

REDUCING THE RANCOR IN SOUTH ASIA FOR ENDURING PEACE

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***Abstract:** Currently, the South Asian region is considered as one of the most conflict prone regions of the world. The enduring rivalry between Pakistan and India, the two door-to-door states, is a source of bitterness in the region. Pakistan and India's self-determination and their subsequent split into two sovereign states from the imperialistic rule of Britons have implanted the seeds of lasting conflicts between the two. The British scuttled its responsibilities almost overnight and left in its wake the two newly born countries that were previously united by hatred and animosity for each other. But woefully enough, they both could not live in harmony even as sovereign states. They continued to harbor their relations with each other through the narrow prism of suspicion, hostility, hatred, and the sense of otherness. The political differences, inherent disputes, and the war of words has never been lightened in the whole history of Indo-Pak relations as both of them do not miss any chance of blaming each other. Their geopolitical relations became worse day after day. The decades of conflict have also encompassed three major wars and several near conflicts, which roped in an intense nuclear arms race in the region. Furthermore, in the post 9/11 era, both the states has been indulged in accusing each other for inculcating and implanting terrorism in each other's countries that partook in estranging the bilateral relations further. The objective of this paper is to look into the intractable conflicts between India and Pakistan that have been the source of acute bitterness in the region and the conflict resolution mechanism for them.*

Keywords: India, Pakistan, partition, hostility, conflicts.

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Introduction

The term "conflict" suggests the clash of interests, ideologies, values, struggle, and competition between two or more warring parties or states. According to the Penguin Dictionary of International Relations, "Conflict is a social condition that arises when two or more actors pursue mutually exclusive or mutually incompatible goals. In International Relations, conflicted behavior can be observed as war both as a threatened outcome and as an existential reality and bargaining behavior short of the violent idiom." Since, the South Asian region has not been able to resolve its inter-state and intra-state conflicts, hovering its peace and stability, and hinders the optimism of regional cooperation. The mutual threat perception between India and Pakistan dominated the geopolitics of the whole region. The intermittent clashes between the both persistently nourished antagonism which, in turn, gave birth to long-term conflicts that further complicated the prospects of conflict management and hindered progress on economic front. Their mutually exclusive approaches to dominate the region, in the past, and in present, ignored the concerns of other smaller regional neighbors or looked beyond it to counterweight the proximate hegemon.

It is said that the present of a society is always the outcome of its past, which in turn, sets out the horoscope of its future. Although the Muslims and Hindus lived together in the sub-continent for centuries, but they could not harmonize and roll into one nation. The Muslim leadership in India, however, tried to walk side by side with Hindus in the liberation struggle, but the bigotry and prejudice of Hindus led the Muslims to establish the notion of "Two Nation Theory" that afterwards became the cause of creation of Pakistan. The Muslim rulers treated their Hindu masses on parity basis and tried to maintain peace, amity, and security in the sub-continent. Unlike, the co-religionist Hindu Rajas, who in turn, treated the Muslims hordes heartlessly. Their covert, spiteful, and malefic sentiments towards Muslims were unearthed when the Britons ruled Indian sub-continent. Resultantly, partitioning of sub-continent India took place in 1947. Looking into the historical narratives, the memories of the trajectory of India-Pakistan relations had been permeated with the violent episode of partition that was followed by

the greatest human displacement. The communal discord between Hindus and Muslims in the sub-continent was extended to hostility between the two freed states in the post-partition era. Their issues had militated against their peaceful coexistence, and amicable settlement of their disputes and differences. On the other hand, Hewitt views that India still remains Pakistan's biggest foreign policy challenge. India and Pakistan have shared a feeling of "mutual distrust" ever since the partition of subcontinent and the eventual creation of Pakistan as an independent state. This distrust was an outcome of the colonial legacy of "divide and rule" that pitted the Muslims against the Hindus. The policy gave rise to a sentiment of "Islam being in danger" amongst the Muslims in the Hindu dominated sub-continent.¹ Olmstead avows that both the states were birthed out of bloody partition that encouraged each to define itself in opposition to the other, and they had fought three wars since independence.² Paul asserts that India-Pakistan conflict is one of the lasting and unending rivalries of the era, which has direly affected the bilateral relations between the two.³ Due to a number of historical, economic, social, religious, and political events that harvested the seeds of conflict and confrontation, the relationship between India and Pakistan remained highly complex. Bahera asserts that in South Asian region, the most intractable conflict exists between India and Pakistan, which lends itself to various categorizations cast in strategic-military terms, territorial or border issue, and an ideological conflict rooted in their mutual relations.⁴ Due to their traditional prejudicial mindset, Hindus never accepted the establishment of Pakistan on the map of the world, and tried to merge her again in Indian subcontinent. However, in the post-independence era, the reconciliation that was expected between India and Pakistan never realized. Both the states initially tried to

¹ V. Hewitt, *The New International Politics of South Asia* (New York: Manchester University Press, 1997).

