



---

## India's Foreign Policy in Post Operation Sindoor: An Evaluation

**Jajnadatta Pattanayak**

Assistant Professor, (Contractual) & Research Scholar, P.G. Department of Political Science, Berhampur University, Bhanja Bihar, Odisha

**Sramita Maharana**

Student of P. G. Department of Political Science, Berhampur University, Ganjam, Odisha

---

DOI : <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.18977713>

---

### ARTICLE DETAILS

**Research Paper**

**Accepted:** 16-02-2026

**Published:** 10-03-2026

#### **Keywords:**

*Conjoined, Mistrust, Mutual-Antagonism, Cross-Border Terrorism, Operation Sindoor, Security, Foreign Policy.*

---

### ABSTRACT

Despite India-Pakistan are just like a conjoined twins but their relations have historically been characterized by conflict, mistrust, mutual antagonism and intermittent engagement, primarily due to the legacy of partition, Kashmir issues and cross-border terrorism before the Operation Sindoor. India's approach towards Pakistan was marked by a policy of strategic restraint, in which diplomatic pressure, international advocacy, and limited military responses were preferred over sustained escalation. Since 1947, India and Pakistan have fought four major wars over the time, such as 1947, 1965, 1971 and 1999, respectively, over the period of time. Pakistan-sponsored terrorism against India, like the Indian Parliament attack in 2001, the Mumbai Taj Hotel attack in 2008 and the Pulwama attack in 2019, uncovered the brutal face of our immediate neighbour. On April 22, 2025, a terror attack was carried out at Pehelgam of Jammu & Kashmir, leaving 26 people dead, who always reminds us of the real face of Pakistan towards our army and people. And the country at large. This event evoked widespread outrage in India as those killed were unarmed civilians and mostly tourists. The terrorists were reportedly targeting the Hindus and non-Muslim men. The Indian government's response to the attack was shifted. India drew attention to cross-border terrorism

---



and blamed Pakistan. The Post Operation Sindoor is a turning point in the regional security landscape across South Asia. It was initially hailed as a tactical and operational success. Its broader implications for India's foreign policy and long-term strategic posture are coming under critical scrutiny both domestically and internationally. In post-operation Sindoor, India's foreign policy has witnessed several changes, including a decisive transformation in the country's strategic behaviour, diplomatic priorities, and security, as well as a zero-tolerance policy towards terrorism. After the Operation Sindoor, India engaged with international law and multilateral platforms such as the UN, SCO, BRICS, and others. India's strategic relationship with multiple alternative power blocs, such as the US, Russia, China, France, and Japan, have significantly expanded after the Operation, primarily through defence and military cooperation, joint military exercises, technology sharing, and the Indo-Pacific initiative. The partnership not only enhanced India's security capacity and capabilities but also reflects its growing role in shaping the regional and global security architecture. India's shifting stance from the Post-Operation Sindoor strategy of restraint to post-operation assertive deterrence represents a significant transformation in India's foreign policy.

---

## Introduction

**"Terror and talks cannot go together; terror and trade cannot go hand in hand; and water and blood cannot flow together"**

India's foreign policy in the post-Operation Sindoor period reflects a paradigm shift towards a more confident, assertive, and strategically autonomous global posture. The Operation Sindoor highlighted India's evolving security doctrine, which emphasizes deterrence, swift retaliation, and zero tolerance toward cross-border terrorism. In the post of Operation Sindoor, India has recalibrated its diplomatic engagement by combining hard power with the United States, Russia, and European nations, while simultaneously integrating and deepening cooperation within regional groupings such as the QUAD, BIMSTEC, and the Indo-Pacific framework as well. Counterterrorism cooperation, defence modernisation, and intelligence sharing have emerged as central pillars of India's external strategy.



India's air superiority during Operation Sindoor compelled Pakistan to seek a ceasefire, with reports suggesting that Pakistan's air defence systems marked a significant shift in India's crisis-response doctrine, and that the government granted the armed forces broad operational freedom to manage escalation.

*India-Pakistan Relations since 1947: An Assessment*

India and Pakistan share one of the most complex and conflict-ridden relationships in the historical period, rooted in the partition of British India in the year 1947. The partition led to the creation of two sovereign states based on religious identity—India as a secular nation and Pakistan as a homeland for Muslims. This division was accompanied by one of the largest mass migrations in history and widespread communal violence, resulting in deep-seated mistrust between the two nations. Peter. T. Coleman rightly pointed out that 95 per cent of the world's most serious disputes can be resolved, but India and Pakistan fall into the 5 per cent that cannot (Singh, 2017, p. 245). A central issue shaping their relations has been the dispute over Jammu and Kashmir. The 1st Indo-Pak war (1947-1948) ended with a ceasefire but left Kashmir divided.

