
**Internationalization and Pakistan: The Regional and Local
Ramification(s) of Conflict(s) and Future of Modern Islamic
State**

Dr. Muhammad Kalim Ullah Khan

Assistant Professor, Head of the Department of Islamic Thought and
Civilization (ITC), University of Management and Technology (UMT),
Sialkot Campus, Pakistan

Aafaq Ahmad

MPhil Islamic Studies the Department of Islamic Thought and
Civilization (ITC), University of Management and Technology (UMT),
Sialkot Campus, Pakistan

Muhammad Asad

MPhil Islamic Studies the Department of Islamic Thought and
Civilization (ITC), University of Management and Technology (UMT),
Sialkot Campus, Pakistan

Afaq Ali

MPhil Islamic Studies the Department of Islamic Thought and
Civilization (ITC), University of Management and Technology (UMT),
Sialkot Campus, Pakistan

Muhammad Talha Badar

MPhil Islamic Studies, the Department of Islamic Studies, Government
College University Lahore (GCU)

Muhammad Umar

MPhil Islamic Studies, the Department of Islamic Studies, University of
Gujrat (UOG)

Internationalization and Pakistan...

***Abstract :** Geographically, the state of Pakistan is located between the regions of South Asia, Middle East, and the Central Asia. Being a multiethnic state, it is facing with different kinds of problems, namely, violence, ethnic conflicts, and borderline dispute since the time of its birth. The Pakistan's multiethnic groups have their own ideology and philosophies resulting to national security dilemma, all these problems hinder the prosperity and progress of Pakistan. The severe ethnic conflicts in Pakistan have become internationalized which jeopardizes the sovereignty of Pakistan. This article identifies a framework for understanding the said problems facing the Pakistan government. Theoretical and ethnographic data analysis revealed that Pakistan is facing two conflicts problems with two manifestations: internationalization from inside and internationalization from outside. It is suggested that investment and capital should be transferred to the grass root level, and the Pakistan government should provide equal opportunity to the multiethnic groups in Pakistan geared towards their empowerment and to reduce the diverse negative effects of the said problems which Pakistan have.*

Keywords: Internationalization; Fascism; Ethnicity; Kashmir-Conflict; Violence.

Introduction

This article deals with the internationalization of the local and regional conflicts, violence and its ramifications in Pakistan. In addition, it analyses the impacts of the internationalization of the said conflicts through the regional and domestic dynamics in Pakistan. This discussion focuses on the role of Afghanistan and India in the existing conflicts in Pakistan. More specifically, this article discusses the following issues: First, the internationalization and historical patterns of violence in Pakistan, second, the local and regional conflicts including the political based ethnic violence in Pakistan, third, the border conflicts and the international community, fourth, the regional patterns of conflicts and the Kashmir dispute.

Violent conflicts relate to the armed conflicts or the use of force which are genocide attacks against the innocent people. Conflicts in

specific fields prevailed after the Cold War period. Pakistan also is facing confrontations and fundamental challenges. Experts of different subjects of anthropology see the strife as a general episode with similar properties whether it arises internationally or in local politics or not. Pioneers of violence argue, if you need reconciliation, "Prepare for war". Roman military writer Vegetius in 390 CE said that dictum. Violence and conflicts have been a central parts of man's existence, that is why sometimes he avoids indulging in the injustices, and sometimes he himself goes into the conflicts. In this particular case, man is intrinsically connected with violence and conflicts¹. Secondly, non-state actors' roles in internationalization have grown steadily since World War II, precisely because of the creation of hegemony in the region.

Therefore, the violence has a historical context, because it does not occur at once. Violence can be best understood historically; therefore, we examine the historical and regional context of the violence. As far as the ethnic violence is concerned, it involves different communities and different factions. This article addresses how regional and local conflict emerge and sectarianism explodes; and how violence and antagonism emerge in the society, becoming the cause of violence at regional and local levels. Moreover, any problem cannot become international in its inception stage. Internal separatist powers create disharmony in a country due to the severe conditions of problems within a country, thus, an international situation is often created first in a country or a society.

Why is it that specific regions become the flash points among the international community? Ethnic violence is inextricably intertwined with politics and violence because it provides the bases for creating the frenzy in the society. Ethnic conflicts cause ethnic violence, consequently, ethnic violence creates racist terrorism.

Regional violence in South Asia has been going on for long time. Since the early 1990s, many powers have been intervening in this regional

Internationalization and Pakistan...

violence. Every power has its own interests, and these powers are trying to attain their interests. Under other condition, territorial security preparations and local integration can contribute to the suppression and restriction of internal clashes. However, external intervention in the region can be minimized by internal integrity. The internal integrity demands cooperation and then external and internal insurrectionary elements weakened.

Border conflict is another issue that engulfs the region. Furthermore, the Kashmir dispute is a prominent issue of this region. As far as the western border of Pakistan is concerned, after the evacuation of the Soviet military, small skirmishes were taking place alongside the border among different groups. One can say, on this western border, there are ethnic national conflicts, because, in this region, the people are more ethnocentric than in any other region. Furthermore, inter-communal conflicts in this region might swiftly trigger regional insurrections leading to yet more violence.