² J. Olmstead, "India-Pakistan Relations: A Destructive Equilibrium," *The Diplomat*, November 2, 2014.

³ T. V. Paul, *The India-Pakistan conflict: an enduring rivalry* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

⁴ Dr. N. C. Bahera, "Involving Stakeholders in Conflict Resolution," in *South Asian Policy Analysis Network*, ed. Imtiaz Alam (Lahore: 2006).

bridge the gap which was further widened by four wars and several near conflicts. It is a tragedy of their short history as independent states that their mutual antagonism plunged them into three wars, and when not engaged in combat, has kept them close to the brink. The conflicts between India and Pakistan have not only determined the security environment of South Asian region, but also perpetuated the opponent's image of each other. Since inception, India had remained in the centre of Pakistan's threat perception and still continues to influence her security strategies. The two states even fought hot and cold wars that destabilized the region. Shortly after independence, the forceful accession of Kashmir territory with India remains a bottleneck issue between India and Pakistan. However, despite India's several pledges to hold a plebiscite in the Kashmir Valley, the status quo still remains the same. What is more, in spite of all Indian efforts to impair and plot against Pakistan as the creation of Bangladesh, her subversive activities in Baluchistan and Indian efforts to label Pakistan a terrorist state and isolate her diplomatically etc., Pakistan still exists as a sovereign state. Other issues, such as Kargil, Siachen, Wullar Barrage, Sir Creek, and cross-border terrorism also cropped up. Stephen Cohen terms the hostile relationship between India and Pakistan as "hard to manage and even impossible to resolve."⁵ Besides other differences and disagreements, the acquisition of nuclear weapons has obstructed the process of normalization of relations between the two. Now Indo-Pak liaison is a fusion of tit for tat relation, acquisition of ever more nuclear arms race, and other tactics at diplomatic level. Ajithkumar avows that the changing scenario in the Asiatic politics demands a new approach to Indo-Pakistan relations. They both have a great deal to gain, and chances of peace in the region could be bettered if they could remain on friendly terms with each other.⁶

⁵ S.P. Cohen and R. S. Sandhu, "Rising India's Pakistan Problem," *International Studies*, 47 (2010), 413–433.

⁶ M. P. Ajithkumar, *India-Pakistan Relations: The Story of a Fractured Fraternity*, (Delhi: Kalpaz Publications, 2006).

Kashmir Issue

Kashmir issue lies at the core of India-Pakistan conflicts since independence. The relations between the two states have mainly pivoted around this issue. It has not only been an important factor in shaping their divergent foreign policies but also has magnified and compounded their mutual fears and tensions. The Indian Premier Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru addressing to All India Congress Committee on July 6, 1951 stated, "Kashmir has been wrongly looked upon as a prize for India or Pakistan. People seem to forget that Kashmir is not a commodity for sale or to be bartered. It has an individual existence and its people must be the final arbiters of their future."⁷ But rather fixing the issue, India viciously annexed the Kashmir territory when the ruler of Kashmir acceded to India, neglecting the facts that the Vale was a Muslim majority region and Kashmiris longed to join Pakistan.

Lamentably, the Kashmir dilemma has always been viewed from territorial perspective. Kashmiris aspirations for self-determination and sovereign status have never been greeted by India but crushed brutally by the Indian state forces. Since beginning, political mobilization of the people has been viciously suppressed by the Indian forces. India's forceful annexation was contested by Pakistan. The first war between India and Pakistan took place over Kashmir. India took the issue to the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) in 1948. On January 1, 1949, a UN brokered ceasefire came into effect. In order to determine their fate, a right of self-determination was given to Kashmiris by the UN, but India never let the plebiscite took place. Both India and Pakistan had always declined each other's claim over Kashmir valley that resulted into conflict. Sadly enough, even after seven decades, Kashmiris had no plausible future. Since partition, both the states had waged two full-fledge wars, a military confrontation in 1999, and other border skirmishes over Kashmir. By turning a blind eye to what are the aspirations of local Kashmiri people, India has used repressive state

⁷ J. Naqvi, "How Nehru's partisans are subverting his Kashmir promise," *The Dawn*, November 28, 2010.

apparatus to rule the Kashmiris. The Kashmir conflict had generally been identified as Hindu-Muslim dispute that had been contested on ideological front. The Kashmiris' demand and their long walk for a sovereign status had been unheeded by Indian government. Paul underscores that India and Pakistan's disagreement over the Kashmir issue is a "persistent, fundamental and long-term incapability of goals" between both the states.⁸ Deplorably, Kashmir issue was left undecided by the international community to be bilaterally determined by both India and Pakistan.

