

**PROXY WARFARE: CASE STUDY OF PAKISTAN-INDIA
RIVALRY**



A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment for the award of the degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

In

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

By

Taimoor Khan

Reg: 01132011004

**SCHOOL OF POLITICS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
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ISLAMABAD
FEBRUARY 2022**

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ABSTRACT

Pakistan and India remained indulged in hostility towards each other right after the partition of Indian subcontinent. The territorial dispute over Kashmir has been rationalized as the major cause of inimical bilateral relations. The three major wars and regular border skirmishes made regional peace and stability in South Asian region as a distant dream. The emergence of nuclear deterrence in the region transformed the dynamics of conflict from conventional symmetric warfare to non-conventional asymmetric warfare, often defined as proxy warfare in peace and conflict literature. Both states accused each other for sponsoring and facilitating terrorism in their respective territories. This study assumes that both states used proxy warfare as tool to destabilized one another. The significant inquiry in this research is that why Pakistan and India has remained engaged in proxy warfare and why it is significant for both states strategically. The case study method of qualitative research provides the methodological framework for this research. Theoretically, the realist paradigm suggests that state's survival and territorial integrity is the primary objective and core national interest of any state. Pakistan and India's territorial claims motivate the strategic tool of proxy warfare. This study finds that Pakistan's claim over Kashmir as an integral territorial part made Pakistan to use every available mean to achieve this end. Similarly, Indian claim over Kashmir rationalizes its proxy wars inside Pakistan to destabilize Pakistan and take control of Kashmir.

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INTRODUCTION

After the Westphalian treaty, thousands of interstate conflicts have occurred. The evolution of the tools of conflicts from traditional and conventional warfare to non-traditional and non-conventional warfare and the proxy warfare transformed the essence of conflict. Proxy warfare emerged during cold war as tool to counter and contain the adversaries. Contemporary Global politics encompasses proxy warfare as an indispensable tool.

Since the partition of India and Pakistan, both countries have been at loggerheads with each other on several factors. Likewise, the clash of civilizations like the Hindus and the Muslims hyper-nationalist policies of both states for their vested interest. Hindutva ideology and Hindu Nationalism have fueled hatred and created more challenges for Muslims in India. In addition, Pakistan has been playing an irredentist Nationalism card against Hindus on the Kashmir issue for reclaiming the occupied territory. No doubt there are lots of issues with both states. Kashmir issue has been of primary significance in bilateral relations between the two aspiring regional powers for a longer period. They have fought multiple wars including regular border skirmishes. East Pakistan was supported by India which made a force named Mukti Bahini against west Pakistan. In this regard, the concept of proxy war has been started between two states.

There is a list of terrorist attacks which India has claimed against Pakistan such as the hijacking of an Indian plane from Srinagar to Lahore in 1972, on August 1984 hijacking of an Indian airplane bound for Srinagar to Lahore, on May 1996 India accused Pakistan of two bomb blasts. An Indian airplane was hijacked on December of 1999, allegedly by Kashmiri separatists to Kandahar airport. In post 9/11, again the terrorist activities have fueled more challenges for India and Pakistan. In attack on the Indian parliament building and terrorist attacks on Bombay named Taj hotel around 180 had died.¹ In addition, the

¹ Neha Thirani Bagri, —Ainl Protests, India Executes Man in '01 Parliament Attack,” *The New York Times*, February 9, 2013, sec. World, <https://www.nytimes.com/2013/02/10/world/asia/india-executes-man-tied-to-2001-attack-on-parliament.html>.

Pathankot attack of 2016 carried out by a heavily armed group on the on the Indian Air Force base of Pathankot.²

On the other hand, India allegedly has been engaged in proxy and hybrid warfare against Pakistan has a very long anecdote, which is a part of a well-planned strategy to create chaos and destabilize Pakistan. Since its independence, India has waged proxy war in various parts of Pakistan. Strategically India is stronger than Pakistan because of its size of military, technological advancement, economy and global allies. Moreover, the rise of terrorist activities in Baluchistan and KP province of Pakistan is often considered as attempts to halt the progress of China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). It indicates the testimonies of India's hatred against Pakistan. In addition, Kulbushan Yadav, a secret spy, was an operative in Pakistan to their nefarious activities.

Research Questions

1. What is a proxy war in the international political arena and how states are employing it as a tool for their power projection and influence?
2. Why have Pakistan and India always been at loggerhead since the partition of India?
3. Why are Pakistan and India as two key players in South Asia are using proxy wars as a strategic tool to maintain their power and position in the region?
4. How the proxy wars are playing the role of deterrence between the two hostile neighbors?

Hypothesis

In international political structure, states always apply proxy wars as a strategic tool to destabilize their adversary.

² Sanam Noor, "Pakistan-India Relations and Terrorism," *Pakistan Horizon* 60, no. 2 (2007): 65–84.

Theoretical Framework

Realism assumes that the state should be powerful in every aspect. Realist approach of International Relations encompasses three prominent dimensions statism, self-help and survival.³ The state should have the power to counter any challenge from the opponent side and have a strong grip on government affairs because the incumbent global world is anarchic. Self-help is the significant dimension of realism that states should not compromise for their national interests. The state should ally with a powerful state for its security and economic ties to run the state in a better way. Survival is also an indispensable factor in the contemporary global world that states should aggrandize their military, arms, and ammunition for its survival and be ready for any alarming threat from their enemy. In proxy wars states wage a war indirectly to make militant groups and sponsor non-state actors to counter their adversary.⁴ The same case is happening with Pakistan and India. Since the partition, both countries are willing to weaken the very structure of both countries. Regretfully, both are nuclear powers which is an alarming threat for the region. But since the incident of the 1971 war, both are playing proxy wars with the help of militant groups to maintain their power in the region for their survival.⁵

Literature Review

This study assumes that the belligerent relations between Pakistan and India have been quarreling on the outstanding territorial disputes that have fueled the conflict from a wide perspective. Moreover, the Agra Summit is the stumbling block that led to the worsening of bilateral relations especially. Additionally, due to the terrorist attack from both sides, bilateral relations have been affected. This study also focuses on different phases of Indian coercive policies towards Pakistan and how India has responded to Pakistan.⁶

Rajat Ganguly focuses on the insecurity and the instability in South Asia because of the unresolved Kashmir Issue between India and Pakistan. The ongoing ethno-religious

³ Timothy Dunne, Milja Kurki, and Steve Smith, eds., *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity*, Third edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

⁴ Tim Dunne, Milja Kurki, and Steve Smith, *International Relations Theories*, 3rd edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

⁵ Kenneth N. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, 1st edition (Long Grove, Ill: Waveland Press, 2010).

⁶ Noor, "Pakistan-India Relations and Terrorism."

revolt in India Kashmir in 1989 and proxy war has started between two nuclear powers. In 1999 the Indo-Pakistan proxy war led to a conventional warfare. The secessionist insurgency in Jammu and Kashmir has created many challenges for the Indo –Pakistan relations.⁷

Michael Hirsh and Ahmed Hassan highlight that world peace has been affected due to the Pakistan-India crucial relationship and it has been ignored by the policymakers. The complex history, religion, and bilateral relations are crucial. The politico-military elites of both sides even have a common strategy to pursue political gains with the help of using religious sentiments. Ancestry, history, culture, sports, language, and faiths are all shared by the two countries. Pakistan and India have both experienced diplomatic victories. Since their independence, many factors have been playing certain roles in the trajectory of relations between India and Pakistan.

Chris Alexander explains that today Afghanistan is a never-ending war, and the peace process has stalled. This study depicts the role of Pakistan's alleged role in Afghanistan and the region. In this regard, the spy agency of Pakistan sees as a stalking horse for India. Pakistanis have a long history attached to it regarding Afghanistan as a strategic depth for Pakistan. And it capitalized over the Taliban as strategic assets. Western powers have contributed to Afghanistan's economy. Regretfully, a militant organization like Al Qaeda and Taliban into Pakistan 2001-02, moreover, Pakistan's spy agency ISI relaunched Pakistan's covert proxy war which cost approximately, 124000lives. This article claims that Pakistan's military dictator Pervez Musharraf provided safe heaven to Osama bin laden. He was engaged in assisting and supporting Haqqani Network and Quetta Shura factions of the Afghan Taliban⁸.

Mark O. Yeisley's study focuses that historically there are many primary configurations in which nation-states compete for survival in the modern international system. There are three concepts of power to control the world such as unipolar, bipolar, and multipolar. In the 1648 treaty of Westphalia, the world was multipolar with various powers and it was

⁷ Rajat Ganguly, "India, Pakistan and the Kashmir Insurgency: Causes, Dynamics and Prospects for Resolution," *Asian Studies Review* 25, no. 3 (2001): 309–34, <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8403.00106>.

⁸ Michael Hirsh, Ahmad Hassan Awan, and Jayanta Krishna Sarmah, "India and Pakistan: Outlining a Path towards Peace," *Policy Perspectives* 15, no. 1 (2018): 21–42.

emerged due to the ultimate results of perceived power imbalance amongst them. Since 1991 the Unipolar system emerged and the sole power is the United States of America. On the other hand, bipolarity and the emerging proxy conflict acquire rethinking of long-term military strategies and also focus on large-scale interstate wars. It impacts the US strategic shift from conventional conflict to more low-end operations. During Cold War, If we trace back the history, both United States and China have conducted the sub-national proxy conflict.⁹

Thorsten Wojczewski explains that the rivalry and hostility towards each other between two neighboring states Pakistan and India, marked by suspicion and animosity resulted in multiple wars and skirmishes, four major wars as well as regular skirmishes. This article focuses and also sheds light on the repercussions of continuous hostility towards each other failing in several attempts to normalize bilateral relations. This article elaborates the theoretical perspectives and analytical frameworks for the explanations of major factors responsible for hostility. This article is divided into three sections. Secondly, it illustrates the opportunity for sustainable peace between the two states as a result of an initiative taken in the form of composite dialogue. Thirdly, to unleash underpinning factors responsible for the prolonged conflict, the complex regional dynamics of South Asia have been investigated on four levels on analysis.¹⁰

Bruce Riedel 2009 explores that in November, ten terrorists attacked numerous locations in Mumbai, India, in one of the most major acts of international terrorism since 9/11. The terrorists not only besieged a city of twelve million people, but they also held the attention of the world's media for sixty hours. The terrorists were well-trained and armed, and the events in Mumbai were painstakingly planned. Communication with the mastermind of the operation in Pakistan was maintained through cell phones during the attack. After the Mumbai attacks, India showed remarkable caution, owing to a lack of military options for retribution against Pakistani targets. However, such constraints are unlikely to withstand many more such heinous crimes. With this in mind, New Delhi is

⁹ Mark O. Yeisley, "Bipolarity, Proxy Wars, and the Rise of China," *Strategic Studies Quarterly* 5, no. 4 (2011): 75–91.

¹⁰ Thorsten Wojczewski, "The Persistency of the India–Pakistan Conflict: Chances and Obstacles of the Bilateral Composite Dialogue," *Journal of Asian Security and International Affairs* 1, no. 3 (December 1, 2014): 319–45, <https://doi.org/10.1177/2347797014551269>.

considering how to respond to the next terror strike on its interests by Pakistanis. The US should prioritize shutting down LeT's operational capability as a top diplomatic goal. To reduce Indian-Pakistani tensions, it addresses the fundamental factors that define Pakistani behavior towards terrorism.¹¹

Ravi Prasad Narayana's study tends to explain that without taking into account the role of Great Britain there is no complete story about the creation and growth of these two hostile neighbors. Obligations almost overnight, leaving two children in its wake Only their enmity for each other binds these countries together. divided by all other known variables Otherness says d. It may be claimed that because their birth was violent, their existence as separate creatures would be violent as well. Involve the continuation of violence at "manageable" levels does not succeed in dismantling: "Something else." Apart from three and a half wars, the India-Pakistan dyad is infamous for constantly generating "near-war" scenarios. For a sour relationship marked by a recurring enmity track record of crisis handling.¹²

Praveen Swami 2010 analyzes the airbrushing of the decade-long conflict in Punjab from our collective memory must rank among the most epic acts of deliberate amnesia. The ongoing sub-conventional conflict in Jammu and Kashmir is generally overlooked. Another, very brutal, Pakistan-India conflict preceded Kashmir. Supported offensive—one in which the battle was at its most intense. Significantly more savage than anything seen anywhere in 1990–1991 in the country of India Indian military reactions to this non-conventional conflict, as well as its successor in Jammu & Kashmir The prospect of full-fledged conflict, as well as efforts to lock its borders, have characterized the situation in both Pakistan and Kashmir. Neither has been successful, in my opinion. While a slew of political, social, and economic events has properly dominated most academic debates, the significance of the conflicts in Jammu and Kashmir has been overlooked. As part of an India–Pakistan military engagement, Punjab has largely gone unnoticed I'll also discuss the subordinate-superordinate connection. With bigger strategic developments in Punjab,

¹¹ Bruce Riedel, "THE MUMBAI MASSACRE AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR AMERICA AND SOUTH ASIA," *Journal of International Affairs* 63, no. 1 (2009): 111–26.

¹² Raviprasad Narayanan, "THE INDIA-PAKISTAN DYAD: A CHALLENGE TO THE REST OR TO THEMSELVES?," *Asian Perspective* 34, no. 4 (2010): 165–90.

a conventional battle was waged. South Asia, and how they have been affected by it. A group of young men in Srinagar was arrested in 1967 for attempting to murder a police officer; their trial, known as the Nawakadal Conspiracy Case, began in 1968 drew a lot of attention from the public. During the trial, a group of witnesses appeared. On charges of working with Mohammed, college professors were arrested. The Kashmir National Liberation Front is led by Maqbool Butt. By 1971, his organization had sent 300 youngsters to Pakistan in six batches for weaponry training. The boys returned to the Valley. Following guerrilla warfare training They had not, however, been given Pakistan determined that now was not the right moment to arm the jihadists. Their activities were steeped in history and politics, and they had a variety of ideological motivations and sophisticated political ambitions. Nonetheless, these organizations are made up of a variety of people. Admired the sword arm of a specific type of India–Pakistan military alliance contestation, particularly the non-traditional battle undertaken against India.¹³

Sunil Dasgupta explains the risk of political instability and social chaos inside Pakistan, in light of rising influence of Islamist political and militant forces against Pakistan military establishment, which hold a secular posture but remained authoritarian in nature in Pakistan's Political mainstream, presents a potential threat of Indian intervention in a worst-case scenario. But this time political and strategic landscape of the conflict in complex and different from the previous one, 1971, the Islamist forces in Pakistan and beyond in South Asian region has never been politically or strategically Indian allies. In contrast, the religiously extremist forces or Islamic militants has been always allegedly associated with Pakistani military as an ally by the Indian policy makers and politicians. As a result of the United States' involvement in the region, tensions have arisen between them. It is not affordable to the two nuclear powers to engage in militarily, or it is not feasible for anyone of the two to militarily intervene or invade other because of the nuclear deterrence and mutually assured destruction. India has avoided entering Pakistani territory. Area, fearful of a nuclear exchange.¹⁴

¹³ Praveen Swami, —Failed Threats and Flawed Fences: India's Military Responses to Pakistan's Proxy War," *India Review* 3, no. 2 (April 2004): 147–70, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14736480490465045>.

