

India and Pakistan

A Study of Deterrence in an Asymmetric Enduring Rivalry

Bachelor thesis

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Introduction

Deterrence and asymmetric conflicts have been researched extensively in the past decennia, resulting in our enhanced understanding of these phenomena. One of such comprehensive studies was conducted by Diehl and Goertz and published in 2001. Their longitudinal approach to deterrence aims to investigate the effect of deterrence on development of enduring rivalries, as opposed to the standard focus on explaining deterrence failures and successes in particular cases of conflicts. According to Diehl and Goertz, analysis of interconnectedness of sequential deterrence cases provides better insights into dynamics of enduring rivalries (Diehl&Goertz 2001: 72). Furthermore, in their work much attention is paid to matters regarding parity and imparity of capabilities between rivals; they state that “[...] *enduring rivalries are much more likely to take place between countries of roughly equal power*” (Diehl&Goertz 2001: 52). Their empirical findings prove that the number of conflicts between a major and a minor state declines as the rivalry severity increases; moreover asymmetrical rivalries have a bigger chance to disappear or be resolved faster than symmetrical ones (Diehl&Goertz 2001: 51-52).

This study aims to examine the core assumption that is embedded in the research of Diehl and Goertz, which is the alleged effect of deterrence on the dynamics and dragging-out of rivalries (Diehl&Goertz 2001: 101). More precisely, this postulation will be tested under circumstances of a rivalry between a major and a minor power. For this research I have chosen the protracted conflict between India and Pakistan which perfectly satisfies the condition of asymmetry of capabilities. Pakistan has been clashing with its bigger and militarily more powerful neighbor India, and challenging New Delhi’s territorial control over Kashmir and other regions ever since both states gained independence in 1947. Several of these militarized disputes occurred without any preceding noticeable deterrence efforts, other were obvious cases of deterrence failure. By looking at differences and similarities in causes of these two types of militarized disputes we can investigate the assumed influence of deterrence on the dynamics and prolongation of the rivalry. This link can be tested by examining overlap between presence or absence of these factors on one side, and presence or absence of deterrence on the other side. Given this one could ask: what factors explain the prolongation of the Indian-Pakistani rivalry? Is there a strong link between these factors and deterrence? If there will be no or not much overlap implying no or a weak relationship, then it is plausible to argue that deterrence does not have any important role in defining the character and prolonging of the Indian-Pakistani rivalry. However, basing on the expertise of Diehl and Goertz I expect to encounter a high degree of overlap between factors and

deterrence, confirming the notion that deterrence indeed has effect on prolongation of this rivalry.

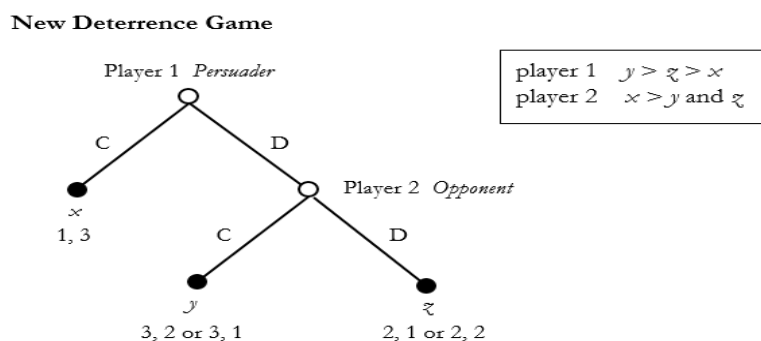
However, before answering the research questions a general theoretical framework about deterrence needs to be provided. I will shed some light on the deterrence debate and clarify whether it is India or Pakistan that should be regarded as the actor exerting deterrence. In the subsequent sections I will justify the choice of methods of research and describe in detail the steps that led me to my empirical findings. The final paragraph will conclude on the results.

Theoretical framework

Deterrence theory started developing as a separate field of study shortly after the World War II. Brodie, Wolfers, and Viner realized what implications nuclear weapons could have on matters of national security. Their work, nevertheless, remained largely unnoticed for over ten years. Then, elements of game theory became incorporated into it, especially the Game of Chicken which points out the paradox of deterrence where each of the competitors tries to gain security by threatening the other to inflict unacceptable damage if he would launch an attack (Jervis 1979: 291-292). This became the very core of the deterrence theory and the point of reference for the next generations of students of the field, among which Patrick Morgan. His definition of deterrence as "*the threat to use force in response as a way of preventing the first use of force by someone else*" (Morgan, in: Huth&Russett 1984: 2) has been quoted or paraphrased by many, yet it seems that hardly anyone came to recognize the bias that is embedded into it.

In theory the Chicken Game model allows for the symmetric assumption that each actor can be potentially the attacker or the defender. Player 1 has choice between maintaining the status quo and defying from it. Player 2 reacts, either by complying with, or defying from the decision of Player 1. Possible outcomes are maintaining of the status quo, unilateral nuclear destruction of the passive player, or Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD) if the defender decides to resist, provided both sides have a strike-back capability. As it becomes clear, this model contains all theoretical possibilities and does not imply which side is the challenger and which is the defender. Yet, by far the most Western deterrence theorists seem to have disregarded this assumption, accepting the biased asymmetrical notion that only the USSR can be the challenger, and the US the defender (Pellikaan 2016: 8-10).