Recently, after the killing of Burhan Wani by the Indian Security forces, a fresh wave of repression and brutality has been initiated by the Indian armed forces. The innocent Kashmiris have been brutally massacred and pelleted by the Indian state forces. Every time the Indian government responded heavy-handedly towards the Kashmiris' demand of sovereignty. At most, life has been stagnant in the valley. Almost every day, demonstrations have been observed in the Vale with the same zeal and the most awe-inspiring feature is that the youth of Kashmir has taken up their agenda to decide their fate themselves.

According to Lamb, the Kashmir tragedy has two dimensions (i.e., geo-political and human.) At first, India and Pakistan have been constantly engaged in a state of confrontation and conflict and has thrice engaged in overt warfare, a military clash at Kargil, and several near clashes. Secondly, India tries to rule repressively; tens of thousands of people have been slaughtered, abducted, and displaced. Even, the women are no exception. They have been the victims of molestation, torture, and other statutory offenses by Indian armed forces. There are thousands of mass and unmarked graves, and the snow has buried the history of these graves.

Indo-Pak discord over Kashmir had all along been a threat to peace and stability in the region. It had been holding up the economic progress and the wellbeing of the people of both countries. Lasting peace in the region cannot be achieved without the permanent

⁸ Paul, *The India-Pakistan conflict*.

resolution of Kashmir issue. However, it is a long way, but efforts to determine the status of Kashmir should be made by the International community along with the domestic audiences.

Indus Water Treaty (1960)

The water issue between India and Pakistan is a partition old agenda. Shortly after independence, Pakistan having an agrarian economy was confronted with obstruction of water by India. According to Benerjee, separation from India was the biggest priority of Pakistan, where partition not only separated people, lands, but also demarcated the flow of rivers in the territory.⁹ All the major rivers flow through Kashmir, which has remained the disputed territory between the two giant South Asian neighbors. Due to Indian obstinacy, the dispute over sharing water always cropped up as a concern for Pakistan. In order to resolve the water issue, Indus Water Treaty was signed in 1960. According to this treaty, the whole reserves to be split into two parts. India was supplied the water of Ravi, Sutlej, and Beas while Pakistan was granted the rivers of Indus, Chenab, and Jhelum. Overtly, the accord was meant for the permanent solution of water issue between India and Pakistan. However, from the very first day, India was furtively striving hard to enfeeble the newly flagged state economically. Afterwards, India violated the terms and conditions of treaty severely. She constructed many dams and planned to construct various hydro power projects in order to gain full control on western rivers. The construction of Wullar Barrage on Jhelum River, Baghliar Dam on Chenab River, the two hydroelectric projects Kishanganga on Neelum River, and Ratle on Chenab River are the serious Indus Water Treaty violations made by India. Thus, Pakistan is reliant on India for her water security. Pakistan took the issue to the International court of Justice (ICJ) for the peaceful resolution of the water terrorism, but India repudiated to negotiate uttering that the matter will be sorted out bilaterally by India and Pakistan.

⁹ S. Benerjee, *The History of Perpetual War: Indo-Pak Relations* (Kolkata: Parampara Prakashan, 2016).

Considering this, Pakistan should make efforts on constructing more dams in order to eliminate problems related to water security and power production. If Pakistan will not take this matter seriously that will ardently hearten India for her moves against Pakistan and will seriously affect Pakistan's posture on water resources.

Indo-Pak Nuclear Conundrum

Stephen P. Cohen asserts that the nuclearization of South Asia "is no longer merely a regional matter." Indeed, it has global dimensions. Considering that, a relatively small-scale nuclear exchange between India and Pakistan could cause a global "nuclear winter."¹⁰

Ever since the nuclearization of India and Pakistan, it is almost impossible to stabilize nuclear deterrence in the region. Due to the conventional nuclear and missile race between both South Asian rivals, they are failed to resolve their long standing issues including Kashmir. It is their terrible failure and their persistence that leads them towards the acquisition of nuclear weapons with no end in sight will potentially affect the entire world.¹¹ On the other hand, Paracha views that it is generally accredited that with the overt nuclearization in the region, India does not pose a threat to Pakistan anymore, nor does Pakistan pose a threat to India. However, many believe that India poses a threat to herself, and Pakistan poses a threat to herself as well.¹² Both the states have spent huge amount of money on their defence expenditures that have contributed a lot in dilapidating their economies and developmental structures. As far as deterrence is concerned, Michael Krepon notes, "Deterrence between India and

¹⁰ M. E. Carranza, *India-Pakistan Nuclear Diplomacy* (Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield Publishing Group, 2016).

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² N. F. Paracha, "Indo-Pak Relations: A Brief 'History,'" *The Dawn*, February 14, 2016.

