Indo-Pakistani Wars

Abi Shimono, Gary Lau, Isabella Ollestad, Andy Chung
Background

- British Imperialism
  - British India
- Religious differences (weak)
  - Muslim vs. Hindu
- Distinguish between the wars
- Leaders
  - Psychohistorical Yahya Khan vs. Indira Gandhi
The Causes of the 1947 War

Constructivism:

- Misperception of hostility (of Pakistan and India and Muslims and Hindus) as the cause of war
- Misperception of intention and threats (both Pakistan and India feel like their existence is threatened by the other and both feel like the other wants to break up their country)
- Images, evoked set about the both groups
- Muslims and Hindu relation prior to Independence, the good times (cooperation) and the bad times (riots)
- Stimulus Response escalating, but does not explain the root cause
- Collective memories of Muslims and Hindus
Realist:

- Borders, Kashmir as claimed by both, and it is contested much more because it is on the border of both countries, unlike Hyderabad.
- Expected Utility Theory: they went to war hoping to gain territories out of it.

Marxist:

- British Imperialism: Divide and rule, martial races, encouraging Muslims separatism, Borders: Radcliffe Line, British engineering (whether intentional or not). Leaving both Pakistan and India unsatisfied. The border is disputed with China and Afghanistan as well. (a mix of realist and Marxian)
- Muslims League's Elites interests + Hindutva
- Diversionary war started by elites = Pakistani & Indian competing nationalism (mix of liberals and Marxian)
- Pakistani & Indian Imperialism over Kashmir. For economic (Marxian) and national political interests (Realist)
- Muslim separatist elites and Hindu nationalist, did they encourage the tension (a mix of constructivism and Marxian)
Causes of War

- Death Watch 1965
- Lebensraum theory 1971
  - East Pakistan refugees overcrowding
Conservative

Cause of war - National interests and National Role concepts

Pakistan - Must protect people like us

India - Must protect our land and the Maharaja, Hari Singh, that requested it

States pursue interests out of greed. Without the superior British occupying the lands, the perception was that a war could be won against the opposing sides.
Deterrence Theory

Deterrence theory - peace is kept through maintaining credible threats against one’s opponents.

Prevent smaller Muslim population from being marginalized in Indian Democracy.

Nuclear Bomb - “if India builds the bomb, we will eat grass and leaves, even go hungry, but we will get one of our own.” (Zulfikar Ali Bhutto architect of Pakistan’s Nuclear program 1965)

Following up on conservative view - States are “gain maximizers” who seek “windows of opportunity” The occurrences of each war was in order for the state to gain more to further its national interests. Though the window of opportunities were poorly evaluated by both sides.
Deterrence Theory

Failures

- SEATO - Southeast Asia Treaty Organization
- CENTO - Central Treaty Organization
- 1965 and 1971
Borders and Nationalism

Borders:

- Relocation of peoples 1947, ~14-15 million displaced
- Dual claims to Kashmir since partition in 1947
  - given to India, but had majority Muslim population
- Partitioning also unclear on Rann of Kutch
  - escalation of border skirmishes in spring of 1965

Nationalism:

- Pakistani nationalism despite fracture of nation, India as Enemy #1
- fueled overconfidence following minor victories in 1947 and 1965 wars
- later used in East Pakistan’s bid for independence 1971
Internationalization of Conflict

- by mid 1960s, Pakistan in Western military alliances, + friendly with China
- short conflicts mediated by USSR in Sept. 1965, Britain in Rann of Kutch
  - India-Pakistan conflict threatened USSR’s strategic interests, high stakes + low risk
- 1971, China and US support Pakistan, India signed treaty with USSR
  - USSR agrees to veto inconvenient resolutions in UNSC
- outside powers encouraged growth of conflict
  - US and China gave Pakistan confidence
  - USSR air lifting military supplies to India
  - both sides use American military equipment to supplement strength
- reliance on international mediation to settle conflicts
  - expanded conflict beyond borders
Stimulus Response and Present Day

- Kashmir 1965: intentional crossing of ceasefire line, increasing antagonism
- nuclear weapons crisis 1990s
  - India’s first testing in 1974 sparks massive buildup on both sides
  - pursued stronger nuclear programs through 1990s, “nuclear chicken”
- rising tensions and violence in the early 2000s
  - car bomb at Indian Parliament Dec. 2001
  - terrorist attack in Kashmir May 2002
  - formal ceasefire declared Nov. 2003
  - terrorist attacks in Mumbai, July 2006 and Nov. 2008
Questions

1. Were the British policies intentionally divisive or not? Were the Muslims League and Hindu nationalists intended for the communalism or not?

2. Was the Muslim League genuinely afraid of a Hindu majoritarianism or were Muslim elites only fanning these concerns to mobilize support of Muslims for their party based on religious identity?

3. Different theorists put emphasis on either religious or border conflicts as the primary causes of conflict between India and Pakistan, which seems to be the most applicable? Is there another primary cause that should be considered the true basis for the ongoing conflict?

4. Misperceptions seem to play a large role in the escalation of conflict between India and Pakistan, what is the validity of this hypothesis? Is it enough to explain the continuation of conflict into present day?