In the 1950s, the deaths of Jinnah and Liaquat Ali Khan led to the military strengthening its influence in Pakistan. Over time, Pakistan developed a semi-alliance with the USA by joining CENTO and SEATO. Pakistan always wanted a Western security guarantee for itself against India, but could not succeed in the same. During the 1950s, due to intense wariness of a communist China, the USA also provided economic and military aid to ensure that India did not fall into the Soviet sphere of influence. The US's commonality also provided financial and military assistance to ensure that India did not fall into the Soviet trap—the commonality that led to the 1965 war. The US, consequently, became disillusioned with both and suspended its aid of military hardware to both India and Pakistan. This allowed the Soviets to step in and resolve the stalemate, leading to the Tashkent Declaration. After the USA entered the region as an intermediary for both states, paving the way for India and Pakistan to work on the Indus Water Treaty in 1960. The USA's support of India was one of two factors that resulted in Pakistan deciding to instigate unrest in Kashmir in the 1965 war. Things changed in 1971 when the East Pakistan war broke out, and India helped slice away East Pakistan, which is later known as Bangladesh, marking a decisive defeat for Pakistan and altering the regional balance of power. In 1999, the Kargil conflict between the two countries was sparked by the infiltration of Pakistani soldiers into Indian Territory in Kashmir.

Despite of this major war over the period of time Pakistan -sponsored terrorism against India like Indian parliament attack 2001, Further, in 2008,, a major armed attack was carried out by terrorist in Mumbai,



Pathankot airbase attack by jemin 2016, The Uri attack occurred on Sep 2016, Pulwama Attack 2019 a suicide bomber from Pakistan -based Jaish-e-Mohammed targeted a CRPF convoy in Pulwama, Jammu and Kashmir, killing almost 40 personnel. On April 22, 2025, a terrorist attack at Pahalgam in India's Jammu and Kashmir left 26 people dead. It evoked widespread outrage in India as those killed were unarmed civilians and mostly tourists. They were reportedly targeted for being Hindu; non -Muslims men were singled out and shot dead at point-blank range before their wives and children (Ramachandran, 2025).

### Operations Sindoor & Its Impact

India's precision strikes on terrorist infrastructure and their military facilities encompassing both mainland Pakistan and Pakistan-occupied Jammu and Kashmir have indicated India's new response doctrine to acts of cross-border terror. Operation Sindoor marked a swift and decisive retaliation for the Pahalgam attack on May 7 2025. This is India's military response to the act of grave provocation, which was focused and precise: targeting terror infrastructure not only in the PoK, but for the 1st time, the headquarters of the terrorist groups Lashkar-e-Toiba and Jaish-e-Mohammad at Mudrika and Bahawalpur. Operation Sindoor was unique in many ways. It was the subcontinent's 1st and foremost non-contact war, marked by technology-driven kinetic activity involving missiles and drones. Neither side physically crossed the other's territorial space. It not only showcased India's military and technological superiority but, more importantly, restored strategic deterrence and a new security doctrine. India suspended the Indus Water Treaty (IWT) of 1960 following the killing of 26 tourists in J&K, accusing Pakistan of supporting terrorism. India's position is clear: "Terror and talk cannot go together, and water and blood cannot flow together", rightly said by the Indian Prime Minister (Sahgal & Sahu, 2025, p. 12).



(Credit: Wikipedia) (S-400 Triumph)



(S-125 Pechora)



*The genesis of New Normal*

On May 12, PM Modi articulated the core principle of India's new response doctrines. 1st any Pakistan terrorist attack on Indian soil would be met with proportionate retaliation, 2nd India would no longer be deterred by nuclear blackmail in its resolve to strike terrorist sanctuaries across the border, More importantly, it called out the false equivalence that the international community tends to make between India and Pakistan under the nuclear umbrella, Prime Minister Modi also additionally reiterated India's long-held diplomatic position: terror and talk cannot go together. India's post-operation Sindoore doctrine redefined victory and deterrence, replacing the traditional notion of victory with a spectrum of outcomes ranging from psychological ascendancy to narrative dominance. The key aim of the post-operation Sindoore is to systematically target terror camps, leadership and support structure deep within Pakistan. After the Operation, the Sindoore doctrine includes assured and proportionate retaliation, no distinction between state and proxies, challenging nuclear brinkmanship, strategic autonomy and decisive action.