Pakistan is becoming less stable with the passage of time and the increase in nuclear weapons capability.”¹³

China’s acquisition of nuclear technology in 1964 became a prompting factor for India to conduct an underground nuclear test. After Indo-China border row in 1962, India developed strong anti-Chinese feelings and decided to conduct nuclear tests. Indian Premier, Indira Gandhi gave go ahead to nuclear explosions. India carried out her first ever nuclear tests of Pokhran-I in 1974, in the span of ten years from Chinese nuclear tests. To halt international denunciation of Pokhran-I, India characterized it a “peaceful nuclear explosion.”¹⁴ Agha Shahi is of the view that priding herself on her large and modernized army, her air armada and blue water navy, her nuclear weapons and equipments, rocket and upgraded satellite-launching capabilities, India assumes her place as a great power and also to assert a right to hegemony over the smaller next-door neighboring states in the region.¹⁵ Her ever-increasing military, diplomatic and nuclear power reveals her quest to be acknowledged and treated as a major regional power. India aspires to establish a security and strategic environment in which she would play the central role with the help of outside powers. It smacks hegemony and enforcement of "India’s Monroe Doctrine."

Pakistan’s nuclear phenomenon of 1998 is India-centric.¹⁶ Pakistan established her nuclear program under the enthusiastic leadership of Z. A. Bhutto. At that time, he was minister of fuel, power, and natural resources. He deemed India’s nuclear program as

¹³ M. Krepon, "Pakistan Nuclear Strategy and Deterrence Stability," in *Deterrence Stability and Escalation Control in South Asia*, eds. M. Krepon and J. Thompson J. (Washington DC: The Stimson Centre, 2013).

¹⁴ I. Marie and O. Shinichi, "The Nuclear Policy of India and Pakistan," *NIDS Security Reports*, No. 4. (2003), http://www.nids.mod.go.jp/english/publication/kiyo/pdf/bulletin_e2002_3.pdf.

¹⁵ S. P. Cohen and S. Dasgupta, *Arming without Aiming: India’s Military Modernization* (Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2010).

¹⁶ I. Khalid, *Pakistan-India Conflicts: An Application of Crisis Decision Making* (Lahore: Peace Publications, 2013).

“intimidating Pakistan and establishing hegemony in the sub-continent.”¹⁷ Deeming it fateful to Pakistan’s homeland security, Bhutto stated that “we will eat grass, but we will make a nuclear bomb.”¹⁸ Later on, the Pakistani President General Zia ul Haq also declared that Pakistan has embarked on the journey towards acquisition of nuclear development program. Mitra maintains that Indo-Pak relationship describes their antagonistic relations with tit-for-tat nuclear tests, allegations of spying on each other, all have contributed enough in making the situation more and more worse.¹⁹ Bahera asserts Pakistan’s decision to go nuclear following the nuclear tests in India in 1998 in order to seek parity with India and secondly to counter India’s hegemonic designs and as an attempt to restore the balance of power in the region.²⁰ General K.M. Arif asserts that Pakistan’s strategic notion of parity vis-à-vis India is “to counter a threat, you must possess the same capability as the opponent enjoys. We must have a nuclear device against a nuclear device, a missile against a missile, a plane against a plane and a tank against a tank.”²¹ Pakistan conducted her nuclear tests in May 1998. It has been ascertained that Pakistan’s nuclear program served to accelerate nuclear development in India. Immediately after Indian nuclear test of May 1998, Indian Premier Vajpayee corresponds to President Clinton, implying that China caused a danger, averring that “we have an overt nuclear weapons state on our borders, a state which committed armed aggression against India in 1962.”²² Indian effort to validate her nuclear testing owing to “China threat” was deemed absurd by the global community. Afterwards, the Indian government

¹⁷ H. N. Akhtar, *If The Truth Be Told: An Alternate History of Pakistan* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2007).

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ S. K. Mitra, "War and Peace in South Asia: a revisionist view of India-Pakistan relations," *Contemporary South Asia* 10 no. 3, (2001): 361-379, DOI: 10.1080/09584930120109568.

²⁰ Bahera, "Involving Stakeholders in Conflict Resolution."

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² Marie and Shinichi, "The Nuclear Policy of India and Pakistan."

reviewed its stance on China threat and imparted an official view that “it was not China’s nuclear arms that were so much the cause for concern, but rather the transfer of nuclear and missile technology from China to Pakistan that contributed to a deterioration of the security environment of India.”²³ Perhaps, India considered herself to be sandwiched between the two nuclear weapon powers states, China and Pakistan.

