Original Article

Indo-Pak Relations: A Case study of UPA-I & II Government (2004-2014)

Dr. Bhisma Narayan Sabar, Dr. Mamata Khandayatray

Research Scholar, Centre for Third Voice Studies, Odisha.
Lecturer in Political Science, Paradip College, Paradip

Abstract

India and Pakistan have a hostile relationship since their independence. There are many contagious issues between India and Pakistan, which create hurdles in the way of permanent peace in South Asia. Tapi gas pipe line project, Baglihar Dam project, Indus water dispute, Tulbul/ Wuller project, Kargil Conflicts and Bus Diplomacy are some major issues between the two countries. These two states have fought three major wars and one limited war with each other. In this article trying to focus on the cordial and conflictual relations between these two countries in the UPA-I & II period.

Keywords: Indo-Pak Relations, Kargil Conflicts, Diplomacy, Peace, International Relation

Introduction

Even after more than 70 years of Partition, both India and Pakistan still live in the prison of the past. The rhetoric of separation remains alive in the memory of the peoples of both nations. They built still images, constant and competitive for each other. While Pakistan became an Islamic Republic, India received secularism. The leaders of the two nations tried to resolve their differences, but failed due to the lack of support from their social and political institutions. Since 1990, the two countries have tried to manage bilateral talks peacefully, despite many problems between the two countries.

Indo-Pak Relations: Major Issues:

India and Pakistan are two most popular countries in the South Asia region and both the countries have a long and complicated history with each other. These two countries simultaneously became independent in 1947 from the British rule. At that time all the 680 princely states were allowed to decide their future either joining with India or with Pakistan or they remain independent. So the Muslim majority princely states joined with Pakistan and the Hindu majority princely states joined with India. But the decision of some princely state like Junagadh, Kashmir, Hyderabad etc were adversely affected the relations between the two countries. So the conflict between the two countries started since their independence. There are so many issues which affected the relations between the two countries. These are:

Differences in the Indian and Pakistan foreign policy perceptions

The principles of foreign policy which independent India adopted happened to be just the opposite of the foreign policy adopted by Pakistan. India regarded opposition to cold war and security alliances as the right and just course of action. It regarded Non-alignment with power blocs and non- involvement in cold war as the best means for

ACCESS THIS ARTICLE ONLINE

Quick Response Code:

Website: thirdvoice.voiceforvoiceless.in

DOI: *10.5281/zenodo.7047123*
Article No - TVRV0009

Address for correspondence:
Dr. Mamata Khandayatray,
Lecturer in Political Science,
Paradip College, Paradip
ORCID:0000-0002-9894-2578

This is an open access journal, and articles are distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution Non Commercial Share Alike 4.0 License, which allows others to remix, tweak, and build upon the work non commercially, as long as appropriate credit is given and the new creations are licensed under the identical terms.

For reprints contact: *voiceforvoiceless2013@gmail.com*

Received	Reviewed	Accepted	Published
21-Jan-2022	29-Feb-2022	11-Apr-2022	10-May-2022

Volume	Issue	May	ISSN
No. 4	No. 1	2022	2583-1852(P)

How to cite this article: Sabar B N.& Ray K. M. 2022. Indo-Pak Relation: The role of UPA-1 Government (1990-2014). *THE THIRD VOICE REALITY AND VISION*. Vol No-4, Issue No-1, May; P: 61-67

securing international peace as well as India's national interest. Pakistan, on the other hand, felt that the best way to secure its national interest-military parity with India and opposition to India was to align itself with western security system and to receive the much wanted military weapons and equipment. By 1954, these opposite stand in the foreign polices of India and Pakistan became big and deep. India committed itself to the principle of Non-alignment and Pakistan joined the Baghdad pact and SETO. Such opposed polices and action in the international relations considerably reduced the possibility for the development of friendly relation between them.

