

Conflict and Cooperation (1945-2000)

Topic 1: Indo-Pakistani Conflict (1945-1972)

SAJC History Unit, 2024

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Learning Outcomes (from the Examination Syllabus)

Students are able to:

- evaluate causes of conflicts
- evaluate the roles of different actors in the development of conflicts over time
- evaluate the effectiveness of conflict management

Essential Questions for this topic:

- *Why did conflicts occur and how did they affect the international order?*
- *Why do countries/ethnic groups engage in war and conflict with one another?*
- *Why do wars and conflicts usually remain protracted and difficult to resolve?*
- *What are the consequences of war and conflict for affected countries and the region at large?*
- *How effective were the attempts to manage these conflicts?*

Guiding Questions for this topic:

- What were the primary causes of the conflicts between India and Pakistan after the Second World War?
- How did the partition of British India in 1947 influence the initial conflicts between India and Pakistan?
- What roles did regional powers, such as China and the former Soviet Union, play in the Indo-Pakistani conflicts?
- What instigated the wars between India and Pakistan in 1947-1948, 1965, and 1971? How did each war reshape the geopolitical landscape of South Asia?
- How did the Indo-Pakistani conflicts affect global Cold War dynamics, particularly the involvement of the United States and the Soviet Union?
- What steps did the United Nations take to mediate the Indo-Pakistani conflicts, and how effective were these interventions?
- What were the socio-political and economic impacts of the Indo-Pakistani conflicts on both nations involved?

- How did the internal political dynamics within India and Pakistan either escalate or de-escalate the conflicts?
- In what ways did the Kashmir issue contribute to the sustained tensions and conflicts between India and Pakistan?
- What role did international diplomatic efforts play in the resolution or escalation of the Indo-Pakistani conflicts over the decades?
- How have cultural and religious differences been exploited or mitigated by political actors on both sides to further their interests in the Indo-Pakistani conflicts?
- What impact did the conflict have on regional stability in South Asia, particularly concerning smaller neighboring countries?
- What lessons can be learned from the Indo-Pakistani conflicts about international conflict resolution and peacebuilding?

1. Introduction

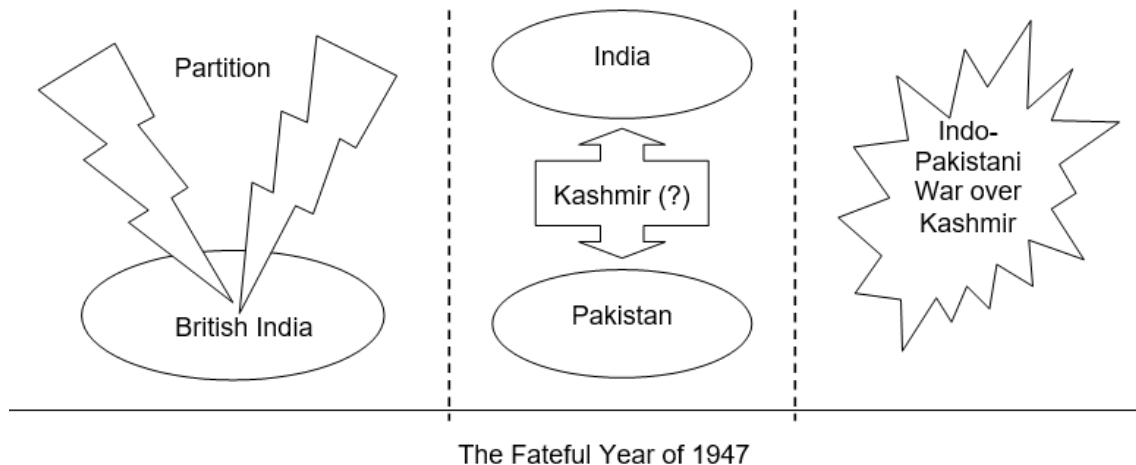
- The Indo-Pakistani conflict largely consists of an inter-state struggle between India and Pakistan. It is important to note that at the point in 1947, Kashmir's accession was deemed as vital to the political survival of both India and Pakistan, both newly-formed states. As the conflict evolved, other reasons *emerged* to the forefront (does not mean they were new) which further protracted the struggle for Kashmir.
- The protraction of the IP conflict is due to a milieu of reasons and circumstances including the clash in nationalism, the rise of religious fundamentalism*, contrasting foreign policy attitudes, the rise of Kashmiri nationalism, Superpower involvement and nuclearisation.
- Out of these, nationalism is the most important reason that explains the enduring struggle and it is important to note that the clash in opposing nationalisms (secular nationalism on the part of India vs. religious nationalism on the part of Pakistan) PRECEDED independence of the two states in 1947.

- Military struggle: The sequence of major wars and intermittent border skirmishes and tensions point to a concerted military struggle over Kashmir by both the states of India and Pakistan, which has been characterised as an “enduring rivalry” (T.V. Paul) since its inception.
- The consequences of the struggle for Kashmir extend beyond India and Pakistan alone, with local, regional and international dimensions.

1.1 Understanding the Indo-Pakistani conflict over Kashmir

- Often depicted by historians as ‘the unfinished business of partition’ of the Indian subcontinent, Kashmir has been the focus of a long and bloody conflict between the Indians, the Pakistanis, and the frequently forgotten Kashmiris since 1947. Akin to the struggle between the Israelis and the Palestinians, both Indians and Pakistanis have made irreconcilable claims over this territory under dispute.
- These claims over the divided state of Kashmir have been rooted in ethnicity, religion, territory and irredentism. Their conflict over Kashmir has beleaguered relations between India and Pakistan within months of their creation in 1947. In addition to fighting 3 major wars (1947-48, 1965 and 1999), the two countries also came close to using nuclear weapons in their attempts at resolving the conflict. The struggle for Kashmir has thus been a primary source of regional instability in South Asia, fuelling mutual Indo-Pakistani hostility – with potentially disastrous results, both regionally as well as internationally.
- This intractable, bitter war of words and weapons over Kashmir has consequently devastated the lives of many Indians, Pakistanis as well as Kashmiris. Without any resolution of the issues which had led to the genesis of the conflict, no end remains in sight, and in the words of former US President Bill Clinton, Kashmir may well remain ‘the most dangerous place on earth’ for years to come.

2. Origins of the Indo-Pakistani Conflict over Kashmir



2.1 Context: The Land of Kashmir

- The beautiful land that would subsequently become known as Kashmir was originally a Buddhist kingdom that paid fealty to Tibet until the 7th century, when it came under Hindu control. Muslim rulers then ousted the Hindus in the 14th century, but their rule was supplanted by that of the Mughals in 1586. From 1752, Afghans overran the land, only to be defeated by the Sikhs in 1819, who themselves, in turn, fell to the British in 1846.
- Soon after they conquered Kashmir, the British sold the territory to Gulab Singh, the Hindu maharaja of Jammu, via the Treaty of Amritsar of 1846. This gave him nominal independent rule over the newly formed state of Jammu and Kashmir, in return for his allegiance to the British. With the latter's support, Gulab Singh annexed some adjacent territories and established the boundaries of modern-day Kashmir.
- As a consequence, people of different linguistic, religious and cultural traditions were brought under the jurisdiction of one ruler. The inclusion of the predominantly Muslim and more densely populated valley of Kashmir meant

that Hindus, Sikhs and Buddhists would become a minority in this multitudinous assortment of ethnicities and beliefs.

- When Britain partitioned the Indian subcontinent in 1947, the region that would later encompass Indian-controlled Jammu and Kashmir was approximately 77% Muslim, 20% Hindu and 3% Sikh and Buddhist. The region which would subsequently become Azad ('free') Kashmir under Pakistani control was 100% Muslim. Continued Hindu rule over Kashmir's Muslim majority would pose serious problems after the partition.