¹⁴ Sunil Dasgupta, —How Will India Respond to Civil War in Pakistan?," East Asia Forum, February 25, 2013, <https://www.eastasiaforum.org/2013/02/25/how-will-india-respond-to-civil-war-in-pakistan/>.

Research Methodology

This study aims to analyze and examine the concept of proxy wars with particular focus on the case study of India and Pakistan. Emergence of nuclear deterrence constrains the direct conflict between the two hostile neighbors of the region. It gives rise to non-traditional warfare in the form of proxies which both adversaries practice to cause damage to each other. This research is a qualitative study to unleash and explain the primary factors contributing to Proxy warfare between the two countries, a case study qualitative research. The qualitative analysis of the subject includes the narrative of both countries towards each other, the historical territorial disputes towards each other, in-depth conceptual analysis of proxy wars and their implication in the regional context, and overt and covert military doctrines of both countries of each other. For this purpose, secondary data is consulted in the form of books, research articles, and research reports.

Scope of this research

This study is explanatory research to explain what is proxy war. How it can be a strong tool of states to counter their adversary. No doubt proxy wars jeopardize the very structure of the states who are in a conflict. Both nuclear states have been waging a proxy war. In this regard, the peace and stability entire region is disturbed in every aspect. India has suffered many tragic incidents like Bomb blasts, kidnapping for ransom, and Muslims as well as Hindus again fought with each other due to this hatred and warmongering on religious factors. On the other hand, Pakistan is still in an economic quagmire due to the Indian proxies they have caused approximately, 70000 lives under the banner of this proxy war. Militant activities, sectarian differences, Indian involvement in Baluchistan to destabilize megaproject like CPEC have caused many challenges for Pakistan due to Indian proxies. Egoistic policies and hatemongering between two countries have led to the proxy war amongst them which leads the alarming challenges for both countries and regions as well in every platform.

Organization of the Research

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER 1: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

CHAPTER 2: INDIAN CLAIMS AGAINST PAKISTAN ON PROXY WARFARE

CHAPTER 3: PAKISTAN'S CLAIMS AGAINST INDIA ON PROXY WARFARE

CONCLUSION

CHAPTER 1

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The majority of current proxy war literature provides only basic explanations of the phenomenon. By assessing proxy wars, they use an anchor partiality, or they weaponized a proxy war. In this regard, they tell a story to soften the roughness of proxy interactions, and they describe those connections more agreeably. According, to the well-known Analysts Jack Watling and Erica Gaston stated that conflict that few state players are ready to officially define proxy.¹⁵ Because of the negative joint force doctrine of the United States Department of Defense categorizes proxy war as a strategic tool in an incorrect way. Moreover, their proxies are functioning in armed combat, they are acting outside of it in the context of armed conflict implications, Furthermore, it is not a good idea to have those kinds of connections connected to the proxy label.¹⁶

Furthermore, state actors provide military and strategic assistance to their proxies along with logistics and supply lines to wage their wars.¹⁷ In addition, historical evidence along with contemporary tools of proxy can be examined through the lens of conflict. According to historian John Keegan, proxy warfare historically played an important role in conflicts.¹⁸ During cold war Soviet Union and the western world were indulged in proxy warfare for military and ideological primacy. The proxy warfare paradigm includes multiple models to investigate and conceptualize proxy warfare. For instance, contractual model, coercive model, exploitative model and transnational model.¹⁹

¹⁵ Jack Watling and Nick Reynolds, *War by Others' Means: Delivering Effective Partner Force Capacity Building*, 1st edition (Abingdon: Routledge, 2021).

¹⁶ Amos C. Fox, —Strategic Relationships, Risk, and Proxy War,” *Journal of Strategic Security* 14, no. 2 (2021): 1–24.

¹⁷ —Conflict and the Need for a Theory of Proxy Warfare’ by Amos C. Fox,” accessed November 29, 2021, <https://digitalcommons.usf.edu/jss/vol12/iss1/3/>.

¹⁸ John Keegan, *The First World War*, First Vintage Book Edition (New York: Vintage / Random House, 2000).

¹⁹ Fox, —Strategic Relationships, Risk, and Proxy War.”

1.1 Models of Proxy Warfare

1.1.1 The Exploitative Model- The Parasitic model

In the exploitative paradigm, the proxy's survival is dependent on the principal. When considering the exploitative paradigm, visualizing a parasite and a host is helpful. In this case, the principal acts as a guide. It would not survive if the proxy acted as the host and the proxy acted as the parasite. without being able to make use of the host Surprisingly, though, the proxy in this arrangement adds value to the primary. As a result, the primary will go to any length to protect the survival of its proxy. The proxy and the partner form a close bond as a result of this dependency a partner with near-unlimited power and influence over the proxy. During the Russo-Ukrainian War, Russia supported its Ukrainian proxy 2014 is enough testimony of this model. However, as shown in Iraq, Kurdish self-rule poses a particular issue for major players in formal politico-military alliances such as NATO. Kurdish autonomy and self-rule are major points of contention for both parties. Consequently, Turkey is a NATO ally of the United States. Turkey has lodged an official objection to the Syrian Democratic Force (SDF) and SDF's actions expanding authority and influence in Syria and voiced his displeasure militarily. Likewise, Turkey has carried out several military operations since the beginning of 2018. For Example, Operation Olive Branch, is being used to counter the SDF-expanding SDC's power. Syria's political and military might Turkey's adamant opposition to USSDF military operations in the northern Syrian Kurdish region and Rojava has caused strategic and operational pauses in the US-SDF battle to fight ISIS on multiple occasions.²⁰ As an official statement, The US stood by and watched while its proxy, in this regard Turkey, took power. It took a beating as it fought the Turks for control of its territory. Because of this, The SDF has been reduced to a shell as a result of its conflicts with Turkey. Approximately, it used to be a 60,000-strong proxy force.²¹ It's also worth noting that

²⁰ —“Brief History of the Syrian Democratic Forces, the Kurdish-Led Alliance That Helped the U.S. Defeat the Islamic State,” *Washington Post*, accessed February 17, 2022, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2019/10/07/brief-history-syrian-democratic-forces-kurdish-led-alliance-that-helped-us-defeat-islamic-state/>.

²¹ —“Brief History of the Syrian Democratic Forces, the Kurdish-Led Alliance That Helped the U.S. Defeat the Islamic State.”

exploitative proxies, which are generally a collection of organizations brought together by a stronger actor to achieve a shared goal, which has many difficulties. As they get closer to completing the task, they must stay united. In the SDF, Syria, for example, has seen this disintegration as the group's power has waned. The urgency of combating the Islamic State dwindles into the background. It is critical to conclude the topic on exploitative proxy connections to emphasize that proxy success has the potential to alter the relationship between the parties. Moreover, the primary, as well as the successful proxies, can create enough legitimacy to expand their submissive connection with their principal by avoiding punitive principals. Battlefield victories and political maneuverings are also possible outcomes set free exploited proxies that are dependent on the set. On the other hand, a principal foresees a problem, as a more useful instrument in a more autonomous status, an exploitative proxy might decide to give that star more political clout and independence.²²

1.1.2 Coercive Model

The coercive paradigm focuses on persuading undesirable or hesitant contributors to participate. The proxy in this approach is an existing environmental actor who is forced into a principal-agent interaction with a well-known actor. The proxy who has been impressed or coerced has a low capacity willingness to take on the risk of acting as a proxy, and as a result, the relationship's link is unstable. To be sure, it's not always the case the physical presence of the principal is what keeps the compelled proxy working in the name of the principal as a result, the proxy is allowed a limited amount of authority.²³ Because of the lost bond, the principal frequently micromanages the proxy between both of them. Internal dangers for both the primary and the proxy are common in coerced proxy partnerships. The principal can castigate the proxy severely, while the principal must be concerned about insider assaults by the proxy. As a result, a principle must frequently use internal security forces while assisting and collaborating with a compelled proxy. The United States of America's use of security forces to defend itself against its

²² Fox, —Strategic Relationships, Risk, and Proxy War.”

²³ Fox.

Afghan Proxies One illustration of this concept in Afghanistan is that a compelled proxy is frequently the result of a circumstance in which a principle has invaded a region and defeated the ruling body and its security forces. In addition, following the setback, the main drafts put their faith in components of the security forces of the defeated regime.²⁴ For example, On the Eastern Front of World War II, Germany's deployment of Soviet proxies is an instructive example of a compelled proxy. Following the peaceful days of 1939-1941, Nazi Germany became entangled in the Soviet Union as well as the labor issues as it grew beyond its operational capacity reach.²⁵ Moreover, it was in southern Russia," says historian Robert Citint. After The German offensives of 1942, despite their auspicious beginnings, would give birth to Stalingrad and El Alamein.

Although there are no parallels between Nazi Germany's proxy strategy in World War II and American proxy strategy in the post-September 11, 2001 strategic security space, the United States' relationship with the Soviet Union in the post-September 11, 2001 strategic security area is almost similar. In this regard, Afghanistan's government and security forces are a team that, has been a modern example of the compelled proxy model. In the aftermath of Following the Taliban's initial setback in Afghanistan in late 2001 and early 2002, the United States launched a counter-offensive tactic as well as an operation against the Taliban. The Afghan army and security apparatus were built from the ground up. In relations United States is the primary actor and the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan is the Coercive proxy. During the Twenty years' war of both actors. In addition to Afghanistan, expert Jack Watling claims that numerous factions in Syria are compelled proxies. Many Islamic rebel factions fighting against the Al-Assad administration have consumed, according to Watling. The Free Syrian Army's young, non-Islamic rebel organizations and pressed putting them to work. As non-Islamic rebel factions have been worn down by the war in Syria, the stronger, more powerful Islamic rebel groups have pushed the weaker groups to join forces with them against President Bashar al-Assad is the Syrian president. The power of the principle to compel the proxy to do something it would not otherwise do, such as Soviets battling the Soviet Union

²⁴ Kenneth Katzman and Clayton Thomas, —Afghanistan: Post-Taliban Governance, Security, and U.S. Policy (RL30588)" (Congressional Research Service, December 13, 2017), <https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/details?prodcode=RL30588>.

²⁵ Robert M. Citino, *Death of the Wehrmacht: The German Campaigns of 1942*, Illustrated edition (Lawrence, Kan: University Press of Kansas, 2007).

under the swastika an ancient icon or Afghan soldiers fighting the Taliban on behalf of the United States, demonstrating the efficacy of power in the model that is compelled.²⁶

1.1.3 Cultural Model

In his landmark work, a history of Warfare, historian John Keegan breaks away from the restraints of Clausewitz's theory, which focuses on war as a political enterprise, and instead compels the reader to address the question of why war is a political endeavor the connection between culture and war?²⁷ The beginning point for comprehending the cultural principal-agent relationship in a proxy war. Cultural relationships in a principal-proxy dyad are rooted in self-identity since culture is rooted in self-identity is highly powerful and builds a lasting bond. Cultural linkages often exist beyond political geography, as evidenced by the history of conflict and international competition. Religion, ethnicity, and language are all important aspects of culture. When it comes to generating proxies, geographic precedent is frequently employed as leverage. Moreover, proxy conflicts take place in a variety of settings and the proxies are cultural as a result of a major character exploiting established cultural demography to gain control and influence over a group of people Russia's exploitation in eastern Ukraine, culturally similar people are forming a proxy government A good example of this model is the proxy army.²⁸

When we look over the strife it comes to the Middle East, Iran is a great case study for this paradigm. Iran builds strong-bonded proxies throughout the Middle East through leveraging cultural links, particularly with the Shiite branch of Islam. Lebanon's Iran's most visible proxies are Hezbollah and Iraq's Kata'ib Hezbollah while it supports the Houthi rebels in Yemen, it also supports the Shia Crescent in Yemen, Hamas, and a slew of Shia militias in Syria and Iraq are all on the rise. Iran's The Quds Force is a crucial component of Iran's Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps which is the driving force behind its proxies.²⁹ The Quds Force is a force that protects the people of Quds. It

²⁶ Fox, —Strategic Relationships, Risk, and Proxy War.”

²⁷ John Keegan, *A History of Warfare*, First Paperback Edition (New York: Vintage, 1994).

²⁸ Fox, —Strategic Relationships, Risk, and Proxy War.”

²⁹ Jack Walting, —Iran's Objectives and Capabilities: Deterrence and Subversion,” February 19, 2019, <https://rusi.org/explore-our-research/publications/occasional-papers/irans-objectives-and-capabilities-deterrence-and-subversion>.

provides finance, assistance, and counsel to its proxies, as well as strategic and operational advice strategic planning. Cultural links between main and proxy are strong, as demonstrated by Kata'ib Hezbollah in Iraq, and the proxy is willing to share high levels of risk with their principal. Since its inception in the aftermath of the Kata'ib Hezbollah has prompted and threatened the US-led invasion of Iraq in 2003 fought the US on behalf of Iran, both directly and indirectly.³⁰ Furthermore, the group's persistent opposition to US objectives in Iraq. when its leader, Abu Mahdi al-Muhandis, was assassinated in The fact that cultural proxies prefer to stick to their guns in January 2020 confirms this despite ever-increasing levels of risk.

1.1.4 The Contractual Model

The contractual model is one of the most ancient principal types of proxy model. This paradigm is so historically significant that Niccolo Machiavelli mentions it in his classic political and economic treatise. *The Prince*, a military treatise. Contractual proxies provide the principal with several advantages. Likewise, to begin with, it puts more distance between the principal and the horrors of war, lowering the principal's domestic and political risk.³¹ Contractual proxies are the second type of proxy that reduce the use of massive military units, hence boosting security deniability and operational secrecy Third, contractual proxies are a convenient way to get things done quickly which, has been a quick and easy approach to deploy quasi-military forces on the ground, boosting security augmenting the tactical alternatives available to the principal and reducing the time to respond.³²

In recent Middle Eastern battles, contractual proxies play a significant role. During the early years of the American-led Operation Iraqi freedom, companies like MPRI, Aegis, Blackwater, and Triple Canopy gained household names. These firms' personnel were discovered fighting alongside US military personnel. Blackwater helped change the tide of battle in favor of the US Army and Marines alongside whom they were fighting in the assault of Najaf in 2004.³³ The assassination of four Blackwater personnel in March 2004

³⁰ Walting.