*Objectives Achieved*

Operation Sindoore was undertaken with the primary aim of strengthening India's national security and countering cross-border terrorism. One of its foremost objectives was the neutralization of terrorist infrastructure across the entire Pakistan, including training camps, launch pads, and support networks used for planning attacks against India. By targeting these facilities, the Operation sought to reduce militant groups' operational capacity. Another objective was to create a credible deterrent against future acts of terrorism. The main aim of this Operation is to protect national sovereignty and territorial integrity. Operation Sindoore also aimed to send a strong strategic and political message. At the regional and international level, India has a zero tolerance of terrorism and indirect as well as proxy war.



(Credit: Wikipedia) (Dassault Rafale)



(9K33 Osa)



Operation Sindoor India's military response on May 6-7, 2025, marks a significant turning point in India's foreign policy, reflecting a shift toward a more assertive, proactive, and security-oriented diplomatic posture. Conducted in response to. In the face of persistent cross-border threats, the Operation demonstrated India's willingness to employ calibrated military force while simultaneously managing international perceptions through diplomatic engagement. This combination of hard power and strategic communication has reshaped India's external relations and global standing. The post-operation Sindoor phase represents a decisive transformation in the country's strategic behaviour, diplomatic priorities, and security outlook. Operation Sindoor, undertaken in response to escalating cross-border threats and security challenges, marked a critical moment in India's external relations. It demonstrated India's willingness to employ calibrated military action while simultaneously reinforcing its commitment to diplomacy, international laws and multilateral engagement. The study of post-operation Sindoor argues that India adopted a more assertive yet responsible foreign policy approach, strategic restraint, which had traditionally guided India's external behaviour, evolved into a policy of strategic assertiveness combined with diplomatic engagement. India sought to convey a clear deterrence message to adversaries while avoiding escalation. This dual approach was particularly evident in India's handling of relations with Pakistan and China, where firmness on security issues was balanced with continued diplomatic & military level communication to preserve regional stability.

A significant aspect of India's post-operation foreign policy was the internationalization of its security concerns. India actively engaged with global institutions such as the UN, G20 & other multilateral platforms to highlight the challenges posed by cross-border terrorism & regional instability through a sustained diplomatic outreach. India positioned itself as a responsible state acting in self-defense to gain broader international understanding and support. India's strategic partnership in the post-operation Sindoor period with major powers such as the USA, Russia, Japan, Australia, and France depends on enhanced joint military cooperation, technology sharing & Indo-Pacific initiative, but also reflects its growing role in shaping the regional and global security architecture. At the same time, India maintained its long-standing engagement with global South priorities to advance South-South cooperation. In the post-operation period, Sindoor India is recalibrating its stance on various issues. The ban on Turkey isn't explicitly mentioned in recent contexts, but India's relations with Turkey have been strained due to Turkey's support for Pakistan and its stance on Kashmir.

1. On the other hand, India has traditionally supported a unified Cyprus and has been involved in UN peacekeeping efforts there. Raising the Cyprus issue could be part of India's broader



diplomatic effort to strengthen ties with European nations and counterbalance China's influence in the region. Net security provider: India aims, post-operation Sindoor, to be the net security provider in the Indian Ocean region, focusing on maritime security, counterterrorism, and regional stability.

2. Human-centric Approach: Shift from traditional diplomacy to prioritizing human security, economic development and welfare.
3. Coordination and integration: better coordination between MEA, armed forces and intelligence agencies to enhance national security and policy coherence.
4. Strategic Communication: India moves from a defensive explanation to a confident articulation of India's interests and position.
5. National Interest-Driven Decision: Priorities national interests over bloc politics or external pressure.



(Credit: Wikipedia) (SCALP)



(ZSU-23-4 Shilka)

Operation Sindoor is the Indian government's retaliation against the Pahalgam attack on April 22 2025. This Operation's main aim is to destroy terrorism in the world and achieve zero tolerance of terrorism. On that day, India's Operation targeted 9 areas, including the LOC, Muzaffarabad, and Kotli. Other regions like Bahawalpur, Kopliphimar, Balkot, Chakmaru, etc., do not aim to destroy the ordinary people's life, but also destroy the terrorist region in that targeted place. In this place, the operation Sindoor used 6 Pakistani jets, which were shot down by the mighty Indian air force. The tally includes 3 Rafales, 1 MIRAGE 200, 1 MIG-29 and 1 drone. This Operation is not only technological warfare but also



networking warfare, where radar systems and their mastermind jammer secure the networking of the warfare. It also uses the S-400, which India brought from Russia in October 2018.