2.2 Decolonisation (The Partition of India)

- Britain's colonisation of the Indian subcontinent began in the 18th century. British India was a hotchpotch of princely states under British influence and territories directly ruled by the British. From the late 19th century onwards, disenchantment with British colonial rule brought about the emergence of several nationalist movements. At the forefront of the struggle for independence were the Indian National Congress led by Jawaharlal Nehru and Mohandas Gandhi, as well as the Muslim League led by Mohammed Ali Jinnah.
- Nehru and Gandhi dreamt of an independent, united India based on secular principles. Jinnah, however, advanced a two-nation theory. He argued that the Muslims and Hindus constituted two nations that could not coexist peacefully, and pressed relentlessly for a separate homeland for India's Muslim minority. This would offer the Muslims refuge from frequent persecution by the Hindus, and create a nation guided by Islamic thinking. [*Sources A, B*]

Source A

What conflict of interest can there be between Hindus and Muslims in the matter of revenue, sanitation, police, justice, or the use of public conveniences? The difference can only be in religious usage and observance with which a secular state has no concern. (20 January 1942)

If I were a dictator, religion and state would be separate. I swear by my religion. I will die for it. But it is my personal affair. The state has nothing to do with it. The state would look after your secular welfare, health, communications, foreign relations, currency and so on, but not your or my religion. That is everybody's personal concern! (September 1946)

Religion was a personal matter and if we succeeded in confining it to the personal plane, all would be well in our political life...If officers of Government as well as members of the public undertook the responsibility and worked wholeheartedly for the creation of a secular state, we could build a new India that would be the glory of the world. (17 August 1947)

Excerpts from speeches made by Mohandas Gandhi between 1942 and 1947

Source B

...It is extremely difficult to appreciate why our Hindu friends fail to understand the real nature of Islam and Hinduism. They are not religions in the strict sense of the word, but are, in fact, different and distinct social orders, and it is a dream that the Hindu and Muslims can ever evolve a common nationality and this misconception of one Indian nation lies gone far beyond the limits and is the cause of most of your troubles and will lead India to destruction if we fail to revise our notions in time. The Hindus and Muslims belong to too different religious philosophies, social customs, literatures. They neither inter-marry nor inter-dine together and, indeed, they belong to two different civilizations which are based mainly on conflicting ideas and conceptions. Their concepts on life and of life are different. It is quite clear that Hindus and Mussulmans derive their inspiration from different sources of history. They have different epics, different heroes, and different episodes. Very often the hero of one is a foe of the other and, likewise, their victory and defeats overlap. To yoke together two such nations under a single State, one as a numerical minority and the other as a majority, must lead to growing discontent and final destruction of any fabric that may be so built up for the government of such a state...

...Mussulmans are a nation according to any definition of a nation, and they must have their homelands, their territory and their State. We wish to live in peace and harmony with our neighbours as a free and independent people. We wish our people to develop to the fullest our spiritual, cultural, economic, social and political life in a way that we think best and in consonance with our own ideals and according to the genius of our people.

Excerpts from Jinnah's Demand for a Separate Homeland for the Muslims, 22 March 1940

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- By the close of WWII, it was patently clear that the Indian subcontinent was headed for partition. Britain's newly-elected Labour government was eager to wash its hands off colonialism, and attempts to craft a federation of British India and princely states had failed. Bowing to communal schisms in India, the British concurred with Jinnah's plan to create a separate Muslim state, and carved Pakistan out of largely Muslim areas.
- On 14-15 August 1947, the British transferred power to the new states of India and Pakistan. The 565 princely states were given the option of acceding either to India or Pakistan. The terrible trauma of partition hit Kashmir hard, and it became the focus of fierce Indo-Pakistani rivalry. Hari Singh, the dissolute and reactionary ruler of Kashmir at the time, could not decide, and attempted to retain the state's 'independent' status.



1. Dominion of **Pakistan** created on 14 August 1947. Became world's first Islamic Republic in 1956. New city of Islamabad replaced Karachi as capital in the mid 1960s.
2. British **India** was made up of provinces, princely states and state agencies. An independent Union of India was created on 15 August 1947 and renamed the Republic of India in 1950.

3. Punjab was split in two. Majority Muslim western part became Pakistan's Punjab province; majority Sikh and Hindu eastern part became India's Punjab state.

4. Bengal divided into Indian state of West Bengal and East Pakistan, which became East Bengal in 1956 and Bangladesh achieved independence after a civil war in 1971.

2.3 Security (Strategic Geographical Location)

- One of the core issues behind the Indo-Pakistani conflict over Kashmir was the territory's strategic importance. To the politicians and generals on both sides, Kashmir was of such enormous strategic value that its loss simply could not be contemplated. It would not only act as a buffer between India and Pakistan; it would also protect either side from other potential threats such as China and the USSR.
- With partition, India lost many crucial vantage points and barriers in relation to Central Asia and China. Even before the formation of the People's Republic of China, the threat of a communist bloc forming an arc around India's northern reaches was already a major source of concern to India. The perceived strategic value that Kashmir possessed was hence a key consideration in the minds of India's leaders after the Indian subcontinent was split into two dominions. [Source C]

Source C

...of the first importance to India as a whole not only because of the past year's occurrences there, which have drawn attention to it, but also because of the great strategic importance of that frontier State. There is every element present there for rapid and peaceful progress in cooperation with India.

Jawaharlal Nehru to Louis Mountbatten, last British Viceroy of India, 18 June 1947

- The Pakistanis also desired Kashmir for strategic motives, but these were driven less by any perceived threat that the Chinese and USSR posed. Instead, they were guided by fears that India did not want Pakistan to survive: its control over Kashmir would allow it to completely encircle Pakistan militarily and, in particular, put pressure on her north-eastern border. If Kashmir acceded to India, this would therefore significantly increase India's threat to Pakistan's security.

2.4 Economic Interests (Control over resources)

- Apart from a struggle over the land for strategic reasons, the Indo-Pakistani conflict was also one for control over resources. The Indus Water Treaty, which was facilitated by the World Bank in 1960, was established to govern the distribution of water from the Indus River system between these two countries. While this treaty was meant to provide a framework for managing water resources fairly, tensions and apprehensions related to water security continue to exist.
- The headwaters of the Indus River are located in Kashmir. Whoever controls the headwaters, controls the river. The Indus River and its tributaries are vital, bringing green fertile life wherever they flow. Mutual mistrust between India and Pakistan meant they could not share the Indus River Basin, and both sought complete control.
- A major concern for India was that the headwaters of the Indus River began in the Kashmir region. Possession of Kashmir would grant India control over the headwaters of this important river, which ensured that irrigation to the country's northern regions continued uninterrupted. In addition, Indian control over Kashmir ensured domination over Pakistan's crucial water resources, and this would give India additional political leverage over its antagonist.
- Kashmir was also crucial to Pakistan as the Indus River provided an indispensable source of water for drinking and agriculture (Pakistan lay on much less fertile territory than India). If the headwaters of this important river were in the hands of another country, especially an India hostile to Pakistan,

the supply of water could easily be curtailed as a means of coercion. Without its lifeblood, the Indus River, the country would become a desert, and its people starve. [Source D]

Source D

Kashmir is the jugular vein of Pakistan and no nation or country would tolerate it if its jugular vein remains under the sword of the enemy.

Mohammed Ali Jinnah, 1947

2.5 Ethno-Religious Significance of Kashmir

- Both Hindus and Muslims also believed that Kashmir occupied a significant place in their respective ethnic and/or religious identities. Its importance to these two different communities was another reason why Kashmir provoked such strong emotions on both sides of the Indo-Pakistani conflict, and why the land was sought after and disputed with such fervour.
- To comprehend Kashmir's importance to the Indian psyche, the role of ethnicity in India's culture must first be understood: caste and skin colour are important in Hindu society. The Brahmins that historically provided Hindu India's ruling elite trace their lineage to the Aryan Hindus of Kashmir, esteemed for their fine features, fair skin, and aristocratic ways. To the Hindus, Kashmir was the purest source of their culture, and could not be given up.
- For Muslims on the Indian subcontinent, passions over Kashmir ran even deeper. It had been a repository of high Islamic culture for centuries, but more importantly, with its shining lakes, snow-capped mountains and beautiful women, Kashmir embodied the holy Koran's description of Muslim paradise. To the pious Muslims of Pakistan, the land was literally heaven on earth, and none of them were ready to relinquish this heaven to their rivals.

2.6 Competing Nationalisms and Statehoods

- The Indo-Pakistani conflict over Kashmir was most significantly a political battle between competing nationalisms and visions of state-building. Deeply rooted in the founding principles of India and Pakistan, it thus represented the clash of religious (Muslim) nationalism with secular (Indian) nationalism. As Kashmir was symbolically important to both newly-established states, the land quickly became an object of contention. Kashmiri ethnic nationalism further complicated the issue in time to come.
 - If the Muslim-majority Kashmir acceded to India, it would act as a potent symbol of India's secular nationalist ideology. Nehru believed that Kashmir's incorporation into India would validate the latter's embrace of religious, linguistic, and ethnic diversity. This would moreover disprove the two-nation theory that Jinnah advanced. Without Kashmir, India did not have a Muslim-majority state, which then posed a challenge to the very foundations of the newly-independent Indian nation.
 - Pakistan was a consequence of the conviction that it was imperative that a separate Muslim homeland be created in the Indian subcontinent. The inclusion of the Muslim-majority Kashmir in Pakistan would hence symbolise that this imperative (as expressed in the two nation theory) was justified. Without Kashmir's accession, Pakistan would moreover remain incomplete. With the challenge posed by a secular India, Kashmir was vital to Pakistani statehood.
- [Source E]

Source E

For the two countries, the conflict over Kashmir is less a contest over strategic ground or resources as over competing visions of nationalism and state-building. For India, Kashmir is symbolic of secular nationalism and state-building and of the possibility of a Muslim-majority area choosing to live and prosper within a Hindu-majority country. For Pakistan, Kashmir is symbolic of the impossibility of secular nationalism in the region and thus of the need for a Muslim homeland in the northwestern corner of the Subcontinent. Indian and Pakistani competition over Kashmir has resulted in two wars (1948 and 1965) and was the scene of fighting in the 1971 war over East Pakistan. Thus, apart from the Arab-Israeli conflict over Palestine, Kashmir has occasioned the most protracted and militarised regional dispute in the post-1945 world.