Leaving theoretical limitations of this model aside, it is worth noticing that it was developed for confrontations with nuclear weapons as the main instrument of deterrence. One could ask if it is still a correct analytical tool, now the Cold War has finished and the vast majority of interstate conflicts do not involve the risk of MAD? If the answer is no, then the model should be re-examined. In his recent work about the present role of deterrence, Morgan seems to acknowledge that this Cold War reasoning is not applicable anymore. He argues that “[...] *the preoccupation with deterrence stability has shifted. In the Cold War nuclear deterrence was supposedly critical for stability due to perceptions that if not deterred and an opportunity arose, the opponent would attack*” (Morgan 2012: 92). Pellikaan suggests another model based on the Rational Choice theory that overcomes the limitations of the nuclear deterrence model and, more importantly, does not include the bias toward the West. First of all, the New Deterrence Game is based on the idea that it is Player 1 who pursues the policy of deterrence. The challenger of the status quo (x) threatens the second player (the opponent) with military force if Player 2 does not comply and adopts an outcome (y) which is preferred by the deterrent; otherwise a militarized dispute follows (z). This is based on the assumption that the first player does not accept the current state of affairs, but prefers a peaceful alteration of the status quo above a military confrontation ($y > z > x$). The second player, on the other hand, is satisfied with the current situation and prefers it above changes of any kind, whether peaceful or by force ($x > y$ and z). However, no assumptions can be made about the exact order of y and z because states vary in their capabilities and preferences. Another important difference from the Nuclear Game model is that the New Deterrence Game considers the credibility of threat as a feature of the first player (the deterrent). The threat issued by the persuader must be convincing enough to motivate the second player to back off and comply with the demands. Yet, if his credibility is doubtful then the opponent may decide to ignore it and prepare himself for a military confrontation, or even attack pre-emptively. Deterrence is successful if Player 2 prefers y above z and conforms to the will of the persuader. Deterrence becomes a failure if the opponent puts his preference z above y and does not comply with the demands of Player 1 (Pellikaan 2016: 11-13).



Pellikaan 2016: 11

Even though I believe that the complicated Indian-Pakistani relationship is optimally represented by the non-nuclear New Deterrence Game, it does not mean that I completely disregard the effect of nuclear weapons on the nature of the rivalry. Although nowadays nuclear weapons may not play a role as deterrent because there are other means to pursue interstate political stability more successfully, Morgan claims that this rule does not apply to the India-Pakistan relationship (Morgan 2012: 92). For this reason, presence of nuclear arsenal will be among factors under consideration.

Methodology

Selection of relevant cases for this research is the very first step towards answering the research questions. The first source of data about the Indian-Pakistani rivalry which will be consulted is the 1816-2010 dataset of Militarized Interstate Disputes of the Correlates of War project, which contains information about all instances in which one state threatened, displayed, or used force against another state actor (Palmer et al. 2015). I will start by choosing all disputes between India and Pakistan between 1947 and 2010 which reached a high level of hostility. In the dataset it is coded as 4 (use of force), and 5 (war). All lower levels of hostility where no actual confrontation took place (0 up to 3) will be left out. Further, disputes such as small border clashes where the fatality level and the number of deaths were relatively low (0-25) will be disregarded. Finally, minor clashes which occurred directly before or immediately after major disputes or wars will be disregarded, as I consider them to be related to the major ones and there is a high probability that they share the same characteristics. All other conflicts satisfying the previously mentioned criteria are presented in the table below:

COW case number	Year	Fatality code	Hostility level	Coded as
1238	1947-1949	6	5	Kashmir I
1312	1965	6	5	Kashmir II
1447	1971	6	5	Bangladesh War
4007	1993-1999	5	IND – 4 PAK – 5	Kargil War
4277	2001-2003	4	4	Parliament bombing crisis

Due to discrepancies between the COW data and other sources I decided to compare the list with the dataset of Gleditsch et al. (2002) featuring armed conflicts from 1946-2001. This work will be consulted in order to find out if some of the seemingly marginal conflicts were not actually crucial confrontations with a contested or wrongly coded number of casualties. For the full list of cases from both sources please consult the appendix. However, among these cases (Gleditsch et al. 2002: 631) there are several which are already included in the COW dataset; some other do not fulfill the criteria set out for this research. The remaining relevant disputes are presented below:

Year	Intensity level	Coded as
1964	intermediate	Rann of Kutch
1984	intermediate	Siachen
1996-98	intermediate	1996-98 clashes

Relevant cases from both datasets will be divided in two categories. The first group will consist of cases where a militarized dispute between India and Pakistan occurred **despite efforts to deter** the opponent. Although I expect Pakistan to be the deterrent in most of the cases, I also accept the possibility that there were disputes where India was the persuader. The second category will include cases of clashes between these two states which occurred **without any overt attempts to deter**. Categorization of cases requires establishing of criteria for identifying deterrence cases and separating them from non-deterrence cases. I decided to focus solely on cases of deterrence failures. Including cases of deterrence success could potentially create a one-sided bias; to compensate for it I would have to add to the control group several cases of ‘non-deterrence’ peace between India and Pakistan. These, however, are difficult to select objectively because it is not clear if peace resulted from general deterrence, or it happened just because at that moment neither of the adversaries had an intention to challenge the status quo (Morgan 2003: 124; Huth 1993: 62; Lebow&Stein 1989: 220). Neglecting this crucial difference would result in comparing two groups of deterrence cases with each other, which is not the goal of this study.

Morgan set out criteria to identify cases of immediate deterrence (Morgan 2003: 121) which were further developed by Huth and Russett (Huth&Russett 1984: 498). Basing on them, deterrence cases will be recognized as such if the conflict has been preceded by mobilization of forces by any of the adversaries, or if there have been any direct threats issued by one party against the other involved state actor. Also, the target state must clearly recognize the threat. Last but not least, cases of compellance, defined as *“the use of threats to manipulate the behavior of others so they stop*

doing something unwanted or do something they were previously not doing” (Morgan 2003: 2) will be considered as deterrence. Morgan himself argues that, because of overlap between deterrence and compellance, the distinction between these two concepts should not be emphasized (Morgan 2003: 3).

Categorization of cases

Identifying deterrence situations is a complicated task, as there is discrepancy between sources and disagreement among scholars about which cases should be considered relevant and which not; often one has to settle for *‘plausible’* or *‘probable’* estimations (Morgan 2003: 123). Despite the high level of uncertainty regarding the process of deterrence identification, I will attempt to do so basing on cases delineated in the previous chapter. Where applicable, I will indicate which side is to be regarded the deterrent. It will be followed by a short analysis of the results.