Transfer of Population and Problem of Religious Minorities

One of the most tragic and serious problem that emerged as side effect of the partition was the transfer of population. Begging with months before 1947, the migration was the largest in modern history, involving perhaps 12 million persons flowing both ways. In spite of such migration, the problem of religious minorities was not solved in either state; about 40 million Muslims remained in India and 10 million Hindus in East Pakistan. The fever of religious communalism was heightened by the unfortunate happenings of 1947 .The Legacy of the communism partition still sometimes leads to the occasional outbreak of communal riots and these always adversely affect Indo-Pak relation.

Problem of illegal migration and refugees

The influx of the Hindu from East Pakistan to West Bengal registered a big increase. The migration problem became very acute but both the countries, having adopted different and opposed positions on many international issues, failed to implement fully even the Nehru-Liaquat pact. Throughout the late fifties and early sixties, the influx of refugees from Pakistan to India continued to be a source of trouble for the Indo-Pak relation.

Problem of Division of State Assets

The problem of division of asserts of India between Pakistan and India too kept the Indo-Pak relation tense and strained during the initial years of their relation. On 14th August, 1947, the cash balance of India was about Rs.4, 000 million out of which Pakistan wanted Rs 1,000 million. India was not willing to give such a big share to Pakistan. The issue was, therefore, referred to an Arbitral Tribunal which decided that Rs.750 million should be paid to Pakistan as its share. After some initial hesitation, India decided to implement the agreement. However, Pakistan refused to pay to India, Rs 55 cores which it was to pay as its share of the pre-1947 foreign debt of India. At the time of partition, it was decided that India would take over the entire responsibility of paying the foreign debts and Pakistan would pay its share to India in three equal installments. The refusal of Pakistan to pay its share led to the development of bad blood between the two countries.

The Hijacking of India Airlines Plane by Pakistan

On 30th January 1971, an India Airlines plane was hijacked to Lahore. The hijackers were given asylum by Pakistan because they described themselves as supporters of Kashmir Liberation front. The Government of Pakistan did not give any consideration to the India demand for the arrest and extradition of hijackers and the return of the plane to India. On 2nd February, 1971, the hijackers set the plane on fire in the presence of the Pakistan authorities, press and Television. This incident gave a big blow to the Indo-Pak relation. India held Pakistan responsible for the hijack drama, and as a retaliatory action decided to ban the over flights of the Pakistani planes across the Indian Territory. This incident, once again made the environment of the Indo-Pak relation tense and strained.

Water issue

The dispute over water between India and Pakistan is serious not only because of water, but also due to the political rivalry between the two countries. The water dispute between India and Pakistan started soon after the partition of the subcontinent in 1947. Currently, the dispute revolves around the construction of a hydro-electric plant along a tributary of Indus named Beas. When India is defending its right to build the dam, Pakistan is raising several issues over the project.

Insurgency in Kashmir

Pakistan always supports several terrorist groups to create terrorist activity in India particularly in Jammu and Kashmir region. Pakistan provides all types of support to several terrorist groups to attack on India. These are Al-Qaeda, Lashkar-e-Omar, Lashkar-e-Taiba, Jaish-e-Mohammed, Sipah-e-Sahaba etc. India always gave proved to Pakistan about its involvement in terrorist activities but Pakistan always denies it.

Indian Parliament Attack (2001)

In 2001the Pakistan based terrorist group Lashkar-e-Taiba and Jaish-e-Mohammed attack on the parliament

of India in New Delhi. In this attack six Delhi Police personnel, two Parliament Security Service personnel and a gardener was killed by the terrorists. This issue further disturbed the relations between India and Pakistan.

Samjhauta Express bombings (2007)

The Samjhauta Express is an international train which runs from India's New Delhi to Pakistan's Lahore. On 18th February, 2007 it was attacked by terrorists in whom 68 people were killed, mostly Pakistani civilians with some Indian security personnel and civilians. India claimed that it was done by Lashkar-e-Taiba a Pakistan based terrorist group. But Pakistan not accepts it. So it increased tensions in Indo-Pak relations.

