

© 2021 Tabassum & Nawab. This is an Open Access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons-Attribution-Noncommercial-Share Alike License 4.0 International (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/4.0/>), which permits unrestricted use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly attributed, not used for commercial purposes, and, if transformed, the resulting work is redistributed under the same or similar license to this one.

Journal of Politics and International Studies

Vol. 7, No. 1, January–June 2021, pp.75–84

Impact of Radicalism on Indo-Pakistan relations: A Historical Analysis (Academic Framework, Drivers and Solutions)

Dr. Ammara Tabassum

Assistant Professor

Department of International Relations

University of Sialkot.

Correspondence: ammara.tabassum@uskt.edu.pk

Muhammad Waqas Nawab

Research Scholar & Lecturer

Department of International Relations

University of Sialkot, Pakistan

ABSTRACT

The relationship between Two Competitors Pakistan and India has been overwrought by frequent antique and geopolitical events since their inception in 1947. Rational Commands of chief executives of these States can prevent their soil from confrontation, mistrust, and uncertainty just by executing unprejudiced and fair Run-through but regrettably, in case of India & Pakistan both contenders inhabit hysteria and revulsion in legacy, moreover their willpower to elucidate staple issues has been always substandard. This research paper not only diagnoses various inter-state problems (Kashmir, Water, Cross border terrorism) but also shares different effective solutions to these glitches. An exploratory and qualitative research design is applied while developing this research project. Optimistic policies and sensible role of leadership of both States are considered as landmarks to expunge animosity and expand Expectation, reliance, and trust with can lead the South Asian region towards a bright and prosperous future.

Keywords: *Hysteria, Radicalism, cease-fire, Tashkent Treaty, Simla pact*

Introduction

Subcontinent is an imperative region of the world by its features as South Asia provides accommodations to almost 1600 crore people; it's more diverse, fertile, covered with ice, having fresh water and ideal weather conditions. Two Powers of South Asia got liberation on the same date from the same colonizer. Public of both Competitors breathed together for centuries but when they disjointed, the experience was that bitter that even today the people have not forget what happened in 1947. Pakistan and India share a long boundary and not only boundary they share history, struggle and personal relations with each other. Even today one can meet many people on the roads of Delhi and in the streets of Karachi who wants to visit their native towns which they left for their new country but that above mentioned bitterness do not let them to pass the boundary which about 66 years ago they passed. (Askari, 2012) They want to see cricket between the two countries but again that bitterness does not allow the game of peace to start. They want to wear Pakistani cotton and here people carve for Bengali silk but bitterness does not let them do that.

Most importantly everyone wants peace as people of both the countries want to have good relations with each other but still with all the will and try they fail and the people with the bitterness win. Now the world is heading towards economic integration and the developing countries are coming together to overcome their economic hardships. Pakistan and India both are rich in natural and human resources and can depend on each other for the betterment of the life of the common man in both the countries. In simpler words, in one way or the other both countries need each other's assistance to grow. Although India is involved in vibrant economies of the world but still it uses Pakistan's help in maintaining and supporting their growth. This is a win-win situation for both as it will not only benefit Pakistan but will also advantage India. The biggest hurdle in all this is the bilateral contentious issues that always hamper the growth of the peace in the region simultaneously there are hawks present on both sides of the border that do not give peace a chance as harmony and cease-fire between Pakistan and India is not in their interests. In this research project, we will look at the bright and dark aspects of the relations between India and Pakistan. The conflicts that have been hampering the peace process between nuclear giants, further solutions to these conflicts are also part.

Radicalism in South Asia:

South Asia is in one of the most populous regions of the world that includes almost a quarter of the world total population. Despite achieving consistent Rapid economic growth over the last several years and possessing huge potential for regional development and prosperity, the region is marked by numerous political Economic social cultural inequalities which has encouraged various ethnic, social and religious bunches to hunt their illegitimate and self-centred goalmouths, these Terrorist groups are mostly functioned for the acquisition of communal dominance, fiscal attraction, anti-governmental & faith inspiration and political overheads also use these groups for the disbanding of the ruling class. (Weinbaum, 2017) It is important understand here the key drivers of activism, which lead to encounters exclusively in India and Pakistan. The violent extremism obstructs the development in number of ways, therefore there is nexus between ferocious extremism and development challenges, scarcity of food and water, fragile judicial system, socio-political exclusion, unfortunate authority, disenchantment with democracy, economic scrub, security issues, economic inequality, lack of economic opportunities, trust deficit and coordination challenges are some of the key drivers for extremism. (Cohan, 2012)