Kashmir I

The first major militarized dispute between India and Pakistan occurred in 1947. The crisis sparked when rebels supported by Pakistan invaded Kashmir and the maharaja immediately requested Indian assistance. Only after receiving a formal accession from him, India complied and sent soldiers to the area with the goal of subduing the rebels and preventing an offensive by regular Pakistani troops (Brecher&Wilkenfeld 1997: 166-167). This movement of Indian troops is a satisfactory signal to conclude that deterrence has been applied by India. Nevertheless, it triggered a response of the Pakistani military leading to war, and thus turned out to be unsuccessful.

The Rann of Kutch (1964)

The dispute started in 1964 when India and Pakistan engaged in fighting with limited means (Tellis 1997: 8). It further developed in February 1965 when the Indians realized that Pakistani border posts and trenches have been built in the disputed zone. New Delhi reacted by sending large forces to the area between January and April 1965, establishing military posts, and carrying out large manoeuvres of combined forces, thereby challenging the status quo (Khan, in: Mallon et al. 2000: 259-260). This can be considered as a deterrence attempt by India to pressure the Pakistanis to withdraw. However, it only resulted in mobilization of the Pakistani troops at the border, which finally led to heavy fighting. (Brecher&Wilkenfeld 1997: 170).

Kashmir II

Another Kashmir-related crisis started in 1965 when Pakistani rebels began infiltrating into Kashmir with the intention to create an uprising against the rule by India. New Delhi responded by sending thousands of troops across the line of ceasefire and gaining control over most of the areas through which the rebels entered India (Brecher&Wilkenfeld 1997: 171-172). This action is not to be considered as deterrence – the movement of troops was meant to reestablish the status quo. This is confirmed by data of Palmer et al. (2015) where India is labeled as the status quo seeker. Given this one can assume that at that moment India had no intention of altering the behavior and policy of Pakistan. Besides, it did not issue Islamabad any ultimatum to stop supporting the rebels. However, the situation changed when a Pakistani armored column was dispatched across the line of ceasefire, thereby openly showing military support for the rebels and deterring India from entering its territory. India did not comply and reacted by invading West-Pakistan (Brecher&Wilkenfeld 1997: 171-172).

Bangladesh

The third major war between occurred in March 1971 and involved the territory of the present Bangladesh. First it was an internal problem of Pakistan, which occurred after East-Pakistan declared independence from West-Pakistan. For several months, India covertly supported the secession of East-Pakistan, among other things by training Bangladeshi refugees to fight in the liberation war. The crisis reached serious dimensions for India when Pakistani troops were concentrated on the Indian Punjab border, directly threatening India with a military attack if it does not stop interfering in its internal affairs and territorial integrity (Brecher&Wilkenfeld 1997: 173-174). However, Pakistan's efforts to deter India turned out to be unsuccessful; consequently Pakistan ran a series of air strikes on Indian military and air bases on December 3, 1971 (Ganguly 1999: 59). Basing on Ganguly's expertise within the Indian-Pakistani relationship I disregard the data provided in the original COW dataset, labeling India the revisionist state.

Siachen conflict

Since 1984 India and Pakistan have been engaged in a militarized dispute for dominance over the Siachen Glacier. This area had been claimed by India and Pakistan ever since 1949, yet no troops were sent to the region because of the harsh climate conditions. In April 1984 the situation changed with a pre-emptive deployment of Indian soldiers to the region, basing on intelligence data that suggested that Islamabad was preparing to send its forces to the contested area (Ahmed&Sahni 1998: 18). The goal of the movement of Indian troops was to discourage the

Pakistanis from carrying out the offensive, which qualifies the Siachen dispute as a case of deterrence. It turned out to be unsuccessful, as it did not prevent the actual Pakistani attack.

1996-98 clashes

Although Gleditsch et al. state that India and Pakistan have been engaged in a dispute of intermediate severity between 1996 and 1998, no exact account of these events is to be found among available sources. Also, the seemingly comprehensive database of Palmer et al. does not include any information about these events. The only source that sheds some light on it is the dataset of the Uppsala Conflict Data Program. According to it, there have been ‘minor’ conflicts between India and Pakistan in 1996, 1997, and 1998 which each year resulted in more than 25, but less than 999 casualties (Harbom et al. 2008). Lack of information gives rise to the idea that orders to fire might have been taken on the level of locally stationed low- or medium-rank officers in response to provocative behaviour of the adversary. However, there is no information about extraordinary mobilization of forces on any of the sides prior to the clashes, nor about any direct threats or demands. All in all, one can conclude that no deterrence efforts had been taken by either of the actors.

Kargil War

The last of the big wars between the two rivals was fought in 1999 in Kargil. It was different from other large-scale militarized disputes between India and Pakistan because both participants proceeded carefully to avoid a declaration of war, or even state publicly that their troops were fighting with one another (Paul 2005: 41). The Kargil War had had its origins in another dispute of 1993, and escalated in 1999 when Pakistani forces occupied Kargil Hills, a mountainous area in Kashmir, and ended after a couple of months of fighting with the withdrawal of the Pakistani. It is not fully clear why Islamabad decided on such a provocative, unpredictable act. Yet, what matters is that although both states mobilized some of its troops for a large-scale conflict, they each signaled through diplomatic and military channels the willingness to prevent a full-scale war (Lavoy 2009: 205). Exactly because of this lack of deliberate direct threats I consider the Kargil War a non-deterrence case.