Mumbai Attacks (2008)

In 2008 the 10 members of Lashkar-e-Taiba, which is an Islamic terrorist organisation based in Pakistan attack on Mumbai in which 164 people died and 308 were wounded. It also affected the bilateral relations between India and Pakistan.

Afghanistan Issue

Afghanistan is also a major issue which develop the area of tension between India and Pakistan. The two countries have long competed for influence in Afghanistan and Pakistan is deeply suspicious of a rise in India's presence after the fall of the Islamabad-backed Taliban government in 2001. Pakistan claimed that India using Afghanistan as a base to create problems inside Pakistan, including backing separatists in its Baluchistan province. But India denies the accusations, saying its focus is on development in that area.

Uri Attack (2016)

The Uri attack was an attack by four armed terrorists on 18 September, 2016 near the town of Uri in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. In this attack seventeen soldiers were killed while nineteenth other injured. India claimed that Pakistan based terrorist group Lashkar-e Taiba has responsible for these attack but Pakistan denied it.

Pathankot Attack(2016)

This attack committed in Pathankot air force station on 2nd January, 2016 by a heavily armed group. In this attack four attacker and two security personnel were killed. India claimed that attackers are belonging to Pakistan based terrorist group Jaish-e-Mohammed but Pakistan was not accepted such claimed.

TAPI Gas Pipeline Project

The Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India pipeline (TAPI) is a pipeline project that transports gas from Turkmenistan to India through Afghanistan and Pakistan. The TAPI pipeline will begin in Turkmenistan and will run through Afghanistan to Pakistan and India. It will cross the urban communities of Herat and Kandahar in Afghanistan to Pakistan, and cross the urban communities of Quetta and Multan in Pakistan to its ultimate goal, the Indian city of Fazilka, located on the Pakistan-India border in the state of Punjab.

The TAPI Project was originally conceived in the 1990s with a view to monetize Turkmenistan's gas reserves through gas exports to Afghanistan and Pakistan, and, potentially to India. In March 2003, India was invited to join the Project. In 2012, the legislatures of Turkmenistan, Afghanistan, Pakistan and India officially agreed to produce the transnational pipeline to supply India with about 30 billion cubic meters per year of Turkmen flammable gas. The territories of Kandahar and Herat will be the host areas of the TAPI pipeline project, which covers more than 735 kilometers of Afghanistan, or almost 44 percent of the pipeline. Afghanistan would get a total of million 400 million each year through "travel" expenses. (Staff, 2015)

In 2013, Turkmengaz, Afghan Gas Enterprise, Interstate Gas Service and GAIL were designated as investors by their respective countries to advance and invest resources in the pipeline project. In 2016, the four countries involved in the pipeline company signed an underlying speculation agreement to build the TAPI. The project will be claimed by a consortium of one-reason, TPCL, which was created in November 2014 by Turkmengaz (Turkmenistan), Afghan Gas Enterprise (Afghanistan), Interstate Gas Service (Pakistan) and GAIL (India) to build the company 7.5 billion. Turkmengaz is the main investor in TPCL. On the other hand, Pakistan and Turkmenistan marked the completion of the host government agreement (HGA) for the Turkmenistan Afghanistan Pakistan India gas pipeline (TAPI). In September 2019, it was recorded that Turkmenistan and Pakistan had agreed to reach a monetary conclusion on the task in early 2020 (Associate Press of Pakistan, 2019).

The pipeline will start with 27 billion cubic meters of gas each year and will increase to 33 billion cubic meters of gas per year after the main Year of activity. The pipeline is currently expected to come into operation in 2020.

(Alikozai, 2018) There are conflicting reports about the state of the Turkmen part of the pipeline. In February 2018, the pioneers of the four nations celebrated the consumption of the Turkmen segment of the pipeline. (Euro News, 2018) however, in April 2019, the Tapi Pipeline organization still requested a line length corresponding to the length of the Turkmen segment of the pipeline, proposing that it still did not appear to be built.

