

Kashmir

A Risk Assessment Brief

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Kashmir

Background: The root of the conflict between India and Pakistan centers on the disputed region of Kashmir. Although the region was ostensibly ceded to India upon independence in 1947, the government of Pakistan has argued the unconstitutionality of the rule since that time, claiming that because Kashmir was occupied by a Muslim majority, it should rightfully have joined Pakistan. Three major wars between India and Pakistan have been fought over the Kashmiri territory, in 1947, 1965 and 1971, and a fourth war nearly took place in 1999 following Pakistan's invasion and attempted capture of Kargil. Since the later 1980's, India has accused Pakistan of using its allies in Afghanistan to train Muslim extremists and commit violent terrorist acts against Hindus in the Kashmir region and throughout India. Post-Sept.11th, 2001, Pakistani military and political leader, General Musharraf, has 'cracked down' on extremist Muslim groups in Pakistan, but several recent incidents in India, including a suicide attack on the Indian parliament, have heightened tension in the region. Both states field nuclear-capable missiles, and have amassed close to 1 million lightly armed troops, heavy artillery and medium to long-range weapons along the contested Line of Control (LoC). While the official militaries of India and Pakistan are heavily involved in the conflict, local Kashmiri-based opposition groups have been fighting for union with Pakistan or outright secession since the late 1980's. China, another key player in this regional conflict, is the major nuclear and strategic rival of India and similarly, one of Pakistan's most important allies.



Source: The Economist

T i m e l i n e

Aug. 1947-India and Pakistan gained independence from Britain. Kashmir's status was undecided.

Oct. 1947-War between India and Pakistan after Kashmir's Maharaja hands key powers to Delhi.

July 1949-Ceasefire agreed. Pakistan gains one third of Kashmir.

1953-Arrest of Sheikh Abdullah (PM of Kashmir) on suspicions that he was consorting with the U.S. and Pakistan. Five years later, India progressively integrated Kashmir and alienated it at the same time.

1962-China-India War. China captures the Aksai Chin.

Sept. 1965-War breaks out as India blames Pakistan for insurgency.

1964-Indian President's right to dismiss state governments extended to Kashmir.

Late 1971-Heavy fighting took place in Kashmir during India and Pakistan's war over Bangladesh.

July 1972-Line of Control in Kashmir agreed, similar to the 1949 cease-fire line.

1989-Insurgency in Indian-administered Kashmir.

July 1999-Kargil Conflict begins when Pakistan crosses Line of Control.

Oct. 1, 2001-Suicide bombing of the State Assembly building in Srinagar; leaves 38 dead.

Oct. 2001-Worst fighting for more than a year breaks out as India starts shelling what it calls "Pakistani military positions".

Dec 13, 2001-Suicide attack on Indian Parliament. Blame is attributed to Kashmiri separatists. India reduces diplomatic links and begins massing troops along the border.

Key Indicators of Conflict

Main Indicator Categories	Applicable Indicator Examples (FEWER)	Kashmir Specifics
Regional/Inter-State Indicators of Conflict	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Historical rivalries • Antagonistic behaviour • Territorial disputes • Recent history of changes in territorial borders and status • Persecution of or discrimination against state nationals • External support for opposition groups • Threat of external intervention • Uncertain stance of major external powers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pakistan's claim to Kashmir rests on its Two Nations Theory (the only Muslim majority outside Pakistan is in Kashmir); • Pakistan seeks to undermine the legitimacy of the Instrument of Accession by noting that Maharajah was a Hindu presiding over a Muslim majority and was by no means representative of his state. • Pakistan also argues that Kashmiris should be allowed to vote in a referendum on their future, following numerous UN resolutions on the issue. • India thinks "LoC plus" (partition plus autonomy) would appeal to Kashmiris; India wants at best a more democratic and humane version of the status quo that Pakistan has been trying for 50+ years to overturn. India's sees the Instrument of Accession signed in October 1947 by the Maharajah, Hari Singh as being final. • Pakistan wants outside powers to push India for resolution of the conflict. India rejects outside mediation because they see it as a "triangular" discussion with Pakistanis and Kashmiris at the same table– suggesting that India's sovereignty over Kashmir (or at least the part it now controls) is negotiable. • India frowns upon international debate on the issue, arguing that the Simla Agreement of 1972 provided for a resolution through bilateral talks.
Strategic and Military Indicators	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Presence or involvement of external or Federal troops (ie. Peacekeeping, to main security, border control) • Negotiations on key security issues deadlocked or failing to produce results • Public support for military resolution of the conflict • Deterioration of relations between state and external 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • South Asia is currently one of the world's most militarized areas • Kashmir lies at the confluence of three highly militarised and nuclear weapon possessing states: China, India and Pakistan. • In 2000 both India and Pakistan continued the trend of recent years of increasing their defence budgets. India's defence budget increased by 20%, while Pakistan's defence budget increased by 10%. However, in terms of a percentage of GDP, military spending has remained fairly constant for India and Pakistan at 2.5% and 4.2% respectively. In Pakistan, an issue of some concern is the increasing polarisation between the