Extract from an Asian Survey article by Sumit Ganguly and Kanti Bajpai, May 1994

- The least known participants in this clash of nationalisms were the Kashmiris. They perceived themselves as a separate people, not wanting to be absorbed into either India or Pakistan. Although Muslims were a majority, a syncretic and distinctive culture flourished – Kashmiri nationalism was based not on religion but *Kashmiriyat*, a distinctive Kashmiri ethnicity. The Kashmiris' demands for independence were to have serious future repercussions.

Pause to Think:

What long-term consequences would the competing ethno-religious and nationalist claims over Kashmir have for the Indo-Pakistani conflict over this territory?

3. Outbreak of the Conflict

3.1 Pakistan's war by proxy

- As the Indian subcontinent had been partitioned along communal lines, communal violence erupted between the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs in Punjab once partition began in August 1947. This spilled over into Kashmir against the Muslims. Frustrated by both Hari Singh's oppressive rule over them and his inability to address the deteriorating situation, Muslims in western Kashmir revolted and set up an independent Azad ('free') Kashmir government there.
- Viewing the uprising as an opportunity to force Kashmir to accede to Pakistan, the Pakistani leadership planned an invasion of Kashmir using the Pathan tribesmen from Pakistan's Northwest Frontier Province. While ostensibly a 'spontaneous' expression of sympathy to 'liberate' the Kashmiri Muslims, this marked the start of Pakistan's policy of fighting for Kashmir by proxy. On 21 October, thousands of Pathan tribesmen poured across the border into Kashmir.
- After defeating the maharaja's troops, the Pathans advanced swiftly to within 19 miles of Srinagar, the Kashmiri capital, and were poised to seize its only and thus vital airfield. A panicky Hari Singh appealed to India for immediate military assistance, and Nehru agreed to succour the beleaguered maharaja, but only if Kashmir acceded to India immediately. The proxy war carried out by Pakistan ultimately forced a decision upon Hari Singh.

3.2 The Accession of Kashmir to India

- Hari Singh quickly consented to Nehru's demands, and on 26 October 1947, signed the Instrument of Accession to India. This allowed India to legally intervene in Kashmir as it was officially now one of the Indian states, but it also came with a crucial proviso. The Kashmiris would be able to decide the future of their state through a plebiscite or referendum once the military emergency was over. Even so, India had no intention of honouring the promise made. [*Sources F, G*]

Source F

1. I hereby declare that I accede to the Dominion of India with the intent that the Governor General of India, the Dominion Legislature, the Federal Court and any other Dominion authority established for the purposes of the Dominion shall by virtue of this my Instrument of Accession but subject always to the terms thereof, and for the purposes only of the Dominion, exercise in relation to the State of Jammu & Kashmir (hereinafter referred to as "this State") such functions as may be vested in them by or under the Government of India Act, 1935, as in force in the Dominion of India, on the 15th day of August 1947, (which Act as so in force is hereafter referred to as "the Act').

Excerpts from the Instrument of Accession of Jammu and Kashmir State, 26 October 1947

Source G

My dear Maharajah Sahib,

Your Highness's letter, dated the 26th October has been delivered to me by Mr. V.P. Menon. In the special circumstances mentioned by Your Highness, my Government have decided to accept the accession of Kashmir State to the Dominion of India. Consistently with their policy that, in the case of any State where the issue of accession has been the subject of dispute, the question of accession should be decided in accordance with the wishes of the people of the State, it is my Government's wish that, as soon as law and order have been restored in Kashmir and her soil cleared of the invader, the question of the State's accession should be settled by a reference to the people. Meanwhile, in response to your Highness's appeal for military aid, action has been taken today to send troops of the Indian Army to Kashmir to help your own forces to defend your territory and to protect the lives, property and honour of your people.

My Government and I note with satisfaction that your Highness has decided to invite Sheikh Abdullah to form an Interim Government to work with your Prime Minister.

Yours sincerely,

[Signed Mountbatten of Burma]

Reply from Mountbatten to Hari Singh, 27 October 1947

- At the critical juncture when Kashmir was ready for the taking, the Pathan tribesmen became carried away by the opportunities of plunder, and this provided India with vital time required to mount an air bridge to Kashmir. On 27 October, a battalion of Sikhs, the Pathans' blood enemies, were airlifted to Srinagar. By the end of October, India had thousands of reinforcements in Kashmir, which tilted the balance of fighting against the invaders from Pakistan.

- Pakistan's leaders opposed Kashmir's accession to India as they believed it was the result of 'fraud and violence', and thus illegitimate. They also contested the decision on the basis of Kashmir's majority-Muslim population. Furthermore, Indian military intervention infuriated Jinnah, who in May 1948 despatched regular Pakistani troops to Kashmir, marking full-scale hostilities between India and Pakistan, and a continuation of the chaotic fighting.

4. Protracted Regional Conflict: the Indo-Pakistani Wars

- For more than half a century, India and Pakistan clashed over Kashmir on the battlefield. This was the most immediate and tangible consequence of their fierce struggle for the land, and both countries tried to absorb Kashmir into their borders by force, although neither succeeded in doing so entirely. Since 1949, frequent Indo-Pakistani skirmishes took place along what was later known as the Line of Control (LOC), and when tensions increased between Delhi and Islamabad, the fighting escalated into full-scale war.

4.1 The First Indo-Pakistani War/First Kashmir War (1947-48)

4.1.1 How the War Began

- In their bid to force Kashmir's accession to Pakistan, the Pakistani leadership sought to exploit communal violence that had erupted in Kashmir after partition. Ostensibly in support of a rebellion by the Kashmiri Muslims, Pakistan invaded Kashmir through its proxies, i.e. Pathan tribesmen, in late October 1947. India, however, deemed this an act of hostility, and after it gained Kashmir's accession, promptly despatched troops to resist the incursion.
- The Pakistanis contended that Kashmir's accession to India and thus India's military intervention were illegal. By May 1948, full-scale fighting erupted between India and Pakistan, following the entry of regular Pakistani troops into Kashmir. They had been deployed to protect Pakistan from Indian troops and

stop India from taking control over all of Kashmir by force. India, however, viewed this move as an invasion of its territory.

4.1.2 Consequences

- Inconclusive fighting between India and Pakistan continued and was finally halted by a UN-arranged ceasefire on 1 January 1949. Upon the cessation of hostilities, India held two-thirds of Kashmir (Jammu and Kashmir), while a third lay in Pakistani hands (Azad Kashmir, and the Northern Areas). Via the Karachi Agreement of July 1949, a ceasefire line was instituted, and this became the *de facto* border between both sides.
- Although hostilities between both sides had ceased, the Indian and Pakistani armies remained in Kashmir, held apart only the ceasefire line, along which they constructed fortifications and deployed large numbers of troops and artillery. These would engage in constant skirmishing and (occasional) major clashes, thus ensuring that the Indian subcontinent remained in a continual state of tension.

4.2 The Second Indo-Pakistani War/Second Kashmir War (1965)

4.2.1 How the War Began

- India's harsh and corrupt rule over Jammu and Kashmir led to growing popular discontent just waiting to be unleashed. In December 1963, Kashmir's most sacred Muslim relic, a hair from the Prophet's beard, was stolen from the Hazratbal mosque in Srinagar. The theft provoked widespread protests and riots by Muslims, which raged on for two years, until they were brutally suppressed by Indian security forces.
- Convinced that all was not well in Jammu and Kashmir, and its people were ready for a revolt, Pakistan hoped to foment an uprising within the state. It was further encouraged by regional politics, as Pakistan's improved relations with China seemed to strengthen its position vis-à-vis India. Pakistan's leader, Field Marshal Ayub Khan, personally planned an operation whereby the army

would swiftly invade Indian-occupied Kashmir after infiltrators had incited rebellion.

- From June 1965, Pakistani guerrillas infiltrated Jammu and Kashmir, but failed to instigate a popular uprising that would hand control of Kashmir over to Pakistan. Even so, the Pakistani army launched a major offensive, which led to the second full-scale war between India and Pakistan on 1 September 1965. Neither side was able to mobilise enough resources for a decisive push, and a stalemate eventually ensued.