Clashes following the December 2001 attack on the Indian Parliament

After a suicide terrorist attack on the building of the Indian Parliament in New Delhi, India accused Pakistan of supporting terrorist organizations and announced a full mobilization of its troops at the border. The government in New Delhi aimed to use this manoeuvre to deter Islamabad from harboring terrorists infiltrating into India’s territory. According to the former

Indian foreign secretary Dubey military preparations were taken to convey a message to Pakistan that its strategy of enabling infiltration of the Indian territory by terrorists has a heavy cost (Khan, in: Paul 2005: 171). This endeavor failed, as Pakistan responded with its own mobilization as result of which severe fighting between both armies broke out (Palmer et al. 2015: 28). The crisis lasted until 2003.

Category	Deterrent	Frequency	Cases
Deterrence	Pakistan	2	Kashmir II Bangladesh
	India	4	Kashmir I Rann of Kutch Siachen Parliament bombing
Non-deterrence	n/a	2	1996-98 clashes Kargil

As it becomes clear, deterrence has been applied by parties in the majority of disputes. What is quite surprising, however, is the fact that India seems to have been the deterrent more often than Pakistan. It is contrary to my early expectation that deterrence would be employed more frequently by Pakistan. This needs to be provided with an explanation, and the following sections will be an attempt to do so. I will give a number of explanations of the Indian-Pakistani rivalry and examine whether or not they are applicable to each of the cases. Finally, I will use the results to remark on the findings contradicting my assumption of Pakistan being the major deterrent, and work towards answering the original research question if there is a strong link between these facts of the rivalry and presence or absence of deterrence.

Causes of the rivalry

National identity

The issue of conflicting national identities is deeply embedded in the conflict between India and Pakistan. In addition to issues of territorial or linguistic nature, it also includes sharing specific values and principal worldviews which are often linked with a certain religious or political ideology. In case of India and Pakistan these are Hindu and Islamism nationalisms which have

been evolving ever since the conflict sparked. Even more than in secular India, identity gives shape to Pakistan's politics which is centered on the notion of being different than India – Nasr refers to it as *contradistinction to the idea of India*. Pakistan and its Muslim identity are based on Islam as the fundamental component. It regarded the inclusive Hindu nationalism as a problem because it did not grant the Muslim minority any privileged treatment or constitutional safeguards of their interests. This early Muslim communalism developed eventually into a large-scale movement that created Pakistan, and legitimized its foundation as a homeland for Muslims. However, this separatist notion served as an example for minorities how to maximize their interests, leaving the government in Islamabad with the question how to prevent the process of further fragmentation that created Pakistan in the first place (Nasr, in: Paul 2005: 179-181).

In the eyes of Pakistanis India is the actor that contributes to this problem. In 1971 India assisted the secession of East-Pakistan, thereby interfering directly in matters of the Pakistani national identity and linking this factor even more with the rivalry between both states. It should be noted that the same rhetoric that brought up Pakistan, and later was denied Bangladesh, is used by Pakistani revisionists and supporting them local rebels to legitimize their claims to Kashmir. It is considered a separatist struggle that still needs to be completed, and Kashmir's identity is seen as an extension of the national identity of Pakistan (Nasr, in: Paul 2005: 182). This explains the numerous efforts of Pakistani leaders to gain control over that territory, including the Kashmir I and II wars, and possibly also the 1996-98 dispute. There is not much information about the latter but it is highly possible that it played out along the demarcation line dividing Kashmir between India and Pakistan where there is large concentration of troops of both states and where the conflict is heated up more than anywhere else.

The secession of Bangladesh resulted in islamization of Pakistan's politics, as a means to contain any other separatist movements. As result it changed the original conception of Pakistan from being a homeland for Muslims to being the Islamic ideal of state and society, rejecting Hindu secularism and its political and cultural domination in post-1947 India. The shift towards Islam opened Islamabad new possibilities for foreign policy making, among other things by employing *jibadi* activism to reach its goals in Kashmir and elsewhere. The alliance between extremist mullahs and the military helped propagate the ideals of *jihad*, which started being identified as interest of the Islamic Republic. The Islamic identity of Pakistan resonates very well within the military which has always been extremely nationalistic and anti-Indian. The military managed to direct the increasingly more militant character of Islamist movements towards regional expansion, especially at the expense of India (Nasr, in: Paul 2005: 184-186). Particularly, this can be brought in connection with the suicide attack on the Indian Parliament and the Indian

retaliatory deterrence efforts. As result of December 2001, New Delhi positioned itself as the revisionist of the Pakistani policy of cooperating with radicals and terrorist organizations, which led to a series of heavy clashes between armies of both states.

As it has been noted above, the military has its own interest in reinforcing the conflict with India. Highlighting the Indian threat by generals made Pakistani politicians increase the military budget substantially which served the corporate interests of the military. Hence the national Pakistani identity is also to be considered a tool of the military agenda since it is the military command that emphasizes the antagonized Pakistani position towards India and Kashmir (Nasr, in: Paul 2005: 201). For example, Ganguly quotes a former foreign secretary of Pakistan who stated that the Kargil War had been planned and carried out in secret by military commanders without having informed the Prime Minister, with the goal of jeopardizing the deal between the Indian and the Pakistani governments over Kashmir that was in its final stage when the invasion started (Baruah, in: Ganguly 2001: 321). All in all, this provides a satisfactory explanation for the question if national identity played any role in the Kargil conflict.

So far, the only cases that have not been examined in the light of competing national identities are the conflicts over the Rann of Kutch and Siachen. The former started as a small-scale dispute over the borderline and escalated, it has never been a major cause for nationalists in any of the involved states. Siachen, on the other hand, can be indirectly linked with the important Kashmir dispute. Nevertheless, I tend to believe that in this case conflicting national identities did not play a role. First of all, in official agreements Pakistani diplomats referred to the glacier as “*the contiguous areas the defense of which is under the actual control of Pakistan*”, and not as its exclusive territory (Wirsing, in: Ahmed&Sahi 1998: 16). Besides, according to Benazir Bhutto Pakistan was willing to accept Siachen as no-man’s land until the moment India started deploying its troops in the area (Ahmed&Sahi 1998: 18).