³¹ Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Prince*, trans. Rufus Goodwin (Boston: Dante University Press, 2003).

³² Fox, —Strategic Relationships, Risk, and Proxy War.”

³³ Jeremy Scahill, *Blackwater: The Rise of the World's Most Powerful Mercenary Army*, Revised, Updated ed. edition (New York: Bold Type Books, 2008).

sparked the First and Second Battles of Fallujah, which raged for the rest of the year. Blackwater was later implicated in the indiscriminate death of more than 20 Iraqis in Baghdad's Mansour Square in 2007.³⁴ The massacre fueled an increasingly lethal and out-of-control insurgency, challenging the American effort in Iraq. Even more. Blackwater and its CEO, Erik Prince, have rebranded multiple times since their tumultuous days in Iraq, and they continue to propose contractual proxy solutions to state-based challenges in armed conflict, as evidenced by his 2018 campaign to privatize the Afghan war.

Another example of contractual proxies in action is the Taliban in Afghanistan. Russia and Iran are both guilty of engaging the Taliban to serve as a proxy on their behalf to stymie the US in Afghanistan and continue to tarnish America's ability to effectively manage the Afghan conflict. Reports appeared in the summer of 2020 that both Russia and Iran, through their intelligence services the GRU and various Kabul-based front firms, had given rewards to the Taliban and its associates to kill American and NATO forces. Therefore, in a contractual relationship, the tie between the principal and the agent is strong since the proxy would not accept the contract if it was unhappy with the agreement's inherent risk, and the principal would not hire the agent if it was unwilling to assume a high level of risk.

1.1.5 The Transactional Model

The transaction model is similar to a business transaction between strategic parties. Within proxy conflict, the transactional paradigm of relationship has long been acknowledged to be sure. On War, theorist Carl von Clausewitz addressed this issue. According to Clausewitz, The transactional model's unifying element is the mutual exchange of services and goods, which offers reciprocated benefit for the principal and proxy.³⁵ The organization of the principal-proxy dyad from the strategic to tactical levels is driven by political discussion among strategic players in this model. Iraq's attempt to impasse Kurdish independence in October 2017, which was conducted against US suggestions or support, was the clearest example of this divergence and loss of power.³⁶

³⁴ Scahill.

³⁵ Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, trans. J. J. Graham (Independently published, 2020).

³⁶ Michael Knights, —Kirkuk: The City That Highlights Iraq's War within a War - BBC News," October 17, 2017, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-41656398>.

Furthermore, Prime Minister Haider Abadi's requests for the relocation of American forces in the aftermath of Iraq's government declaring victory over ISIS in December 2017 exemplify this concept. The transactional paradigm, as illustrated by the US-Iraq example, has the proxy force's government seeking assistance from other strategic actors to overcome a threat. As a result, the government of the proxy army sets parameters for the principal and the mission's duration.³⁷

1.2 Historical background of India Pakistan Rivalry

1.2.1 Civilizational clash: Ideological Fault Lines

Clash of Civilizations written by Samuel P. Huntington contributed that in South Asia the critical boundary was that between Hindus and Muslim civilizations the Pakistan India boundary. This argument is not seeming to be new it carries approximately, thousands of years and still this boundary dispute is existing, especially in Hindu and Islamic nationalist narratives. It can be defined as a cultural difference and Civilizational difference to view the ways of Organizing the State and viewing the world. Moreover, there are many significant cases in which, Muslim Leaders ruled peacefully over the Hindu population like the state of Hyderabad in which, the Hindu population lived peacefully under the rule of the Hindu ruler in Kashmir and other princely states.³⁸ Both Hinduism and Islamism include accommodative, peacemaking traditions. On the other hand, Sikhism was the only movement that incorporates both elements. Muslims, Hindus, and Sikhs have historic Shrines and monuments on both sides of the border. In South Asia, the Sufi tradition was attractive for Hindus, Muslims as well as many Hindus who have traditionally performed their religious duties in each other's Mosques and Temples. Pakistan Shares less with letters in southern states and shares much with North India among Pakistani migrants from India. In this regard, the commonality generates the conflict notably the dispute over Kashmir which, leads to a secret space in both countries who were by force evicted from their ancestral home. Some Hindu and Islamic traditions suggest ways of decreasing distinctions and ameliorating conflicts such, as many

³⁷ Fox, –Strategic Relationships, Risk, and Proxy War.”

³⁸ Samuel P. Huntington, –The Clash of Civilizations?,” *Foreign Affairs* 72, no. 3 (1993): 22–49, <https://doi.org/10.2307/20045621>.

Qur'anic statements about seeking peace and cooperation searching for the truth and knowledge. On the other hand, Pakistan strategies like cite the Artha Shastra as well its Mandala circle of states as evidence of an Indian and Hindu approach to statecraft that emphasizes Subversion, espionage, and deceit. In addition, Indian strategies and the Hindu nationalist emphasis those aspects that portray the Islamic teachings that this world is divided between unbelievers and believers which, leads to set the obligations to convert the latter by Jihad if necessary. Likewise, the spread of Islam in South Asia and the Pakistani ideologies hang expunged in this regard which, leads to reform the unbelievers. As a result, India is considered a Cultural threat as a part of comprehensive civilizational. Consequently, India was weak when Muslims arrived but, they were morally strong. Many Indian considered that Pakistan is helping the civilizational West attempt to establish a glorious presence in South Asia. Both Hindu nationalists and Nehru considered that Indians natural dominance of the region was undercut by Pakistan's alliance with Foreign powers and civilization. Pakistan is seen as an essential factor to shift and alliance between the China, West, Islam and other hostile estates which, directed against New Delhi. Therefore, there are many alarming threats from the east the North, and the West over the horizon as naval theoretical and also risk from the sea, when both the Europeans and the Arabs came thirty years ago. President Richard Nixon was sent by United States enterprises in an attempt to browbeat India with Nuclear-Armed carries. Civilizational and cultural overlap both enhances the India- Pakistan conflict.

1.2.2 Territorial disputes: Kashmir Issue

Kashmir issue is a term that seems to refer to the main cause of Pakistan India rivalry. If we look over the cause which explains comprehensively the Pakistan India conflict. It is not wrong to say that Kashmir issue the bone of contention for Pakistan and India and Kashmir which, is the best inclusive. –John Vasquez” observes that there is a natural tendency learning to suffuse territory with religion, ideological as well as cultural rationales.³⁹ Hardline constituencies form when territory begins to symbolize these

³⁹ Andrew P. Owsiak and John A. Vasquez, –Peaceful Dyads: A Territorial Perspective,” *International Interactions* 47, no. 6 (November 2, 2021): 1040–68, <https://doi.org/10.1080/03050629.2021.1962859>.

concepts and they are linked with ethnic differences centered on control of that territory, making territorial separation or split difficult. True, Kashmir is significant as a territory, but it is also significant in terms of its interactions with other elements. Many such factors exist, such as the territory's internal makeup, which causes political problems in both India and Pakistan. It is strategically vital, at least in the eyes of two armies, and it is a focal point for shared water and ecosystems. Furthermore, it raises serious considerations about fairness and equality, which are at the heart of India's and Pakistan's governance issues. Kashmir's ethnic and social diversity complicates matters further by linking it to the politics of both India and Pakistan, as well as foreign countries, particularly the United Kingdom. Many prominent Indian political families, such as the Nehru Gandhi dynasty, had Kashmiri ancestors, and many biographers of Jawaharlal Nehru remark how important the state was to him and how his love for the mountains and Kashmir influenced his views.⁴⁰

The fate of Kashmiri Muslims and Kashmiri Hindus. In Pakistan India respectively, especially the Pandit community many of them fled the valley and it was an emotional issue. As a result, Kashmir is a valley of Kashmiri Muslims and the movement seeks greater state autonomy. India and Pakistan have questioned minority rights which, is ultimately linked to the fate of those who are Hindus for India and Muslims for Pakistan which leads the replicating the original struggle for Pakistan. When Indian soldiers entered Srinagar in 1947 to deter attackers who had crossed into the state from Pakistan's North West Frontier Province (NWFP) at that time, the Indian air force was the first to make headway. In addition, after conquering Tibet in 1959, China easily occupied large parts of the Leh region, and in April 1984, India and Pakistan turned the Siachen Glacier into a battleground because both had expanded their use of modern mountaineering techniques, allowing them to fight a war over useless terrain at a height of more than 15000 feet.

Both armies now claim that control of Kashmir is important to their respective countries' defense as well as the realization of national identities, while, moreover, some Indian military leaders want to solve the Siachen issue, others see it as part of the Indian nation's

⁴⁰ Stephen P. Cohen, *Shooting for a Century: The India-Pakistan Conundrum* (Washington, D.C: Brookings Institution Press, 2013).

consolidation. Both countries have severely mismanaged Kashmir's politics. Political parties that are politically trustworthy. India's record in Kashmir is one of protracted, miserable military occupation, human rights violations, and the incarceration and arrest of Kashmiri leaders, all of which have been well documented. Even if an agreement was tentatively achieved on a means to address the overall Kashmir issue at Shimla in 1972 and regarding Siachen in 1989, its linkages to conflicting national identities make compromise practically hard. The fight over water control has added even another layer to the Kashmir issue. The area is home to many important South Asian rivers, including the Indus and the Five Rivers, which flow into both Punjab. The 1960 Indus water treaty divided the water through a series of dams and canals, but the arrangement is ripe for a review, if only because China may divert the waters before they reach India and Pakistan. Between 1972 and 1994, India and Pakistan held 45 bilateral talks, just one of which was entirely dedicated to Kashmir, the world's oldest conflict documented in UN resolutions. Furthermore, Kashmir is not solely an India-Pakistan issue, as many people believe, because China has claimed and occupied a large portion of the state for decades—and has been awarded de facto control over a portion of it by Pakistan.⁴¹

1.2.3 Nuclearization of the Sub Continent

Insecure leaders, according to realist assumptions, will expand their authority by building up their armed forces, pursuing alliances, or both. According, to John Vasquez, points out, "this creates a security dilemma in the sense that doing so makes one's opponent feel uneasy and encourages them to attack. Realists pay special attention to connections and partnerships. Conflicts to explain the rivalry between India and Pakistan, and in some cases to construct a new one on the ground facts. In this capacity, Washington usually felt uneasy rejecting Pakistan's attempts to broaden the security umbrella to encompass an assault by India. Calling India, a communist state, which would have triggered the 1959 agreement to defend Pakistan against communist attack, was a no-no for the Reagan administration. The Chinese have been less reserved, and even though there is no known treaty binding Pakistan and China together, Beijing has provided Pakistan with more

⁴¹ Cohen.

military support than any other country. Pakistan accounted for 64 percent of total Chinese defense shipments between 2007 and 2011. Moreover, Beijing believed that supporting Pakistan would serve a dual purpose since a stronger Pakistan would be able to fight Soviet pressure as well as resist Indian pressure. China, on the other hand, has tempered its support for Pakistan's Kashmir claims and is progressively normalizing relations with India. In contrast, after 1988, New Delhi saw an opportunity to damage the Beijing-Islamabad relationship by growing closer to Beijing and has been cautious in its criticism of Chinese activities in Tibet and elsewhere.

India, on the other hand, considered the Soviet Union as a key partner in its rivalry with Pakistan. A veto in the United Nations, massive weaponry supplies, and popular sympathy for New Delhi were all part of the Soviet backing. However, it was directed not so much against Pakistan as against China; when the Gorbachev government began to normalize relations with Beijing, Soviet support for India gradually declined. Moreover, their first war was premeditated: the NWFP government dispatched Pashtun invaders to Kashmir. The incursion was met by a creative Indian response, resulting in a military standoff and a series of failed peace negotiations. The 1965 war, which was also started by Pakistan, prompted a large-scale Indian military response across the international border and contributed directly to the growth of separatism in East Pakistan; Pakistan's crackdown on Bangladeshi separatists provided the opportunity for large-scale Indian military intervention. Both sides claimed victory: Pakistan because it had to defend more parts of the Line of Control, and India because it was able to push Pakistani soldiers back, albeit at a high cost.⁴²

Approximately, the fact that both countries are presently attempting to maximize their military capabilities by acquiring more and better nuclear weapons supports realism beliefs, while both countries still flaunt their missiles and boast about their nuclear capability, the presence of several hundred nuclear warheads in each arsenal has changed the military-strategic relationship. Moreover, nuclearization, on the other hand, hasn't put an end to the competition. Nuclear weapons can be employed as a last resort to prevent an opponent from attacking, and they can theoretically be used to play "chicken games of nuclear diplomacy" to gain concessions on the territorial question. Therefore, Both Indian

⁴² Cohen.

and Pakistani leaders appear to understand Kenneth Waltz's core concept that nuclear weapons will strengthen stability due to the horrific effects of a nuclear conflict.

1.2.4 Failure of Great Powers and International Organizations to Mediate the Conflict/rivalry

The United States, the United Kingdom, the European Union, and the Soviet Union, in that order, have been the governments outside the region most interested in fostering normalization between India and Pakistan. With China's development as true power and its developing relations with both India and Pakistan, the Chinese may become increasingly influential in the future. Early on, the United Nations was frequently used as a vehicle for American policy, or had UN cover, in the hope of having a stronger impact on India, which was an early backer of the organization and had brought Kashmir to the UN platform. In addition, in the United States, there was no lobbying for a normal India-Pakistan relationship, while both governments spent significant sums of money recruiting their followers, who subsequently spent the majority of their time and money fighting one other. Kashmir was seen by the US as a roadblock to forming a strategic alliance with India against China or the Soviet Union, or, more recently, as a potential catalyst for a nuclear war between the two irresponsible and frustrating countries.⁴³

As a result, New Delhi should be less concerned about the ramifications of outsiders intervening in the Kashmir conflict. However, New Delhi continues to resist such a role, although its policies toward the people of Kashmir are slowly—very slowly—moving in that direction. On the Other hand, The European Union has traditionally avoided getting involved in the India-Pakistan conflict, but it has offered to mediate on occasion and has funded many Track II conversations, particularly on conflict resolution and the Kashmir issue. Numerous academic conferences and research projects on the possible lessons of the European integration process for South Asia, as well as comparisons between the European Union and the regional organization, the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation, have been funded by EU member states (SAARC). Furthermore, the Soviet

⁴³ Cohen.