4.2.2 Consequences

- From June 1965, Pakistani guerrillas infiltrated Jammu and Kashmir, but failed to instigate a popular uprising that would hand control of Kashmir over to Pakistan. Even so, the Pakistani army launched a major offensive, which led to the second full-scale war between India and Pakistan on 1 September 1965. Neither side was able to mobilise enough resources for a decisive push, and a stalemate eventually ensued.
- The two nations battled for 3 weeks before the UN, once again, imposed a ceasefire, and hostilities came to an end on 23 September 1965. The second Indo-Pakistani war over Kashmir had been a particularly futile one, and at its close, both sides agreed on a ceasefire line that was identical to the one they had started off with in the first place. As per the last war, it remained the *de facto* border between India and Pakistan.
- The Tashkent Agreement, signed on January 10, 1966, by Indian Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri and Pakistani President Ayub Khan, was a significant diplomatic achievement. The agreement called for the withdrawal of forces to pre-war positions, the restoration of diplomatic relations, and the resumption of economic and cultural ties between the two nations. The Soviet Union, represented by Premier Alexei Kosygin, played a crucial role in bringing the two sides to the negotiating table and ensuring the successful conclusion of the agreement. The Tashkent Agreement succeeded in ending the

immediate conflict and preventing further escalation, demonstrating the effectiveness of diplomatic intervention in de-escalating regional tensions.

- A joint declaration was issued, but it merely noted that the Kashmir dispute existed. No progress was made over the Kashmir issue, and India tightened its grip on Kashmir in the wake the of the 1965 war. [*Source H*]

Source H

Despite its acceptance of the US-sponsored cease-fire, India was unwilling to accept any further U.N. mediation to settle the Indo-Pakistani dispute. The United States, which was becoming increasingly involved in Vietnam, evinced little interest in devoting any further resources to the resolution of this conflict. In effect, this allowed the Soviet Union to step into the breach and play the role of the honest broker. Prime Minister Alexei Kosygin invited the two sides to meet at Tashkent on 4 January 1966. With a mixture of persuasion and cajolery, Kosygin succeeded in hammering out an agreement between the two parties. On 10 January 1966, the Indian and Pakistani delegations announced that "all armed personnel of the two countries shall be withdrawn not later than February 25, 1966, to positions they held prior to August 5, 1965, and both sides shall observe the cease-fire terms on the cease-fire line."

Extract from a journal article by Sumit Ganguly, 1995

4.3 The Third Indo-Pakistani War/the Bangladesh Liberation War (1971)

- Unlike the first two Indo-Pakistani wars, the third did not primarily concern Kashmir. Even so, this had significant implications for the dispute over Kashmir as the loss of East Pakistan (which gained its independence as Bangladesh) undermined Pakistan's ideological claim over Kashmir as part of a coherent Muslim state. This political blow was reflected in the 1972 Simla Agreement between India and Pakistan, which represented a key development in their ongoing conflict over Kashmir.

4.3.1 *How the War Began*

- After they had fought a second war with Pakistan, the Indians developed a strategic alliance with the USSR. Emboldened by extensive Soviet military as well as financial support, India began interfering in Pakistan's domestic politics after a revolt for independence broke out in East Pakistan in 1970 against harsh West Pakistani rule.
- East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) was geographically and culturally distinct from West Pakistan (now Pakistan). The political and economic marginalisation of East Pakistan by the central government in West Pakistan led to widespread discontent. The situation escalated when the Awami League, a political party in East Pakistan, won a majority in the 1970 general elections but was denied power by the ruling authorities in West Pakistan. This led to a brutal crackdown by the Pakistani military on the Bengali population in East Pakistan, resulting in widespread atrocities and a massive refugee crisis, with millions fleeing to neighbouring India.
- In its bid to escalate this uprising, India sent infiltrators into East Pakistan to provide arms and training for the rebels there. India's support for the rebels during 1970-71, who launched attacks from across the Indian side of the border, made it difficult for Pakistan to halt the rebel attacks. In retaliation, on 3 December 1971, Pakistan declared war on India, and the Indians responded by invading East Pakistan. The Pakistanis counterattacked in the west, and almost isolated Kashmir. Further intense fighting would turn the tide in India's favour.

4.3.2 *Consequences*

- By 16 December 1971, Indian forces overran East Pakistan. It appeared that India's Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi, would heed Indian nationalists' calls to crush Pakistan conclusively. Strong US pressure, however, which included threats that its Seventh Fleet might intervene in the war on the behalf of the Pakistanis, forced the Indians to unilaterally declare a cease-fire on 17

December. Pakistan agreed to this ceasefire, which brought hostilities to an end.

- Pakistan emerged from the war of 1971 badly shaken, militarily, morally and politically: East Pakistan seceded to become independent Bangladesh. In July 1972, under the auspices of their respective superpower patrons, Indian and Pakistan held lengthy negotiations at Simla. Both the US and USSR were concerned they might be dragged into a direct clash as a result of the Indo-Pakistani conflict, and therefore pressed for a negotiated settlement.
- On 2 July, India and Pakistan signed the Simla Agreement. Under its terms, both agreed to settle differences peacefully through bilateral negotiations, and that neither side would take any action to upset the status quo. More significantly, the ceasefire line in Kashmir was renamed as the 'Line of Control' (LOC), and it was to act provisionally as the border between India and Pakistan until the final status of Kashmir was eventually resolved.
- Thus, the Simla Agreement between India and Pakistan changed the ceasefire line in Kashmir into an international border, which was indicative of a certain willingness on both sides of the conflict to accept a divided Kashmir. Even so, this did not resolve anything and both sides continued their struggle over Kashmir. While it served as the basis for future negotiations, the agreement did not stop both sides from reverting to armed conflict. [Source I]

Source I

1. The Government of India and the Government of Pakistan are resolved that the two countries put an end to the conflict and confrontation that have hitherto marred their relations.

In order to achieve this objective, the governments have agreed as follows:

(i) That the prerequisite for reconciliation, good neighborliness and durable peace between them is a commitment by both the countries to peaceful co-existence, respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, on the basis of equality and mutual benefit;

(ii) That there shall always respect each other's national unity, territorial integrity, political independence and sovereign equality;

4. In order to initiate the process of establishment of durable peace, both the Governments agree that:

(i) Indian and Pakistani forces shall be withdrawn to their side of the international border.

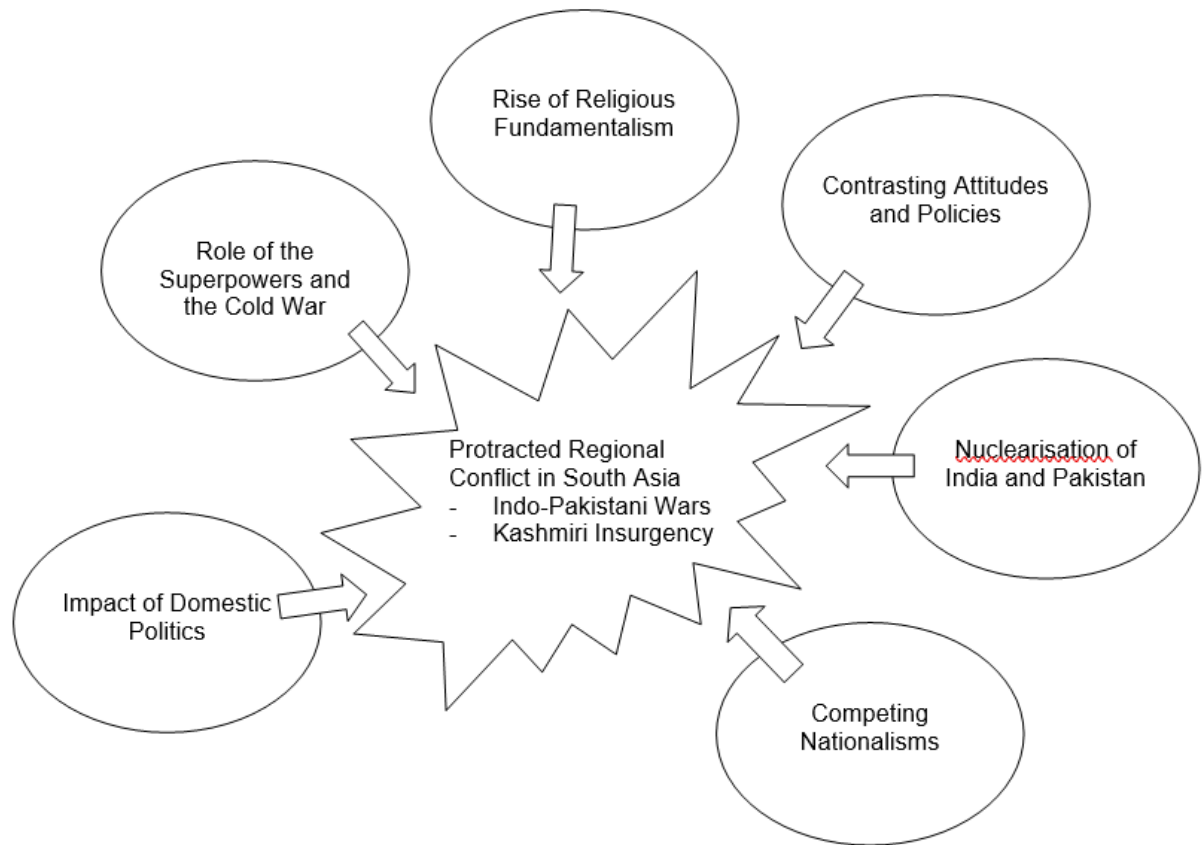
(ii) In Jammu and Kashmir, the line of control resulting from the cease-fire of December 17, 1971 shall be respected by both sides without prejudice to the recognised position of either side. Neither side shall seek to alter it unilaterally, irrespective of mutual differences and legal interpretations. Both sides further undertake to refrain from the threat or the use of force in violation of this Line.