Baglihar Dam Project

Baglihar dam, also known as the Baglihar hydroelectric project, is an electric power company on the Chenab River in Ramband District of the Indian Association of Jammu and Kashmir. The main power company operated by Jammu and Kashmir Power Development Corporation was conceived in 1992 and established in 1996, with development started in 1999. The task consists of two phases of 450 MW each. The main phase of the enterprise was completed in 2008-09 and was dedicated to the country by Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh. The second phase of the enterprise was completed in 2015-16 and was then committed to the country by Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi (Kashmir Life, 2015).

Tulbul/ Wullar Project

The Tulbul project is a" road block and control structure "at the mouth of Lake Wular. Under the first Indian arrangement, the explosion was to have a length of 439 feet (134 m) and a width of 40 feet (12 m), and would have an extreme storage limit of 300,000 acre feet (370×106 m3) of water. One point was to direct the arrival of water from the common Reserve to the lake to maintain a basic draft of 4.5 feet (1.4 m) on the waterway at Baramulla during the cold months. The company was conceived in the mid-80s, and work began in 1984. The normal annual inputs or peaks of the lake are almost 7 billion cubic meters (Irfan, 2010).

India and Pakistan have continually questioned the Tulbul project since 1987, when Pakistan protested for abusing the Indus Water Treaty of 1960. India stopped the deal with the company that year, but has since pushed to restart development. The Jhelum River that runs through the Kashmir Valley under Lake Wular, which is an associated lake according to inland navigation, offers an important method of transportation for products and individuals. To support the road consistently, a water-based depth is required. India is fighting for the project, Tulbul is authorized by Sections 7 (C) and 9 of Annex E, IWT, and while Pakistan claims that the company constitutes a violation of the agreement if the capacity is greater than 10,000 feet section of land (12 × 106 m3) for non-energy purposes. India says suspension of work is contrary to the interests of the people in Jammu and Kashmir and denies in addition to the benefits of the water system and forcing people in Pakistan who can get direct downloads of water.

The storage limit of the lake can be extended by waterway to 300,000 feet of land or more up to 1580 m MSL by considering it as a warehouse for a river hydroelectric power plant by designing a low-rise power plant (almost 8 meters of nominal height). The level of the extended flow bed accessible at the end of the dam may be less than 1,570 m (5,151 ft) MSL at a flow rate of 4,000 cusecs. (Drabu, 2019) at the same time, the expanded lake can also fully meet the needs of downstream navigation during the lean flow season. The managed support / water storage overload in the Wular lake would significantly improve the age resistance of the lower valley Jhelum (105 MW), Uri (720 MW), Kohala proposed 1124 MW (Pak), Azad Pattan proposal for a 720 MW (Pak), Mahl hydropower project 590 MW (Pak) and Karot proposal for a 720 MW (Pak) RoR Hydel is extended, but the age of your the construction of a power plant RoR with door lock right would also remove the sediment from the territory of the lake to protect the lake. (Ahmed, 2018) Welding water supplies to Wular Lake are improved from Kishanganga Creek by Kishanganga Hydroelectric Power Station after power generation. Several lakes, for example, Lake Manasbal, lake Anchar, Lake Dal, etc. that are not in the mainstream of Jhelum can be used as Wular Lake to appropriate the increase of water for flood insurance in the downstream territories, the age of hydroelectric power, the road consistently, the system (Romshoo, Ahmad and Irfan, 2018).

Nuclear Test & Indo-Pak Relations

In May 1998, India conducted its first atomic bomb tests since 1974 at the Pokhran test field of the Indian Army. The most sincere and solid response to India's atomic explosion was from a neighboring nation, Pakistan. Extraordinary anger has increased in Pakistan, which has given a serious articulation by berating India for striking an atomic weapons contest in the region. Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif promised that his nation would give a reasonable response to India. The day after the main tests, Foreign Minister Gohar Ayub Khan showed that Pakistan was ready to conduct an atomic test. On

May 13, 1998, Pakistan severely censored the evidence, and Foreign Minister Gohar Ayub said that Indian leaders appeared to " be crazy [sic] and were acting absolutely unreasonably" (BBC News, 1998).