Acquisition of Missile Technology of Indo-Pak

After the nuclear jingoism, both the states initiated missile testing. India initiated her space launch program in the early 1960s, and by 1979 she attempted her first launch of a satellite abroad – an indigenously produced space launch vehicle. Abdul Kalam is considered as the father of Indian missile program. “The ballistic missiles of India include the Prithvi (range of 350 kilometers); its naval version, Dhanush; the underwater-launched ballistic missiles, and the Agni series with ranges between 1,000 and 5,000 kilometers. The latest arrow in this quiver, the Agni V, will enter operational service as a canisterised, road-mobile missile that can deliver nuclear warheads to targets across south, south-east, central, and west Asia, China, most of Europe and large parts of Africa. Simultaneously, development has begun on Agni V's successor, the Agni VI. This intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM), with a range of over 6,000 km, will carry a massive three- ton payload (current Agni payloads weigh one ton).”²⁴ Initiatives in Pakistan to acquire an equivalent missile program existed in India began in 1987. The program focused towards developing a short to medium range missiles with a proper computer guidance system. Pakistan considered the acquisition of missile technology essential in order to achieve military parity with India. It is also acquiesced that Pakistan transmitted her nuclear weapon technology to North Korea, and she in turn was provided

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ A. Shukla, "India's missiles story," *Business Standard*, September 20, 2013, http://www.businessstandard.com/article/beyondbusiness/india-s-missiles-story-113092001166_1.html.

with missile technology. China too, has played a vital role in Pakistan's nuclear and missile programs. Initially, the Hatf missiles were made feasible as well as developing the Ghauri missile program. In the decade of 2000s, further development led to the introduction of ballistics and cruise missiles by different scientific organizations.

As India and Pakistan are two nuclear states in the region, any clash between the two states can bring them toe-to-toe and can accelerate a nuclear warfare. It has been looked with a great apprehension by the world community that both the states have been engaged in four wars and several near conflicts in the past, and their nuclear capability continues to grow and diversify. The region can be a very dangerous nuclear flashpoint if the conflicts and aggravation in the ties between India and Pakistan would not fall short.

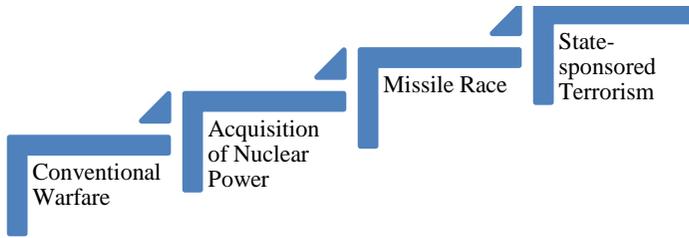
Indo-Pak Conflictual Relations: Post-9/11

After the fateful terrorist incident of 9/11 on the World Trade Centre in New York, the world has been changed overnight. Terrorism became the world's foremost and 'uni-focal' challenge outdoing all other preoccupations with concerns of peace, security and development. Within a few hours of the attack, the United States quickly accused al-Qaida for carrying out the terror attacks.²⁵

In the post 9/11 Indo-Pak ties, one more dimension of state-sponsoring terrorism added with the forgoing maneuvers that were conventional warfare, nuclear and missile race between the two persisting foes (i.e., India and Pakistan) in the region.

²⁵ H.S. Rothstein, *Afghanistan and the Troubled Future of Unconventional Warfare* (New Delhi: Manas Publications, 2006).

Figure No. 1



Source: By author

In the post 9/11 epoch, the accusations of major terrorist blow on both sides of the frontier are as followed.

Indian Allegations of Cross-border Terrorism

Following the violent episode of 9/11, the global phenomenon of terrorism initiated the new phase of conflictual relations between India and Pakistan. Soon after the taking place of terrorist attack on Indian Parliament on December 13, 2001, India started lifting her voice against Pakistan's hand in escalating cross border terrorism. India accused the perpetrators belong to Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) and Jaish-e-Mohammad (JeM), operating mainly from Pakistan, for their alleged involvement in the attack on Indian Parliament. She also accused these organizations for uprising in the Indian held Kashmir. Owing to the attack, the diplomatic relations between Pakistan and India paralyzed along with the suspension of all transit links between the two. She also increased pressure on Pakistan and demanded that:

- ✓ Terrorism should be banned with all its manifestations,
- ✓ support to terrorist factions working against India should be dismissed,
- ✓ All physical infrastructure and training sites of terrorism in Pakistan should be shut down.

While denying all the charges, Pakistan immediately banned the militant organizations that are said to be involved in the attack.

The other major Mumbai terror attack of 26/11 again dented the ties between India and Pakistan. On November 26, 2008, the ten terrorist outfits carried out a series of twelve coordinated shooting

and bombing attacks at various places in Mumbai which left in its wake 164 dead and at least 308 injured. Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) was accused for the attack. It was mapped as India's 9/11. India reacted more strongly and wanted Pakistan to dismantle the terrorist activities being sponsored from her soil. Also, India wanted Pakistan to conclude the prosecution of 26/11 sooner so that the culprits should be brought to accountability and meted out penalty. Initially, Pakistan denied the charges, saying India ought to provide her required evidence first. According to Indian authorities, Ajmal Kasab, the lone surviving gunman of Mumbai attack was arrested by the police and hanged to death in Yerwada jail on November 21, 2012. The attacks drew the global condemnation.