(iii) The withdrawals shall commence upon entry into force of this Agreement and shall be completed within a period of 30 days thereof.

Excerpts from the Simla Agreement, 2 July 1972

5. The Unending Conflict over Kashmir

- The Indo-Pakistani struggle over Kashmir represents the world's longest-running regional conflict. It has been an extremely costly one, not only in terms of human life, as this dispute between the two largest powers in South Asia has also held back the region's economic development. It has defied various attempts at resolution due to ideological clashes, contrasting attitudes towards the issue, superpower involvement as well as the rise of religious fundamentalism as a political force within South Asia.



5.1 A Clash of Competing Nationalisms

- Kashmir's geostrategic location and natural resources (refer to 2.3 and 2.4) have been key issues behind continued Indo-Pakistani conflict over the land. Even more significantly, both sides have made possession of Kashmir

central to their national ideologies – in fact, Indian and Pakistani leaders have tied their respective nations' identities to not relinquishing Kashmir to the other side. Such competing nationalist claims cannot be reconciled, and leave little scope for compromise.

- Apart from fierce irredentist hatreds within India and Pakistan, the Kashmiris' own political allegiances and nationalist aspirations have further complicated the dispute over Kashmir. The clash of these three very different nationalisms has driven the conflict and made the problem a particularly intractable one.

5.1.1 Indian Nationalism

- On account of the territory's majority-Muslim population, India's national ideology has treated Kashmir as the jewel in the crown of a secularist and democratic Indian state. One of the primary objectives of Indian nationalism has thus been to fit Kashmir within the mosaic of the multi-ethnic and multi-cultural democracy that India represents. Accordingly, this has 'required' that Jammu and Kashmir be incorporated into India to demonstrate that Muslims could fare well there.
- India has also been afflicted by secessionist movements since it gained independence. Its leaders have been afraid that if Kashmir successfully secedes, this might trigger a gradual process of national dissolution. These fears were intensified after the USSR's dramatic disintegration, which horrified India's politicians. As such, Kashmiri independence or accession to Pakistan has been viewed as an intolerable and fatal threat to the integrity of the entire Indian nation.

5.1.2 Pakistani Nationalism

- Akin to the role that Kashmir plays in Indian nationalism, Pakistan's national ideology has treated Kashmir as an indispensable component of the Pakistani state, which was established as the chosen homeland of the Muslims in the Indian subcontinent. Right from its inception, Pakistani

nationalism has been based on the notion that Pakistan is ideologically and territorially incomplete without Kashmir, and its fall to India has denied it of a majority-Muslim state.

- Thus, if India has 'required' Kashmir to justify its existence as a secular state, Pakistan's identity as an Islamic state has also 'required' that all major conglomerations of Muslims in South Asia live within it. This is a contention that India has rejected from the beginning. Pakistanis also fear that India will use Jammu and Kashmir to dismember their nation, and have looked to the 1971 Indo-Pakistani war and secession of East Pakistan (Bangladesh) as proof of India's schemes.

5.1.3 Kashmiri Nationalism

- The Indians and Pakistanis, however, have not been the only ones struggling for control over Kashmir due to national ideology or unity. A significant number of Kashmiri Muslims have sought independence from both India and Pakistan, as expressed in their own form of ethno-cultural nationalism (*Kashmiriyat*). These Kashmiri nationalists do not identify with India, and also view Pakistan's support for their aspirations of self-determination as a means to impose its own Islamic rule.
- Kashmiri independence has proven difficult to realise not only because both the Indians and Pakistanis oppose it, but also due to the bewildering multiplicity of religious, ethnic, linguistic and caste groups in Kashmir. These groupings are further divided internally along regional and political faultlines. Thus, while Muslim Kashmiris from the Kashmir Valley have sought independence, their co-religionists in Jammu have favoured integration with India.

6. Contrasting Attitudes towards the Kashmir Issue

- Differing attitudes on both sides towards resolving the Kashmir dispute has allowed the Indo-Pakistani rivalry over Kashmir to continue unabated, and also prevented any moderation of their highly adversarial relationship.

While Pakistan's diplomatic efforts have (unsuccessfully) tried to internationalise the issue, India has rejected any international involvement and viewed any third-party mediation as an unwelcome intrusion into India's internal and/or bilateral affairs.

6.1 India's Attitudes/Policies

- In order to effect a ceasefire during the First Indo-Pakistani War, the Indian government made a formal complaint to the UNSC against Pakistan's aggression. Ever since India referred the Kashmir issue to the UN in 1948, the UN has made great efforts to broker a political solution to the intense conflict over Kashmir. Various UN proposals have centred on the need for the Kashmiris to decide whether their future lay with India or Pakistan.
- The UNSC passed a series of resolutions in 1948 calling for the status of Kashmir to be decided by an impartial and free plebiscite under UN supervision. Pakistan readily consented, believing that the outcome would favour it. The Indians, however, refused to accept the UN's will. Later UN resolutions that reiterated the initial call for a plebiscite were also dismissed by India as irrelevant, non-binding, and unacceptable intrusions into India's domestic affairs.
- In the wake of its successful war against Pakistan in 1971, India treated the 1972 Simla Agreement as the final end to the long struggle for Kashmir. Pakistan, in India's view, had agreed to divide Kashmir and recognised Delhi's rule over two-thirds of the state. India also believed that the issue would remain a bilateral one, without external intervention or mediation, and deemed that any plebiscite held under UN auspices would be illegal under the Simla Agreement.

Something to Ponder About:

Set up in 1949, the United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP) supervised the cease-fire agreed between India and Pakistan after their first war over Kashmir. How effective has the UN been in preventing further hostilities between both sides of the Kashmir conflict, and why / why not?

6.2 Pakistan's Attitudes/Policies

- Pakistan, which negotiated from a position of weakness at Simla, had a very different interpretation of the accord. Though on rather shaky legal ground, it maintained that the agreement left the door open for external intervention, and did not preclude a plebiscite. Since 1972, Pakistan's policy has thus been to get India to admit that Kashmir remained 'disputed' territory, as well as to involve the UN and friendly foreign powers in the issue, which India has kept at bay.
- The Pakistanis have also treated the resolution of the Kashmir dispute as the *sine qua non* for a normalisation of relations with the Indians. On the other hand, India has viewed the Kashmir conflict as merely one of the various issues plaguing ties between India and Pakistan, such as control over resources, drug trafficking, terrorism as well as economic cooperation, which should be resolved in tandem. This has prevented any breakthrough in talks.

7. Role of the Cold War and Superpowers

- Akin to the Arab-Israeli conflict, the involvement of the superpowers and imposition of a Cold War framework over the region's politics has also served to hinder the resolution of the Indo-Pakistani conflict over Kashmir. Similarly, the US and USSR provided the two antagonists in the Kashmir dispute with the military option as well as extended political support for Pakistan and India respectively – only to protract the conflict.

7.1 Minimal global superpower involvement during the 1st Indo-Pakistani War

- During the 1st Indo-Pakistani War, soon after partition, India and Pakistan clashed over Kashmir. The involvement of global superpowers was relatively minimal in this conflict. Both the United States and the Soviet Union were preoccupied with the early stages of the Cold War. Nevertheless, the conflict caught the attention of the United Nations, primarily led by British diplomatic efforts. The UN brokered a ceasefire in 1949, leading to the establishment of the Line of Control, which still exists today.

