



# Preventing Escalation in Pakistan-India Conflict for Kashmir

### Introduction

The relations of India and Pakistan have been rather conflicting since the liberation of the Indian subcontinent from the British rule in 1947. The division of Indian and the Great Britain became the source of future conflict between Pakistan and India. The core of the conflict today is the area of Kashmir which is considered by the West to be one of the few areas in the world where a conflict could easily escalate into nuclear dimensions; especially, if we take into consideration that China has territorial stakes in this conflict as well.

### Country Profiles

#### 1.1 *India*

- <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/in.html>
- <http://india.gov.in/>

#### 1.2 *Pakistan*

- <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/pk.html>
- <http://www.pakistan.gov.pk/gop/index.php?q=aHR0cDovLzE5Mi4xNjguNzAuMTM2L2dvcC8%3D>

### Historical perspective

The conflicts between India and Pakistan are present since the establishment of both of these states in 1947. After India and Pakistan gained independence, the princely rulers of individual territories within the newly formed states were offered to choose the state they wanted to join. The Maharaja of Kashmir – Hari Singh, could not decide. As a Hindu head of a majority Muslim state hesitated between India and Pakistan, he signed interim agreement with Pakistan to maintain transport etc.

Below, the several different crises and wars between India and Pakistan are briefly described to introduce the sources of conflict between the two countries.

- *First war in Kashmir 1947 – 1948*

The first war between the two newly established states broke out when the ruler of Kashmir wanted to make use of the situation and gain independence for Kashmir. But Kashmir was invaded by armed commandos of Pashtuns from Pakistan. The Pakistani side was outraged by reports of attacks on Muslims in Kashmir and the ruler Singh was forced to ask for help the Indian government, which agreed to provide it in exchange for accession of Kashmir to India. Hari Singh ceded control over to foreign and defense policy to India and also agreed to join India on a temporary basis in order to secure peace.

Indian troops took two-thirds of the territory and Pakistan got control over the rest of Kashmir – the northern part. China seized eastern parts of Kashmir in the 1950s.<sup>1</sup>



- *War in 1965*

The war in 1965 was the second conflict between India and Pakistan concerning Kashmir. This event engaged the Soviet Union and the United States in the course of events in the region. After a military coup in Pakistan, Pakistani armed groups started penetrating the Indian territory and wanted to take Kashmir by force. The attempts were unsuccessful and a stalemate was reached. This way Pakistan got involved in a war that originally broke out between India and China. The ceasefire was approved after January 1966 negotiations. Both sides accepted the Soviet Union as a mediator and they also withdraw the armies from the territory that was disputed.

- *Bangladesh war 1970 – 1971*

The Pakistani president refused to recognize results of the first free elections in 1970, in which the Popular League Party (Awami League) gained a majority vote. He ordered to eliminate the separatists and the Pakistani army massacred thousands of intellectuals in the former East Pakistan (now

<sup>1</sup> <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-south-asia-11693674>

Bangladesh). Bangladeshi (former East Pakistani) separatist forces members started to flee to India where an exile government was established. The separatists also formed units and together with the Indian army launched a counterattack. The Indian forces strongly supported the Bangladesh movement and in two weeks, they reached Dhaka, the former capital of East Pakistan and today's capital of Bangladesh.

- *War for the Siachen Glacier*

The war for the Siachen Glacier began in 1984 and the ceasefire went into effect in 2003. In the area of the Siachen Glacier, the state border was never demarcated as the UN officials assumed no disputes over it would ever emerge. Climbers in the area were requesting permits only from Pakistani authorities, which disquieted India. The first Indian troops were sent to the glacier in 1984 to defend the territory. However, the Siachen war was more of a battle within the extreme weather conditions. The army camps were stationed at the high of 6700m (22 000 feet) and only getting to this camp required unordinary mountaineering skills.<sup>2</sup> Over 800 Indian soldiers died and approximately 12 000 others had been injured. The crisis escalated into heavy clashes but to no avail.