Chief indicators of Extremism:

History is witness that exploitation of weak, economic exploitation a, unjust social and political setups and wars have never supported or brought peace in fact those societies have faced many liberal & even extremist reactions from general public, in the case of South Asian region. (Haider & Iqbal, 2002) Pakistan and its eastern world largest Secular power has been facing number of challenges i-e terrorism, unstable political system, weak political norms, anti-State element and extremism different Political, social economic, religious and cultural conflicts of their groups are shuddering and questioning the federations, Security and Geostrategic drivers are of very much importance as both the states have very uncertain geography and remain appealing for their legitimate territories. (Ahmar, 2011) On one hand Pakistan claims that India is responsible for the unrest and anomic situation in the

Impact of Radicalism on Indo-Pakistan relations: A Historical Analysis (Academic Framework, Drivers and Solutions)

province of Balochistan but on the other hand India charge Pakistan for supporting and training terrorist groups in Indian Occupied Kashmir. (Singh.2019) Although the division of Hindustan was made with the unanimous consensus of Hindu and Muslim leaders and peace talks were arranged yet maybe to some Scholars there were only conventional bilateral Peace Talks and both the Government were lacking confidence in each other. The principles if international liberalism & denial of Basic rights of the citizens of both sides paved the way for worse society with absence of civil and Political Liberty. Especially in the case of Pakistan where constitutional governments are remained helpless and on receiving end. (Michael, 2007) There is compact Evidence that Pakistan and India both have the Organized Terrorist Sections within their territories and promoting violence, extremism and terrorism in the region.

Apparatuses to counter Radicalism:

Militancy, Fanaticism, antagonism, disobedience, violent activities and terrorist attacks have become perpetual Venom in developing societies especially in south Asia region, in all conscience the division of India put down a permanent bone of contention maybe to some scholars it was part of their grand strategy of Divide and rule. In nut shell maybe two traditional Rivals have no alternative way out to address their disputes and live peacefully. Following endorsements will have been supporting the Both Republics to snub the evil of distrust and hater into the bud.

- There is no shortcut to eradicate regional complications, since they are the result of consistent & gradual failure of the State to deal with the issue of Public security & grievances. It is catastrophe of Humanity to curb tendencies of extremism & intolerance.
- The menace of radicalism can't be eradicated without a concrete inclusive approach. Comprehensive States mechanism is unavoidable to deal with the issue of extremism at the society, state & regional level.
- Radio, TV, Newspaper & other social networks should promote harmonious & pleasant tenets rather to endorse anti-state and anti-faith sentiments.
- Maybe Free Trade and easy Visa service could fill the confidence among different people.
- Every State must stop and discourage anti-state elements in other countries.

A historical overview of Indo Pakistan Relations:

Pakistan and India both share an incompatible past. The history of both the once colonial countries has seen its share of ups and downs. As mentioned above there are people on both the sides of the border that do not want peace between two countries. With the help of the historical overview we will also like to understand the forces that are against the peace between the two countries. The history of both the countries is so vast and historic that it requires to be segregated into different phases for better understanding. Following are the various periods vis-à-vis their relations. (Aziz, 2009).

Relations during 1947-1953:

The dealings of Islamic republic with India were very sour because of variety of reasons. The independent process caused many problems as division of assets that included military and financial assets and the dispute over the distribution of river water. The communal riots in both the countries in which the minorities were targeted further deteriorated the situation. The disposal of the evacuee property also created rift between the two new born states and after all this the forceful annexation of Kashmir, Hyderabad and Jammu and Kashmir made the situation even worse as the first Kashmir war breakout between India and Pakistan in 1948 and again a conflict was narrowly averted as forces gathered at the borders. All this left a sense of insecurity in the people of Pakistan as they concluded from all these events that India does not want Pakistan to survive. (Gupta, 1963)

Bonds during 1953-1962:

Pakistan's security concerns from India were the main reasons behind Pakistan's involvement in American led pacts as they provided Pakistan with the required support and military equipment to face India. The most significant event of this phase was the signing of Indus basin treaty; this through this treaty the long due conflict of distribution of river water was also settled. This phase ended on a border war between India and China.