7.2 The Cold War in South Asia by 1965

- By 1965, the Cold War had intensified, and both the United States and the Soviet Union sought to increase their influence in South Asia. The war began over disputes regarding the Rann of Kutch and escalated into full-scale battles over Kashmir. The United States had initially provided military aid to both countries, hoping to maintain a balance of power. However, it imposed an arms embargo on both nations when the conflict erupted, leading to dissatisfaction in both Delhi and Islamabad.
- The Soviet Union adopted a more strategic approach, focusing on diplomatic mediation. The USSR brokered the Tashkent Agreement in January 1966, facilitating peace talks between Indian Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri and Pakistani President Ayub Khan. The intervention by the USSR marked a significant shift, displaying its interest in South Asian stability and countering American influence.

7.3 The 1971 Indo-Pakistani Conflict and Superpower Involvement

- The 1971 conflict saw the most direct involvement of superpowers. The war began due to internal strife in Pakistan, where East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) sought independence. India's support for the Mukti Bahini

guerillas in East Pakistan escalated tensions with West Pakistan. The United States, led by President Nixon, supported Pakistan, viewing it as a counterbalance to Soviet influence in India. High stakes were involved for the US due to its warming relations with China, which also backed Pakistan.

- On the other hand, India had established a stronger relationship with the Soviet Union. The Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship, and Cooperation, signed in August 1971, assured India of Soviet support. When Pakistan launched a preemptive strike on Indian airfields, India retaliated, leading to a full-scale war. The Soviet Union provided diplomatic and military support to India, including vetoing UN resolutions calling for a ceasefire that were deemed unfavorable by India.
- The endgame saw a decisive victory for India and the creation of Bangladesh. The conflict also highlighted the superpower dynamic, with the USSR's influence in South Asia being solidified.
- The superpowers' roles in the Indo-Pakistani wars evolved from tentative interest to active engagement. Cold War geopolitics heavily influenced their strategies, with the USSR emerging as a prominent player in the region by 1971.

8. Role of the United Nations

8.1 Challenges in Mediation and establishment of UNMOGIP during the 1st Indo-Pakistani War

- The first Indo-Pakistani War, immediately following the partition of India and Pakistan in 1947, centered around the princely state of Jammu and Kashmir. As hostilities escalated, both nations approached the United Nations for resolution.
- As the conflict intensified, both India and Pakistan sought international support and intervention. The United Nations, established in 1945 with the primary aim of maintaining international peace and security, was

approached to mediate the dispute. On January 1, 1948, India formally referred the Kashmir issue to the UN Security Council, accusing Pakistan of aggression. Pakistan, in turn, denied the allegations and accused India of forcibly annexing Kashmir. The Security Council, recognizing the potential for the conflict to escalate into a broader regional war, took up the matter urgently.

- The UN's engagement began with the establishment of the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP) in January 1948. The UNCIP was tasked with mediating peace and recommending resolutions to the conflict. The primary mandate of UNCIP was to investigate the situation on the ground, mediate between the conflicting parties, and recommend measures to restore peace. The commission was composed of representatives from various member states, ensuring a degree of impartiality in its proceedings.
- The UNCIP faced significant challenges in its mediation efforts. Both India and Pakistan had entrenched positions regarding the status of Jammu and Kashmir. India insisted that the accession of Kashmir to India was legal and final, while Pakistan argued that the accession was coerced and demanded a plebiscite to determine the will of the Kashmiri people. Despite these divergent views, the UNCIP worked tirelessly to broker a ceasefire and create conditions conducive to a peaceful resolution.
- In April 1948, the UN Security Council passed Resolution 47, which proposed a ceasefire, the withdrawal of forces, and a plebiscite to determine the will of the Kashmiri people. While a ceasefire was achieved on January 1, 1949, the subsequent steps—particularly the plebiscite—were never executed, mainly due to disagreements and mutual distrust between India and Pakistan. The UN also established the United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP) to monitor the ceasefire line, a mission that continues to this day.

8.2 Adoption of Resolution 210 and role of U Thant during the 2nd Indo-Pakistani War

- The second war broke out in August 1965, again over Kashmir but also involving broader territorial disputes. The conflict saw intense fighting, and once more, both parties turned to the UN for mediation.
- As the conflict escalated, the UN Security Council convened to address the situation. On September 4, 1965, the Security Council passed Resolution 209, calling for an immediate ceasefire and urging both nations to withdraw their forces to positions held before August 5, 1965. Despite this resolution, fighting continued unabated, prompting the Security Council to adopt Resolution 210 on September 6, reiterating its call for a ceasefire and expressing concern over the deteriorating situation.
- The UN Secretary-General at the time, U Thant, played a pivotal role in mediating between India and Pakistan. Recognizing the gravity of the situation, U Thant engaged in diplomatic efforts to bring both parties to the negotiating table. He dispatched his special representative, José Rolz-Bennett, to the region to assess the situation and facilitate dialogue. U Thant's persistent efforts underscored the UN's commitment to peace and stability in the region.
- During the 1965 conflict, UNMOGIP's role became even more critical. The observers were tasked with reporting ceasefire violations and providing an impartial assessment of the situation on the ground. Despite the challenging circumstances, UNMOGIP continued its operations, contributing to the UN's efforts to de-escalate the conflict.
- The UN's efforts to mediate peace during the Second Indo-Pakistani War were fraught with challenges. Both India and Pakistan were deeply entrenched in their positions, making it difficult to achieve a consensus. Additionally, the geopolitical dynamics of the Cold War era influenced the actions of the Security Council members, complicating the decision-making

process. The UN also faced logistical challenges in deploying and supporting its observer missions in the conflict zone.

- The concerted international diplomatic efforts led to the Tashkent Agreement in January 1966 (Source I), mediated by the Soviet Union with implicit UN approval. The agreement resolved to restore economic and diplomatic relations and to revert to pre-war boundaries, though it did not address the underlying issue of Kashmir explicitly. The UN's role, while crucial in brokering the immediate ceasefire, was limited in resolving the core disputes. Both India and Pakistan agreed to withdraw their forces to pre-August 5 positions, restore diplomatic relations, and work towards resolving their disputes through peaceful means.
- While the Tashkent Agreement brought an end to the immediate hostilities, it did not resolve the underlying issues between India and Pakistan. The Tashkent Agreement underscored the importance of international mediation in conflict resolution. UN's intervention during the 1965 war set a precedent for international involvement in South Asian conflicts and underscored the importance of diplomatic efforts in maintaining regional stability.

8.3 Humanitarian efforts during the 3rd Indo-Pakistani War

- The third conflict in 1971 was markedly different, primarily involving the issues of East Pakistan (now Bangladesh). As the humanitarian crisis grew due to the civil war within Pakistan and subsequent Indian intervention, the United Nations General Assembly and Security Council once more became forums for heated diplomatic exchanges.
- The United Nations initially responded to the crisis by focusing on the humanitarian aspect. The influx of refugees into India created a severe humanitarian crisis, and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) played a crucial role in providing aid and support to the displaced population. The UNHCR coordinated with various international agencies and non-governmental organizations to deliver food, shelter, and medical

assistance to the refugees. However, the UN's response was criticised for being slow and inadequate, given the scale of the crisis.

- In addition to the Security Council, the UN General Assembly also played a role in addressing the conflict. The General Assembly passed several resolutions calling for an end to hostilities and urging respect for human rights. One notable resolution was the "Resolution on the Situation in East Pakistan," which condemned the human rights violations and called for a political solution to the crisis. While these resolutions were symbolic and reflected the international community's concern, they lacked the enforcement mechanisms to bring about a tangible change on the ground.
- Despite multiple efforts, including Security Council resolutions calling for a ceasefire, the UN was largely unable to mitigate the conflict quickly. The war concluded with the creation of Bangladesh as an independent nation, formalised by the signing of the Instrument of Surrender by Pakistani forces on December 16, 1971. Post-war, the UN's role shifted more towards humanitarian assistance and rebuilding efforts in the newly formed Bangladesh. The inability of the UN to prevent the conflict highlighted the limitations of the organization in rapidly escalating situations involving deep-seated political and ethnic disputes.
- Across all three wars, the UN's interventions were marked by initial ceasefire agreements and diplomatic endeavours that often failed to address the fundamental territorial and political issues between India and Pakistan. The Security Council's resolutions and the establishment of observer missions provided frameworks for temporary peace but lacked enforcement mechanisms and long-term conflict resolution strategies. The regional interests of major powers during the Cold War era often influenced UN decisions and actions, complicating impartial mediation efforts.
- The United Nations played a crucial yet constrained role in the Indo-Pakistani wars. It was instrumental in brokering ceasefires and facilitating diplomatic dialogues but faced significant limitations in achieving lasting

peace. The complex nature of Indo-Pakistani relations, intertwined with issues of national identity, territorial claims, and international politics, often rendered UN interventions as interim solutions rather than definitive resolutions.