Territorial issues

Territorial disputes are possibly the most understandable of all causes of the Indian-Pakistani enduring rivalry. Ever since the decolonization and creation of the Indian and the Pakistani state in 1947 both adversaries differed in their notion of whether the partition had been completed or not. Pakistan has been claiming the territory of Kashmir mostly populated by Muslims, which was demonstrated by the 1947-48 and the 1965 wars, as well as by the 1996-98 dispute. In India’s view, on the contrary, the former princely state of Kashmir was considered an integral part of the state, as confirmed by the legal act of accession and no further territorial concessions to its smaller neighbor were reasonable (Paul 2005: 9). Also, the crisis resulting from the suicide attack

on the Indian Parliament (2001-03) has been codified by Palmer et al. (2015) as a one having background of Pakistani territorial revisionism. Yet, according to them, the conflict over East-Pakistani secession (1971) was mainly motivated by the Indian desire to change the type of regime. Although it is beyond doubt that New Delhi assisted the secessionists in this rebellious Pakistani province, it must be examined if the codification of 'regime/government revisionism' is correct as far as the India-Pakistan war of 1971 is concerned. After all, India did not try to democratize Pakistan or install a new authoritarian regime as Palmer et al.'s categorization may suggest. In the previous chapter it has been explained that the Pakistani deterrence was aimed to stop India from interfering in its internal affairs and the territorial integrity, supporting my claim that territorial issues were actually at the very core of the conflict. The COW dataset does not provide any useful information about the remaining conflicts under consideration, the Siachen conflict and the Kargil War. However, the pre-emptive Indian intervention on the glacier was a result of the Pakistani preparations to conquer the previously contended no-man's land, placing territorial issues at the very core of the dispute. The Kargil War, although it was carried out with the goal of presenting India and the international community with a military *fait accompli* of territorial control (Khan, in: Paul 2005: 166), there is no record of previous Pakistani claims to these particular, rather insignificant hills. Hence I am inclined to believe that the whole operation was merely a diversionary manoeuvre, as explained in the paragraph about national identities, rather than an effort of the Pakistanis to change the borderline and gain territory. The latter, however, definitely played a role in the conflict over the Rann of Kutch, where the fighting began after the provocative effort of the Pakistani to demarcate the borderline by establishing posts and patrolling the area.

Irredentism

Irredentism is another major factor that is very closely linked with territorial issues. It is defined as political efforts to "*unite the territory of an ethnic group with the territories of other segments*" (Saideman&Ayres 2000: 1126). Pakistan's efforts to "recapture" the "lost" territory of Kashmir with its predominantly Muslim population revolved in a series of disputes that turned out to be extremely costly for both sides. The smaller of the two discussed rivals is generally considered to be irredentist, as it aims to unite Kashmir with the rest of its territory and employs several Kashmiri separatist groups as a foreign policy tool (Saideman, in: Paul 2005: 203-206). India, on the other hand, is referred to as the status quo seeker, trying to conserve its territorial integrity and prevent separatism that can spread across the country. Saideman emphasizes that irredentism is highly dangerous in comparison to other instruments of foreign policy, as making territorial

claims upon a bordering state involves the possibility of igniting war (Saideman, in: Paul 2005: 208-209).

Having sketched the general framework of irredentism, the goal is to discover whether or not it played a role in sparking the conflicts that are the object of this study. This task is pretty straightforward in case of the First and the Second Kashmir War. The former was a Pakistani endeavor to conquer the independent princely state of Kashmir, in which India became involved after the Kashmiri request for assistance and its accession to India. Ganguly, mentioned by Saideman, argues that the 1965 war might have been provoked by the Indian plan to integrate the highly autonomous state of Kashmir more closely with the rest of the country. He also believes that the intensified irredentism of 1990s may be clarified by the nuclear balance between both rivals which enabled Islamabad to seek control over Kashmir (Saideman, in: Paul 2005: 215-220). It would explain the prolonged border fighting between 1996 and 1998. Yet, it is not fully clear if it applies to the 1999 conflict in the Kargil Hills. Although Saideman claims that it is connected with the Kashmir crises, as it might have been started to diminish India's successes in the autonomous state and prevent their institutionalization (Saideman, in: Paul 2005: 217), I am more convinced by the explanation that the conflict was ignited by irredentist forces within the military to jeopardize the peace accord between New Delhi and Islamabad. In any case, the answer seems to be affirmative; still I recognize that this case is doubtful to a certain extent as there is little official record of these events.

The other cases are less controversial when it comes to identifying irredentism's role as one of the factors that contributed to the conflict. The dispute in the Rann of Kutch and the Siachen conflict played out in areas uninhabited by neither Pakistanis, nor Indians – let alone by any ethnic minority. For this reason they both do not fall under the definition of irredentism, as delineated by Saideman and Ayres. Also, the Bangladesh Liberation War in which India got involved, was an attempt to secession and, as-a-matter-of-factly, the opposite of irredentism. Finally, the December 2001 attack was carried out by militant Kashmiri separatists with the blessing of the irredentist Pakistani President Musharraf and resulted directly in border clashes that lasted for 18 months until 2003.

Differing domestic power structures

Another factor that needs reconsideration is the difference of the regime type between India and Pakistan. This is important because some regimes are more conflict-prone, as result of their aggressive foreign policies and efforts to maintain domestic stability by mobilizing the population against 'a common enemy'. This happens to be the case with Pakistan that has been ruled by

military authoritarian, or hybrid governments for most of the rivalry's duration. A hybrid regime type occurs when authoritarian actors (the Pakistani military) uses democratic means to legitimize its rule or when democratically elected governments function under the threat of a military intervention. Tremblay and Schofield argue that the military rule in Pakistan created normative and structural distortions in the decision making, leading authoritarian politicians to become more readily involved in strategic conflict, compared to democratically elected politicians (Tremblay&Schofield, in: Paul 2005: 225-226).

