & Kashmir was initially started by indigenous elements with the support of the Kashmiris in Pakistan-Occupied Kashmir (POK), with very little involvement of the Kashmiri diaspora in the west. In Xinjiang, the role of the Uighur diaspora in the Central Asian Republics (CAR’s), Saudi Arabia, Turkey and the West in fomenting terrorist violence and political destabilization has been as considerable as in the case of the Sikh diaspora in the Indian Punjab.

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