Kargil War

The Kargil War, also known as the Kargil conflict, was an armed confrontation between India and Pakistan that occurred between May and July 1999 in the Kargil region of Kashmir and elsewhere along the line of Control (LoC). In India, the restriction is also referred to as Operation Vijay in the true sense of the word "triumph", which was the name of the Indian activities to clean up the sector, Kargil. The function of the Indian Air Force, which performed in concert with the ground troops of the Indian Army, during the war, was aimed at driving the usually irregular troops of the Pakistani army from the empty Indian positions in the Kargil area along the line of control (Praval, 2009). This specific activity was called Operation Safed Sagar (letter "White Sea activity").

Lahore Bus Diplomacy

The Delhi-Lahore bus, known as Sada-e-Sarhad, is passenger transport authorities that connect the Indian capital of Delhi with the city of Lahore, Pakistan, through the marginal travel post at Wagah. The Route master number 10 Transport has been of symbolic importance to the efforts of the governments of the two countries to cultivate serene and benevolent relations. In his first execution on 19 February 1999, the transport transported the then Indian Prime Minister, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, who was traveling to Lahore and was obtained by his Pakistani partner, Nawaz Sharif to Wagah (The Indian Express, 20th February, 1999). The first transport was also transporting superstars and dignitaries Indians, such as Dev Anand, Satish Gujral, Javed Akhtar, Kuldip Nayar, Kapil Dev, Shatrughan Sinha and Mallika Sarabhai. Both governments quickly proclaimed the 1999 Lahore Declaration, which has sworn to the two countries the silent objective of their respective discussions, in particular that of the struggle in Kashmir and the organization of atomic weapons, while promoting benevolent trade and social relations (Malhotra, 1999). While the administration had continued to operate during the Kargil war in 1999, it was suspended following the 2001 assault of the Indian Parliament on 13 December 2001 which the Indian government blamed on Pakistan integer (Sen, 2001).

Lahore Declaration

The Lahore Declaration was a bilateral agreement and an administrative agreement between India and Pakistan (USIP, 1999). According to the details of the agreement, a joint agreement was reached to advance nuclear arsenals and stay away from the coincident and unapproved operational use of atomic weapons. This opportunity has been important in Pakistan's history and has given the two nations a climate of shared certainty. The Lahore Declaration signaled significant progress in the elimination of the historically strained mutual relations between the two countries following the free nuclear tests carried out by the two countries in May 1998. Widespread in Pakistani public circles and praised by the global network, relations soon lost their vigor with the episode of the dubious Kargil disaster in May 1999.

The 2001 attack on the Indian Parliament was a terrorist attack on the Indian Parliament in New Delhi, India, on 13 December 2001. The culprits had a place with Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) and Jaish-e-Mohammed (JeM), two psychological militant organizations created by Pakistan. The attack resulted in the deaths of six Delhi Police personnel, two teachers of the parliament Security Service and a kindergarten-not all 9 - and caused increased tensions between India and Pakistan, causing the 2001-02 India-Pakistan confrontation. The 5 psychological oppressors were killed outside Parliament (Embassy of India, 2001).

India-Pakistan Standoff:

The India-Pakistan confrontation of 2001-2002 was a military confrontation between India and Pakistan that led to the massing of troops on both sides of the outskirts and along the Line of Control (LoC) in the Kashmir region. It was the second major military clash between India and Pakistan after the two nations successfully detonated atomic bombs in 1998, the first was the 1999 Kargil War. The military development began with the reaction in India to attack the oppressor is based in fear against the Indian Parliament in New Delhi on 13 December 2001in which twelve people, including five militants psychological stormed the facility, have been killed and the Legislative Assembly of Jammu and Kashmir on October 1, 2001 (Basrur, 2009). India has assured that the attacks were carried out by two Pakistan-based terrorist demonstrations, fighting in Indian-controlled Kashmir-Lashkar-e-Taiba and Jaish-e-Mohammad, Both of India's statements are confirmed by Pakistan's ISI, an accusation that Pakistan has denied (Perlez, 2009).