Internationalization and Historical Patterns of Violence

The growing literature on internationalization discusses the role of different states and different agencies during the 1980s and 1990s. The impacts of internationalization during these two decades created the term 'intervention'². In 1990s, one major war was fought between Pakistan and India, which was known as the Kargil war. Internationalization is the cause of regional hegemony. It is likely to opt for a grouping of exploration and exploitation and it cannot take place without political intervention. The concept of internationalization now has universality, which has been condemned by both developing and developed countries. It has received huge academic concentration regarding phenomenon and consequences. Internationalization can be interlinked with state security. Due to the hegemonic policies of developed countries, the concept of

security has been bipolar and the responsibility of protection has been ignored. That is why the phenomenon of internationalization of Pakistan's political problems challenge the sovereignty. We can say that the clash between sovereignty and this internationalization have been widened. Moreover, the concepts of 'right to intervene' and 'responsibility to protect' are no more useful. In this scenario, Pakistan's domestic political policies have many loopholes which cannot stop the aftermath of this internationalization due to the eruption of political violence. As a result, political interests and self-interests have decayed the whole system resulting further political problem. This scenario is not a new phenomenon but it has historic political roots, thus a real democracy cannot develop in the country.

Moreover, intimidation of the political groups, social, political activists, and the defective election system had resulted a lot of political problems, where the sovereign political group always won the election or at least got their own privileges in the forthcoming governments. Furthermore, the failure of the governments of different periods, together with some international players playing a facilitative role, hindered or derailed the system. Recent waves of violence made it more obvious that there was an existing problem in the system. There was a need to change it but it could not change in the existing system of Pakistan. If we see the internationalization as a big restriction for peace then ultimately it will lead towards violence. In this case the violent people can ignite it more, and internationalization will create more violence. In the light of this discussion, it can be categorized into two groups: internationalization from inside, and internationalization from outside³.

The internationalization from inside the Pakistan is supported either by governments or by different internal agencies towards any group; in this way, it is possible to segregate the society or state. Rebel groups and different separatist splinter political mindsets get access via

Internationalization and Pakistan...

different political ethnic groups to disturb the peace and tranquility in the country. Secondly, one cannot suggest the principle that internationalization is only the result of external funding as Tan described it⁴. If one admits it then other powers will blame the self-determination of different parts of the world, where bloodshed and killing are taking place on innocent people. This is because they want to create the messy environment in those countries and regions. Furthermore, local people also initiate liberation movements. Internationalization is the cause of expansionism. Expansionism comes from the two sides of communism and capitalism. States whether strong or weak play equal roles, according to their capacities, for the proliferation of internationalization. According to Yonah Alexander "between the sixteenth and late eighteenth centuries, several European states employed pirates, or privateers, to terrorize the seas for the purpose of advancing foreign policy objectives"⁵. The underlying assumption of this study is that the Pakistan-India war and the Afghan-Soviet war were consequences of historical processes that emerged in the 1990s. Finally, it exploded in 2001 through a vicious circle of internationalization of external power struggles by the domestic political groups and internationalization of this region's politics by external powers. The hegemonic struggle was conducted in the form of alliances with one or another domestic political group.

Some scholars, such as Oliver argues that internationalization was put in place due to some 'isms', Oliver indicates and criticizes Salafism⁶. In this sense, the verity is far from this argument that Salafism created the internationalization of the political problems of Pakistan. These are newly invented terminologies, which have no long historic background. Some researchers, in one or two dimensions, like religious and political expansionism and doctrinal imposition, have criticized Salafism but as a whole, it cannot be correlated to other situations.

In every era, the majority (of unruly class) in politics in Pakistan sabotaged the peace but gradually, the majority established democracy but dictatorship still existed in politicians' mind. They usurped the minority's rights and crossed all limits in which every civilized nation should be. Therefore, it is a fact in some cases that majority has no sustenance to pledge the survival of minority cultures or ethnicities. They may well be struggling to survive themselves, caught up in a common contest against commercialism and internationalism. Internationalism and ethnicity cannot be justified at any level because if one admits that internationalism is the source to organize the world, then in some cases, ethnicity organizes the splinter groups and make them unite. In this era, nations are stirred by ethnicity; according to Anthony Milner, 'the danger of reading modern concerns about ethnicity into eighteenth and nineteenth century context troubles me'⁷.

In the perspective of Pakistan, internationalization is an influential force. There has been undying discussion on the internationalization in Pakistan's political context. Nationalization starts with the seed of nationalism, and nationalization precedes the violence and violence followed the anarchy that weakens the institutions of the state. Due to nationalization, internationalization occurs that then becomes the cause of hegemony and war. The modern concept of internationalization emerged when isolated states were formed in Europe and the people of each state developed a peculiar consciousness of being selves. Although nationalization has a regional national circle. Internationalization has a vast international circle. Regional nationalization is not anywhere a hegemonic principle. Internationalization can be correlated with Marxist ideas that any system whether it is political or social should be changed by a revolution and the overthrow of the existing system by violence. In this condition, every revolution ended in violence, but this is not a truism that every revolution must end in violence⁸. The Holy Prophet Muhammad (SAW) established the first peaceful revolution in human history. The

Internationalization and Pakistan...