Union now Russia, and China have historically been uninterested in normalizing relations between the two major South Asian powers. They developed security arrangements with India and Pakistan in the late 1960s, which grew in the aftermath of the failed US-UK attempt to resolve Kashmir following the 1962 India-China conflict. Cold war and balance of power issues were paramount for them, as they were for the Americans; India and Pakistan were viewed as proto-allies, and at times loose alliances were established between India and the Soviet Union on the one hand and the United States, Pakistan, and China on the other.⁴⁴

Neither Russia nor China wants a major conflict to erupt to their south, and neither India nor Pakistan is very important to either in terms of their power balance. Russia now sells the same weapons and military hardware to both New Delhi and Beijing, as well as to Pakistan; trade and weapons are its main interests, while the Chinese share India's concerns about Pakistan's organized support for Islamic extremists and now for dissident Muslim Chinese in China's Xinjiang Province take use of its rising economic position in both India and Pakistan to promote trade, possibly through the use of different branches of the same company. Previously, American companies were hesitant to do business in Pakistan for fear of jeopardizing their operations in India, and doing business in both countries was not part of their corporate plan. For this to happen, Chinese and American businesses would need confidence that cross-border knitting would pass a political test in both New Delhi and Islamabad.

1.2.5 Psychological abnormalities on the other side

Since the inception of Pakistan –India relations have been always miserable. People of Both sides are psychologically ill due to the decades-long war between two nuclear powers. Moreover, this catastrophic war leads the psychological issues with the people of both sides. Not only this but also the people of India and Pakistan have been experiencing adverse psychological impacts due to the border conflicts. In addition, civilians of India-Pakistan wish to live in a peaceful environment. But unfortunately, the Kashmir issue is the bone of contention against the peaceful environment. Likewise, both states like

⁴⁴ Cohen.

Pakistan use the Kashmir card to reclaim the occupied territory. On the other hand, India uses the Hindutva card to suppress the Kashmiri people to reestablish the Hindutva ideology as well as demographic change in Kashmir. Thus, all these tactics from both sides have fueled the extremism on both sides which leads and causes psychological issues with the people of Pakistan and India.⁴⁵

Kashmiris are fighters of a long, protracted, and under-reported battle on the international stage. After an allegedly manipulated municipal election, which the Kashmiri people claimed robbed them of their voice in the Indian democratic process, the conflict devolved into an armed insurgency in 1989.⁴⁶ As a result, in the decade after the insurgency, more than half of the population of Jammu and Kashmir has been subjected to or seen violent government crackdowns, public explosions, and cross-firing between military forces and armed rebels. The conflict's scope and cruelty have been staggering, with reports suggesting 8,000-10,000 forced disappearances in Kashmir with over 7,000 unmarked mass graves uncovered, over 100,000 extrajudicial deaths and over 10,700 gang-rapes and incidences of sexual assault.⁴⁷

The general public. of The people of Kashmir are caught in a cynical pattern of enormous local protests, state-sanctioned military crackdowns, gun fights between police and the few remaining rebel's local calls for statewide shutdowns, and curfew imposed by the Indian government. The mental health of those who live in the Kashmir Valley has suffered greatly as a result of decades of violence and ⁴⁸⁴⁹strife. An increase in signs of psychological distress, such as anxiety and suicide, has been noted by mental health specialists. Local protests, state-sanctioned military crackdowns, gun fights between police and the few remaining rebel's local calls for statewide shutdowns, and Indian

⁴⁵ "The Socio-Psychological Impact of Terrorism on Pakistani Society," *Asia Dialogue* (blog), January 30, 2020, <https://theasiadialogue.com/2020/01/30/the-socio-psychological-impact-of-terrorism-on-pakistani-society/>.

⁴⁶ Deutsche Welle (www.dw.com), "Enforced Disappearance in Kashmir — a Mother's Fight | DW | 01.12.2020," DW.COM, accessed February 17, 2022, <https://www.dw.com/en/enforced-disappearance-in-kashmir-parveena-ahanger-fight/a-55785234>.

⁴⁷ "Kashmir: UN Reports Serious Abuses," *Human Rights Watch* (blog), July 10, 2019, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2019/07/10/kashmir-un-reports-serious-abuses>.

⁴⁸ Neelam Iqbal MSc Student at London School of Hygiene et al., "War, Violence and the Mental Health Crisis in Kashmir," *Medact* (blog), March 8, 2019, <https://www.medact.org/2019/blogs/war-violence-and-the-mental-health-crisis-in-kashmir/>.

⁴⁹ Fatima Masood, "Psychological Impact of Indo-Pakistan Conflicts on the General Public," SSRN Scholarly Paper (Rochester, NY: Social Science Research Network, June 10, 2020), <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3664505>.

government-imposed curfews have become a cyclical pattern in Kashmir. The mental health of those who live in the Kashmir Valley has suffered greatly as a result of decades of violence and strife.

An increase in signs of psychological distress, such as anxiety and suicide, has been noted. Terrorism's purpose is not a single act of violent destruction and bodily harm. The purpose is to employ these activities to weaken, intolerant, rotten, displeasing, and annoy a society to create a socio-psychological outcome in the form of mental and emotional stress. This is why militants attack a country's resilience, socio-moral values, morale, cohesiveness, and administrative institutions. For the past eighteen years, Pakistan has been engaged in a war against terrorism. As a result, the threat of terrorism has left the country with significant social and psychological scars. The after-effects of terrorism, on the other hand, are frequently studied without any attempt to comprehend the underlying socio-psychological impact, and there has been little attention on identifying ways and means to address terrorism's aftereffects on Pakistani society by mental health specialists. These traumatic experiences are having long-term negative consequences for Pakistan's youth, particularly children, diminishing their motivation and lowering their degree of engagement with society's normal functioning. Learning difficulties have a direct impact on their cognitive health, and this, along with feelings of social isolation, led to psychological instability.

1.2.6 Rise of Religious extremism on both side

Hindutva and Saffron Terrorism in India

When Samuel Huntington predicted future battles will be "not between countries, but between cultures," his predictions may have seemed far-fetched to some in 1992. Religious identity is a crucial component of cultural identity, and religious identity has long been a powerful political force in state affairs, sparking countless identity-based interstate and intrastate disputes. A genocide against minorities in India has recently been eclipsed by crimes against humanity committed elsewhere in the world. Because of their strategic interests in the region and, more significantly, India's huge economic potential, the major global powers appear to be ignoring the violence against minorities in India. Political violence in Kashmir, Assam, Gujarat, Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur,

Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Tripura, and Sikkim is enough testimony that the state's harshest anti-minority policies. The right-wing extremist Hindu nationalist movement Rasht Riya Swayamsevak Sang (RSS) has fueled the spectacular rise of religious nationalism in India. During the Hindu Renaissance, the RSS, which means "national volunteer organization," was founded on September 27, 1925, in Nagpur, India. RSS speaks, or volunteers, attempt to convert social, cultural, educational, labor, developmental, and political structures to their Hinduism. The RSS's founding members were enamored by Benito Mussolini's fascist philosophy and sought to emulate him in eliminating religious minorities in India.

⁵⁰The RSS has replaced the Indian national flag with the saffron flag, known as Bhagwan dhvaj. When minorities, notably Muslims, are attacked by saffron terrorists, they are frequently forced to say "Jai Shri Ram," a Hindu lord Rama praise slogan, or face a life-or-death choice: adopt Hinduism as their faith or be slain. Such circumstances can be found all over India, from Assam's Barpeta District to Mumbai's congested streets. The graphic photographs of a photojournalist stomping the body of a Muslim man killed by state police highlight state-sanctioned brutality. Hindutva supporters refer to themselves as Sangh Parivar, with Sangh denoting the movement and Parivar symbolizing the family. Sangh Parivar refers to Hindu nationalist organizations linked with RSS ideology, such as political parties like the BJP and violent religious organizations like the Bajrang Dal. In today's India, RSS often attack people in minority populations with metal rods, cricket bats, and rocks in the name of Hindutva or saffron terror.

Islamist extremism and Militant Terrorism in Pakistan

With the deepening of regional politics following the 1979 Iranian revolution and the start of the Afghan war in 1980, Pakistan was unable to avoid these factors from influencing its domestic affairs. The Saudis had ideological and sectarian goals, whereas the Americans were primarily concerned with winning the war in Afghanistan and fighting the Soviet Union. Jihad in Pakistan became mercenary as a result of Saudi

⁵⁰ –Saffron Terror and Hindutva Ideology,” *Australian Institute of International Affairs* (blog), accessed November 27, 2021, <https://www.internationalaffairs.org.au/australianoutlook/saffron-terror-and-hindutva-ideology/>.

Arabia's financial support, and therefore cannot be considered an expression of Islam. The jihadi youngsters probably believed in martyrdom and bloodshed in the cause of Islam. The same can be said for sectarianism. The government-sponsored madrassas were all Sunni religious schools that brainwashed their pupils with a brand of radical Islam, laying the groundwork for sectarian conflict throughout the country. Gen. Zia needed support for his decision to enlist Pakistan's help in the war against the Soviet Union, and he got it with the help of a youthful army of Pakistani students from religious seminaries.⁵¹

According to Vali Nasr, the rise of the militant Islamist Jamaat-e-Islami under Sayyid Abul Ala boosted indophobia in Pakistan. Maududi for decades, hardline Islamist leaders promoted bloodshed against India because Pakistan supported and pampered the Mujahedeen's. A study on ideologically motivated school textbooks was conducted by the Sustainable Development Policy Institute. According to the report, Pakistani school textbooks have actively instilled hatred for India and Hindus since the 1970s. According to this research, Pakistan's insistence on its ideology has been a key factor in fomenting anti-India and anti-Hindu sentiment. It's also worth noting that the orthodoxy of Pakistan's Islamist political elite, particularly the Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Islam (JUI) style of Wahabi/ Deobandi Islam, has no origins in Pakistani Islam. Soil. This form of Islam is dogmatic and violent. Intolerant to diversity and fixated on jihad as a religion in opposition to common people's faith and spirituality Pakistani people, are tolerant, devout, and hardworking. Has incorporated the profound spirituality of the languages of the Indus Valley. This is a popular tradition. Was suppressed to establish the monarchy's dominance. Pakistani Islam is orthodox and normative. The children of Jihad who were not convinced that Pakistan needed to deal with extremism because it was harming itself by ignoring the threat were irritated by Pakistan's decision to become a US ally in the fight on terror.

The radicalization of the Lal Mosque is not only a bad spot in Pakistan's history but also a microcosm of a segment of Pakistani society. Within the country, the distinct strain of extremism in this culture may be seen. According to Dr. Hasan Askari, he stated that

⁵¹ Arshi Saleem Hashmi, "Errorism, Religious Radicalism and Violence: Perspectives from Pakistan," n.d., 4.

Pakistan has lost a generation to Islamic dogma and militancy. This has been going on for a generation has risen to the middle of the food chain. The government, security services, and the commercial sector are all involved. After the state, a typical Pakistani worldview emerged. Implemented religious purifying procedures that resulted in It being difficult for conservatism and militancy to accept. that the previously lauded Mujahedeen is now an alarming threat for the state of Pakistan ⁵²

⁵² Hashmi.

CHAPTER 2

INDIAN CLAIM AGAINST PAKISTAN ON PROXY WAR

2.1 Introduction

Since the partition of India, blame games have been started. India claims that Pakistan is using its soil against India to fuel the terrorist activities inside India. If we shed light on the Kashmir issue, it is not to say that the Kashmir issue is the bone of contention between two hostile adversaries. Since the Kashmir imbroglio emerged both states tend to destabilize each other with different tactics. Moreover, in 1974, India conducted nuclear tests which led to the nuclearization of South Asia. Pakistan advanced its nuclear program to achieve nuclear capabilities to avoid security dilemma under nuclear India. Likewise, both states spend billions of dollars to achieve mutual nuclear deterrence. The history of modern Indian strategic culture suggests its hostility towards Pakistan and regional hegemonic ambitions.

India established nuclear weaponry to maximize its power. On the other hand, Pakistan is using its deterrence strategy against India. In addition, Islamabad is aggrandizing its defense budget to make cruise missiles and ballistic missiles with a variety of long and short ranges. For example, NASR and Shaheen 3 to counter India's nuclear weapons and missiles system. India is claiming that Pakistan facilitated the terrorist organizations to attack India's strongest institution Parliament house in 2001. India also alleged that Pakistan is also involved in the Mumbai attack which took place in 2008, 126 people were killed and militants were jeopardized the very structure of the Taj Hotel in Mumbai.

Not only these terrorist activities had a threat to India but also these heinous crimes by the militant organization had an alarming threat for the entire region. India also claims that Pakistan is not only facilitating militant organizations against India but also interfering in India Occupied Kashmir (IOK). Pakistan allegedly sponsored terrorist organizations, which are internationally banned like Laskare Toiba (Let). Likewise, (Lets) chief has been funded by Islamabad and they also claimed that Pakistan is a safe heaven place for terrorists like Hafiz Sayeed, which has been trained thousands of

Madrasah children against India under the guise of Jihad. Similarly, it also fuels separatist movement in Indian occupied Kashmir New Delhi, alleged that Kashmir based separatist, movement is dictated by Islamabad. If we track back the Islamization period under the former military ruler Zia UL Haq on April 18 1988 General Zia Ul Haq delivered his speech and he launched a proxy war against India named Operation Topac. That speech gives the plan how Pakistan interfere in Kashmir General Zia said in his speech that –Islam is our goal Quran is our constitution Jihad is our path war till victory, God is great. The war of Hizb is pronounced: Allah U Akbar”. The detailed speech is about the interference in Kashmir during the Islamization period of dictator Gen Zia. Coming to my main point with reference of Zia’s Islamization period Pakistan’s Military establishment not only fuels the separatist movement against India but is also willing to make chaos and strife against India under the banner of religion.