### *Operations Sindoor: A Tribute to Women*

Sindoor is a powerful Indian cultural symbol linked to feminine power, marriage, social honour, and self-respect. Associating this name with the Operation itself represents women's dignity && strength. This Operation has become a symbol showing that Indian women are no longer just caretakers of the house but also defenders of the border. In this line with UN women, peace& security agenda(UNSCR1325) this Operation has emerged as a shining ex – of India can now safe on global platform that it has provided women's with opportunities not only administrative sectors but strike operation, it not just India's story of NARI SHAKTI but also source of strength, inspiration for women's struggle across the world. In this Operation, Sindoor and two other Indian women played significant roles. Those are Colonel Sophia Qureshi (Indian Army) and Wing Commander Vyomika Singh (Indian Air Force), who led media briefings. While BSF Assistant Commander Neha Bhandari led troops under fire, demonstrating courage and command capacity. They were under heavy fire for 72 hours in the Akhnoor sector. The two Women commanded an air Defence unit against a Pakistani aerial attack on a vital installation. Their active participation in combat and their role in Operation Sindoor proved that women's capabilities can handle high-pressure, aggressive situations, countering old stereotypes. Their active involvement also creates more opportunities for women in defence and leadership.

### *Role of Indian Ethos in Operation Sindoor*

The Indian ethos of the Mahabharata is based on righteousness, courage, dharma, justice, and peace. The Kurukshetra war is described as a DharmaYudha, a war fought to restore order after all peaceful means fail. In Operation Sindoor, righteousness and courage were also interpreted as actions undertaken after repeated provocations, aimed at protecting national security and restoring deterrence. A central teaching of the Mahabharata is the king's duty to protect his innocent people from violence and injustice. Krishna advises Arjuna to defend society from injustice. Operation Sindoor aligns with the ethos by prioritizing national safety, civilian protection, and countering threats rather than territorial expansion or revenge.

### *Indus Water Treaty*

The Indus Water Treaty is an agreement between India and Pakistan on the use of water from the Indus River and its tributaries, mediated by the World Bank. It was signed in Karachi in 1960. It objected to the



development of a hydroelectric project on the Indian side, demonstrating its "intransigence" in enforcing the treaty. But when Pakistan attacked India's Pahalgam region, India suspended the Indus water treaty for a temporary period, using the word "Abeyance". And Modi said terror and talk cannot go together, water and blood cannot flow together.

### **The Post Operation Impacts on Major Powers**

In the post-operation, Sindoor highlighted the relationship between India and the US, revealing both the strengths and limitations of their strategic partnership. The US response to the crisis was characterized by measured engagement, reflecting its broader regional priorities and the complexities of great-power competition in South Asia. Post-operatively, Sindoor, the US adopted a policy of limited intervention, opting for quiet diplomacy rather than overt or forceful involvement. This approach was intended to balance American interests in regional stability, counterterrorism, and great-power rivalry. From the historical US support to India, especially on cross-border terrorism and the Kashmir dispute, the US has also long sought to bolster India as a counterweight to Chinese influence.

The aftermath of Operation Sindoor has increased strategic partnership between India and Russia, marked by mutual trust, defence cooperation, and expanding engagement across multiple sectors. Russian-supplied platforms, most notably the S-400 air defence system and the BrahMos supersonic missile, a joint venture, played a crucial role during Operation Sindoor. It has marks a new phase for India Connect and ties with Middle Eastern countries. India's multi-party delegation visited key countries in the region, aiming to present its position on cross-border terrorism. Operation Sindoor has emerged as a transformative event in India's geopolitical history, fundamentally altering the country's strategic posture, diplomatic engagement, and regional leadership narrative. It was not just a tactical military operation but also a successful operation to destroy cross-border terrorism, with the main aim of achieving zero tolerance for terrorism worldwide. On the home front, the Operation enhanced national cohesion and public confidence in India's security. This Operation, Sindoor, also defends its sovereignty through a combination of hard and smart power, while helping usher in a new phase of counterterrorism. As above, cooperation after the Operation, Sindoor India also has significant ties with the European Union, particularly in counterterrorism, defence, and military cooperation. This organization also supported India during the Pahalgam attack; the support letter served as the basis for their collaboration.