3rd Phase of relations

In this phase also the relations between these two nations continued to soar. Pakistan and India sat on a dialogue table but no result was obtained and the attempts of USA and UK went futile. This phase saw here wars between the two countries as a limited war in Rann of Kutch in April of 1965 and a full fledged war in September of 1965 the war of 1965 was followed by a reconciliation arrangement in 1966 usually identified as Tashkent treaty. The height of India Pakistan animosity came in 1971 when India helped the separatist in East Pakistan to dismember Pakistan and they were eventually succeeded in their plans. India also signed a twenty years' friendship treaty with USSR in 1971 that ensured USSR's support to India during the war.

4th Phase of relations:

This phase saw improvement in India Pakistan relations as after the Simla pact signed between the two countries the situation started to cool down and normalize as the diplomatic relations between the two countries was also resumed in 1976 but still both countries consider each other as adversaries. The normalization process halted in 1974 when India detonated its nuclear device and balance and international equilibrium in their area started to favor India and this also stimulated State of Muslims to inductee its fissile program. The end of this phase saw USSR's invasion of Afghanistan.

5th Phase of relations:

This phase saw Pakistan and India involving in series of yin and yang connections. In 1984, India violated the Line of Control and sneaked into Siachin, part of the northern areas of Jammu and Kashmir. Pakistan was caught off guard and after that Pakistan retaliated by sending its army in the area.

6th Phase of Relations:

In this phase Pakistan supported mujahedeen to infiltrate in Kashmir valley. India termed it as cross border terrorism while Pakistan declared it the struggle of the Kashmiri people. The associations or interaction of these opponents continued to get worse. (Kumar, 2000) In 1998 India tested its nuclear device Pakistan too irrespective of International pressure reciprocated. Some improvement was observed in the relations of both the countries after the visit of Indian Prime Minister to Pakistan but all the development roll backed as the Kargil incident took place and the and relations again went sour.

Relations in 21st century:

This is the ongoing phase of India Pakistan relations. It can be termed as a mix bag because it saw both countries sharing best of relations during the small period of 2003 to 2005 both the countries had reached to solutions of various contentious issues but all this development was first plagued with the attack on Samjhotha Express in 2007 and completely derailed after the 2008 attacks in Mumbai. Now the dust is settling down and it is expected that the relations between these republics will improve. Subsequently the transformation of government in Pakistan after the May elections of 2013 Nawaz Sharif of PML (N) has seized power and has given positive signs for improvement of bilateral ties between the two countries especially the trade ties and by inviting Nawaz Sharif on his swearing in ceremony Narendra Modi the newly elected Indian Prime Minister has reciprocated the gestures made by Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif. (Ollapally, 2008) It can only be hoped now that the dawn of peace will come soon and it will prevail on both the countries. This report is written in 1997 and caters 50 years of Pak-India relations and effect of Kashmir on these relations. India and Pakistan both came into being on the same date from the same colonizer. The people of India and Pakistan lived together for centuries but when they separated the experience was that bitter that even today the people have not forget what happened in 1947. Pakistan and India share a long boundary and not only boundary they share history, struggle and personal relations with each other. Even today one can meet many people on the roads of Delhi and in the streets of Karachi who wants to visit their native towns which they left for their new country but that above mentioned bitterness do not let them to pass the boundary which about 66 years ago they passed. They want to see cricket between the two countries but again that bitterness does not allow the game of peace to start. The writer has examined the Franco-German relations and while explaining the current condition of the relationship between the two countries the writer has used examples from the history to elaborate the relationship of the two countries which has seen a lot of bloodshed, wars and animosity. This article is put here as an example here so that it can be explained that the relationship between Islamic republic and the largest democracy. They want to wear Pakistani cotton and here people carve for Bengali silk but bitterness does not let them do that. Most importantly everyone wants peace as people of both the countries want to have good relations with each other but still with all the will and try they fail and the people with the bitterness win. On the course of this report we will discuss the relationship of these two countries and the conflicts that had hampered the peace process between the two countries and along with the conflicts we will also discuss the proposed solutions to the conflicts.