In the twenty-First century, war has evolved into a wide range of unfamiliar factors. In this regard Pakistan is using Hybrid war tactics on India to deliberately spread the misinformation, cyberattack which is a mixture of linear strategies, as well as nonlinear which Pakistan, is applying to India. Indian claims that Pakistan is facilitating terrorism or trained Madrasah students. After the assassination of Burhan, wani India claims that Pakistan rubbing salt on one wound with help of spreading misinformation to the people of Jammu and Kashmir against India with the help of using Hybrid war tactics. On the other hand, India alleges that Pakistan’s Inter-Service Intelligence (ISI) is behind the Khalistan movement over the few decades Kashmir and Khalistan made up the Islamabad’s Army’s K2 plan to arouse secessionism movement is a project of Pakistan to weaken India. The emergence of the Khalistan movement with the help of Pakistan is an alarming threat for India. Pakistan is only tried to destabilize India with the help of a Hybrid war but using proxy war tactics on India if we look over the Indian parliament attack 2001, Bombay attack 2008, Pathankot and Uri attack 2016, and the recent attack by terrorists on India happened in Pulwama in February 2019. India is claiming Pakistan is the terrorist organization and facilitating them named Jaishe e Mohammad (JEM) and Lashkar Toiba (Let) training camps in Pakistan. After the Pulwama attack, India’s fighter jets came to Pakistan’s territory in the area of the working boundary of Balakot because New Delhi claims that we received an intelligence-based report that there were training

camps of Jaise e Mohammad also alleges that Pakistan is using its soil against India. Therefore, since the partition of India both States played proxy wars to deterrent each other and were willing to destabilize the opponent State.⁵³

2.2 Kashmir Conundrum and Indo –Pak Conventional Wars

Since the British rule, Pakistan and India have been the arch enemies between two neighboring countries approximately, there have been four fledged armed conflicts. Not only this but also they have been many times both States have violated the countless border skirmishes and cross border ceasefire between the two hostile states India and Pakistan. The whole scenario of conflict and animosities between two adversaries. The only bone of the contentions is the Kashmir issue which is located in the northern part of the Indian sub-continent. The princely state like Jammu and Kashmir during the British rule of the Sub continent Kashmir is a unique region due to its geography and its religious composition. Moreover, in the Ladakh region, the majority of the people are Buddhists, whereas the Jammu region Hindu population is in majority, and in the Kashmir valley the Kashmiri Muslims are in majority. During the end of the British rule, they set a plan that Kashmiris have a right to decide that either they live with Pakistan, India and want to live independently. But in the early months of the partition of India that they occupied the Kashmir region. On the other hand, Pakistanis claim and considered that Pakistan has rightful ownership that India forcefully annexed Jammu and Kashmir. In this regard, India also claims that Pakistan is doing and facilitating the covert armed militancy strategy with the help of militant organizations to sabotage India. Not only that Pakistan is willing to jeopardize the very structure of India and Jammu and Kashmir, but also Pakistan attempted to impose a heavy political and economic burden on New Delhi. Terrorist Organizations like Hizbul-Mujahideen (HM) Laskare e Omar, Harkat ul Mujahedeen, Laskare e Toiba (Let) Lashkar Jabbar (lej) Tehrib-ul-Mujahedeen, Jaishe e Mohammad, Mutahids Jihad Council and Jammu and Kashmir liberation front all these militant organizations willing to fight for the invoking of the annexation of Indian occupied Kashmir with the help of Pakistan.

⁵³ –Pakistan’s Nuclear Deterrence and Strategic Stability,” accessed December 11, 2021, <https://www.e-ir.info/2016/06/28/pakistans-nuclear-deterrence-and-strategic-stability/>.

Moreover, India also claims that Pakistan is dictating the pro-Pakistan militant groups have been provided Shelter, training, and communication for war against India. Due to the Soviet and United States war in this regard for the national interest of Pakistan also supports and trains Afghan Mujahedeen to fight with the Soviet Union in this regard Pakistan has a wide experience to assist this terrorist to implement a guerrilla war in Jammu and Kashmir. In addition, Afghan Mujahedeen also took part in the Kashmir insurgency to fight with India even though Afghans have no connection with Kashmir but, on the behalf of the religious motivation they fight with India. Afterward, terrorists attended the suicide attack the primary goal of military organizations that they attack Indian soldiers as well as public properties such as schools and temples. Not only do they target the bridges to jeopardies' the communication networks of Indian security forces. Ruler areas of Jammu and Kashmir militants killed hundreds of people and thousands of Indian soldiers most of the civilians were Hindu pundits. The purpose of killing Hindu civilians will put pressure on India and its security forces which resulted and created hatred among the local people of Kashmir. Therefore, in the Kashmir conundrum, India faces many challenges due to terrorist heinous activities in Indian occupied Kashmir. Proxy war and conventional war have turned the beautiful valley into a bloodbath.

2.3 Nuclear Deterrence And Constraints Over Conventional Warfare

In the incumbent international system, States use nuclear deterrence strategy, which helps to avert wars to manipulation of an adversaries' mind and psychology. Nuclear deterrence is a tool which examines that renewed non-military and incumbent military threats which cover the social, economic, political, and digital landscape. After the end of world war 2 which witnessed the creation the nuclear weapons. Likewise, the United States of America has innovated nuclear weapons, afterwards, the Soviet Union in this regard the arms race has been started between the two great powers during the cold war era. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, South Asia has been a perilous region due to the nuclear arms race between the decades-old rivals Pakistan and India. India started its nuclear program and completed this program during Indira Gandhi's period in 1974. On the other hand, Pakistan thought that if India would be a nuclear country, they felt the alarming threat from New Delhi. In this regard, Islamabad has also started to make

nuclear to deterrent India and Pakistan has completed their nuclear program in 1998 and nuclear deterrence politics have been started in South Asia. India considered that both China and Pakistan have been an alarming threat for new Delhi.⁵⁴

If we look Chinese so they have no concerns with India but due to the Laddakh factor and China and India have been emerging powers so both are feeling threat with each other because China claims that India is an ally of the United States and the US never wanted to be given free space for China to become a regional bully. On the other hand, Pakistan considered the existential threat from new Delhi. Both states are at loggerhead from May to July 1999 Kargil district of Jammu and Kashmir which is known as Kargil war. There were hundreds of casualties that happened in this war and thousands were wounded from both states and the recent Balakot Strikes happened where India claims that there was a terrorist camp in the Balakot region in this regard, that they bombarded the area where Terrorist were being trained by the supports of Pakistan. Afterward, a few days of the Balakot bombardment Indian jets were again trying to enter the Pakistani territory but this time Pakistan was ready to attack the fighter Jets and it was successful to shot down an Indian Jet and arrest a wounded Pilot names AbhiNandan at that moment both States were on the tense situation and were ready to go for a nuclear war. But unfortunately, the tense situation was eased due to the significant role of world powers and the incumbent prime minister of Pakistan Imran Khan. Therefore, many times both countries went for a conventional war to destabilize each other, which is an alarming threat to the peace and stability of the South Asia region due to two nuclear adversaries.

2.4 Pakistan's Alleged Interference In Indian Occupied Kashmir (IOK)

Indian claims that over the past two decades Pakistan has been behind the Kashmir insurgency. Not only Pakistan aggrandizing Islamic radicalism activities but also fueling extremism. –The United State States department's most recent reports on the pattern that Global terrorism released in April 2001 especially identifies Islamabad as the chief sponsor of militant groups fighting in the disputed Indo-Pakistan region. The same conclusion was reached earlier in the earlier report by the National Commission on terrorism and reflects current thinking in the Most United States and Western policy-

⁵⁴ –Pakistan's Nuclear Deterrence and Strategic Stability.”

making writes. Besides, India also alleges that there are many groups that, are sponsored by Pakistan but five of them are very active to destabilize the Indian authority and making strife under the guise of Jihad like Harkat ul Mujahedeen (Hum)Jaishe e Mohammad (jem) Hizbul Mujahedeen (Hm) and Laskare toiba (let). According to Peter Chalk, –Pakistan is facilitating the ambit of training, financial, logistical and doctrinal support to Kashmir insurgents. In India districts like Kupwara, Baramulla, Rajouri Poonch, and Jammu again India alleged that at least 91 insurgents training camps have been identified in Pakistan – Occupied Kashmir. Moreover, India claims that Pakistan Intelligence Inter-Service Intelligence (ISI) has two operations branches against India. Likewise, in Jammu and Kashmir like joint intelligence miscellaneous (JIM) and Joint Intelligence North (JIN) Islamist oriented military officers provide training like Guerrilla, Jungle warfare, and dodging techniques to Kashmiri insurgents to counter the Indian army.

2.5 Financing militants

Pakistan has been playing an indispensable role to provide financial assistance to Kashmir insurgents. According to India’s research and analysis wing (RAW), it claims that Pakistan has been financing militant organizations approximately, US 250 million dollars annually to Kashmir insurgents this, amount used to cover the salaries for militants, arms, and high–risk operations. Not only Pakistan funding militant’s proxies in Kashmir insurgents with the help of money laundering profits which gather from the heroin trade. New Delhi claims that Islamabad also collects money from foreign sponsors like Saudi Arabia and the amount is being used for insurgents, Political and religious causes in Indian occupied Kashmir. Many of them are collected from southern Punjab are like Rahimyar khan and small tours in deserts of Southern Punjab where Arab crowns can come to hunt Houbara Bustards and other regions wildlife.⁵⁵⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Jyoti Trehan, –Terrorism and the Funding of Terrorism in Kashmir,” *Journal of Financial Crime* 9, no. 3 (January 1, 2002): 201–11, <https://doi.org/10.1108/eb026018>.

⁵⁶ Peter Chalk, –Pakistan’s Role in the Kashmir Insurgency,” September 1, 2001, <https://www.rand.org/blog/2001/09/pakistans-role-in-the-kashmir-insurgency.html>.

2.6 Ideological Indoctrination

Approximately, 5000 to 6000 madrasas have been regulated in Pakistan and around 4500 Madrasahs are registered with the government. Like Markaz-ad-Daawa –wal-Irshad, Dar –ul-Iftah –ul- Irshad at Nizamabad, Dar –ul-loom Haqqani at Akora Khattak which are the most prominent extremist oriented schools in Pakistan. Many of these Madrasah institutions and Islamic schools interpret as institutions and Islamic scholars interpret as striving for Justice teaching the concept of Jihad to Madrasah students. Jamiat e Ulema Islam (JUI) has a close link with militant organizations in Kashmir. Madrasah institutions set the mindset of the students that do jihad for their Muslim brothers who are being suppressed by Indian brutal acts. Therefore, Lashkare toiba and Markaze Daawa –wal-Irshad Madrasah is the most extremist group which both are fighting in Kashmir. Therefore, Pakistan alleged involvement in enough testimony that which discussed in the above to sabotage the Indian Army and fueling Kashmiri separatist movement in Kashmir to weaken India.

2.7 Islamization in Indian Occupied Kashmir –Islamist military inside Indian Occupied Kashmir and its relevance to Pakistan

Pakistan used Islamization as a tool to counter Marxist and Nationalist ideology at the Soviets time. But it was also used as a tool to fuel the Kashmir movement. Pakistan trained hundreds of militants against India under the banner of Jihad. All most every military ruler takeover the democratic government in Pakistan he used Islam as a tool to maintain its position and also get fame from the masses. The same case happened with former military ruler Zia ul Haq. Not only did the former military dictators of Pakistan use Islamization to counter the Marxist ideology during the cold war but also for the Kashmir cause. In the speech of former military ruler Zia –ul-Haq which was published in the book of –Hizb Islam”. His speech is crystal clear that Pakistan wants to interfere in Indian occupied Kashmir to recapture Kashmir from India. In his speech, he stated that first, we provide infiltration assistance to Kashmiri brothers, which leads to the seizure of state administration and the organization of political disruption, and the Muslim united front is involved in a conspiracy various constitutional forms which resulting in the

establishment of the administration and it would paralyze the entire government machinery of India. His speech was basically on the radicalization of the people regarding the concept of Islam and jihad he said in his speech that "Islam is our goal. Quran is our constitution. Jihad is our path. War till victory, God is great. The war of Hizb is pronounced: Allah-u-Akbar. The call of Hizb is beware of India."⁵⁷

Under the third phase, with the blessing of God that we would plan for the liberation of Kashmir and the establishment of the Islamic state. Moreover, we would speed things up for the arrangements to supply the heavy quantities of modern arms and ammunition to the Afghan Taliban. Moreover, these tactics definitely help our Kashmiri people to achieve their goal said former dictator Gen Zia-ul-Haq. In the next phase, it would not seem arduous, which we are facing today. In this regard, we can defeat India easily in direct attack. In April 1988 former dictator General Zia-ul-Haq had delivered a speech at a highly covert meeting at Islamabad. The entire anecdote of this speech is that how to launch a proxy war against India. The operation "Topac" is the main action which is launched for the purpose to weaken India. Furthermore, the military ruler of Pakistan during Soviet Union time Zia-ul-Haq had formulated a plan to invoke strife on a tiny scale in the start. Afterward, it leads slowly and gradually on a large scale in occupied Indian Kashmir. By carrying out collective joint attacks which will begin with the help of some separatist and anti-Indian groups. According to war strategists, who had given a plan that they said if India wage a perpetual defensive battle in Kashmir against those who are demanding freedom in this regard, the Kashmir separatist movement will turn into an Army, which would be an alarming factor to India. Therefore, it would be crystal clear evidence and also be a blessing in disguise because the longer the proxy war runs it will be beneficial for Pakistan. Thus all these heinous crimes and proxy wars were being planned during the military regime of Military Dictator Gen Zia-ul-Haq and his speech also is

⁵⁷ -Chapter 23 - Pakistan's Proxy War from the Book - Memorial of Mistakes Converted Kashmir - A Bitter Saga of Religious Conversion by Narender Sehgal," accessed December 11, 2021, <https://mea.gov.in/in-focus-article.htm?18969/Chapter+23++Pakistans+Proxy+War+from+the+book++Memorial+of+Mistakes+Converted+Kashmir++A+bitter+saga+of+Religious+Conversion+by+Narender+Sehgal>.

enough testimony of how Pakistan launched a proxy war against India during the Islamization period.⁵⁸

2.8 Khalistan movement and Pakistan's alleged interference

If trace back the history of Khalistan and Pakistan involvement and interferences the anecdote has started with the era of Indira Gandhi when former Prime Minister Indira Gandhi deployed the Indian army in 1984 to drive militants and their leaders out of the Golden Temple, the holiest of Sikh sanctuaries, which they had occupied and reinforced with weaponry brought in from Pakistan. Gandhi's conduct, as well as the anti-Sikh pogroms that followed Sikh militants' killing of Prime Minister Gandhi in 1984 in reprisal for the Golden Temple military operation, galvanized Sikhs living abroad. 25,000 people, primarily Sikhs, were killed during the fifteen-year campaign of violence that lasted until the early 1990s. Despite a long period of repose that followed, Khalistan militancy has grown in recent years, and curtailing diaspora-based efforts to re-energize it could avoid a return to the 1980s' bloodshed. Such diaspora-based activities are concerning since Pakistan's intelligence agency, the Inter-Services Intelligence Directorate (ISI) may be economically and organizationally supporting pro-Khalistan organizations.

Moreover, Pakistan and India have a history of accusing each other of fomenting separatist insurgencies on the other's soil.⁵⁹ Following India's proof of Pakistan's widespread backing for terrorism and violence in India, a Pakistani dossier circulating among the UN Security Council's permanent members accused India of aiding militant resistance to Pakistani control in Baluchistan, which borders Iran and Afghanistan. In addition, Unlike Pakistan's tit-for-tat charges against India, nevertheless, Pakistan's coordinated sponsorship of terrorist actions to press its claims on Jammu and Kashmir has drawn worldwide attention from at least 1992. The United States and the majority of

⁵⁸ –Chapter 23 - Pakistan's Proxy War from the Book - Memorial of Mistakes Converted Kashmir - A Bitter Saga of Religious Conversion by Narender Sehgal.”