- *Brasstacks military exercise*

In 1986, the Indian army launched big maneuvers by its northern borders in the area of Rajasthan, only hundred miles from the Pakistani border. It was considered as an ideal location from where the Indian forces could overrun the Pakistani borders and separate Pakistan. The Brasstacks exercise was bigger than any NATO exercise and also the biggest since World War II.<sup>3</sup> It was also the last opportunity for India to lead a conflict with Pakistan before Pakistan would gain a nuclear weapon. Pakistan responded with movement of troops in Punjab and shortly after, India terminated the exercise.

- *Crisis in 1990*

Since 1988, tensions in Indian part of Kashmir had been escalating. There were protests calling for independence. India was accusing Pakistan of supporting militant groups who organized the protests and riots. As a result, Indian troops were sent into the region in order to prevent potential infiltration from Pakistani side across the borders. This time, a so called "nuclear diplomacy" was used on both sides, even though the usage of

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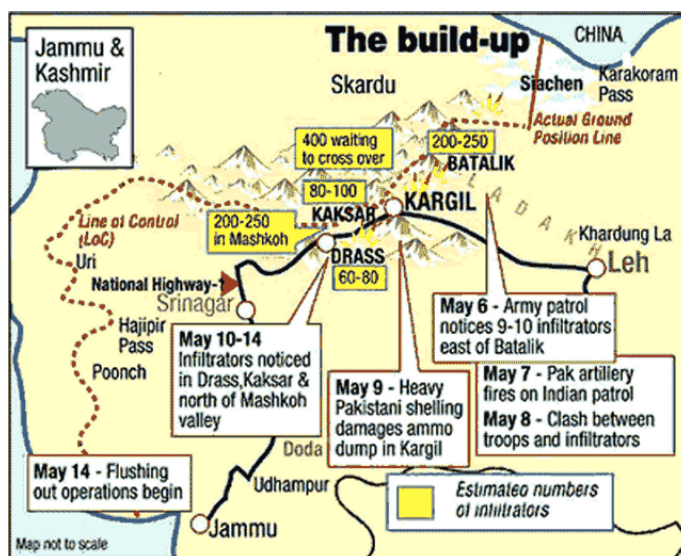
<sup>2</sup> <http://www.harishkapadia.com/downloads/history-of-siachen-glacier.pdf>

<sup>3</sup> [www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/war/brass-tacks.htm](http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/war/brass-tacks.htm)

nuclear bombs was quite improbable. The settlement of the crisis was mediated by the United States, which was aware of the fact that Pakistan already owned a nuclear weapon and wanted to prevent any escalation of the conflict. The Bush administration imposed sanctions against Pakistan and those were not only economic but also military sanctions.

- *Kargil war 1999*

In 1998, both countries conducted a series of nuclear weapons tests. Since March 1999, the Pakistani army started occupying the area on the Indian side of border. After these activities were uncovered, India launched a massive air campaign which, however, was largely unsuccessful. It was realized that the skills necessary for an air mission in the area would need to be much greater. Four aircrafts were lost in three days and the Pakistani air defense turned out to be strong and of a great intensity. Following ground operation, consisting of infantry divisions and other troops, was more successful. It is stated that over 700 thousand Indian soldiers were stationed in the region of conflict. One of the reasons for this conflict was the intention to internationalize the Kashmir issue. Pakistan was as a result of international pressure forced to withdraw.



<sup>4</sup>Kargil war - map

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<http://www.globalsecurity.org/jhtml/jframe.html#http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/war/images//kr g3.gif>

## **Nuclear weapons**

Nuclear weapons are a type of detonative and explosive devices that derive their destructive force from nuclear reactions, namely fission or fusion. These types of reactions release great amounts of energy from very small amounts of matter, namely, the nucleuses of the atoms of the materials from which the devices are produced. The detonation of nuclear weapons devices results in big blasts, fires, and severe radiation. Due to the devastating effects their use has on humanity, nuclear weapons are considered to be weapons of mass destruction. Besides nuclear weapons, chemical, biological and radiological weapons compose the category of weapons of mass destruction. They are also known as the CBRN weapons category. The CBRN category of weapons is strictly regulated and monitored by the international law. There are two types of nuclear weapons, namely, the fission (atomic) bombs<sup>5</sup> and the thermonuclear (hydrogen) bombs. The difference between the two types of bombs arises from the difference in the physics-chemical nuclear reactions that take place inside the bomb when it is detonated.