Major encounters and their solutions:

Many a time ideological & secular powers come across to bad blood and questioned one another authority & control following are some if the core issues.

Dispute of Kashmir:

Both the parties blame each other for the issue but if we closely examine the historical facts we can easily conclude that machinations of making Kashmir part of India started in the May of 1947 when the leaders of All India Congress used its connections to get two tehsils of Gurdaspur and Batala to become part of India irrespective of the fact that these two parts were Muslim dominated region; the sole reason for this intrigue to get a geographical connection of India with valley of Kashmir because other than this route all the geographical connection of the Kashmir valley was with Pakistan so all this was done to provide a geographical connection to India and all this happen before the tribal and Pakistani army's intervention of Kashmir. (Nasir, 2004) After the issuing of resolutions by the UNO a cease fire was broke between the two countries. After this until 1962 attempts were made to solve the Kashmir dispute but failed due to various reasons after the Indus Basin treaty of 1960 and Indo-Sino war of 1962 both countries again sat on the dialogue table under the international pressure as Pakistan was willing to solve the issue and was ready to compromise UNO resolutions but India was only using the dialogue to gain time and international aid. (Ganguly, Smetana, Abdullah & Karmazin, 2019). The dialogue of 1962 failed mainly because of India's non-serious attitude. The Kashmir valley is the basic source of dispute and sandwiched the binary motherlands both countries have fought various wars over this issue. India has declared Kashmir as its integral part but Pakistan think otherwise and demands plebiscite according to the resolutions of UN. One solution is to demilitarization of the both Republics. Second solution is to give self-rule to both the margins of the Border line with maximum powers to the people and this will make the line of control irrelevant but the Kashmiri leadership suggested a 5 step solution to the problem they proposed: Kashmir should be declared international dispute, Demilitarize the area, no killing and arrest will take place in the valley, Immediate release of children and political prisoners and Punish the perpetrators of the state violence. In an analysis journalists have successfully pondered light on the relations of the two beleaguered neighbors. They have used examples from the history of both the countries to explain the basic problem that exists between the two countries and the writers have concluded that it is due to the Kashmir issue that the relations of both the countries got strained. So in order to achieve peace it is important to solve this issue.

Question of Sir Creek:

This issue is brewing since 1969 and Sir Creek is an area in the Rann of Kutch region. In the 1914 annexed map based on the resolution of British Indian government showed Sir Creek as part of Sindh but India claimed that the Sir Creek is on the Indian side and later that the boundary should run in the middle of the creek this reduces Pakistan's economic zone. This issue can easily be solved with the demarcation of the area but due to continuous fall outs between the two countries this conflict is lingering on.

Water dispute:

Impact of Radicalism on Indo-Pakistan relations: A Historical Analysis (Academic Framework, Drivers and Solutions)

The Indus basin treaty of 1960 divided the use of rivers and canals between the two countries. Pakistan obtained exclusive rights for the three western rivers, namely Indus, Jehlum and Chenab. And India retained rights to the three eastern rivers, namely Ravi, Beas and Sutluj. The treaty also guaranteed ten years of uninterrupted water supply. During this period Pakistan was to build huge dams, financed partly by long-term World Bank loans and compensation money from India. Three multipurpose dams, Warsak, Mangla and Tarbela were built. A system of eight link canals was also built, and the remodeling of existing canals was carried out. Five barrages and a gated siphon were also constructed under this treaty. In 1970's India decided to dam on Chenab River at Salal upon Pakistan reservations India accepted to reduce the height of the dam. In the 1980's India started the construction of a barrage on the River Jehlum at the mouth of the Wullar Lake. Pakistan called the project coinciding with the articles of Indus Basin Treaty. India tried to solve the matter by offering Pakistan mutual benefit from the barrage but Pakistan did not accept any settlement that is against the Indus basin treaty eventually the construction process stopped after the uprising in the valley of Kashmir. Another dispute arose when India started the construction of Baglihar dam. The dispute was not settled in the secretary level negotiations after that Pakistan referred the matter to the World Bank which upheld three of four Pakistani objections in its decision. Krishen ganaga project face the opposition of Pakistan as it was against the Indus Basin treaty. As negotiations failed Pakistan took the matter to the International Court of Justice which in its recent decision has permitted India to divert minimum amount of water for the energy production.