Prophet of whole humankind entered the city of Mecca with peace and tranquility in 630 AD. Poole discusses this fact clearly. He quotes:

The day of Mohammad's greatest triumph over his enemies was also the day of grandest victory over himself. He freely forgave Quraish all the years of sorrow and cruel scorn with which they had afflicted him and gave an amnesty to the whole population of Mecca. Four criminals whom justice condemned made up Mohammad's proscription list, when as a conqueror he entered the city of his bitterest enemies. The army followed his example, and entered quietly and peaceably; no house was robbed, no woman was insulted⁹.

Therefore, there can be a peaceful revolution without violence as the revolution of 1688. According to western historians, it took place without bloodshed and the Iranian revolution as well took place without violence. It is a fact that peaceful revolution is extremely rare, mostly it comes at the end of bloodshed. In this perspective, it appears that the revolution takes place when the original substance or original formation is changed or need to change whether it relates to social or political formation. Practically or much more theoretically, both shifts can be taken place i.e peaceful change or shift via killing and massacre. Convincingly, qualitative change can take place via peaceful way in the political system of Pakistan.

Along with this thought, there is another angle of thought; some historians and political scientists believe in gradualism that mostly changes can come to a society slowly and steadily through reforms rather than through revolution. This theory is only correct where there exists straightforward and maximum faultless political system. Moreover, democratic political institutions are on the right track to run the missionary of the government. If we discuss the political system of the country, there are few flaws in the existing system. It needs to be changed to prune it from existing political glitches. It demands revolutionary steps

to eradicate the flaws. Geo-political borders, principal of “fault lines” and scarcities are contributing to violence in the country. Moreover, these elements fuel clashes ethnically.

The decade of 1990s shaped a new violence. The Oklahoma City bombing took place on April 19, 1995¹⁰, and it was important for western observers to internationalize the incident; but the Palestinians’ and Kashmiris’ cases are different. Although, they are being killed over a long time, their sacrifices (for self-determination) are not getting news in the international media because of the political hegemony. Some analysts strongly suggest that violence erupts due to religious schisms, but according to another opinion, religious violence will not take place in the society, if politicians do not support it. Hunger for political power creates the conflicts and violence.

Comparatively, the last three decades of the twentieth century played a remarkable role in history but the decades closed in the 20th century and it opened the new century played a crucial role in enhancing education and economic growth. That decade made the century regionally internationalized. As the century closed, Samuel Huntington named it as the “century of ideological conflicts”. Internationalization is a new term but its concept is as old as history itself. It took place when Israel was established in 1948. Britain and American explained themselves that it was necessary to set up the political structure of newly established country. Stephen Green’s “America’s Secret Relation with the Militants of Israel: 1948-1967” provides insightful information in his well-documented research on this issue¹¹. Philip Zelikow who was executive director in White House categorically said that primarily invasion on Iraq was to eradicate a threat to Israel¹². President Jimmy Carter on 12 May 1977 said one time, “America has special relationship with Israel and no one in the U.S. or around the world should doubt that America’s number one commitment in the Middle East is to protect the right of Israel to exist; to

Internationalization and Pakistan...

exist permanently and to exist in peace"¹³. Other different kinds of 'isms' created the internationalization in the region. Sternhell has very sturdy concept towards such isms. He discusses that if nationalism and socialism come together in any society that converts into fascism. He gave mathematical definition to clarify his concept, that nationalism + socialism = fascism¹⁴.

Sometimes internationalization takes place, when ethnic discrimination leads to ethnic political rebellion¹⁵. However, political cases will be very prominent everywhere, either they are social or what is to be related with it is in a social setting. Secondly, intrastate violence is deeply rooted with internationalization of ethnic- political concepts. Sometimes social conditions lead to internal violence. In the present time, the western part of Pakistan is a map of conflicts or violence due to this internationalization factor. Predominately violence emerges within state due to the clashes between government and its people that convert into civil war. The decade of 1990s for south Asia was a milestone towards internationalization. Sometimes one may mix the concept of internationalization and globalization. Globalization definitely does not believe in nation border, and it is the result of scientific revolution. Due to our cultures and values are turning into multicultural setups and the concept of pluralism is also growing. However, we cannot nullify the importance of the existence of the national borders as it is very sensitive issue for geographers, because the dismantling of the barriers of the borders can create huge problems in geographies. It differs from the 'internationalization' that carried "no emphasis on the disappearance of national barriers"¹⁶. Historically, this region was the epicenter of different kinds of violence but politically based violence was dominant in each period. In this region, cultural violence¹⁷ and the traditional kind of violence have played great roles in ruining the peace in the society. This kind of violence leads towards the confirmation of violence. Intolerance of this western region of Pakistan contributed further violence. If there are