9. The Rise of Religious Fundamentalism in South Asia

- The emergence of religious fundamentalists on both sides of the Indo-Pakistani conflict over Kashmir as political forces to be reckoned with have kept it going, and contributed to the further intractability of the issue. Islamic and Hindu fundamentalism have fanned the already flaring fires of South Asia, and the prospect of two nuclear-armed states dominated by aggressive religious fundamentalists is a truly disconcerting one. In addition, the growing Islamisation of the Kashmiri's fight for sovereignty has further complicated matters.

9.1 Hindu Fundamentalism

- To the Hindu fundamentalists in India, Kashmir has not only been the symbol of the long struggle with hated Pakistan, but is also a constant reminder of historical wrongs inflicted on India by past Muslim rulers. Moreover, India's politicians, in particular the BJP's Hindu chauvinists, have staked their political fortunes on crushing the Kashmir insurgency, and would be removed from office as sell-outs by angry Hindu voters if they ever came to any settlement with the Muslims.
- Losing Kashmir would also run counter to the BJP's political ambitions and negate its very *raison d'être* as the vanguard of Hindu revivalism. Its leaders have preached that India must become *Bharat Hind* ('Great India'), which would dominate the Indian subcontinent from coast to coast. The voices of moderate politicians have thus been blocked out by the rising cry of Hindu fundamentalism. No Indian politician dares risk yielding Kashmir, and by doing so, impede a 'Great India'.

9.2 Islamic Fundamentalism

- General Muhammad Zia ul-Haq became Pakistan's third military ruler on 5 July 1977. Within days of gaining power, he embarked on Islamicising Pakistan's laws and society, transforming the country into a global centre for political Islam. Pakistan's dramatic shift from an Islamic republic to a theocracy further amplified Kashmir's centrality to Pakistani national ideology.
- What had begun as a secular movement within Kashmir for greater political freedom (the Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF) advocated the formation of an independent and secular Kashmir in which the rights of all ethnic groups and religions were guaranteed) increasingly acquired Islamist overtones. This was a direct result of the changes that had occurred in Pakistan and influences from neighbouring Afghanistan. The rising influence and appeal of Islamic fundamentalism has served to erode *Kashmiriyat*.
- Islamic fundamentalism rose to prominence in Kashmir from 1987 onwards, when various Muslim Kashmiri groups with an affiliative bias toward Zia ul-Haq's Islamisation of Pakistan formed a coalition called the Muslim United Front (MUF) to contest Kashmiri elections that year. The MUF promised a lawful land practicing Koranic principles of governance and personal ethics, which held a deep resonance for Kashmiris frustrated by years of violence and repressive Indian rule.
- The Afghan Mujahideen who went to Kashmir to train as well as assist the fighters of the Kashmiri insurgency (1989 onwards) not only brought the insurgents a wealth of combat experience and badly needed help in logistics and planning. Most importantly, they infused the Kashmiri militants with a strong Islamic fervour as their victory over the USSR proved that faith could overcome all odds. The insurgency itself thus encouraged the growth of militant Islam within Kashmir.

10. Impact on Domestic Politics

- The centre of the Indo-Pakistani conflict, the conflict over Kashmir, has proven resistant to resolution because politicians on each side could ill-afford to concede Kashmir to each other due to the place Kashmir occupied in each country's national ideology and identity. As a result, politicians seeking compromises on the issue might risk losing votes in elections and being removed from office.
- The rise of religious fundamentalism domestically as a political force has also polarised domestic political opinions and made it difficult for any government to contemplate seeking compromises or accommodation to end the Indo-Pakistani conflict. In fact, the influence of religious fundamentalism had been so great that some governments that took power in each country were themselves dominated by fundamentalist elements.

11. Effectiveness of Conflict management (Diplomacy)

- The effectiveness of diplomacy during these conflicts is a subject of considerable debate. Diplomacy, in this context, refers to the efforts made by both nations, as well as international actors, to resolve disputes, prevent escalation, and achieve peace.

11.1 Diplomatic efforts during 1st Indo-Pakistani War

- Diplomatic efforts during periods of conflict are often aimed at achieving ceasefire agreements to halt hostilities and create a foundation for long-term peace. The Kashmir conflict, which erupted shortly after the partition of India and Pakistan in 1947, is a prime example of such efforts.
- The United Nations (UN) played a pivotal role in mediating the conflict, particularly through the passage of Resolution 47 in 1948. This resolution It called for an immediate ceasefire, the withdrawal of Pakistani and Indian

forces, and the deployment of a UN Commission to oversee the process. Additionally, it proposed a plebiscite to allow the people of Kashmir to decide their future, either by joining India or Pakistan.

- One of the significant achievements of the UN's diplomatic efforts was the ceasefire agreement reached in January 1949. The ceasefire line, known as the Line of Control (LoC), effectively divided Kashmir into two parts: one administered by India and the other by Pakistan. This ceasefire brought an end to active hostilities and provided a temporary respite from the violence. However, it was only a partial success, as it did not address the root causes of the conflict or provide a long-term solution.
- Despite the initial success in achieving a ceasefire, the implementation of Resolution 47 faced numerous challenges. One of the primary obstacles was the lack of trust between India and Pakistan. Both countries had differing interpretations of the resolution and were unwilling to fully cooperate with the UN Commission. India was particularly reluctant to withdraw its forces, citing security concerns and the need to maintain control over the region. Pakistan, on the other hand, insisted on the withdrawal of Indian forces before any plebiscite could take place.
- One key lesson is the importance of building trust and cooperation between the parties involved. Without mutual trust, it is challenging to implement agreements and achieve lasting peace. Additionally, the role of international organizations like the UN is crucial in mediating conflicts, but their effectiveness depends on the willingness of the parties to cooperate and adhere to the agreed-upon terms. While a ceasefire was achieved in 1949, the plebiscite never took place, leaving the Kashmir issue unresolved.

11.2 Diplomatic efforts during 2nd Indo-Pakistani War

- The diplomatic efforts during the 1965 war must be understood within the broader geopolitical context of the Cold War. Both the United States and the Soviet Union were keen on preventing regional conflicts from escalating into global confrontations. The involvement of these superpowers in

mediating the conflict between India and Pakistan was driven by their desire to maintain regional stability and prevent the other from gaining a strategic advantage. The Tashkent Agreement, therefore, was not just a bilateral achievement but also a reflection of the broader Cold War dynamics, where diplomacy was often employed as a tool to manage regional conflicts and maintain a balance of power.

11.2.1 Role of United States

- During the 1965 war, the United States found itself in a delicate position. As a key ally of Pakistan through the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) and the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO), the U.S. had significant strategic interests in maintaining stability in the region. However, the U.S. also sought to maintain a balanced relationship with India, a non-aligned nation with considerable geopolitical importance. Consequently, the U.S. adopted a cautious approach, urging both nations to exercise restraint and seek a peaceful resolution to their differences. American diplomatic efforts were primarily focused on preventing the conflict from escalating into a full-scale war, which could have drawn in other regional powers and further complicated the Cold War dynamics.

11.2.2 Soviet Union's strategic interests

- The Soviet Union, on the other hand, had its own set of strategic interests in South Asia. While it maintained a close relationship with India, the Soviet Union was also wary of the potential for regional instability to undermine its influence. The Soviet leadership recognized that a prolonged conflict between India and Pakistan could provide opportunities for Western powers to strengthen their foothold in the region. Therefore, the Soviet Union was motivated to act as a mediator, leveraging its influence to bring about a cessation of hostilities. This culminated in the Soviet Union's facilitation of the Tashkent Agreement, a diplomatic milestone aimed at restoring peace and stability in the region.

11.2.3 Limitations of the Tashkent Agreement

- Despite its success in ending the immediate hostilities, the Tashkent Agreement had notable limitations. The agreement did not address the core issues that had led to the conflict, particularly the contentious Kashmir dispute. Both India and Pakistan continued to hold divergent views on the status of Kashmir, with neither side willing to compromise on their respective claims. As a result, the underlying tensions remained unresolved, setting the stage for future conflicts. The Tashkent Agreement, while a temporary measure, failed to achieve a lasting peace, highlighting the complexities of diplomatic efforts in resolving deeply entrenched disputes.