Encounter over Siachin:

Antagonistic behavior of Pakistan and its rival is always worth mentioning as they never escape any point which pull or affect their interest. India sent army in the area of Siachin which is a part of the northern areas of Jammu and Kashmir in 1984. This act was the clear altercation of the Shimla agreement which says that that attempt of unilateral altercation is prohibited. Pakistan and India reached an agreement in 1989 based on the redeployment of forces to reduce the chances of conflict but Indian Army refused to pull back. India also proposed the authentication of the 112 km long Actual Ground position line.

Other Issues:

The history of south Asia especially after the division of Subcontinent into two sovereign democracies never reverence or observe democratic culture and distrust, violence, antagonism, blame game and War efficiency are remained its prominent actions and shape their exclusive value, Over the time many conflicts arose between the two countries and those issues were somehow solved by the two countries.

- The conflict of evacuee property and minority rights was solved through the Liaquat-Nehru pact also known as Delhi pact.
- The conflict of water sharing was solved through the Indus Basin treaty.
- An agreement was signed to stop each other from aggressive behavior towards their atomic installations in 1988.
- The agreement for prohibition on the use of Chemical weapons was signed in April 1992.

Role of political leaders in releasing pressure:

Political leadership and academicians have showed their serious involvement to relax the tension and create a more reliable and secure environment in the region. Although nature of Relations of twin states have been very complex and largely inimical yet there is always a way forward, Normal, good & friendly relations could benefit the people of both sides, in this connection political leadership have taken many steps to break the ice and promote pleasant atmosphere. Narratives of both Nations are identical. Furthermore, the political and strategic strategies of both India and Pakistan took advantage of a regional and international forum to exchange, negotiate and move forward. As a result, Delhi-Lahore bus service resumed after 26/11. Especially after the Pulwama attack and the Balakot airstrikes, much to its dismay. People were amazed. Despite tensions Prime minister Imran khan announced to release Indian Pilot calling it a gesture for peace, construction of the corridor continued and will begin this weekend with the prime ministers of the two countries, following the 550th birthday of Guru Nanak, the founder of the Sikh religion, on November 12. Celebrations will be held. The inauguration of the corridor provides an opportunity to discuss its importance for India-Pakistan relations and how it could affect the way forward in bilateral relations. This further highlights the clear usefulness of the neo-liberal perspective on security and economic cooperation in and around South Asia. In addition, during their previous governments, both India and Pakistan agreed to simplify their visa policy and mutual direct trade activities. Mostly it is assumed that India under intense Mass & media pressure launched a full-scale military attack on Kashmir and then on West Pakistan. India has also accused Pakistan-backed militant groups of carrying out several terrorist attacks across India. Over the past 73 years, India and Pakistan have failed to resolve their claims & prove their established blames. Despite of diversity of interests two countries have many things in common, like religion, culture, language and established norms. Role of mass media is very significant, it is the driving force in forming opinions, and Ideas play an important role in conveying this information, forming opinions and setting trends. The comprehensive dialogue between Pakistan and India, commonly known as the peace process, began in January 2004 after a meeting between Pakistani President General Pervez Musharraf and the Indian Prime Minister, Atal Bihari Vajpayee in Islamabad. Earlier, an eight-point agenda was set in 1997, which resulted in a consensus reached between the two leaders, which were further discussed in February 2004 by the relevant foreign secretaries. Eight points The comprehensive dialogue includes CBM, Jammu and Kashmir, Siachin, Sir Creek, Waller Barrage / Talul Navigation Project, terrorism and drug trafficking, economic and trade Cooperation and promotion of friendly exchanges in various Fields.

Comparison of European case with South Asian States:

Just like Pakistan and India, France and Germany share a bitter past. Both France and Germany remained at war for many years and still there are graveyards of soldiers who died in the wars between the two countries. Afterward the havocs of 2nd Great war, it was a feeling on both sides of the border that it is against the interests of both the countries to carry on their historical animosity so they decided to cooperate with each other in order to rebuild their own countries. Treaties were signed between France and Germany and this ushered a new era of friendship and cooperation. This not only benefited France and Germany but it also contributed to