The military has been an actor in Pakistani politics from at least 1954, when it started using official state channels for its nationalist propaganda, thereby branding Pakistan as a powerful state that has to oppose the Indian threat (Tremblay&Schofield, in: Paul 2005: 229-230). It ruled the state in periods 1958-1960, 1966-71, 1977-85, and 1999-2004. With other words, the 1971 War with India, the Siachen conflict and the Parliament bombing occurred at the time of military rule. Hybrid governments were in power between 1960-65, and 1986-99, including the Rann of Kutch dispute, the Second Kashmir War, 1996-98 clashes, and the Kargil War. The short periods of civilian governments are 1947-54, and 1971-77, comprising the First Kashmir War which seems to be a contradiction of the democratic peace theory. Yet, scholars explain that early democratization is often associated with conflict-proneness (Tremblay&Schofield, in: Paul 2005: 231).

India, on the other hand, has been mainly democratic and less war-prone than its smaller neighbor ever since 1947. Its democratic structures and institutions serve as a constraint from escalating the rivalry with Pakistan (Tremblay&Schofield, in: Paul 2005: 247), which explains why most of the encounters between both adversaries have been initiated by Pakistan. At the times of all eight disputes under review, India had a democratic government that depended upon popular support. The rhetoric of the government towards Pakistan reflects to a certain extent the Indian public opinion, which fluctuation might push the government to a militarized conflict with Pakistan, such as in the aftermath of the Parliament bombing when Pakistan's aggressive foreign policy started being perceived as a threat (Tremblay&Schofield, in: Paul 2005: 239).

Great power involvement

When analyzing the Indian-Pakistani enduring rivalry, one cannot focus exclusively on relations between these two states and their disagreement over Kashmir. The conflict between India and Pakistan is placed in a broader geo-political context that also has to be taken into account, as it also contributed to the prolongation of the rivalry (Kapur, in: Paul 2005: 131). Kapur argues that the resolution of this rivalry has not been the main motive for interventions of major powers. On

the contrary, the US, UK, and China aimed to maintain a relative and manageable instability, mainly by arming and building Pakistan up as the challenger, thereby creating a parity of capabilities. The goal was to contain the Indian regional hegemony that started developing in 1950s. Besides, Pakistan was seen by the US and China as a gateway for policies designed to oppose the Soviets. At the times of the Cold War the Soviet Union sought to compete with other major powers for influence in the region and supported India diplomatically and militarily, even though it was against India's nuclear ambitions. The India-USSR coalition, which was a result of this strategy, became the counterpart of the US-Pakistan-China alliance (Kapur, in: Paul 2005: 133-137). The Soviet military engagement in the 1971 war when it moved its troops closer to the border with China to deter Beijing from assisting Pakistan (Brecher&Wilkenfeld, 1997, pp.173-174) demonstrates the real dimensions of this coalition.

Pakistan, on the other hand, used its alliance with the US, UK and China to reduce the asymmetry with India and advance its strategic agenda. This is exemplified by the First Kashmir War in which the Pakistani attack on the princely state was facilitated by Islamabad's partners (Kapur, in: Paul 2005: 145). This also counts for the Rann of Kutch dispute where the Pakistanis used arms provided by the US and the UK (Sundararajan 2010: 324). Also, the Second Kashmir War that broke out three years after the Sino-Indian War of 1962 had the blessing of Beijing, which was tightening its ties with Islamabad. Also, from the late 1970s Saudi Arabia has been supporting the Islamic Republic with substantial financial means and building Wahhabis religious schools, serving as a training ground for Islamic terrorism (Kapur, in: Paul 2005: 150). Riyadh can be considered the catalyzer in the 2001 Parliament bombing that was launched by Kashmiri terrorists, yet the link is too vague to suggest direct Saudi involvement in the attack and the conflict that occurred in its aftermath. Also, there is no evidence of engagement of any other major ally on the side of either of the participants at the time the fighting started.

So far, involvement of great powers in regular wars between India and Pakistan seems to be a rule. A possible explanation for this is offered by Paul, who states that Pakistani officials, while carrying out military operations, expected China and the US to intervene on their behalf (Paul 2005: 15). However, this strategy did not work during the Kargil War when for the first time since the partition of the Indian subcontinent great powers were clearly one-sided, supporting India and its policy stance (Singh 1999: 1088), yet without engaging directly. Finally, the Siachen conflict and the 1996-98 conflict need little examination. These were disputes of a relative low intensity and without any major implications for global politics; hence it is not surprising that they broke out and ended without engagement of any other states.

Nuclear weapons

Possession of nuclear weapons by India and Pakistan is the last factor that contributes to prolongation of the conflict. Although nuclear weapons are intended to deter interstate conflicts and bring relative stability in an enduring rivalry, they also contribute to emergence of new crises because the weaker of the two antagonists feels much more confident about his military capabilities and dears to trigger low-to-medium intensity crises to achieve some tactical gains. In case of India and Pakistan it involves small border skirmishes and medium-intensity border battles without entering each other's territory. It leads to an elevated level of rivalry and hostility which only prolongs the conflict and makes it difficult to reach a peaceful agreement. Parties may agree on a ceasefire occasionally; this is however just a temporary solution to lower the level of hatred which does not guarantee a lasting resolution of the conflict (Khan, in: Paul 2005: 156-159)