negative behaviors and intolerance in individuals that ultimately create intolerance at domestic level, then these norms will give negative impacts at international level and consequently it will lead toward violence and killing¹⁸. Here it is quoted the Machiavelli saying “if you try to make people so numerous and so well armed that it can create a great empire, you are endowing it with qualities that will not allow you, afterward, easily to manage it as you wish... [Thus], if Heaven be so benevolent that the [republic] never has to wage war, the idleness would result in making it either effeminate or divided; these two things together, or each one itself, would be the cause of ruin”¹⁹. Sometimes army dictatorship, imperialism and liberalism cause the internationalization, which become very destructive for the whole region. Mostly, different political thinkers such as Kant and Schumpeter, discussed that once there is democracy to autocracy shift, it alters the scale of conflict to big problem, specifically, the conflict in South Asian Region. The real democracy, not the democracy of third world countries where the voting process is considered democracy, could not develop the better situation of the third world countries. Moreover, real democracy cannot proceed towards internationalization. Wherever is autocracy, imperialism, and dictatorship, there is internationalization and transgression. Therefore, in this case, it can be argued that it is completely wrong to maintain that wherever dictatorship is in place, there is violence, because in many countries, there is democracy but they have already been subjugated to the world by the power of democracy. Relatively, the superpowers are propagators of democracy. Today’s superpower is the propagator of despotism, which is why in many nations, killing and massacre occur, specifically in Pakistan.

The security of Pakistan in the coming years depends upon the devolution of political and economic power from the federation to the grass roots level; the pull of political and ethnic violence cannot be eliminated unless these take place. At the same time, the selected class and the three main political parties must be forced to provide room to experts

Internationalization and Pakistan...

and professionals from the urban medium class and allow a maximum representation in the Parliament from the mass. Devolution of power cannot exist without establishing new provinces instead of five provinces. Analytically, there should be many provinces instead of 5 provinces in Pakistan, so that ethnicity and provincialism could be eliminated and people get economic access and justice at their hometowns.

Pakistani politicians are happy to embrace the parliamentary system, which is not delivering anything for the progress of the state. It needs to be changed and another system has to be enforced. It is recommended that eligible people, who should enter the Parliament, must be expert in different fields. Those parliamentarians who are tax defaulters or indulge in criminal activities should be banned to enter the politics and be charged for their crimes.

One thing should be ensured is that the government would not pressurize the bureaucracy to give favor to its candidates. Secondly, an election commission should be empowered. Most legislation must be made to safeguard the interests of the parliamentarians. Currently, however, reforms are being postponed and red tape has been enforced, and it seems likely that only violence, killing, and carnage will emerge in the society.

Sometimes, people themselves provide opportunities to international powers to enter into the region. This is because people are morally subservient, and they have their own scales of measurement, to judge which state is more of a superpower than the other? This is an international phenomenon; one cannot regionalize it towards any specific region. During the 1980s, people had the perception that the Russia was a greater superpower than the US; others believed the reverse²⁰. This parenthesis, which seems to be accountable for the change in demeanor, can be seen as the cause of the intrusion of the Russian army in Afghanistan.

Local Conflict and Ethnic Violence

In the 1990s, many nations that were unable to adjust to their peoples' aspirations, including the emphasis on their characteristic identities, broke apart into smaller and more ethnically similar units. Ethnic means, in the old version, is paganism, heathenism or gentile. However, the word 'ethnicity' is a relatively recent term and, it is commonly presumed to be the cultural identity of a group within a country²¹. There are several subcategories of ethnicity like culture by ethnicity, people by ethnicity, ethnography, ethnology, ethnicity in politics etc. This is not our subject to describe ethnicity without going to descend into detail. Ethnic conflicts sometimes arise due to economic problems²². Economic outriggers sometimes trigger ethnic tensions because the politicians and political groups use and abuse ethnic identity, and racial and religious differences as a source to organize support. Ethnic conflicts emerge because the level of economic growth prevailing in the country does not satisfy the ordinary people. This is mainly due to government policies formulated by politicians whose ultimate agenda is not necessarily for improving the welfare of the people²³.

Different nations created different institutions to govern the country and lead people to a peaceful life and harmonious situations. For instance, laws have been formulated; courts and other institutions have been established. Such things are important for the survival of nations and societies.

It is appropriate that: "Humanity to tame the individual and make him social and civilized employed a two-fold method. It first informed and reformed his mind and then created external circumstances, checks and hindrances that made unsocial conduct difficult and painful. On the one hand, there was a psychological and ideological approach, on the other hand an institutional and external approach"²⁴.

Internationalization and Pakistan...

However, with the passage of time, other negative impacts existed and became evident, like ethnic and racial issues. People and their self-made institutions and laws were passed from the context of ethnic and racial violence and conflicts.