Another attack that mired the relationship between Pakistan and India took place on January 2, 2016. A heavily armed faction attacked the Indian Air Force Base at Pathankot a few days following the Indian Premier visited his Pakistani counterpart. The offenders who were wearing Indian army outfits were suspected to belong to Pakistani based Jaish-e-Mohammed (JeM). The attack was fabricated to derail the fragile peace process. In response, Pakistan rejected the baseless allegations. She also complained that India after every terror attack on her territory accused Pakistan for carrying out attack that fuse to tarnish her image at international stage. Besides this, Pakistan committed to crash down the alleged terrorist networks.

On September 18, 2016, four heavily armed terrorist outfits conducted an attack on Indian security forces near the town of Uri in the Indian occupied Kashmir that further soured the ties between India and Pakistan. Pakistani originated faction, Jaish-e-Mohammad (JeM) was supposed of being involved in the preparation and execution of the attack. In retaliation, India cancelled her participation in the 19th SAARC summit to be held in Islamabad, Pakistan. A few days later, Indian armed forces created the false drama of surgical strike against alleged militant outfits in Pakistani administered Kashmir region. Rejecting the claim, Pakistan stated that India held a cross border firing upon Pakistan. She also called the attack "unprovoked" and termed it a "naked aggression." Also, Pakistan responded militarily to the attack.

Indian Subversive Activities in Pakistan

Ample doubts remains between Pakistan and India over Indian involvement and occupations in Afghanistan. Pakistan is very apprehensive about India's securing of smart ends with her huge presence and considerable investments including soft aid and developmental projects in economic and security areas in Afghanistan. Additionally, India deliberately attempts to encircle and isolate Pakistan and putting an end to her strategic depth in Afghanistan in order to avoid two 'hot fronts'. The growing Indo-U.S. partnership has also given an upturn to India's increasing engagement and supremacy in Afghanistan that has made Pakistan's western abut extremely snagged. The Government of Pakistan has many a time voiced Indian embassy and four consulates in Afghanistan for operating undercover activities against Pakistan's tribal territory and her fidgety Baluchistan province. India provides weapons and finances to Baloch dissenters and Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) that have been involved in carrying out terrorist activities inside Pakistan. India's real objective has always been to destabilize Pakistan. Rizwan Zeb, a senior analyst at the Islamabad-based Institute of Regional Studies, Pakistan, says that "it has been reported many times by Islamabad and also provided a proof to Afghanistan about the role of Indian consulates in Jalalabad, Kandahar, Mazar-e-Sharif and Herat in fueling violence and terrorism in Pakistan especially Balochistan."²⁶ The ex-premier of Pakistan Yousuf Raza Gillani told US Senator John Kerry that "India had to decrease its footprint in Afghanistan and stop interfering in Balochistan" in order to achieve confidence. Pakistan has often been vocalized about the military intelligence agency of India, RAW, for sending intelligence personnel into Afghanistan in the pretext of engineers and doctors with the motive to provide armed support to militant faction, Balochistan Liberation Army (BLA) that is involved in carrying out attacks on civilians and security personnel in Pakistan (India's Role in Afghanistan, 2011). On March 3, 2016, Kulbhushan Yadev, the Retired Naval Officer was arrested near the Pak-Iran frontier in Balochistan region during the counter-intelligence operation on

²⁶ R. Zeb, "Cross Border Terrorism Issues Plaguing Pakistan-Afghanistan Relations," *China and Eurasia Forum Quarterly* 4, no.2, (2006).

allegations of terrorism and spying for RAW. Yadev in a video broadcast acknowledged that "his goal was to disrupt development of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), with Gwadar port as a special target."²⁷ RAW also provided arms and support to extremist and terrorist outfits, carrying out subversive attacks, and covert operations to destabilize the internal security situation of Pakistan.

Conflict Resolution Mechanism (CRM) in South Asia

There is an acute need of conflict resolution mechanism owing to the intractable conflicts present between India and Pakistan, which has become the cause of intense bitterness in the region. Conflict resolution involves the process of reduction, elimination, and eventual termination of all conflicts between conflicting parties. Confidence building and peace building are the important steps to resolve the major disputes between two or more warring parties or nations.

The management and resolution of conflict takes place primarily as a result of an agreement reached between disputing parties or states. Diplomacy, negotiations, mediation, arbitration, and coercion are the important tools which are used in the process of conflict termination. The conflict resolution measures are few and have never been continued for a sustainable period of time. Pakistan and India's conflict resolution efforts have always been hindered by some border clashes, wars, and non-state actors' terrorism etc.²⁸

²⁷ *The Dawn*, March 29, 2016.