	<p>actors</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Insufficient control over the military • Government legitimacy tied to conclusive military victory 	<p>secular and Islamic elements of the military.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Both countries possess significant amounts of weapons grade plutonium and uranium; equivalent of 45-95 nuclear weapons for India and 30-52 for Pakistan • Recent indications show that Pakistan has superiority in “missiles, weaponisation for missiles and command and control arrangements”, while India is thought to have a greater payload capability due to the ability to use reactor grade plutonium. • The issue of missile capability and nuclear parity was re-ignited on January 25, 2002 when India tested its short-range nuclear-capable ballistic missile the Agni.
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Key Indicators of Peace

Main Indicator Categories	Applicable Indicator Examples (FEWER)	Kashmir Specifics
Strategic Indicators/Security/Stability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some agreement on key issues • Improvement in regional relations • Initiatives to address root causes of conflict • Negotiation and contacts between parties • One or all parties want to prevent violent conflict 	<p>Regional/International Linkages</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The most salient regional factor for peace is the ongoing conflict taking place in Afghanistan. • US involvement in the region has led to increasing pressure on the Pakistani government to reduce their support for Islamic extremists including militant Kashmiri insurgency movements. • Pakistani leader Musharraf has started to crack down on extremist movements within his country and in Kashmir. • The EU, US and IMF have all engaged, to various degrees, in economic and political links with Pakistan. • Colin Powell and John Manley have both visited the region hoping to ease tensions and engage in economic partnerships with both countries. • India’s prime minister is willing to discuss with Kashmiri officials about reforms and the upcoming elections in Kashmir.

Trends and Possible Scenarios

1. **Worst:** Escalation of tension between India and Pakistan, ostensibly over a terrorist attack or perceived provocation on the part of one side or the other, leading to an act of war or armed invasion. The potential for violence at present is massive, with close to 1 million troops, heavy artillery and extensive weapons deployed along the LoC; a single shooting incident could lead to chaos in a short period of time. With the eruption of a 'hot war', the UNMO's in the area could do nothing but sit by and record the transgressions of either side. Armed attack by the Indian forces could lead to a forcible 'taking back' of the 1/3 of Kashmir that it says Pakistan unlawfully occupies. Conversely, if Pakistan emerged as the aggressor-state, a potential annexation of more territory is possible, even so far as the Kashmir Vale.

2. **Best:** President Vajpayee and General Musharraf agree to third party mediation, via the United States who is already in the South Asia area and dealing with a variety of interrelated problems. With this triangulated discussion, Pakistan, India and Kashmiri representatives would be present at the negotiation table. Several rounds of negotiations will leave both sides content with the non-binding suggestions that are made, and India and Pakistan agree to allow the contested territory to undertake a plebiscite, in essence allowing the Kashmiri people to decide their own fate. The four options to be voted upon include a) full control by India, b) full control by Pakistan, c) independence of the entire area from Pakistani and Indian central control; and d) partition along the current LoC and autonomy (the partition plus option).

3. **Most Likely:** Maintenance of the status quo; the US and the West will try to gently urge both nations into resolving their problems, but with the 'War on Terrorism' occupying more time, money and effort than they can feasibly sustain for an extended period of time, the US will no doubt relieve pressure from the Pakistanis in short order. Violence and frequency of attacks continues without the conflict ever escalating to involve the use of nuclear weapons. Casualties increasingly involve civilians as cross border firing continues. The 1 million Pakistani and Indian troops remain mobilized at the border. With a harsher than normal winter expected to hit the Himalayas, any large-scale military action is not expected before Spring 2002.