Salamat Ali's commentary on religious elites of Pakistan and ethnicity seems convincing. He says,

Curiously, the religious elites have frowned upon ethnic diversity in exactly the same way that they were dismissive of the concepts of nationalism and the nation state- regarding them as transplanted conspiracies to shatter an inter-Muslim, trans-regional unity. It is worth stating here that ethnicity is not merely a fall out of state-centric politics; but also it embodies the intricacies of culture traditions, political economy, modernization, and urbanization interlinked with both the state and society. Since the 1980s, Sindh, which is the second biggest unit in the federation and formerly the most tranquil province, has witnessed occasional spates of ethnic based violence.²⁵

International conflicts sometimes emerge due to ethnic identity. Ethnicity itself, if it remains limited, cannot be harmful for others but it becomes damaging when it retreats towards an international scenario. One group fight with other group, whereas third group fighting with a fourth group. BBC Radio broadcasted on July 11, 1995, that "Riots from urban centers like Hyderabad and Karachi, between the descendants of the Urdu-speaking refugees from India and the native Sindhi-speaking Sindhis, or riots between the settlers from other provinces with either of these two communities, exacerbated by police brutalities, have not only made the headlines but also proved to be the main challenge for the fragile post-Zia democracies. Ethnic volatility entered a critical phase in 1994-95 with daily occurrences of violence. The death figures just for the first six months of 1995 for Karachi stood at 1000"²⁶.

Ethnicity is the cause of internal and external conflicts and violence. Due to this ethnicity, any nation can be united and stand against the other nation. A nation at war is likely to enjoy a sense of unity²⁷ but this kind of unity could also be the cause of ethnicity, which is a negative perception. Due to this kind of unity, more violence takes place in society and region. Baluchistan, which is the biggest province of Pakistan, internally is being sabotaged due to ethnicity. On the other hand, it is better for them to get political and economic rights from federation. Some people analyzed that the periods of martial law of the 1960s, and particularly the decade of 1980s played a role in ethnic marginalization²⁸. However, this analysis is questionable; martial laws were enforced because there was ethnicity and ethnic politics. Martial laws took place when political parties and politicians stopped working for the development of country, and they started to spend their energies for their own personal and ethnic benefits. Some nationalists and sectional political parties were the base of ethnicity and still they are involved in ethnic politics. In this case, they tried to vilify the federation. Due to the ethnicity of politics, other factors; like linguistic differences, provincialism, and territorial differences emerged.

Politics of ethnicity often created turbulence between the federation and provinces due to that ethnicity. Pluralism can emerge in the country and it can create integration in the respective country. However, it is a complex phenomenon, as socialists think, for ethnic groups because it is somehow agitator towards ethnic clashes. There is less doubt that, after the disintegration of the USSR, the ethnic based violence emerged in Pakistan with the backing of politics of different countries and regional powers. Ethnic movements and violence across the world have forced the historians and political scientists to look it more critically. One famous book "The Ugly American" describes the bases of ethnicity and social conducts of the people. Ethnicity does not come only from ignorance; many people who are highly educated in their fields have ethnicity

Internationalization and Pakistan...

problems. In some cases, they are the initiators of violence, rather than the ignorant people.

Ethnic violence is not a new phenomenon in Pakistan. It has been frequently mentioned that ethnic violence is founded upon political bases. Ethnic violence started in 1985, when the first Pathan-Bihari clashes started in April 1985 in Karachi. In December 1985, Pathan-Muhajir confrontation started, and apparently, to clean up arms and drugs, government decided to evacuate the whole area. Since the first day of ethnic violence to the present time, that violence could not be stopped due to political backing and support. Therefore, one thing is clear that those parties, which have political-ethno bases, there should be constitutional checks and balances on them to not disseminate the hatred. Secondly, the literature about ethnic bases should be seized, so that hateful literature could not be accessed.

Border Conflicts, Internationalization and the International Community

First we discuss neighboring Islamic country Afghanistan. It has many issues specifically with Pakistan and with other countries however minor, such as socio-political, religious and ethnic issues, and significantly border conflicts. Other countries like china it has no clashes²⁹. Moreover, it has not any border issue with Russia. They already settled and made agreement in 1946³⁰. Afghanistan has conflicts with Iran on water disputes and Helmand Province dispute. On these issues they have potential conflict^{31/32}. Along with ethnic issues it has religious issues such as a big discomfort between Shia and Sunni problems³³. Undoubtedly, Iran played a big role to deescalate the tension between Pakistan and Afghanistan. Due to its meditation, both countries restored their relations, specifically border issues^{34/35}. Moreover, military and economic issues are not less problematic for Pakistan³⁶. This contagious instability in Afghanistan

creates discomfort to its neighbors³⁷. Above mentioned problems in Afghanistan will remain critical³⁸ until they could create internal stability.

Pakistan has also many issues with India. It shares long land borders with India, which is 3,147 Kilometers and it is called International Boundary³⁹. Pakistan left the occupation of 5180 square kilometers to China⁴⁰ which was actually claimed by India. China will renegotiate on that territory if the Kashmir issue is resolved. Pakistan has land boundaries and maritime boundaries issues that are changing the global strategic environment^{41 42}.