²⁸ M. Ahmar, "A Conflict Resolution Mechanism for Pakistan. Conflict Resolution in South Asia," in *South Asian Policy Analysis Network* ed. Imtiaz Alam (Lahore: 2006).

Following are the steps of conflict resolution:

Figure No. 2



Source: By author

In Western cultures, practices of effective conflict resolution generally involve facilitating, communication, and coordination among conflicting parties. The procedure is solving issues and conflicts, drafting agreements, and finding out a mutually agreeable solution for the disputing parties involved. In South Asian culture, many a times, conflicts have been resolved through third party intervention that sometimes delays the process conflict resolution.

Conflict Prevention (CP): The initial stage of conflict resolution is conflict prevention. In this stage, certain steps are being carried out that are meant to avoid conflicts and wars. The states, regional organizations, and the international community must adopt certain conflict preventive strategies that would help prevent any issue transforming in to wide-ranging conflict. Especially in the case of Pakistan and India, it is a complex stage owing to the phenomenon that the historical ties between both the states have remained tainted by deep rooted suspicion.

Conflict Management (CM): Conflict Management is the process through which one can manage, limit, or mitigate the conflict in non-aggressive and non-violent ways. Conflict Management is a term that denotes conflicts which are long-term and that cannot be resolved quickly. Also, the idea of conflict management implies the

objective to lessen and contain the volatility rather than tackling the actual cause of conflicts.²⁹ Negotiation, arbitration, and settlement are the various steps towards conflict management.

Conflict Management curtails the negative effects of conflict and fosters the optimistic results with the aim to improve learning in an organization.³⁰ Properly managed conflicts can improve group outcomes.³¹

The active dialogue process is an essential step to address the India-Pakistan durable hitches that will further lead towards building confidence between the two. The door of dialogue and negotiation between India and Pakistan will gradually open up the course towards resolving their mutual enduring issues such as Kashmir, terrorism, and reducing the necessity of acquiring more and more nuclear weapons.

Trust and Confidence Building Measures (TCBMs): In the process of conflict management and conflict resolution, trust and confidence building measures (TCBMs) are direly needed. In the contemporary era, no one can bicker the essentiality and significance of TCBMs between two hostile parties or nations.³² TCBMs are the

²⁹ S. Malik, "The dynamics of Conflict and Conflict Resolution in *South Asia. Different Perceptions on Conflict Resolution: Need for an Alternate Approach*, ed. M. Ahmar (University of Karachi: Bureau of Composition, Compilation & Translation Press, 2005).

³⁰ M. A. Rahim, "Toward a theory of managing organizational conflict," *The International Journal of Conflict Management* 13, no. 2 (2002).

³¹ S. Alper, D. Tjosvold and K.S. Law, "Conflict management, efficacy, and performance in organizational teams," *Personnel Psychology* 53, (2000): 625 – 642; A. M. Bodtger and J. K. Jameson, "Emotion in conflict formation and its transformation: Application to organizational conflict management," *The International Journal of Conflict Management* 3 (2001):259 –275; T. Kuhn and M. S. Poole, "Do conflict management styles affect group decision making?" *Human Communication Research* 26 (2000): 558–590.

³² I. P. Cheema, "Confidence Building Measures in South Asia," *Regional Centre for Strategic Studies*, (Colombo: 1999).

source of cessation of anxiety and trouble in different regions of the world and perceived as a prerequisite for the management and resolution of conflicts. Building of trust and confidence has short and long-term benefits. It removes significant hitches from confrontation to cooperation. Cheema asserts that “a bilateral or multilateral measure that builds confidence, arrests the undesirable drift towards open hostilities, reduces tensions, and encourages the adversaries to make contact for negotiations without taxing too much the operative policy pursuits.”³³

According to Johan Jorgen Holst, "Confidence building measures (CBMs) may be defined as arrangements designed to enhance assurance of mind and belief in the trust-worthiness of states—confidence is the product of much broader patterns of relations than those which relate to military security. In fact, the latter have to be woven into a complex texture of economic, cultural, technical and social relationships.”³⁴ CBMs are the mechanism to shun war, emergent conflicts, and the resolution of outstanding conflicts between regional actors and organizations. The utility of the CBMs is to gradually create the environment conducive for mutual trust, precision, and certainty. These are the tools to subvert conflicts and confrontation that have emerged and provoked hostile outstanding issues between the conflicting states. These are proposed in political instability between the two antagonistic parties or states. Almost in all peace negotiations, Pakistan contends in favor of all their bilateral enduring conflicts including Kashmir issue, and then moves towards peace process with India. Since the mutual ties between India and Pakistan are entwined with security concerns, this will further include the stage of building security “Confidence and Security Building Measures” (CSBMs) in order to attain lasting peace in the region.³⁵ Quite a lot of time, owing to impediments in the normalization of ties, negotiation, and peace process terminated between the both,

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ J.J. Holst, “Confidence Building Measures: A Conceptual Framework,” *Survival* 25, no. 1 (1983).