Indo-Pak under UPA Rule

Relations After the 2004 general election, the Indian National Congress completed the residence of the occupier of the National Democratic Alliance (NDA) becoming the ideological group with the most seats in the Lok Sabha. In an unexpected decision, President Sonia Gandhi announced Manmohan Singh, a technocrat, as the UPA's chance for the post of Prime Minister. He was sworn in as Prime Minister of India on 22 May 2004.

Samjhauta Express Bombing (2007)

The besieged 2007 Samjhauta Express was an oppressive fear-based assault that occourred around 12 p.m. 18 February, 2007 on the Samjhauta Express, a twice-weekly rail service connecting Delhi, India and Lahore, Pakistan. The bombs were detonated on two wagons, both loaded with passengers, shortly after the train passed in Diwana, near the Indian city of Panipat, 80 kilometers north of New Delhi. 70 people were massacred in the ensuing fire and a handful of others were injured (Rao, 2007).

Attack on the Taj Hotel in Mumbai (2008)

The 2008 Mumbai attacks (also known as 26/11) were a progression of monger fear attacks that took place in November 2008, when 10 individuals from Lashkar-e-Taiba, a fanatical Association, completed 12 attacks consisting of gunfire and shelling over four days across Mumbai each case, 174 people died, including 9 attackers, and more than 300 were injured (Magnier and Sharma, 2008). Eight of the attacks occurred in south Mumbai at the terminus Chhatrapati Shivaji, Mumbai Chabad House, the Trident Oberoi, the Taj Palace and Tower, Leopold Cafe, hospital bed, The Nariman House, the cinema Metro, and on the road to obsolete building in India and the St. College of Xavier. It led to the disappearance of the last attackers at the Taj Hotel and put an end to the attacks (Magnier, 2008). Pakistan denounced the attacks, Ajmal Kasab, the only lasting attacker, revealed that the attackers were individuals of the psychological militant Lashkar-e-Taiba rally, among others. In April 9, 2015, the main instigator of the attacks, Zakiur Rehman Lakhvi, was released on bail and disappeared. In 2018, Former Pakistan Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif proposed that the Pakistani government participate in the Mumbai attack in 2008 (Bajoria, 2010).

Conclusion

The ultimate goal of the India-Pakistan relationship is that any prediction or plausibility can fade. Earlier, on several occasions, the two nations started an organized exchange but neglected to close it. Because of the idea of their mutual relationship, it usually seems that an atomic war can trigger, but now works judicious reasoning has avoided such an unfortunate episode. One of these circumstances was the Mumbai attack in 2008. The government of the time under Dr. Manmohan Singh handled the situation smoothly. In any case, the emergence of neo-patriotism will continue to test its political initiative; and any unfortunate episode can push for a large-scale assault, around this is to observe how the power elites continue. The connection between the two nations can be in "useful" circumstances in the event that they continue to participate in the discourse. Congruence may generally not yield results, in light of your relationship; it will certainly help build certain tools to "cool" pressures. They can be a colossal help during times of tension. With this in mind, despite countless questions, the unknown secretaries of India and Pakistan met in May 2016. Both nations know their problem points for chronic and political reasons. These commercials give a delicate approach to different artists to play their own game, which has repercussions on India-Pakistan links. Finally, against discernment, the UPA government finds a way to keep both nations closed. The visit of the Indian Prime Minister could be considered, but it was a positive move. He also highlighted attempts to keep both nations on the discussion table despite episodes such as in Pathankot and Gurdaspur. Each time India try to maintain a cordial relation with Pakistan but it does not get reciprocal respond from Pakistan. This trend is also now continuing under Modi's leadership.

Author Contributions:

MK conceptualised the study, compiled the data and drafted the manuscript. BS analysed and interpreted the data and contributed for preparing manuscript. Both authors contributed towards manuscript preparation, finalisation of methodology and read and approved the final manuscript.

Financial Support and Sponsorship:

Nil.