Over the course of history and warfare, the most notable uses of nuclear weapons have been by the United States of America, at the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> World War. On August 6<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup>, the United States of America deployed fission type (atomic) bombs over the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Since 1945, there have been around 2.000 legal detonations of nuclear weapons, predominantly for testing and scientific purposes. The list of nations that possess nuclear weapons is quite exhaustive, although there are states that are suspected to (illegally) possess nuclear weapons.

India, Pakistan and also North Korea do possess nuclear weapons, however, they are not recognized as possessors under the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons<sup>6</sup> (hereinafter the NPT). The NPT is the fundamental international document on the topic of nuclear weapons. The NPT treaty is an international treaty with the objective to prevent the spread and use of nuclear weapons and similar nuclear technologies, to promote cooperation between states and the peaceful use of nuclear technology with the aim of achieving complete global nuclear disarmament.

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<sup>5</sup> Also known as A-bombs

<sup>6</sup> Full text of the treaty: <http://www.un.org/en/conf/npt/2005/npttreaty.html>

### ***NPT fact box***

**Date of adoption:** 12 June 1968

**Date of entry into force:** 5 March 1970

**Number of states-parties to the treaty:** 189<sup>7</sup> <sup>8</sup>

**Non-parties:** India, Israel, North Korea, Pakistan, South Sudan.

**Depositary governments:** Russian Federation, The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the United States of America.

### **India's nuclear arsenal**

India has been developing its nuclear arsenal since the beginning of the Cold war. It promoted "Atoms for Peace" program which was meant to encourage the civil use of nuclear technologies.<sup>9</sup>The reactor was received from Canada and the heavy water from the USA as it was considered to be a non-proliferation program. In 1974, India conducted a nuclear detonation for which a civil nuclear program was used but with the aim to provide India with what is generally understood as a weapon alternative. This "civil" detonation made India a regional power, a position it was not able to defend in long-term perspective primarily due to frequent domestic political problems. After the tests were ceased for 24 years, India conducted five underground nuclear tests near Pocarán in Rajasthan on May 11 and 13, 1998.

The number of Indian nuclear warheads is estimated to be approximately 30-35. India developed several types of ballistic missiles capable of carrying nuclear warheads. However, fighter-bombers probably remain the only way of transporting nuclear warheads for India. All Indian carrier systems are dual-capable which means they can carry both nuclear and conventional warheads. The implication of the dual-capability is that even though India is subscribing to the "no first use" nuclear strategic doctrine, if there should be war with Pakistan, ballistic missiles with conventional warheads launched from India could be mistaken for incoming nuclear warheads, which would trigger a retaliatory strike from Pakistan. India is in the process of compiling a doctrine that would be based on "credible minimum deterrence". India is, however, one of the countries who have not signed the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT).

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<sup>7</sup> "Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons"; Foreign & Commonwealth Office [http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20130104161243/http://www.fco.gov.uk/resources/en/pdf/pdf18/fco\\_ref\\_sl\\_nonprolifnuclearweapo](http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20130104161243/http://www.fco.gov.uk/resources/en/pdf/pdf18/fco_ref_sl_nonprolifnuclearweapo)

<sup>8</sup> The official database of the United Nations Disarmament Committee <http://disarmament.un.org/treaties/t/npt>

<sup>9</sup> [www.fas.org/nike/guide/india/nuke/](http://www.fas.org/nike/guide/india/nuke/)