11.3 Diplomatic efforts during the 3rd Indo-Pakistani War

- The Third Indo-Pakistani War of 1971 was a complex conflict that underscored the critical role of diplomacy in shaping the outcome of international disputes.
- Before the outbreak of hostilities, the situation in East Pakistan had already drawn international attention due to widespread reports of human rights violations by the Pakistani military. The crackdown on Bengali nationalists and civilians led to a massive exodus of refugees into neighbouring India, creating a humanitarian crisis of unprecedented scale.
- India, under Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, embarked on a vigorous diplomatic campaign to highlight the plight of the refugees and the atrocities being committed in East Pakistan. Indian diplomats worked tirelessly to build a narrative that intervention was not only justified but necessary to prevent further humanitarian disaster. India's diplomatic efforts were aimed at rallying international support and putting pressure on Pakistan.

11.3.1 *Global Alliances and Strategic Interests*

- On the global stage, the diplomatic efforts of India and Pakistan were heavily influenced by the broader context of the Cold War. Pakistan, under President Yahya Khan, leaned on its alliances with the United States and China. The United States, led by President Richard Nixon and his National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger, viewed Pakistan as a crucial ally in the region, particularly in the context of countering Soviet influence. The US-Pakistan relationship was further strengthened by Pakistan's role in facilitating the opening of diplomatic relations between the United States and China.
- China, for its part, saw Pakistan as a counterbalance to India, which it viewed as a regional rival. The Sino-Indian War of 1962 had left a legacy of mistrust between China and India, and China was keen to support Pakistan to maintain its strategic position in South Asia. The alignment of the United States and China with Pakistan created a formidable diplomatic front that India had to contend with.
- In response, India sought and received substantial support from the Soviet Union. The Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship, and Cooperation, signed in August 1971, was a cornerstone of India's diplomatic strategy. The treaty ensured that India had the backing of a major global power, both in terms of military supplies and diplomatic support at the United Nations. The Soviet Union's support provided India with a significant counterweight to the US-China-Pakistan alignment, bolstering India's position on the international stage.

11.3.2 *United Nations and the Diplomatic Showdown*

- As the conflict escalated, diplomatic efforts reached a crescendo at the United Nations. Pakistan sought to internationalise the issue by bringing it to the UN, hoping for a ceasefire and international intervention. The Security Council convened multiple sessions to address the crisis, with debates often reflecting the broader Cold War dynamics. The United States,

advocating for a ceasefire, aimed to protect its ally Pakistan and prevent further escalation. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, supported India's stance and used its veto power to block UN resolutions that India found unfavourable.

- The diplomatic showdown at the United Nations was marked by intense negotiations and strategic manoeuvring. India's representatives, led by Foreign Minister Sardar Swaran Singh, argued that the situation in East Pakistan was a matter of self-determination and humanitarian intervention. They emphasised that India's actions were in response to the refugee crisis and the need to stop the atrocities being committed by the Pakistani military. The Soviet Union's support was crucial in ensuring that India's narrative gained traction and that unfavourable resolutions were blocked.
- In the **aftermath** of the war, diplomatic efforts focused on normalising relations and addressing the consequences of the conflict. The Simla Agreement of 1972 was a key outcome of these efforts. Signed by Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and Pakistani President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the agreement aimed to establish a framework for peaceful relations between the two countries. It included provisions for the mutual respect of the Line of Control in Kashmir and the resolution of disputes through bilateral negotiations without international intervention.
- The Simla Agreement was significant in that it laid the groundwork for a more stable South Asian region, although it did not resolve the underlying issues that had led to the conflict. The agreement was a testament to the importance of diplomacy in achieving long-term peace and stability, even in the aftermath of a devastating war.
- The Third Indo-Pakistani War remains a key example of how diplomacy, combined with military strategy and international alliances, can shape the course of history and redefine regional dynamics.

12. Effectiveness of Conflict management (Peacekeeping)

- The Indo-Pakistani wars were marked by intense military engagements, political maneuvering, and significant civilian impact. Peacekeeping efforts during these conflicts were crucial in mitigating violence, facilitating negotiations, and providing humanitarian aid.
- The first Kashmir War, witnessed the first significant instance of United Nations (UN) involvement in the form of peacekeeping operations. In 1947-1948, the UN established the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP) to mediate and monitor the ceasefire. The UNCIP's efforts led to the establishment of the Line of Control (LoC) in Kashmir, which served as a de facto border between the two nations. The presence of UN military observers helped to reduce hostilities and provided a platform for dialogue. However, the effectiveness of the UN's peacekeeping efforts was limited by the lack of enforcement mechanisms and the reluctance of both India and Pakistan to fully comply with UN resolutions.
- The Second Indo-Pakistani War in 1965 saw another round of peacekeeping attempts. After initial clashes in the Rann of Kutch and subsequent full-scale war in Kashmir, the UN Security Council called for a ceasefire through Resolution 211. The UN Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP) was tasked with monitoring the ceasefire, which was instrumental in reducing overt military confrontation. The eventual Tashkent Agreement, brokered by the Soviet Union, further eased tensions. Despite these peacekeeping efforts, the ceasefire was more of a temporary pause rather than a long-term solution, as fundamental issues remained unresolved.
- The 1971 war, which resulted in the creation of Bangladesh, highlighted the limitations of peacekeeping in more complex scenarios involving civil conflict and human rights violations. The UN's capacity to intervene was

- hampered both by geopolitical interests and the rapid pace of military developments. While the United Nations once more called for ceasefire and negotiation, the conflict proceeded largely unabated until India's decisive military victory and the surrender of Pakistani forces in the eastern sector. However, the sheer scale of the humanitarian crisis often overwhelmed the available resources, highlighting the limitations of peacekeeping in addressing the full spectrum of needs during wartime.
- In summary, peacekeeping efforts during the Indo-Pakistani Wars illustrated a dual reality. On the one hand, the United Nations and other international actors were able to broker ceasefires and temporarily de-escalate violence, preventing further loss of life and wider regional instability. On the other hand, the limitations of such interventions were evident, as they often failed to address the root causes of the conflicts or produce lasting political solutions. Thus, while peacekeeping had immediate tactical success in reducing hostilities, it had limited strategic efficacy in resolving the enduring issues between India and Pakistan.
 - The peacekeeping efforts during the Indo-Pakistani Wars offer several lessons for future conflict resolution. One key lesson is the importance of involving regional actors in the peacekeeping process, as their influence can be both a challenge and an asset. Additionally, the need for robust enforcement mechanisms and adequate resources for peacekeeping missions is evident. The experiences also highlight the significance of addressing humanitarian needs alongside military and political solutions. Future peacekeeping efforts can benefit from these lessons by adopting a more holistic and inclusive approach to conflict resolution.

13. Threat of a Regional Nuclear Holocaust

- The bitter Indo-Pakistani confrontation over Kashmir has also turned the Indian subcontinent into a nuclear flashpoint after India and Pakistan officially acquired nuclear status in 1998. Both antagonists developed arsenals of nuclear weapons, and each used threats of nuclear war to

blackmail the other to withdraw from Kashmir. This added a deadly new dimension to the conflict, and kept tensions high throughout the region.

- “The Kashmiri conflict remains both a struggle for land as well as about the rights of people to determine their future. To date, no consensus has been reached between India and Pakistan, nor with the people, on the future of the state, merely an unacknowledged status quo, to which there appears to be a curious attachment lest any alteration cause even greater trauma to the region.”
- On 18 May 1974, India tested a nuclear device in the Thar Desert, which shook Pakistan to its foundations. While the Indian government claimed it was for peaceful purposes, this forced Pakistan to embark on its own lengthy, covert and economically ruinous nuclear programme. Pakistan’s leader at the time, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, announced his people would “eat grass” to finance what would be the start of a nuclear arms race between two of the poorest countries in the world.
- In May 1998, India stunned the world by detonating five nuclear devices and testing intermediate-range ballistic missiles in an assertion of its newly self-proclaimed status as a superpower. This sabre-rattling was aimed at cowing its old foe, Pakistan, but more significantly, was intended as warning to its latest, and by then principal enemy, China. Pakistan, not to be upstaged, responded by testing nuclear-capable missiles of its own.
- Such nuclear posturing in the Indian subcontinent made the struggle for Kashmir an even more dangerous one. During the Kargil Conflict, India and Pakistan exchanged nuclear threats 13 times, with Indian and Pakistani nuclear forces placed on high alert as the two old foes stumbled towards the brink of full-scale war. India’s military also allegedly pleaded with Delhi to launch an all-out offensive on Pakistan over the Kargil incursion, which would have sparked off nuclear war.
- India has moreover repeatedly threatened to launch both air and missile strikes to eliminate Pakistan’s nuclear reactors, weapons assembly facilities

and bases from which nuclear-armed aircraft or missiles could be launched. This would incite immediate nuclear retaliation from Pakistan. A CIA study in 1993 considered Kashmir the most likely place for a nuclear war to begin. Today, Kashmir continues being the fuse that could ignite nuclear holocaust within the Indian subcontinent.