The regional issue of Kashmir has haunted the world for over half a century. Wars have been fought, thousands have been killed and property worth billions destroyed. The lapse of time and ground realities have forced the parties and countries involved to forsake the status quo and look for a fresh approach, especially due to international pressure to find a solution, and come together to rid the world of the menace of violence. Therefore, Kashmir is a fundamental issue between both countries⁴³. Furthermore, Pakistan and India have tested intercontinental ballistic missiles successfully, which can equip the region in violence and conflict. Pakistan also paved a way towards reconciliation by signing Shimla Agreement with India in 1972; and gave de facto recognition to India (politicians' recognition, not the Pakistani nation's recognition)⁴⁴. On the other hand, Pakistan tries to assure the world that the guerrilla war within Indian occupied Kashmir is indigenously played by the Kashmiri freedom fighters, whereas India blames on Pakistan for infiltrating Mujahidin into Kashmir (fighters)⁴⁵.

However, there was no shortage of suggestions on how to resolve this unending problem. Sixty years of confrontation and sterile debate around these positions, show that such conflict and discussions offer nothing to India, Pakistan or Kashmir. The leadership of both the countries should understand the need for peace. A number of factors have

Internationalization and Pakistan...

combined to change the previously rigid mindset of the leadership. 9/11 and its aftermath has been another major factor, with steady pressure applied by the international community to avoid violence⁴⁶. The dispute over Kashmir is a main issue between both countries that has continuously troubled the respective nations. Pakistan sees the issue of self-determination on the other hand India considers integral part of it⁴⁷. In the other word we can say that it is against the wishes of Kashmiris⁴⁸. United Nations commission also passed two resolutions, on August 13, 1948 and January 5, 1949. It "reaffirms their wish that the future status of Jammu and Kashmir shall be determined in accordance with the will of the people"⁴⁹. Secondly, both nations accepted that "the question of accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to India or Pakistan will be decided through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite"⁵⁰. The United Nation Security Council also passed many resolutions of April 21, 1948 and on January 24, 1957.

Different governments of India accepted the right of self-determination. Pundit Nehru once said, "Kashmir, because of her geographical position, with her frontiers marching with three countries, namely the Soviet Union, China and Afghanistan, is intimately connected with the security and international contacts of India"⁵¹. Moreover, Jawaharlal Nehru who was Premier of India said on 2 September 1947:

"We have declared that the fate of Kashmir is ultimately to be decided by the people. That pledge we have given, and the Maharaja has supported it, not only to the people of Jammu and Kashmir, but also to the world. We will not and cannot back out of it. We are prepared when peace and law have been established to have a referendum held under international auspices like the United Nations. We want it to be a fair and just reference to the people and we shall accept their verdict."⁵²

Moreover, it was unanimously agreed in U.N. that the dispute should be resolved by the UN resolutions, which were set forth by India.

This is fact that the Kashmiris are sullen, resentful and mentally disturbed much like Hungarians and Czechs in the last decades of the Soviet empire. As mentioned by Bhandara, that, "Records of Srinagar's only mental hospital show 60000 valley people received psychological treatment during the year 2004 as opposed to 17000 in the year 1989 with an average of three suicide cases - mostly young women - are reported daily in the Srinagar area alone"⁵³.

Above all, Kashmiris, have suffered for more than 57 years and sacrificed over 300,000 lives, in their quest for freedom⁵⁴. All the socio-political parties representing the public opinion called upon the government to bring the Kashmir dispute out at international level. At the OIC foreign ministerial conference, held in 1990 at Cairo, and through a unanimously adopted resolution, it was demanded that the member countries pressurize India to halt inhuman atrocities and for Indian forces to vacate the territory in order to resolve the dispute in view of the UN resolutions⁵⁵. The 12th SAARC Summit at Islamabad has changed the situation. India and Pakistan have agreed to discuss the issues bleeding them since their independence. The core issue is public knowledge. It is a question of the future of Muslim inhabitants of the valley, whether they want to live independently or with Pakistan, as it is stated by Khushwant, "they are not happy with Indian presence in the Valley but they do not want to gamble about their future with Pakistan"⁵⁶. Kashmir is not the only problem but it is part of a complex or a group of problems. The dispute over the geographical one is the heart but its capillaries or offshoots are terrorism, water disputes, security, border issues and nuclear issues.

Conclusion and Recommendations

This article discussed how the modern phenomenon of internationalization has resulted in political involvement into domestic and international conflict. On the other hand, it was explained how internationalization and sovereignty intersect. In Pakistan's perspective, some international players played a facilitative role in the establishment of regional hegemony. The violence during the 1990s heightened the political situation revealing inherent flaws in the political system of Pakistan. It should be modified but it could not be taken place. Different regimes were said to be in favor of internationalization within the country. Furthermore, rebel mindsets were the primary source of the country's internationalization atmosphere, as well as a major cause of bloodshed and strife. Along with it, various separatist political ideologies disrupted the country's peace and tranquility. Although it is clear that internationalization was aided by external funding in some circumstances, but it could not be accepted as a whole on all levels. It was discussed that ethnic violence is exacerbated by cultural violence. This type of aggression provides the impetus for more violence. Violence and carnage are the result of negative behaviors and intolerance. Devolution of authority can help to eliminate the drive of ethnic and political violence. This is the primary driving force behind internationalization both within and outside the country. In this article we can draft some recommendations.