## **Pakistan's nuclear arsenal**

Pakistan launched the development of its nuclear weapons shortly after the war in 1971, being persuaded that it is a necessary step to ensure its survival. Work on the program intensified after the first nuclear tests were conducted by India. Pakistan received support mainly from China but also from North Korea. After the breakout of the war in Afghanistan in the 1980s, Pakistan has cooperated with the United States, which also cooperated with China, and India lost its status of regional leader, ending up in isolation. The nuclear program of Pakistan is based on enriched uranium (HEU) which was produced by German scientist A.Q. Khan and in 1990s, the plutonium production carried.

In April 1998, Pakistan tested missile Ghauri with a 1,300km range. It was the first Pakistani missile able to strike India successfully deep inside its territory. Similarly to India, the most probable carriers of nuclear weapons of Pakistan are fighter-bombers since it remains unknown whether Pakistan is able to develop its own nuclear warheads for its missiles.

Pakistani efforts to acquire nuclear deterrent were motivated above all by fear of India's dominance that is apparent in India's population numbers, economy, and military resources. As a result, Pakistan developed an "Indian-centric" nuclear deterrent based on "first use" doctrine which ensures ambiguousness.

To conclude, if we look at the World Nuclear Stockpile Report<sup>10</sup> we can see that the number of strategic nuclear weapons in possession of India and Pakistan is incomparably smaller compared to members of the P5 (permanent members of the UN Security Council possessing nuclear weapons legally under the NPT treaty; USA, Russia, UK, France, China) especially compared to Russia and the United States. Furthermore, none of these weapons are operational. Individual components are currently dismantled and stored separately; putting them into operational state would probably take several days. India and Pakistan are also not in possession of any non-strategic nuclear weapons at all.

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<sup>10</sup> World Nuclear Stockpile Report is accessible at: <http://www.ploughshares.org/news-analysis/world-nuclear-stockpile-report>

## **Current situation**

Both countries have already come to the verge of nuclear conflict, openly during crisis in Kashmir's Kargil in 1999 and again in the years 2001-2002, which was largely omitted by the international community due to the terrorist attacks in the United States on 11/9/2001.

In 2008 and 2009 once again, protests in Kashmir were held in the area of Kashmir valley where a majority of the citizens are Muslims. The separatists asked for freedom and in 2010, more protests occurred.

Kashmir remains the site of the world's largest and most militarized territorial dispute with portions of the area under the administration of China (Aksai Chin), India (Jammu and Kashmir), and Pakistan (Azad Kashmir and Northern Areas). In February 2011, after two years, India and Pakistan resumed bilateral dialogue. At the same time, the two countries also maintained the 2003 cease-fire in Kashmir but continue to have disputes over water sharing of the Indus river and its tributaries. Furthermore, India does not recognize Pakistan's ceding historic Kashmir lands to China in 1964.

The United States with the president Barack Obama in the leading position stepped back in this conflict and is convinced that the Kashmir dispute should be solved bilaterally by Pakistan and India.

## **Key terms**

- The United Nations Security Council
- The United Nations General Assembly
- The Charter of the United Nations
- Kashmir
- India and Pakistan
- Nuclear weapons
- The Nuclear Weapons Non Proliferation Treaty



## **Useful links to start your research**

*List of United Nations Security Council resolutions concerning the Kashmir conflict*

[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Category:United Nations Security Council resolutions concerning the Kashmir conflict](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Category:United_Nations_Security_Council_resolutions_concerning_the_Kashmir_conflict)

If you go to pages dedicated to individual resolutions you can find links to the full texts of these resolutions at the bottom.

*Pakistan Mission to the UN*

<http://www.pakun.org/kashmir/history.php>

*Jammu and Kashmir removed from the list of disputes under UN*

<http://www.ndtv.com/article/india/jammu-and-kashmir-removed-from-list-of-disputes-under-un-66410>

*Past UN missions in Kashmir*

<http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/past/unipombackgr.html>