Conflict of Interest:

There are no conflicts of interest.

References

1. *Ahmad, Mukhtar. (2016),* "Soldiers killed in army base attack in Indian territory of Kashmir", *https://edition.cnn.com/2016/09/18/asia/india-kashmir-attack/*
2. *Ali, Shafqat. (2016),* "Pathankot terror attack Stop blaming us for attack, Pakistan tells India". The Asian Age. 4 January. *https://www.asianage.com/international/pathankot-terror-attack-stop-blaming-us-attack-pakistan-tells-india-459*
3. *Anand, Channi. (2016),* "Indian Troops Still Fighting 2 Gunmen at Pathankot Air Base", *The Washington Post, 2 January.*
4. *Ashraf, Mumtaz. (1999), "*Vajpayee Arrives Today: Open-Ended Agenda for Summit"*, Dawn Wire Service, 19 February.*
5. *Bajoria, Jayshree. (2010),* "Profile: Lashkar-e-Taiba (Army of the Pure) (aka Lashkar e-Tayyiba, Lashkar e-Toiba; Lashkar-i-Taiba)", Council on Foreign Relations, 14 January.
6. *Baruah, Amit. (2007),* "Pakistani plane waits for hours", The Hindu*, 23 February, Chennai, India.*
7. *Basrur , Rajesh M. (2009), "*The lessons of Kargil as learned by India", *In Peter R. Lavoy (ed.)*. Asymmetric Warfare in South Asia: The Causes and Consequences of the Kargil Conflict *(1st ed.), Cambridge University Press, p. 326.*
8. *Bhatnagar , Gaurav Vivek. (2016), "I*n Tihar, Officials Feel 'Tinge of Sorrow'*", The Hindu, 13 June.*
9. *Bhattacharjee, Yudhijit. (2020), "*The Terrorist Who Got Away"*, The New York Times, 19 March.*
10. *Bhattacherjee, Kallol.(2016),* "SAARC Summit 'Postponed Indefinitely' *https://www.thehindu.com/todays-paper/tp-national/SAARC-summit-%E2%80%98postponed-indefinitely%E2%80%99/article15420825.ece*
11. Blakely, Rhys. (2008), "City Fears Five Terrorists are Missing", *The Times,* 2 December , London, UK.
12. *Bradsher, Keith and Sengupta, Somini. (2008),* "Indian Forces Battle Pockets of Militants". *International Herald Tribune, 28 November.*
13. *Daily Excelsior, (2016), https://www.dailyexcelsior.com/troops-high-alert-along-loc/*
14. *Embassy of India (2001),* "Terrorist Attack on the Parliament of India", *http://www.indianembassy.org/new/parliament_dec_13_01.htm*
15. *Euro Asian Time Desk. (2020),* " Afghanistan, Turkmenistan Sign Deal on TAPI Pipeline Which Includes India & Pakistan", *Eurasian Times, Oct. 1.*
16. *Express Web Desk (2016), "Pathankot Attack: Sixth Terrorist Neutralised", The Indian Express Online Media Pvt Ltd. Pathankot. The Indian Express, 5 January.*
17. *Filkins, Dexter. (2016),* "The Pakistani Dystopia", *The New Yorker, 15 January.*
18. *Gee, Alastair. (2009),* "Mumbai terror attacks: And then they came for the Jews", The Times*, 1 November, London, UK.*
19. *Gertz, Bill. (2013),* " Betrayal: How the Clinton Administration Undermined American Security", *Washington DC: Regency Publishing. ISBN 978-1-62157-137-7.*
20. Hasan, Akhtar. (1999*),* "Nawaz-Vajpayee agenda includes Kashmir, N-issue", Dawn Wire Services, 13 February.
21. Hashim, Asad. (2019), "Pakistan Recalls India Envoy Amid Tensions Over Kashmir Attack". Al Jazeera, 18 February. *https://www.aljazeera.com/news/ 2019/2/18/pakistan-recalls-india-envoy-amid-tensions-over-kashmir-attack*