It is recommended that the Kashmir issue, which has become a flashpoint in South Asia and around the world, is a local liberation struggle that has been recognized by UN resolutions. Furthermore, UNSC Resolutions 47 (April 21, 1948) and 122 (January 24, 1957) should be used to resolve the Kashmir dispute and bring peace and harmony to the region. Furthermore, in order to address the problem, both countries need to agree on the UN Resolution. As a result, the claims of state terrorism and supported terrorism will be resolved automatically. It is true that

superpowers have occasionally produced a hegemonic climate that has resulted in bloodshed and disputes with developing countries. According to some researchers, such as Oliver Roy, internationalization developed as a result of "particular isms," such as communism, socialism, and capitalism. He may be correct in some instances, but this cannot be accepted as a totality. In Pakistan's context, other "isms" are a long way from reality.

Also, this article suggests that both internationalization and ethnicity can be helpful in the long run. However, it is also concluded that internationalization and ethnicity are the main drivers of tensions and violence. Other variables evolved as a result of the ethnicity of politics, such as language disparities, provincialism, and territorial differences. Ethnic politics frequently caused friction between the federation and the provinces.

It is recommended that the country's political system is broken, and drastic changes are required. Green revolutions or other drastic actions can bring about radical transformations. In Pakistan's political landscape, a desire for political dominance has resulted in conflict and violence. As a result, it is necessary to purify the system. Pakistan must also consider the external challenge in addition to the internal one. The conflict is exacerbated by India's rivalry with Pakistan over border issues and nuclear technology. Furthermore, the strategic diversity of this region is dominated by historical conflict and warfare.

References

- ¹ Kegley, Charles W., and Eugene R. Wittkopf. *American foreign policy: pattern and process*. St. Martin's Press, 1996.
- ² Hoffman, John. "Legitimate Intervention and Illegitimate States: Sanctions Against South Africa." In *Political Theory, International Relations, and the Ethics of Intervention*, pp. 157-166. Palgrave Macmillan, London, 1993.

- ³ Tan, Samuel K. *Internationalization of the Bangsamoro struggle*. University of the Philippines, Center for Integrative and Development Studies, 2003
- ⁴ Ibid
- ⁵ Alexander, Yonah, ed. *International terrorism: political and legal documents*. Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1992.
- ⁶ Scharbrodt, Oliver. "The Salafiyya and Sufism: Muḥammad'Abduh and His Risālat al-Wāridāt (Treatise on Mystical Inspirations)." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (2007): 89-115.
- ⁷ Barnard, Timothy P., ed. *Contesting Malayness: Malay identity across boundaries*. NUS Press, 2004.
- ⁸ Satha-Anand, Chaiwat. *Islam and nonviolence*. Edited by Glenn D. Paige, and Sarah Gilliatt. Center for Global Nonviolence Planning Project, Matsunaga Institute for Peace, University of Hawai'i, 1993.
- ⁹ Lane-Poole, Stanley. *The Speeches & Table-talk of the Prophet Mohammad*. 1882.
- ¹⁰ Juergensmeyer, Mark. "Understanding the new terrorism." *Current History* 99, no. 636 (2000): 158.
- ¹¹ Green, Stephen. *Taking sides: America's secret relations with a militant Israel*. William Morrow & Company, 1984.
- ¹² Emad Mekay, IRAQ: War Launched to Protect Israel – Bush Adviser, Inter Press Service News Agency, March 29, 2004. <http://www.ipsnews.net/2004/03/iraq-war-launched-to-protect-israel-bush-adviser/>
- ¹³ Klare, Michael T. "For oil and empire? Rethinking war with Iraq." *Current History* 102, no. 662 (2003): 129-135.
- ¹⁴ Sternhell, Zeev, Mario Sznajder, and Maia Asheri. *The birth of fascist ideology: from cultural rebellion to political revolution*. Princeton University Press, 1994.
- ¹⁵ Gurr, Ted Robert. *Why men rebel*. Routledge, Harvard University, 2015.
- ¹⁶ Yamamoto, Yoshinobu. *Globalism, Regionalism and Nationalism: Asia in search of its role in the twenty-first century*. Blackwell, 1999.
- ¹⁷ Galtung, Johan. "Cultural violence." *Journal of peace research* 27, no. 3 (1990): 291-305.
- ¹⁸ Caprioli, Mary. "Primed for violence: The role of gender inequality in predicting internal conflict." *International studies quarterly* 49, no. 2 (2005): 161-178.
- ¹⁹ Sobek, David. "Machiavelli's legacy: Domestic politics and international conflict." *International Studies Quarterly* 49, no. 2 (2005): 179-204.
- ²⁰ Ijaz Gilani. *The Four 'R's of Afghanistan*. Islamabad: Pakistan Institute of Public Opinion. 1984