³⁵ K. Subrahmanyam, "Capping, Managing or Eliminating Nuclear Weapons?" in *South Asia after the Cold War*, eds. Kanti P. Bajpai and Stephen P. Cohen (Boulder Westview Press, Inc., 1993).

especially in the post 2008 Mumbai terror attacks. Both the states are faced with the phenomenon of post-modern terrorism. Many a time, it has been observed in the trajectory of peace negotiations that some ilk of terrorist activity has been carried out. Simultaneously, blame game, politics of allegations, and trust deficit came as a stumbling block between both the states. Adopting a long-standing joint security strategy can abate the risk of terrorism.

Peace Building (PB): The final stage of conflict resolution is to strengthen peace when devising CBMs. After war is being avoided, and peace negotiations are successfully established, the boosting up of trade relations, people to people contacts, and improving cultural relations can benefit in this regard. It has been considered a post-war or post-conflict stage after the dialogue is facilitated, and conflict is transformed. Peace building activities deal with the core causes of violence, create a peaceful conflict resolution strategy, and stabilize society politically and socio-economically. Effective peace building activities create an environment conducive for self-sustaining, durable peace; reconciliation, and prevention of conflict from resuming.

In 2007, the UN Secretary-General's Policy Committee defined peace building as:

Peace building involves a range of measures targeted to reduce the risk of lapsing or relapsing into conflict by strengthening national capacities at all levels for conflict management, and to lay the foundations for sustainable peace and sustainable development. Peace building strategies must be coherent and tailored to specific needs of the country concerned, based on national ownership, and should comprise a carefully prioritized, sequenced, and therefore relatively narrow set of activities aimed at achieving the above objectives.³⁶

³⁶ J. C. Hopkins, *UN Peace building: An Orientation* (United Nations Peace building Support Office, September, 2010), <http://www.un.org/>

There are two broad approaches to peace building.

First, peace building can refer to direct work that intentionally focuses on addressing the factors driving or mitigating conflicts. Second, the term peace building can also refer to efforts to coordinate a multi-level, multi-sectorial strategy, and ensuring that there is funding and proper communication and coordination mechanisms.

Conclusion

India and Pakistan are neighbors, and neighbors cannot be changed. Thus, it is in the better interest of both the nations that they may bring all the issues and conflicts on the spotlight and resolve them amicably. To maintain peace in the region, India and Pakistan must evolve a policy of mutual trust, confidence, and cooperation. As cooperation is far better than the conflict, both the parties should work in collaboration to resolve their outstanding bilateral conflicts. Resuming dialogue process is the only trajectory to ameliorate their issues and conflicts bilaterally. Since both of them are nuclear-powered states, and this phenomenon bothers the world that these weapons must be used in further deterioration of ties between them. The issues that have come to surface between both of them cannot be settled overnight, but sincere efforts have to be made along with optimistic and onward-looking approach to various problems.

Policy Guidelines for the Resolution of India-Pakistan Conflicts

- ✓ The mechanism for resolving conflicts and building peace is different in every region of the world. In South Asian Region, normalization of ties is essential for peace process. Confidence and Security Building Measures (CSBMs) can be fruitful in this regard which can be achieved through enhancing people-to-people contacts, cultural, and economic ties. Also, in order to diffuse tension, state-to-state relations should be improved. SAARC should play an effective role in this regard.

en/peacebuilding/pbso/pdf/peacebuilding_orientation.pdf.

- ✓ In the post 9/11 era, terrorism emerged as a worldwide reality. A comprehensive, multi-pronged, and sustained strategy should be evolved to resolve the phenomenon of terrorism with all its dimensions, bilaterally and multilaterally. Instead of imputing Pakistan as a state sponsoring terrorism, India should support, cooperate, and coordinate with Pakistan in this regard. Pakistan alone cannot crash down the menace of terrorism with all its facets.
- ✓ India should stop carrying out aggressive brutal activities in Indian held Kashmir that has emerged to be an impasse between India and Pakistan. The international community must take strict notice of using repressive state apparatus in Indian Occupied Kashmir and must offer its support in resolving the conflict according to the aspirations of Kashmiris – a right to plebiscite. The Kashmiris should be given the right to participate in the negotiations to choose their own fate along with other parties at regional and international level.
- ✓ The aggressive security doctrines that increase the possibility of nuclear conflict should be shunned to improve strategic stability in the region. A joint agreement to discontinue the acquisition of more and more nuclear weapons should be brought to fore.
- ✓ As Afghanistan has emerged to be a second Kashmir between India and Pakistan. By involving in Afghanistan's security, stability, and developmental affairs, India should not destabilize Pakistan's internal security fabric. She must obstruct providing arms and funding, and exploiting the terrorist faction – Balochistan Liberation Front (BLF).