In the post-operation period, Sindoor has brought renewed attention to the complex issue, which often pits India and Pakistan against each other, and has also drawn China into the fray, given its deep strategic



interest in the region. The India-China relationship is becoming more pragmatic. Power-balanced relationship in post-operation Sindoor. Where China acknowledged India's growing strength and India pursues strategic autonomy without falling into China's orbit.

The Gulf Cooperation Council countries, leveraging their history of mediating between India and Pakistan, played a particularly active role in behind-the-scenes diplomacy. They increased mediation efforts through diplomatic visits and discreet talks, aiming to de-escalate the situation while preserving their strategic relationships with both India and Pakistan. This approach reflects the GCC's pragmatic interest in maintaining regional stability, especially as global powers took a more limited role in direct mediation during the crisis. India's delegations emphasized the ethos of harmony and tolerance that underpins its relations with Gulf nations. By engaging with influential leaders, think tanks, and community representatives, India projected its inclusive values and commitment to peaceful coexistence. This approach resonated with the UAE and other moderate Arab states.

## **An Agenda for the Future**

### **1. Participation in multilateral forums and peacekeeping:**

After Operation Sindoor, India emphasised its commitment to international law and norms. Presenting its action as defensive, lawful, and morally justified. Indian diplomats engaged with multilateral platforms, including the United Nations and the G20, to clarify that the Operation was an act of counterterrorism, not just war. India's participation in multilateral institutions such as the UN Peacekeeping Force, BRICS, and the Quad further strengthened its credibility.

### **1. Counterterrorism Cooperation and Intelligence Sharing:**

Operation Sindoor set a new benchmark for intelligence-driven operations in South Asia. India's success was rooted in detailed intelligence mapping, real-time surveillance and robust coordination between defence and intelligence agencies. Recognizing the regional threat posed by transnational terrorism. Sometimes, Pakistan spreads misinformation and propaganda against India. India further creates domestic awareness campaigns to boost media literacy and resist foreign information warfare, enhancing its cyber resilience and global leadership in combating hybrid threats.

### **1. Strategic Diplomacy And Economic Pressure:**



India employed a combination of kinetic and non-kinetic strategies to isolate Pakistan diplomatically and economically. India took measures such as suspending the Indus Water Treaty, halting bilateral trade, and shutting the Attari-Wagah border in response to extreme provocation. It turned a diplomatic instrument into a strategic tool. The move, while controversial, highlighted India's new doctrine.

### 1. Cultural and Diplomatic Isolation:

India imposed a total cultural boycott of Pakistan, banning artists, streaming content and any form of bilateral cultural exchange. Furthermore, India declared Pakistani defence attaches in its High Commission as persona non grata and drastically reduced Pakistan's diplomatic presence in New Delhi. These actions symbolize India's firm stance on non-engagement with state sponsors of terrorism.

### Conclusion

Operation Sindoor has emerged as a transformative and turning-point event in India's geopolitical history, fundamentally altering the country's strategic posture, diplomatic engagements, and regional relations. This Operation strengthens the power dynamics of the relationship and future cooperation with other major powers worldwide. In the wake of Operation Sindoor, India's relations remain fundamentally important but are increasingly complicated by strategic ambiguity, shifting alliances, and the pressure of great power competition. India is expected to continue strengthening its military capabilities and diplomatic leverage, bypassing all restraints through the use of smart power.

### References

- Vijaita Singh, "Pahalgam Terror Attack: Terrorists Asked Name and Religion of Male Tourists, Shot Them, Says Survivor," *The Hindu*, April 24, 2025, <https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/terrorists-kept-firing-for-25-30-minutes-recalls-pahalgamewitness/article69483296.ece>.
- "As Pressure Mounts, TRF Denies Involvement in Pahalgam Attack," *The Hindu*, April 26, 2025, <https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/as-pressure-mounts-trf-denies-involvement-in-pahalgam-attack/article69495143.ece>.
- Abdul Basit, "What is TRF, the Terror Group That Brought India and Pakistan to the Brink of War?" *The Diplomat*,