⁵⁹ Aparna Pande Westrop Husain Haqqani, C. Christine Fair, Michael Rubin, Seth Oldmixon & Sam, –Pakistan's Destabilization Playbook: Khalistan Separatist Activism Within the US - by Aparna Pande Husain Haqqani C. Christine Fair Michael Rubin Seth Oldmixon Sam Westrop,” accessed December 17, 2021, <http://www.hudson.org/research/17268-pakistan-s-destabilization-playbook-khalistan-separatist-activism-within-the-us>.

the international community have condemned Pakistan's tolerance and support for terrorism for years. "Pakistan continued to serve as a safe haven because of various regionally targeted terrorist groups," according to the US Department of State's Country Report on Terrorism 2019: Pakistan. It permitted groups targeting Afghanistan, such as the Afghan Taliban and allied HQN [Haqqani Network], and groups targeting India, such as LeT [Lashkar-e-Tayyaba] and its connected front organizations, as well as JeM [Jaish-e-Mohammed], to operate from its territory. Islamabad has failed to take serious actions against extremists focused on India and Afghanistan who would damage their operational capability the study reads. Militancy in Jammu and Kashmir, as well as the Khalistan movement, are believed to be part of Pakistan's aim to "bleed India with a thousand cuts," according to the Indian government and some independent researchers.

2.9 Pathankot and Pulwama Attacks and Dangerous Escalation Between Two Hostile Neighbors

On January 2, 2016, was again a heinous crime was attempted by militant personnel which is being facilitated by Pakistan claimed by India. India also claims that Pathankot India air base was attacked by the six most dangerous armed terrorists of Pakistani-sponsored militant organization Jaise-e-Mohammad (JEM). Moreover, India also alleged that Masood Azher a chief militant organization and commanding militant leader was the mastermind of that attack against the Indian air force base. In addition, the fight between the militant organization Jiase –e-e Mohamad and Indian forces went for three days. According to India, the media that seven security men were killed during the operation on militants. On the other hand, all militants were gunned down. The terrorist was entered from the area of Indian Punjab Kathua –Gurdaspur border of Punjab on January 1 2016 the terrorist as well as the militant carjacked from Punjab's top police officer's Salwinder Singh Suv, help the terrorist to enter the airbase of Pathankot.⁶⁰

India also claims that not only Jaishe-e-Mohammad (JEM) has been in Pathankot attack but also involved in in-car bombings in Bombay during 1990s and later the chief leading militant Masood Azhar from Jaish-e-Mohammad who was arrested by law enforcement

⁶⁰ Yudhijit Bhattacharjee, "The Terrorist Who Got Away," *The New York Times*, March 19, 2020, sec. Magazine, <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/19/magazine/masood-azhar-jaish.html>.

agencies of India and he prisoned afterward, he was released hostage exchange when Indian plane was hijacked which went to Kabul Afghanistan. New Delhi always alleged that Pakistan is behind that hijacking. India is also pressurized International organizations like United Nation to take serious actions against the militant organization who are Involved in Terrorism activities in India. In this regard, China is a Veto power country she has cordial relations with Pakistan and is a close ally of Pakistan. Beijing had blocked that move which was present by India at United Nations. Furthermore, when Bhartia Janta Party came into power in 2016. The incumbent prime minister Narendra Modi has vowed to free hand to their Indian forces to respond to militant actors who are doing proxies to sabotage India. The former home minister of India Rajnath Singh blamed Islamabad for facilitating terrorist .”He also threatens that Pakistan pays a heavy price for their heinous crime which they are playing under the banner of Proxies to weakened India.⁶¹

On the other hand, India claims that is involved in every attack which was happened in India. Recently, 14 February was a black day in Indian history when the suicide bomber was attacked by Buses of paramilitary soldiers of India. Moreover, the attack happened in Pulwama near Sri Nagar –Jammu highway. Where the convoy of 78 buses carrying Indian paramilitary soldiers. Approximately, 40 troops of the paramilitary were hit and killed in that attack by terrorists. India alleges that Pakistani-based terrorist organization Jaishe-e-Mohammad released that video that our organization is behind the Pulwama attack. India claims that previously there have been many attacks by Pakistan was the facilitator or these militant organizations were attempted to our Security personnel. These all targeted attempts on Indian forces are direct, links with the Pakistani State. Therefore, these all attacks and bomb blasts many both countries ready to go for a nuclear war recently, after the Pulwama attack then World power and United Nations play their significant role to ease the situation between two hostile states Pakistan and India.⁶²

⁶¹ –Viewpoint: How Far Might India Go to ‘punish’ Pakistan? - BBC News,” accessed December 16, 2021, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-47250994>.

⁶² –Kashmir Attack: Tracing the Path That Led to Pulwama,” *BBC News*, April 30, 2019, sec. India, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-47302467>.

2.10 Terrorist Attacks in Indian Parliament and Mumbai Attack in 2008

Five terrorists armed with assault weapons, plastic explosives, and grenades drove an inconspicuous, stolen white Ambassador car onto the grounds of India's Parliament on December 13, 2001, and attempted to enter the circular structure using a phone pass. Their obvious strategy was to target parliamentarians during a morning session attended by high government officials, including the Prime Minister. According to one source, the strategy failed due to sheer luck. The attackers' automobile hit an official vehicle, causing them to flee on foot. Furthermore, a power outage in the city prevented television broadcasts of the legislative session; the militant who was supposed to inform the attackers via cell phone when key ministers arrived was thus unaware that the 400-plus legislators had adjourned and that several senior ministers had left. As a result, it would not be present. The four others were killed in the ensuing gun battle with the Indian security detail, which suffered multiple fatalities. Indian officials instantly linked the attackers to the Pakistan-based militant groups Lashkar-e-Taiba and Jaish-e-Muhammad, accusing Pakistani intelligence of financing terrorism to persuade India to hand over Kashmir. Because of a suicide bomber attempt on the Kashmir state legislature, little over two months' prior, some Indian commentators felt that Indian security officials should have been better prepared for the December 13 attack on Parliament. On October 1, 2001, a terrorist smashed an explosives-laden government vehicle into the assembly's main gate, while his comrades attempted to storm the complex with guns and grenades. Eighty innocent civilians were killed. Police uniforms were worn by the insurgents. The extremist group Jaish-e-Muhammad, based in Pakistan, initially claimed—and then denied—responsibility for the October attack. In a letter to President George W. Bush, President Atal Bihari Vajpayee blamed Pakistan for the October attack, implying that if Washington could not persuade Islamabad to rein in terrorist groups based there, India might be obliged to take matters into its own hands. Indian officials urged that Washington name a special envoy to India. Jaish-e-Muhammad is a terrorist organization that has openly spoken in on the issue.⁶³

⁶³ Polly Nayak and Michael Krepon, "U.S. Crisis Management in South Asia's Twin Peaks Crisis," in *The India-Pakistan Military Standoff*, ed. Zachary S. Davis (New York: Palgrave Macmillan US, 2011), 143–86, https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230118768_7.

On the other hand, not only did India allege that Pakistan was the facilitator of the Indian Parliament attack in 2001 but also Islamabad was involved in the Bombay attack. Ten shooters suspected to be linked to Lashkar-e-Taiba, a Pakistan-based terrorist organization, carried out the attacks. The terrorists used automatic guns and hand grenades to attack civilians at several locations in Mumbai's south, including the Chhatrapati Shivaji train station, the famed Leopold Café, two hospitals, and a theatre. The terror continued to unfold at three locations where hostages were taken—the Nariman House, where a Jewish outreach center was located, and the luxury hotels Oberoi Trident and Taj Mahal Palace & Tower—while most of the attacks ended just a few hours after they began at around 9:30 p.m. on November 26. Six hostages and two attackers had been shot by the time the siege at the Nariman House concluded on the evening of November 28. Hundreds of visitors and employees were either detained or taken hostage at the two hotels. On November 28, Indian security forces lifted the siege at the Oberoi Trident at lunchtime and at the Taj Mahal Palace the next morning. At least 174 individuals were killed in all, including 20 security officers and 26 foreign nationals. More than 300 persons were wounded in this regard and as a result of that attack. Nine of the ten terrorists were killed, while the tenth was captured. Therefore, an unknown group calling itself Mujahedeen Hyderabad Deccan claimed responsibility for the attacks in an e-mail sent amid conjecture about the terrorists' identities; however, the e-mail was later traced to a computer in Pakistan, and it became clear that no such group existed. Some speculated that the Islamic militant group al-Qaeda was involved because of the way the terrorists reportedly singled out Western foreigners at both the luxury hotels and the Nariman House, but this appeared to be false after the lone arrested terrorist, Ajmal Amir Kasab, provided substantial information regarding the planning and execution of the attacks. Kasab, who was born in Pakistan's Punjab area, told investigators that the ten terrorists had extensive guerrilla warfare training in Lashkar-e-Taiba camps.⁶⁴

⁶⁴ —Mumbai Terrorist Attacks of 2008 | Events, Death Toll, & Facts | Britannica,” accessed December 18, 2021, <https://www.britannica.com/event/Mumbai-terrorist-attacks-of-2008>.

CHAPTER 3

PAKISTAN'S CLAIMS AGAINST INDIA ON PROXY WARFARE

3.1 Introduction

Since the partition of India, hate and animosity have been still existing. From the first day of partition, India has been tried to harm and weaken Pakistan. In this regard, at every platform, India has speed things up to malign Pakistan at a global level and also doing false propaganda that Pakistanis is not a terrorist country but also a safe haven for terrorists' outfits. If we trace back the history that how India launched a proxy war against Pakistan, the 1971 war is a crystal clear example that how India facilitates the Mukti Bahini against Pakistan.⁶⁵ Afterward, it became the Indian army's militant wing. Not only India trained guerrillas, but also India's, spy agency named Research Analysis Wing(RAW) it helped to provide arms and trained the rebels Mukti Bahini against west Pakistan. New Delhi also had created a chaotic situation and fueled riots to create a threatening situation that leaders and military establishment of West Pakistan at that time would accept the separation from West Pakistan. Pakistan claims that India is also augmenting its influence in Afghanistan to destabilize Pakistan. Moreover, Pakistan also alleges that India has been funding to Kabul government and also invested in infrastructure and trade with Afghanistan. In addition, also facilitates the anti-Taliban groups before the peace deal to weaken Pakistan's influence in Afghanistan.⁶⁶

Not only does India support the anti-Pakistan groups in Afghanistan but also provided training camps to Baloch insurgents who have been trained near the border area of Afghanistan and Pakistan. Even these insurgents came to Baluchistan for a specific period and do heinous attacks on the Pakistan army and their paramilitary forces. Afterward, they go to escape themselves in Afghanistan. It is not wrong to say that Afghanistan is a haven for terrorist organizations which India is providing every facility to their guerillas with the help of the Kabul-backed government. Pakistan also claims that

⁶⁵ Web Spider (pvt) Ltd www.webspider.pk, "Indian Involvement in the Separation of East Pakistan," accessed January 13, 2022, <https://www.hilal.gov.pk/eng-article/detail/MTA0MA==.html>.

⁶⁶ "Proxy War against Pakistan," accessed January 12, 2022, <https://nation.com.pk/26-Feb-2021/proxy-war-against-pakistan>.

India is also involved and sponsor the terrorist wing of MQM London to sabotage the business hub of Pakistan Karachi. Likewise, before 2014 the city of lights was one of the perilous places according to the interview of Saulat Mirza a terrorist who belongs to the MQM London's target killing wing he said that MQMs target killer wing members were mostly trained in India, moreover, India trained them how to kill and make chaos and strife in Karachi. In addition, Karachi's mostly businessmen were shifted to their industries countries like Bangladesh to hide or escape from the fear of kidnapping for ransom or target killing. On the other hand, Pakistan also alleges that Tehreek e Taliban Pakistan (TTP) is also funded by New Delhi to destabilize Pakistan. Not only a single place was safe from a suicide bombing, target killings, and Kidnapping.

Even mosques and Imam Bargahs were not safe from the terrorist activities and suicide bombings from terrorist organizations like TTP. Even though every institution and business in Pakistan is paralyzed and the image of Pakistan has been tarnished they considered Pakistan a terrorist state. Likewise, if we remember the Army Public school (APS) heartbreaking incident the militant organization killed 150 staff members including 134 were school children. According to the Pakistan intelligence reports the chain of these heinous attacks and crimes was linked to New Delhi, these are enough testimonies are enough that how India is playing proxy war against Pakistan to undermine Pakistan. Besides, for three decades Pakistan claims that India has been exploiting ethnic and sectarian fault lines to make violence in Pakistan. Since the appointment of Ajit Doval as a national security advisor, he speeds things up to fuel the sectarian violence in different areas of Pakistan to make a chaotic situation in Balochistan. According, to Major (R) Gaurav Arya in his interview with a particular news channel how India sponsored religious Mullahs in Pakistan for making strife and sectarian warfare in Pakistan.

On the other hand, India is not only involved to fuel sectarian sentiments in Pakistan to make chaos but also willing to destabilize Pakistan economically. For instance, like Pakistan China economic corridor, (CPEC) with 62 billion dollars of investment, no doubt it is a tremendous opportunity to ameliorate Pakistan's economy with the help of CPEC. This mega project enhances the GDP of Pakistan. But unfortunately, India is not happy to

see an emerging and prosperous Pakistan. According to the reports of Research Analysis Wing(RAW)chiefs want to destabilize and thwart the mega-project CPEC with the help of financing militant wings to attack or sabotage Balochistan. ⁶⁷Furthermore, the Afghanistan intelligence agency and previous Kabul government had provided its soil to trained insurgents like Baloch Liberation Army (BLA) against Pakistan. Recently the attack on the Chinese consulate attack, the Karachi stock exchange attack, and the Pearl continental (PC) Gwadar all these shreds of evidence are enough that's all these insurgents were trained in Afghanistan to destabilize Pakistan China economic corridor. Therefore, all these tactics by India are crystal clear proofs that how India launched a proxy war against Pakistan to jeopardized and weaken Pakistan on every platform.