Both India and Pakistan gained capability to produce nuclear weapons by late 1980s and by 1998 they have tested them. According to Khan the nuclear phase of the rivalry between both states started in 1987 (Khan, in: Paul 2005: 160-161). It implies that nuclear weapons were at the disposal of both adversaries only at the time of three out of eight discussed conflicts – during the 1996-98 clashes, Kargil War, and the Parliament bombing crisis. The strategy employed by New Delhi and Islamabad in the nuclear period are different compared to the pre-1987 period. Instead of direct, full-scale confrontations both actors engaged more readily in limited wars, especially the Pakistanis who relied more on low-to-medium intensity proxy wars (Kargil) and terrorist activities (attack on the Parliament). Still, the question remains if nuclear weapons were really a factor that influenced the dynamics of the conflicts. Leng argues that Pakistan had waited with the Kargil operation since late 1980s until nuclear tests were finished (Leng, in: Paul 2005: 116). Also, it is believed that the Indian army was hailed at the border to prevent an escalation to the nuclear level. In case of the 2001-03 crisis the Indian government made the decision to use non-war methods to prevent a full-scale conventional conflict that Pakistan could have turned into a nuclear war (Khan, in: Paul 2005: 167). Finally, the level of the 1996-98 fighting remained limited as well, presumably for the same reason. Summarizing, the answer is yes. The presence of nuclear weapons was among the factors that defined the character of these conflicts.

		Incompatible national identities	Territorial issues	Differing domestic power structures	Irredentism	Great power involvement	Presence of nuclear weapons	Deterrent
Deterrence	Kashmir I	yes	yes	no	yes	yes	no	India
	Rann of Kutch	no	yes	yes	no	yes	no	India
	Kashmir II	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	Pakistan
	Bangladesh	yes	yes	yes	no	yes	no	Pakistan
	Siachen	no	yes	yes	no	no	no	India
	Parliament bombing	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	yes	India
Non-deterrence	1996-98 clashes	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	yes	
	Kargil	yes	no	yes	yes	no	yes	

Having identified all relevant conflicts and rivalry causes, we can proceed to analyzing the results. The first question that needs explaining is why India seems to have used deterrence more often than Pakistan. There is much variance of factors involved in all conflicts in which India was the deterrent, hence the answer must lie somewhere else. What does not become directly apparent from the table above, however, is the fact that the vast majority of conflicts were provoked by Pakistani proxy methods, such as supporting Kashmiri rebels and jihadi terrorists (Kashmir I, Kashmir II, Parliament bombing), or limited warfare, such as (planning of) unilateral adjustments of undivided areas (Rann of Kutch, Siachen) and military intrusions into Indian-held territory (Kargil). These conflicts are marked with the gray color in the table. The exceptions are the 1971 war that started because of India's involvement in the secession of East-Pakistan, and the 1996-98 clashes about which there is no reliable data. The pattern that emerges suggests that India resorts to deterrence when it starts perceiving Pakistani proxy methods as sufficiently intimidating and threatens Pakistan with the use of force if it does not stop supporting insurgents, and when Pakistan aims to achieve small and seemingly unimportant territorial gains. Possibly, these little steps forward are considered by decision makers in New Delhi as a forecast of a bigger military operation that would be far more costly to stop, such as the Kargil War has demonstrated. This would explain the decision of India to display force pre-emptively and its

frequent application of deterrence. Pakistan, despite being the challenger in almost all instances, resorts to deterrence less willingly, probably realizing that its threats would lack credibility. Instead, it uses less far-reaching measures as described above. Only in two cases Pakistan did try to deter India - in 1965 when it felt threatened by sudden military operations on the other side of the border, and in 1971 when its territorial integrity was endangered. However, considering the limited scope of this study more research should be conducted in order to confirm these findings.

Finally, we can proceed to examining the link between the factors and the categories of cases to reach conclusions about the effect of deterrence on dynamics and prolongation of the Indian-Pakistani rivalry. We observe a quite clear connection between application of deterrence and presence of nuclear weapons. Before obtaining nuclear arsenal, both India and Pakistan seem to have used deterrence more readily. In the two cases where the adversaries had nuclear weapons at their disposal no deterrence was applied, as if bearing in mind that conventional deterrence could cause escalation to the nuclear level. The Parliament bombing crisis seems to be an exception because it involved application of deterrence; yet both parties acted carefully, realizing the risk of MID if the conflict would escalate. All in all, nuclear deterrence works and shapes evidently the way in which rivals engage in disputes. Secondly, the results indicate a relationship between great power involvement and deterrence. In four out of six deterrence cases alliances with major powers did affect the course of disputes, while they did not seem to play a role in the non-deterrence cases. Yet, one could wonder if this relationship is not a spurious one, as the engagement of great powers might depend on the presence or absence of nuclear arms in the Indian subcontinent. Given the broader interconnectedness of these two issues I have come to accept it as a fact. Its implications are far-reaching. Considering the lack of any clear relationship between the other four non-nuclear factors and deterrence, it puts forward that non-nuclear deterrence does not play a role in defining the character of the Indian-Pakistani rivalry. The nuclear deterrence, on the other hand, is the most crucial factor in this asymmetric enduring rivalry, as it prevents parties from escalating the conflicts and diminishes the importance of alliances with major powers for coping with the adversary.

Conclusions

This study examined factors that contribute to the prolongation of the Indian-Pakistani rivalry. These factors explain largely Pakistan's aggressive policy, often contradicting the common sense assumption that a minor state does not stand a chance against a major one. After all, in at least six out of eight disputes under review it was Pakistan that provoked the fighting. First of all, it was caused by the contradistinction of the Pakistani national identity based on Islam against India. Pakistani expansionary demands and Kashmiri irredentism added fuel to the fire. India, on the contrary, accepted the process of partition and has never embraced revisionist rhetoric. Co-existence of diverse religions within the state is deeply embedded in its all-encompassing national identity. Moreover, India's democratic state structures and institutions prevent its policymakers from initiating ungrounded military operations, which has rarely been the case in Pakistan that has been autocratic for most of the time since it became independent from the British administration. Despite the end of their colonial rule the previously mentioned British, among other world powers, kept pulling strings in the Indian subcontinent, making alliances with either India or Pakistan, thereby advancing the parity of power between adversaries and contributing to the prolongation of the conflict. Finally, both India and Pakistan acquired nuclear weapons which are commonly believed to be the great equalizer between competitors, making full-scale wars and resolution of the rivalry less likely.