- May 16, 2025, <https://thediplomat.com/2025/05/what-is-trf-the-terror-group-that-brought-india-and-pakistan-to-the-brink-of-war/>.
- “LeT Proxy TRF Banned, Chief Tagged ‘Terrorist’,” The Times of India, January 6, 2023, <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/let-proxy-trf-banned-chief-tagged-terrorist/articleshow/96776322.cms>;
- Shubhajit Roy, “Indian Team Set to Meet UN Committee in Push to List TRF As Terror Outfit,” The Indian Express, May 15, 2025, <https://indianexpress.com/article/india/india-sends-team-un-push-terror-tag-lashkar-linked-trf-10006796/>.
- Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, “Statement by Foreign Secretary on the Decision of the Cabinet Committee on Security (CCS),” April 23, 2025, <https://www.mea.gov.in/Speeches-Statements.htm?dtl/39442>.
- Pakistan’s Defence Minister Khawaja Asif said Pakistan had “no connection” with the attack, adding that it does not support terrorism in any form anywhere. Shemrez Nauman Afzal, “Pakistan on High Alert as Indians Clamour for Retribution After Terrorists Kill 26 in Pahalgam,” The Friday Times, April 23, 2025, <https://thefridaytimes.com/24-Apr-2025/pahalgam-terror-attack-kashmir-trf>.
- Himanshu Harsh and Vikas Pathak, “In First Comments After Pahalgam Attack, Modi Spells It Out: ‘We Will Pursue Terrorists to the Ends of the Earth’,” The Indian Express, April 25, 2025, <https://indianexpress.com/article/india/modi-first-speech-pahalgam-attack-2025-9963537/>.
- Pakistani operations in J&K in the pre-1989 period, however, were carried out by small numbers of covert operatives, the scale of whose armed activities was by today’s standards trivial.
- For an overview of the militancy in J&K in the 1990s, see Navnita Chadha Behera, *State, Identity and Violence: Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh* (Manohar, 2000), 64-205; and for Pakistan’s role in it, see Happymon Jacob, “Conflict in Kashmir: An Insurgency with Long Roots,” in *Insurgency and Counterinsurgency in South Asia: Through a Peacebuilding Lens*, ed. Moeed Yusuf (USIP, 2014), 37-40.
- A Kashmiri nationalist organisation, the JKLF has sought the independence of Kashmir from both India and Pakistan. In 1993, a militarily weakened JKLF renounced violence as a means to achieve its goal.
- Based in Pakistan’s Punjab province and predominantly Punjabi, these groups profess a jihadist ideology and goals. The LeT wages jihad not only to liberate Kashmir, but also to restore Islamic rule across India. It has carried out attacks in J&K and New Delhi, Mumbai, Bangalore,



Hyderabad, Varanasi, etc. "Lashkare Taiba," South Asia Terrorism Portal, accessed May 15, 2025, [https://satp.org/satporgtp/countries/india/states/jandk/terrorist\\_outfits/lashkar\\_e\\_toiba.htm](https://satp.org/satporgtp/countries/india/states/jandk/terrorist_outfits/lashkar_e_toiba.htm).

- Rajesh Rajagopalan, "Insurgency and Counterinsurgency," paper presented at India Seminar: National Security, no. 599, July 2009, [https://india-seminar.com/2009/599/599\\_rajesh\\_rajagopalan.htm](https://india-seminar.com/2009/599/599_rajesh_rajagopalan.htm).
- Gurmeet Kanwal, "Kargil," paper presented at India Seminar: Something Like a War, no. 479, July 1999, <https://india-seminar.com/1999/479/479%20kanwal.htm>.
- Stanly Johny, "A New Normal in India-Pakistan Ties," The Hindu, May 10, 2025, <https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/a-new-normal-in-india-pakistan-ties/article69557361.ece>.
- Anand Mishra and Sheela Bhatt, "Cross-LoC Operations in Past Too, Strikes Made Public as Part of Strategy, S Jaishankar Tells Panel," The Indian Express, October 19, 2016, <https://indianexpress.com/article/india/india-news-india/surgical-loc-strikes-border-attack-past-s-jaishankar-panel-meeting-proof-uri-3090729/>.
- Sudha Ramachandran, "'Surgical Strikes' Mark Change in India's Stance on Cross-Border Attacks," Terrorism Monitor 14, no. 21 (2016): 3-5, <https://jamestown.org/program/surgical-strikes-mark-change-indias-stance-cross-border-attacks/>.
- Sudha Ramachandran, "India and Pakistan on the Brink," The Diplomat, February 28, 2019, <https://thediplomat.com/2019/02/india-and-pakistan-on-the-brink/>.
- Happymon Jacob, "The Many Messages in Operation Sindoor," Hindustan Times, May 7, 2025, <https://www.hindustantimes.com/opinion/the-many-messages-in-operation-sindoor-101746633710775.ht>