3.2 India's Alleged Support to Separatists of East Pakistan -1971 Indo-Pak War

The geological partition of East and West Pakistan delivered not only just administrative but social, economic, and political issues also. Distance made correspondence erratic and costly. Mistaken assumptions emerged effectively and were hard to dissipate. Since the capital was in West Pakistan, East Pakistan felt dismissed. The distinctions in language and foundation put impediments to the method of public incorporation. Inside West Pakistan, there were various areas and states, and four etymological locales. With the progression of time, cleavages with the two areas of Pakistan began to be unbridged. Following autonomy, Pakistan's two wings were separated by one thousand miles of hostile area. Both air and sea contact could be impeded by India whenever. This one-of-a-kind geological position could represent a grave danger to the trustworthiness of the country. Except for religion and the normal battle for freedom, there was hardly anything normal between the two wings of the country. The geological detachment was the base for together contrasts for example racial character, language, propensities forever, and culture. As the brutality spread in East Pakistan, the surge of displaced people escaping from that viciousness took on such tremendous extents that it made an impressive issue for India. The Indian government took on a strategy whose sway on occasions in East Pakistan was definitive. Different measures were taken of direct or then again roundabout

⁶⁷ "Indian Attempts to Sabotage CPEC," *Pakistan Today* (blog), February 23, 2021, <https://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/2021/02/24/indian-attempts-to-sabotage-cpec/>.

help to the agitators, including an inexorably dynamic military help which at last prompted boondocks occurrences and commitment among Indian and Pakistani soldiers. Then, at that point, on December 3, occurred the Pakistani air assault on Indian air bases, and India's reprisal as a huge land assault which prompted the give up of the Pakistani powers in East Pakistan. India's activities had been restricted to getting and offering cover to the Bangladesh chiefs professing to comprise a 'government in exile' they would not have offered intense reason for a fight on the part of Pakistan. The right of safe-haven for belligerents is perceived in standard law. It is possible that the radio projects from India served to build the progression of evacuees, by expanding their dread of the Pakistan armed force, and by spreading the word about it the Indian Government was ready to permit them to cross the outskirts and to give for them in outcast camps. Yet, none of these things included an encroachment of impartiality. As respects the grouping of troops along the boondocks, while this might be viewed as the outflow of an unpleasant and skeptical demeanor, it is regardless a current practice, indeed, even among states which are especially mindful to keep a disposition of severe lack of bias when common conflict is seething in an adjoining count. More genuine, in any case, according to the perspective of worldwide law, is the tactical help given by India to the Bangladesh radicals. This help isn't conceded by India, yet there appears to be little uncertainty that the Bangladesh guerrilla powers, the Mukti Bahini, had the option to enroll and prepare volunteers on Indian soil, and were given the vital arms, ammunition, and strategic help to empower them to mount activities from Indian domain. As indicated by the standards of standard worldwide law, India was under an obligation to notice nonpartisanship by abstaining from furnishing both of the belligerents with any tactical supplies or permitting them to involve her unbiased domain for the travel of military powers or the arrangement or sending off of military activities. These commitments under the standard laws of lack of bias were not regarded by India. India's stockpile of arms and preparing offices to the extremist powers was in the break of her obligation of impartiality under global law. Her case that her intrusion of Pakistan was supported in international law under the regulation of self-preservation can't be acknowledged. India could, notwithstanding, have advocated the attack on the grounds of philanthropic intercession,

considering the disappointment of the United countries to manage the monstrous infringement of basic liberties in East Pakistan⁶⁸

3.3 India's Increasing Influence in Afghanistan –Destabilizing Pakistan

India's hegemonic and imperialistic goals toward its neighbors are a manifestation of Kautilian ideology, which views adversaries as friends and an enemy's immediate neighbor as an enemy. As a result, India was able to build cordial relations with Afghanistan in 1947 by exploiting the tensions between Afghanistan and Pakistan over the Durand line. India backed every ruler in Kabul, from Zahir Shah through King Dawood and Noor Muhammad Tarakai to Najeeb Ullah. The geo-strategic and geopolitical landscape of South Asia has remained tumultuous for the past sixty-one years, owing mostly to Indian hegemonic intentions toward its neighbors. India is one of the few, if not the only, countries in the world that have hostile relations with all of its neighbors. Assuming dominance in this Indo-centric region, where all of South Asia's states share physical borders.⁶⁹

India's strategic aims have included not only military strengthening to assert her hegemony, but also preventing outsiders from boosting regional states that would challenge India's hegemony. India's foreign policy strategy centered around the obsession that its politico-strategic border extends via Kandahar and Kabul. A look at its policy movements reveals an imperialistic mindset in which she appears to want to dominate the entire region by imposing her will. Following in the footsteps of the American Empire, it instituted the Indira Doctrine, Rajeev Doctrine, and Gujral Doctrine to hold all of its neighbors under its harsh and soft power and prevent them from receiving outside assistance. India has successfully brought practically all South Asian governments, such as Nepal, Bhutan, and Sri Lanka, inside the purview of its informal regional security system through formal treaties, agreements, and accords, under the self-assumed responsibility of regional policemen.

⁶⁸ Siddiq Salik, *Witness to Surrender*, 1st edition (Karachi; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

⁶⁹ Qadar Bakhsh Baloch and Abdul Hafeez Khan Niazi, "Indian Encroachment in Afghanistan: A New Imperialism in the Making," no. 1 (n.d.): 19.

Pakistan is likely the only country that has refused to be bullied. In 1987, Rajiv Gandhi dispatched Indian forces to Sri Lanka to repress Tamil freedom militants whom his mother and he had previously trained and armed. Even though Bangladesh and the Maldives appear to be outside of India's security framework, both of these countries are inextricably linked to Indian strategic ambitions. India has been the only South Asian country to employ force against its neighbors on several occasions neighbors. Pakistan has stood firm in defending its sovereignty and forcefully opposing India's sinister imperialistic plans. Because India has never fully accepted Pakistan's creation, it has spent the entire time intervening in and undermining the country. India used a variety of techniques against Pakistan, including sabotage, internal dissension, pressure, and inflaming ethnic tensions and conflicts in other countries.

Even after the disintegration of East Pakistan, India could not be happy and increased its efforts in Afghanistan to keep Pakistan fearful of its western boundaries. Outsiders and non-regional powers are used in India's hegemonic goals when necessary, although she passionately denies other states in the region the same advantages. About its weaker neighbors, India's imperialism and hegemonic policy are still in effect today. Not only should South Asian countries seek India's military aid first when they require it, but they should also seek India's support before holding peace talks to resolve internal problems. However, as a cost of resisting India's hegemonic aspirations, Pakistan must face multi-directional and multi-dimensional intrigues/threats to its security.⁷⁰ India's blunder Desire for politico-military hegemony and regional dominance The biggest concerns about Pakistan are its fixation with controlling South Asia. Causes that have compelled her to spread her tentacles across Afghanistan Pakistan. The Indian government backed the US invasion of Afghanistan. They were inspired by anti-Pakistan sentiments and were not intended to last. There was terrorism there, as stated in official pronouncements. Prime Minister of India Minister Jawaharlal Nehru once said on India's relations with the United States, Afghanistan During the civil conflict in the 1990s, ethnic patronage networks arose. Afghan politics has always been heavily influenced by identity politics, with ethnic affiliation being the most important political identity in Afghanistan. India has primarily developed its patronage network among non-Pashtun Afghan leaders such as Tajik,

⁷⁰ Baloch and Niazi.

Hazara, and Baloch. For example, during his time as a warlord, the famed Tajik from Panjshir, Ahmad Shah Masood, had intimate links to the Indian security system.

3.4 India's Alleged Support to Baloch Separatist

A representative of ANA Indian intelligence apparatus Major(R) Gaurav Arya, India does not hide his country's support for Baloch nationalists and insurgents to undermine Pakistan he openly threatened on a live television program that he has covert contacts with Baloch separatists in Baluchistan⁷¹. He openly declares that he has been in touch with Baloch insurgents for the cause of getting freedom and an independent Baluchistan. Since the claim of Major Gaurav Arya, who has been known for his overt links with the Research Analysis Wing (RAW) after that interview there have been many attacks on the Pakistan army and their paramilitary forces. Recently, militants attacked Frontier Core (FC) in the area of Shahrag in district Surab Baluchistan in that attack seven soldiers were killed. Not only the militants or separatists targeted on Pakistan army's but also they targeted the one of the sensitive places like Gwadar, the terrorist organization wing named Baloch Ajoit Sangar (BRAS) they also successfully entered in Pearl Continental hotel (PC) in Gwadar, which is already a sensitive place in Pakistan regarding Pakistan China economic corridor. In this regard, seven soldiers were martyred in both incidents in Baluchistan by separatists and insurgents. Moreover, several Indian newspapers have been admitted that India has been supporting and facilitating Baloch separatist and insurgent organizations like the Baloch Liberation Army (BLA). Even India provided a medical facility to the wounded Baloch separatist like the BLA commander and the founder of the Fidaai Wing General Aslam Baloch Alias Achu also treated in India.⁷²

Pakistan spy intelligence organization claims that representative of Baluchistan Liberation Organization (BSO) Baloch Pardul was in India for the past 6 years Pakistan alleges that India is also supporting the Grandson of Nawab Akbar Khan Bugti named Brahmadag Bugti who is already in Switzerland after the assassination of Nawab Akbar Khan

⁷¹ Defensive Offence, *Major Gaurav Arya Calls For Support of Baloch Freedom Struggle & Exposes China-Pakistan Nexus.*, 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IWmFMf6ZLKE>.

⁷² "Indian-Funded Terrorism in Balochistan," accessed January 17, 2022, https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/770531-indian-funded-terrorism-in-balochistan?__cf_chl_managed_tk__=W4HEw78a9ook56d__a3nJNR2uU1EE6maSwoxevr7wA8-1642426484-0-gaNycGzNCf0.

Bughti. After the assignation of Nawab Akbar khan Bughti he fled to Afghanistan afterward he requested Swiss authorities for political asylum. In addition, Brahamdag Bughti is also involved in many activities against Baluchistan. Not only News Delhi is supporting Baloch insurgents but also they financing them and providing training against Pakistan.

But also Indian intelligence has been present on the ground in Baluchistan and the border area of Iran. According to the release video of Inter-Service Public Relation (ISPR)⁷³. In a video, a former Navy commander affiliated with India's spy agency Research Analysis Wing (RAW) named Kulbushan Jadhav admitted his role and involvement in heinous crimes against Pakistan. He was also involved to sponsor and financing the Baloch separatist movement in Balochistan. Furthermore, the mostly arracks against Pakistan and their security forces were carried out with the help of the Indian Embassy in Afghanistan, moreover, which, is a hub of militant organizations. Therefore, Pakistan claims that Indian spy agencies officers were visited in Indian consulates to and directed the militant activities in Baluchistan to destabilize

3.5 Pakistan's Claim that India has Funded Militant Outfits in Karachi Pakistan

Pakistan also claims that India is also involved and sponsoring the terrorist wing of Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM) London to sabotage the business hub of Pakistan Karachi. In addition, before 2014 the city of lights was one of the perilous places in Pakistan. According to the interview of Saulat Mirza a terrorist, he belonged to Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM) London target killing wing he further said that (MQM) mostly, target killers were trained in India⁷⁴. Moreover, India trained them how to kill and make chaos and strife in Karachi. In addition, Karachi's mostly businessmen were shifted to their industries countries like Bangladesh to hide or escape themselves from the fear of Kidnapping for ransom or target killing.⁷⁵ According, to the United Kingdom authorities they were investigated MQM how they involved in money laundering and terror

⁷³ ISPR Official, *DG ISPR Beeper | ARY News - 17 Jul 2019 | Kulbhushan Jhadav Case*, 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MOJF67yetDc>.

⁷⁴ The Centrum Media, *Saulat Mirza's Pandora Box Against MQM*, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DxufQxi46is>.

⁷⁵ -Pakistan's MQM _Received Indian Funding, "" *BBC News*, June 24, 2015, sec. Asia, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-33148880>.

financing in Karachi even United Kingdom(UK)authorities had found a list of weapons. On the other hand, Pakistan authorities also claim and interview with British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) that new Delhi trained hundreds of Militants to belong to (MQM)target killing wing to Sabotage the peaceful environment of Karachi. In April 2015 a senior police officer named Rao Anwar gave the details during his press conference when he arrested two militants of Muttahida Qaumi Movement(MQM).⁷⁶

Furthermore, he said that these terrorists went to India via a South Asian East Asian country named Thailand and afterward, they were trained by India's Research Analysis Wing(RAW) in the north and north East of India. Likewise, Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM) and Research Analysis Wing (RAW) nexus have been established since 1999. India is finding and sponsoring terrorist activities from 1999 and Muttahida Qaumi Movements Chief (MQM) Altaf Hussain had been received approximately 1.5 million dollars from the government of India and many more from the businessman of Karachi as well as during the month of Ramzan they also collect money under the banner of Zakat. Not only does this party collect the money from Businessmen and Zakat for nefarious activities in Karachi but they forcefully collect the cowhide from Karachi during the Eid ul Adha. They collect millions of Dollars and this money would use for nefarious and heinous crimes in Karachi. During the interrogation Chartered accountant named Tariq Aziz one of the senior members of MQM deals and runs the criminal affairs of MQM London he further said, under the guise of trust which runs by MQM named Khidmatte Khalq Foundation (KKF). Furthermore, we received all the money and "Bhata" from the business community of Karachi in the Khidmate Khalq Foundation (KKF) account and allocate that money to purchase arms and weapons for crimes target killing in Karachi from the direction of India and MQMs Chief Altaf Hussain.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ -India Funding MQM since 1994," The Express Tribune, June 27, 2015, <http://tribune.com.pk/story/911136/india-funding-mqm-since-1994>.

⁷⁷ -Extremism and Terrorism Trends in Pakistan: Changing Dynamics and New Challenges," Combating Terrorism Center at West Point, February 18, 2021, <https://www.ctc.usma.edu/extremism-and-terrorism-trends-in-pakistan-changing-dynamics-and-new-challenges/>.

3.6 Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) and Indian Proxy Warfare Against Pakistan

First, Pakistan's security forces deserve praise for putting an end to the Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan's (TTP) reign of terror (approximately 2007-2015) with Operation Zarb-e-Azb, which began in June 2014. The effectiveness of the US drone campaign in decapitating TTP leadership aided it in no small manner. TTP disintegrated following that, and the surviving leaders fled to Afghanistan. ISK absorbed several of its offshoot factions or committed loyalty to it. In partnership with the TTP's Tariq Gidar Group, the TTP's most lethal offshoot Jamaat ul Ahrar (JuA) was responsible for major terrorist assaults, including the attack on Army Public School in Peshawar in December 2014.

It has continued its terror operations from its new base in Afghanistan's Nangarhar region, despite re-energized Pakistani counter-terrorism efforts. In August 2020, many of these splinter organizations, including Hizb ul- Ahrar (Hua), agreed to reunite and renew their pledges of allegiance to current TTP leader Noor Wali Mehsud, alias Abu Mansour Asim. In and around Peshawar, the Hua, in particular, has a deft terror network. Many unhappy Mehsud tribesmen (such as members of the Hakimullah Mehsud group, commanded by Mukhlis Yar) were convinced to return to the TTP fold by the return of a Mehsud as the TTP commander. Even the Punjabi Taliban's Amjad Farouqi group, which is closely linked to al-Qaida, and the Usman Saifullah group, which is a breakaway of the Lashkar-e-Jhangvi (LeJ), have returned to the TTP platform. Ustad Aleem Khan (of the Gul Bahadur TTP group) and Umar Azzam were the most recent to re-join this infamous gang of terrorists in late November 2020. TTP's media branch, Umar Media, is enthusiastically promoting the video of this loyalty.