Impact of Radicalism on Indo-Pakistan relations: A Historical Analysis (Academic Framework, Drivers and Solutions)

the overall development of Europe. France and Germany gave top priority to people to people contact and also worked on the improvement of bilateral trade ties. The relationship of France and Germany has attained such a point that it cannot be affected by any political leadership. The example in the Franco-German relationship for the other countries of the world especially India and Pakistan is that they should work to improve people to people contact and bilateral trade ties so that the interests of both the countries get intertwined with each other. This is the only way forward otherwise no one can get benefited from the current status of India-Pakistan relations. The biggest loser in all this will be the 1.5 billion populations of both India and Pakistan. So, this is now the high time that the leadership of both the countries should sit on the dialogue table and should try to solve their problems through peaceful means. If this is not done and peace is not achieved between the two countries, then it is not only the loss of both the countries but also of the humanity of the world.

Looking a way forward for Kashmir:

The Kashmir valley is the basic source of contention between the two countries both countries have fought various wars over this issue. India has declared Kashmir as its integral part but Pakistan think otherwise and demands plebiscite according to the resolutions of UN. (Sehgal, 2011) One solution is to demilitarization of the both sides of the line of control. Second solution is to give self-rule to both the sides of the line of control with maximum powers to the people and this will make the line of control irrelevant but the Kashmiri leadership suggested a 5 step solution to the problem they proposed:

- Kashmir should be declared international dispute.
- Demilitarize the area.
- No killing and arrest will take place in the valley.
- Immediate release of children and political prisoners.
- Punish the perpetrators of the state violence.

Conclusion

The problem always comes with a solution but it is the duty of the governments to solve the problems. In Pakistan and India's case both the parties used these issues to garner political support for themselves and took least interest in the matters as it is evident from the history of these two countries that these two nations lacked the all required will to solve these problems. We have seen that these two countries have remained successful in the solving of matters where they have shown will. All the conflicts that are discussed above which are still unsolved can be solved as the homework on these issue has been done but mainly due to the leadership of both countries and unfortunate and unforeseen events that derail the whole process of dialogue halts their solutions. There are also hawks present on both sides of border which for their personal benefit do not let the matters to be solved. It's high time for the leadership of both the countries to look above the differences and solve these conflicts and move ahead towards the bright future that will guarantee peace and harmony for the coming generations.

References

- [1] Ahmar, M. (2011). The challenge of extremism in Pakistan: Are there lessons to be learnt from the experience of Singapore. *IPRI Journal*, 11(2), 44-63.
- [2] Askari, H. (2012). *At the Brink? In the Future of Pakistan*. Lahore: Vanguard Books.
- [3] Aziz, K. K. (2009). *The Making of Pakistan-A Study in Nationalism*. Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications.
- [4] Chaturvedi, A. (1998). INDO-PAKISTAN RELATIONS. *Fifty Years of Indo-Pak Relations*, 1, 383.
- [5] Cohan, S. (2012). *The Future of Pakistan*, Islamabad: Vanguard Concept Publishing Company
- [6] Ganguly, S., Smetana, M., Abdullah, S., & Karmazin, A. (2019). India, Pakistan, and the Kashmir dispute: Unpacking the dynamics of a South Asian frozen conflict. *Asia Europe Journal*, 17(1), 129-143.
- [7] Gupta, S. (1963). Indo-Pakistan Relations. *International Studies*, 5(1-2), 174-179.
- [8] Haider, M., & Iqbal, A. (2002). Kashmir a threat to peace, warns Musharraf: World help sought for Indo-Pakistan talks. *The Dawn*.
- [9] Kumar, S. (2000). Trends in Indo-Pakistan relations. *Strategic Analysis*, 24(2), 221-246
- [10] Michael, S. (2007). Terrorism a socio-economic and political phenomenon with special reference to Pakistan. *Journal of management and social sciences*, 3(1), 35-46.
- [11] Nasir, S. (2004). *Rise of Extremism in South Asia* (No. 7). Islamabad Policy Research Institute.
- [12] Ollapally, D. M. (2008). *The politics of extremism in South Asia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- [13] Sehgal, R. (2011). Kashmir conflict: Solutions and demand for self-determination. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 1(6).
- [14] Singh, U. K. (2019). Law, state and right-wing extremism in India. *Journal of policing, intelligence and counter terrorism*, 14(3), 280-297.
- [15] Weinbaum, M. G. (2017). Insurgency and violent extremism in Pakistan. *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, 28(1), 34-56.