This research also aimed to discover a pattern of presence or absence of these six factors that would overlap with presence or absence of deterrence, leading to conclusions about the effect of deterrence on the enduring character of the rivalry. Four of them did not display a strong link with presence or absence of deterrence, suggesting that non-nuclear deterrence does not define the dynamics of the Indian-Pakistani rivalry; another one is likely to be spuriously correlated with deterrence. In case of presence of nuclear weapons, however, one can identify a clear link with deterrence. Nuclear deterrence seem to stimulate both rivals to proceed carefully and prevent escalation of conflict, while avoiding non-nuclear deterrence as much as possible. However, it is necessary to highlight the limited external validity of this study. Results obtained for this particular rivalry cannot be accepted as a general rule that counts for all asymmetric enduring rivalries. Bearing in mind the uniqueness of the Indian-Pakistani relationship (Morgan 2012: 92) it can be stated with all certainty that similar studies of other dyads alike would lead to different findings. However, such research is necessary to find common denominators between asymmetric enduring rivalries, and to answer definitely if non-nuclear deterrence contributes to their prolongation.

Appendix

1. List of the Indian-Pakistani disputes from the COW dataset (Palmer et al. 2015):

Dispute no.	State	Start date	End date	Revisionist state	Revisionism type	Fatality code	No. of deaths	Highest action in dispute	Hostility level	Selected for the research	Coded as
1238	PAK	26.09.1947	01.01.1949	yes	Territory	6	>999	Begin interstate war	5	yes	Kashmir I
1238	IND	26.09.1947	01.01.1949	no	not applicable	6	>999	Begin interstate war	5	yes	Kashmir I
1467	PAK	04.03.1964	28.09.1964	yes	Territory	2	26-100	Clash	4	no	Related to Kashmir II
1467	IND	04.03.1964	28.09.1964	no	not applicable	2	26-100	Clash	4	no	Related to Kashmir II
1316	PAK	aug-64	05.08.1965	yes	Territory	2	26-100	Clash	4	no	Related to Kashmir II
1316	IND	aug-64	05.08.1965	no	not applicable	2	26-100	Clash	4	no	Related to Kashmir II
1312	IND	05.08.1965	23.09.1965	no	not applicable	6	>999	Begin interstate war	5	yes	Kashmir II
1312	PAK	05.08.1965	23.09.1965	yes	Territory	6	>999	Begin interstate war	5	yes	Kashmir II
1315	IND	23.09.1965	25.01.1966	no	not applicable	2	26-100	Clash	4	no	Related to Kashmir II
1315	PAK	23.09.1965	25.01.1966	yes	Territory	2	26-100	Clash	4	no	Related to Kashmir II
2631	IND	jan-65	30.06.1965	no	not applicable	3	101-250	Clash	4	no	Related to Kashmir II
2631	PAK	jan-65	30.06.1965	yes	Territory	3	101-250	Clash	4	no	Related to Kashmir II
1447	PAK	07.04.1971	17.12.1971	no	not applicable	6	>999	Begin interstate war	5	yes	Bangladesh War
1447	IND	07.04.1971	17.12.1971	yes	Regime/government	6	>999	Begin interstate war	5	yes	Bangladesh War
2638	IND	05.05.1972	05.05.1972	no	not applicable	2	26-100	Clash	4	no	Related to Bangladesh
2638	PAK	05.05.1972	05.05.1972	yes	Territory	2	26-100	Clash	4	no	Related to Bangladesh
4007	PAK	17.09.1993	17.07.1999	yes	Territory	5	501-999	Begin interstate war	5	yes	Kargil War
4007	IND	17.09.1993	17.07.1999	no	not applicable	5	501-999	Clash	4	yes	Kargil War

4223	PAK	18.07.1999	28.10.2000	no	not applicable	2	26-100	Clash	4	no	Related to Kargil
4223	IND	18.07.1999	28.10.2000	no	not applicable	2	26-100	Clash	4	no	
4277	PAK	13.07.2001	22.11.2003	yes	Territory	4	251-500	Clash	4	yes	Parliament bombing crisis
4277	IND	13.07.2001	22.11.2003	yes	Policy	4	251-500	Clash	4	yes	Parliament bombing crisis

Cases excluded from analysis:

Disputes number 1315, 1316, 1467, and 2631 are considered a part of the Second Kashmir War, as their start and end dates, according to Palmer et al., correspond closely with the dates of Kashmir II.

Dispute number 2638 is related to the 1971 war over Bangladesh (violation of the ceasefire); see: Akhund, I.A., - Letter to the UN Security Council (30 May 1972).

Dispute number 4223 is related to the Kargil War, as its coded starting date is a day after the Kargil War ended.

2. Gleditsch et al.'s list of the Indian-Pakistani disputes (Gleditsch et al. 2002: 631):

Location	Incompatibility	Year	Intensity level	Selected for the research	Coded as
India - Pakistan	Territory (Kashmir)	1947-48	War	no	Kashmir I
		1964	Intermediate	yes	Rann of Kutch
		1965	War	no	Kashmir II
		1971	War	no	Bangladesh War
		1984	Intermediate	yes	Siachen
		1987	Intermediate	no	n/a
		1989-90	Intermediate	no	n/a
		1992	Intermediate	no	n/a
		1996-98	Intermediate	yes	1996-98 clashes

		1999	War	no	Kargil War
		2000-01	Intermediate	no	Parliament bombing crisis

Kashmir I, Kashmir II, Bangladesh War, Kargil War and the Parliament bombing crises have already been represented by Palmer et al.

The 1987 and 1989-90 disputes were cases of deterrence successes (Brecher&Wilkenfeld 1997: 174-177)

The 1992 Babri Masjid conflict did not involve engagement of the military of either of the states (see: Bacchetta 2000).

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