The number of Pakistani militants of all shades operating in Afghanistan might be as high as 6,000 to 6,500, according to a UN Analytical Support and Sanctions Monitoring Team assessment from May 2020. If the TTP regains control of areas of the Pashtun tribal belt that runs between Pakistan and Afghanistan, the vast majority of them will undoubtedly return to Pakistan. The Federally Administered Tribal Areas of Pakistan (FATA) were previously known as the Federally Administered Tribal Areas of Pakistan (FATA), but since 2018, they have been formally merged into the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) province. TTP was involved in more than 100 cross-border strikes from

Afghanistan into Pakistan between July and October 2020, according to a United Nations study issued in February 2020. Targeted assassinations by terrorist groups in Pakistan's tribal areas increased significantly in 2020, indicating that something is wrong. Tribal elders (senior leaders) have been targeted recently, similar to when TTP appeared in 2007 and killed hundreds of them. TTP's "involvement in resolving local conflicts, making individuals pay protection money, and targeting those considered to be their opponents," according to analyst Daud Khattak, has resulted in a rise in targeted killings in Waziristan and Bajaur tribal regions. 20 This is how, more than a decade ago, they obtained access to the tribal belt.⁷⁸

Over a decade and a half ago, Al-Qaida in Iraq (AQI) did the same in Iraq, demonstrating how terrorist organizations may learn from one another and why timely comparative analysis of such operations can aid counterterrorism efforts. By mid-december 2020, some 11 offshoot organizations had joined this reorganized TTP, according to Pakistani security analyst Amir Rana, and attacks on security forces in South and North Waziristan, as well as Bajaur and Mohmand areas—an old TTP stronghold—had risen.

However, Islamabad's weak effort to bring the FATA into the mainstream, as envisioned by the 2018 FATA Reforms Bill, a significant constitutional move, is one of the fundamental reasons for TTP's revival as a danger. On paper, the oppressive colonial-era restrictions regulating the frontier territory were abolished when the FATA was integrated into Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province through this delayed but praiseworthy legal action. The legal, administrative, and financial measures required to aid this process, on the other hand, are either nonexistent or severely inadequate, leading to an increase in public dissatisfaction.

3.7 Indian Proxy Tactics to Sabotage Pakistan China Economic Corridor(CPEC)

For decades India has been working in Baluchistan to undermine Pakistan. Now everyone knows how India is involved in nefarious activities in Balochistan. Since the

⁷⁸ "India's Proxy War against Pakistan | Arab News PK," accessed January 17, 2022, <https://www.arabnews.pk/node/1699841>.

announcement of the China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) in 2013.⁷⁹ The new Delhi has been speeding up its strategies how to counter China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) because India has totally against this mega project. Pakistan claims that India has been financing and supporting proxies and these proxies as well as militants have been trained in Afghanistan. There are around 1 camp even Indian official visit and provide training to Baloch sub-Nationalist and insurgents. Not only did New Delhi provide training to their insurgents against Pakistan, but also they sponsoring million dollars supports to target Pakistan armed forces and their Paramilitary forces even they killed civilians by using remote control bombs using motorcycles and a vehicle. Recently, Balochistan Liberation Army (BLA) insurgents.⁸⁰

First, around 20 to 25 militants with an alliance of three banned militant organizations like the Baloch republic Guard, Balochistan Republic Army, and the Balochistan Liberation front. All these militants wore a uniform of Frontier Core (FC) they stopped around seven buses when they came from Karachi and went to Gwadar. Moreover, all these buses were stopped by the militants near the area of Buzi pass near district Gwadar Tehsil Ormara Balochistan and asked them to show their identities. After the identification, these terrorists took the 16 passengers with them. Afterward, all these personnel which was belonged to the Pakistan Army and their Paramilitary forces were killed. According to a Pakistani source that these tactics were done in the coastal belt of Balochistan to Sabotage the China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC).⁸¹

Second, on 12 May 2019 around 4 to 5 pm when three militants of the Balochistan Liberation Army (BLA) again came to the same tactics to wore the same uniform which was familiar to the security guards to the Pearl Continental Hotel (PC) Gwadar. In addition, these Baloch separatists entered the (PC) hotel Gwadar with a modern weapon to hostage the Foreigners or to kill them to disturb the Gwadar city which is already a strategically important place regarding CPEC. In the attempt of BLA militants, they killed around four hotel employees, Pakistan navy soldiers, six people including two

⁷⁹ -How India Destablises Balochistan,” accessed January 6, 2022, <https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/758217-how-india-destablises-balochistan>.

⁸⁰ -How India Destablises Balochistan.”

⁸¹ Saleem Shahid | Behram Baloch, -H Security Personnel among 14 Martyred near Gwadar,” DAWN.COM, April 19, 2019, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1477069>.

captains belonging to Pakistan Army, a Security Guard, and a Hotels staff member on that heinous attempt by Baloch separatists.⁸²

Third, in November 2018 according to the local time of 9.30 pm, the militants of the Balochistan Liberation Army (BLA) tried to enter the Chinese Consulate in Clifton Karachi. Since 2013 when China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) started the Chinese workers have been targeted by militant outfits backed by India in Balochistan and Karachi. Also many Chinese were wounded in the suicide bombing. Therefore all these evidence how India is active and making strategies to Sabotage the Mega Project (CPEC) for the purpose to undermine Pakistan.⁸³

3.8 Using Social Media to Exacerbate Political Instability in Pakistan Promoting Anti-State Narratives

In the 21st century, social media is a perilous tool and a modern strategy of States based on false allegations. According to the senior foreign policy experts, he said that false misinformation has become a strategy of the incumbent Prime minister of India Narendra Modi. Even on Twitter and Facebook the Indian government investing millions to malign Pakistan's image that Pakistan is a hub of Terrorists. Moreover, they further run the Twitter campaign that all militants or terrorist organizations which are fighting for their rights in Kashmir are being supported by Pakistan. Organizations like Lashkar e Toiba (LET) and Jamat ut Daawa with the help of social media. In addition, New Delhi diverts the international business community that Pakistan is not a safe place to do business or invest in projects like the China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) Indian government is willing to destabilize the multi billion project like (CPEC) to tarnish the image of Pakistan.⁸⁴

Pakistan's National Security Advisor Dr. Moeed Yousaf rightly pointed out in his press release which was held on August 4, 2021. He said that on many social media accounts of

⁸² Dawn.com, "5 People Killed in Gwadar PC Hotel Attack; Army Concludes Clearance Operation," DAWN.COM, May 12, 2019, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1481840>.

⁸³ "Karachi Attack: China Consulate Attack Leaves Four Dead," *BBC News*, November 23, 2018, sec. Asia, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-46313136>.

⁸⁴ HAMMAD SARFRAZ, "India's Web of Disinformation," *The Express Tribune*, December 26, 2021, <https://tribune.com.pk/story/2335695/how-india-unleashed-targeted-social-media-campaigns-against-pakistan>.

Afghanistan and India their main aim is to tarnish or malign Pakistan for the purpose to Sabotage Pakistan China Economic Corridor (CPEC).⁸⁵ According to the Pakistani claim that Modis Bhartiya Janta Party (BJP) wanted to build conspiracy tactics to keep Islamabad on the Financial Action Task Force (FATF) on the black list or grey list with the help of social media tools that Pakistan is supporting terrorist and do money laundering to sponsor them against India. Likewise, in a joint press release of Pakistan's National Security Advisor (NSA) and the federal information minister Fawad Chaudhry. The federal information minister Fawad Chaudhry speaking on that occasion claims that alone India did 150000 tweets on the Baloch solidarity day on Twitter Campaign. Likewise, Fawad Chaudhry said that a massive campaign is going on only the Pashtun Tahafuz Movement (PTM) has been created around 150 trends to undermine Pakistan. On the other hand, he further calms Indian authorities or social media experts who had edited Wikipedia for the purpose to malign and spread misinformation as well as tarnishing the image of Pakistan. All these fake accounts have closer ties with the New Delhi-based news channel (ANI). The federal information minister also alleges that a Baloch activist was found dead in Canada in this regard, Pashtun Tahafuz Movement (PTM) workers tweeted 20000 on a Twitter campaign against Pakistan on that day. On the other hand, Senator Usman Khan Kakar he was belonging to the Pakhtunkhwa Mili Awami party. Recently he died in this regard the radical and anti-state mindsets like Pashtun Tahafuz Movement (PTM) and Pakhtun Khwa Mili Awami Party and some Baloch nationalists all have claimed that the state had been involved in the murder and assassination of the former Senator Usman Khan Kakar. In this regard, the workers of (PTM) and state against mindsets had tweeted 10000 times on the death of Usman Khan Kakar. Furthermore, Information minister Fawad Chaudhry alleges that out of 4 tweets 3 of them were made from India. Therefore, India has used social media as a tool against Pakistan to exacerbate political instability in Pakistan and also sponsoring the anti-state mindsets to promote anti-state narratives.⁸⁶

⁸⁵ —Indian, Afghan Social Media Involved in Maligning Pakistan,“” The Express Tribune, August 11, 2021, <http://tribune.com.pk/story/2315082/indian-afghan-social-media-accounts-involved-in-anti-pakistan-propaganda-nsa>.

⁸⁶ —Indian, Afghan Social Media Involved in Maligning Pakistan.“”

3.9 Conclusion

Hatred and hostility have existed in India since the partition. India has attempted to hurt and weaken Pakistan since the day of separation. In this context, India has accelerated its efforts to smear Pakistan on a worldwide scale, spreading false information that Pakistan is not only a terrorist country but also a haven for terrorist organizations. If we go back in time and look at how India launched a proxy war against Pakistan, the 1971 war is a perfect example of how India aided the Mukti Bahini against Pakistan. It then became the militant wing of the Indian army. Not only has the Indian government trained guerrillas, but the country's intelligence agency, the Research analytical wing, has as well (RAW). It assisted in the provision of arms and provided training to the Mukti Bahini insurgents fighting in west Pakistan. New Delhi had also fostered a chaotic scenario and fueled riots to create a threat that west Pakistan's authorities and military establishment would embrace the country's division at the time. Pakistan believes that India is bolstering its influence in Afghanistan to destabilize the country. Pakistan also claims that India has been financing the Kabul administration and has invested in Afghanistan's infrastructure and trade. In addition, before the peace agreement, it aided anti-Taliban organizations to reduce Pakistan's influence in Afghanistan.

India not only aided anti-Pakistan rebels in Afghanistan but also sponsored training camps for Baloch insurgents. which they have received training near the Afghanistan-Pakistan border. Even these rebels came to Baluchistan for a limited time to carry out terrible attacks on the Pakistani army and paramilitary forces. After that, they flee to Afghanistan to seek refuge. It is not incorrect to suggest that Afghanistan is a haven for terrorist organizations, with India providing all possible support to their guerillas with the cooperation of Kabul's administration. Pakistan further says that India is involved in the sabotage of Pakistan's business capital, Karachi, through sponsoring the terrorist branch of MQM London.

Conclusion and Discussion

Thousands of interstate battles have occurred since the Westphalia Treaty. However, in the post-World War II era, it was uncommon. Up until 1946, there were approximately sixty-one wars reported. In the post-Cold War era, civil wars and interstate hostilities have virtually disappeared. This rise and fall of many wars led to the proxy war between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and the United States of America. Furthermore, in today's global politics, proxy wars are an essential instrument for countering adversary, whether it's on an economic, religious, or social level, to destabilize the opponent state.

On the other side, since India and Pakistan were partitioned, the two countries have been at loggerhead over several issues. Similarly, the collision of civilizations, such as Hindus and Muslims, has resulted in both states pursuing hyper-nationalist policies for their vested interests. In India, Hindutva ideology and Hindu nationalism have fueled anti-Muslim sentiment and increased obstacles for Muslims. Furthermore, Pakistan has been using the irreversible nationalism card against Hindus in the Kashmir dispute to regain the occupied area. Without a doubt, both states have several challenges. However, if we look at current politics, it is not incorrect to claim that the Kashmir problem is a bone of contention between Pakistan and India retrace Pakistan's and India's history. They have fought many battles, including the 1965 war, the 1971 war, and the Kargil war in 1999, as well as many surgical strikes. However, if we go back in time to the 1971 conflict between Pakistan and India. In addition, India backed East Pakistan, and India created the Mukti Bahini forces to fight West Pakistan. Because India was not actively involved in the war against Pakistan, the idea of proxy war has been developed between the two states in this regard.

There is a long history of terrorist incidents that India has blamed on Pakistan, including the 1972 hijacking of an Indian jet flying from Srinagar to Lahore, the August 1984 hijacking of an Indian plane flying from Srinagar to Lahore, and others. Two bomb blasts were blamed on Pakistan by India in May 1996. In December 1999, an Indian plane was hijacked and flown to Kandahar airport by alleged Kashmiri separatists. Terrorist activities have fueled new problems for India and Pakistan since 9/11. On the 13th of

December 2001, an attack on the Indian parliament building occurred, and on the 25th of August 2003, India claimed that Pakistan was involved in the heavy explosive. Furthermore, on the 17th of December 2001, an attack on the Indian parliament building occurred.

Around 180 people were killed in a terrorist attack on a Bombay hotel named Taj in November 2008. Furthermore, the Pathankot incident of 2016 was a terrorist attack carried out against the Pathankot Air Force Station, which is part of the Indian Air Force's Western Air Command, on 2 January 2016. In addition, on 14 February 2019, a convoy of vehicles carrying Indian security officers traveling on the Jammu–Srinagar National Highway was attacked by a vehicle-borne suicide bomber in Lethapora in the Pulwama district of the former state of Jammu and Kashmir, and India claimed Pakistan was involved in the heinous crime. Independence India has waged a proxy war in many places of Pakistan. On the other hand, India's proxy and hybrid war against Pakistan has a long history, and it is all part of a well-thought-out strategy to destabilize Pakistan. Since independence, India has launched proxy wars in Pakistan's various provinces. Because of the Pakistan-China Economic Corridor (CPEC), the US has a similar objective against Pakistan; however, India is strategically very strong because she is a US ally (US). Furthermore, the FATF investigation into terrorism in Baluchistan and KPK, as well as the fact that they are both spreading misleading information about the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), are all-sufficient evidence of the United States and India's animosity toward each other Pakistan

In addition, Kulbushan Yadav, a secret spy, was a participant in their evil actions while imprisoned in Pakistan. Consequently, previous President Donald Trump himself came out against CPEC declared that One Belt One Road was not acceptable to the United States of America. From the beginning, the US and India have collaborated against Pakistan's rise, aiming to isolate it from the rest of the world, undermine its economy, and change the country's foundation.

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