- ²¹ Grosfoguel, Ramón. "Race and ethnicity or racialized ethnicities? Identities within global coloniality." *Ethnicities* 4, no. 3 (2004): 315-336.
- ²² Chua, Amy. "World on Fire: How Exporting Free Market Democracy Breeds Ethnic Hatred and Global Instability." (2004).
- ²³ Brass, Paul R., ed. *Ethnic groups and the state*. Barnes & Noble Imports, 1985.
- ²⁴ Kripalani, Jiwatram Bhagwandas. *Gandhian way*. Vora and Company Publishers Ltd, Bombay, 1932.
- ²⁵ Ali, Salamat. "Escalation of violence: Sindh erupts in wave of ethnic killings." *Far Eastern Economic Review* 148 (1990): 22-22.
- ²⁶ BBC Report, Based on the BBC WM Radio Report, monitored in Birmingham (UK), 11 July 1995.
- ²⁷ Philip Gooden. *Brodie's Notes*, English Coursework: Conflict. (London: Pan Books Ltd. 1991)
- ²⁸ Malik, Iftikhar. *State and civil society in Pakistan: Politics of authority, ideology and ethnicity*. Springer, 1996.
- ²⁹ Lake, David A., and Donald Rothchild. "Containing fear: The origins and management of ethnic conflict." *International security* 21, no. 2 (1996): 41-75.
- ³⁰ Dupree, Louis. "Afghanistan Princeton University Press." *Princeton, New Jersey* (1980).
- ³¹ Donnan, Hastings. "DAVID TAYLOR: Pakistan.(World Bibliographical Series, Vol. 10.) xxxi, 257 pp. Oxford and Santa Barbara: Clio Press, 1990.£ 37.75." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 54, no. 2 (1991): 403-404.
- ³² Iyer, Ramaswamy. "Water-related conflicts: Factors, aspects, issues." *Searching for Peace in Central and South Asia* (2001): 277-90.
- ³³ Rashid, Ahmed. *Taliban: The story of the Afghan warlords*. Pan Macmillan, 2001.
- ³⁴ ICG (International crises group), working paper. Asia, Report No. 125, working paper, 11 Dec 2006
- ³⁵ Durand Line Issues. IPCS Special Report. Institute of peace and conflict studies. 2000. Retrieved from www.ipcs.org
- ³⁶ Caroe, Olaf. "The Pathans." *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* 108, no. 5052 (1960): 920-939.
- ³⁷ Rubin, Barnett R. *The fragmentation of Afghanistan: State formation and collapse in the international system*. Yale University Press, 2002.

- ³⁸ Karim, Maj Gen Afsir. *Kashmir: The Troubled Frontiers*. Lancer Publishers LLC, 2013.
- ³⁹ "Muttahida Jihad Council" (United Jihad Council). South Asia terrorism portal. Accessed on 10 August, 2012. https://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/india/states/jandk/terrorist_outfits/mjc.htm
- ⁴⁰ Taylor, David. "South Asia-Prem Shankar Jha: Kashmir, 1947: rival versions of history. 151 pp. Delhi, etc.: Oxford University Press, 1996.£ 8.99, Rs. 275." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 62, no. 1 (1999): 167-168.
- ⁴¹ Korson, J. Henry, ed. *Contemporary problems of Pakistan*. Vol. 15. Brill Archive, 1974.
- ⁴² Muhammad Sher Ali Khan Pataudi. *Quest for identity*. Al-kitab press 1984
- ⁴³ Bock, A. (2002). *Eye on the Empire*. Underlying problems in south Asia, www.antiwar.com, Alan Bock
- ⁴⁴ Shireen M. (2006). *Nuclearization of South Asia; the Geo-Political dimension*. Retrieved from <http://www.defencejournal.com>
- ⁴⁵ Ganguly, S. & Kapur, S. P. (2012). *India, Pakistan and the bomb: Debating nuclear stability in South Asia*. Columbia University Press
- ⁴⁶ Irfan Hussain, "Peace in our times," *Dawn*, October 30, 2004. (Karachi).
- ⁴⁷ Ashraf, Fahmida. "Jammu and Kashmir dispute: Examining various proposals for its resolution." *Published by the institute of strategic studies in Islamabad, Series: Islamabad Papers* (20) (2002): 1-51.
- ⁴⁸ Hyder, Tariq Osman. "Kashmir: Self-determination versus state terrorism." *The Korean Journal of Defense Analysis* 14, no. 1 (2002): 141-174.
- ⁴⁹ Ibid, P. 19
- ⁵⁰ Ibid, P. 54
- ⁵¹ Razvi, Mujtaba. "The frontiers of Pakistan: a study of frontier problems in Pakistan's foreign policy." (1971). p: 94
- ⁵² A chronology of the Kashmir dispute. Pakistan alert network. Retrieved from <http://www.pakalert.net>. (2012)
- ⁵³ Bhagwan Prasad, "Kashmir: A possible solution," *Dawn*, October 24, 2004, Karachi
- ⁵⁴ Khalid, C, "Reflection on Kashmir," *Dawn*, November 8, 2004, Karachi
- ⁵⁵ Abdul Rashid Turabi, "Consensual Kashmir policy," *Pakistan observer*, July 7, 2005.
- ⁵⁶ Khushwant Sing, "The treadmill of indo-Pak relation," *The Tribune*, May 31, 2003.