

Indian-Pakistani Dispute: Enduring Rivalry**Received date: 29 /07/2021 Accepted date:03/08/2021 Published date:18/09/2021****Ali mesbah mohammed elwahishi****Sabratha University, Libya Email : aliewahishi@gmail.com****Abstract:**

Since the two countries have gained independence from Britain in 1947, the two countries entered into four wars, costing billions of dollars, and disrupting development in both countries. The issue of Kashmir, which is at the core of the conflict between the two countries, was reflected in the nature of the conflict. It increased tension and rivalry between India and Pakistan, created an arms race and the two countries possessed weapons of mass destruction. The Indian-Pakistani conflict revolves around the following reasons: the location of Kashmir, which represents the strategic depth of both countries, religious and ideological differences, and cultural identity.

Keywords, Rivalry, dispute, India, Pakistan, Kashmir, culture identity

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Introduction :

The rivalry has existed since the creation of human beings; it is not a new term whether on the level of primitive groups or modern countries. Human nature is distinguished by the rivalry between its individuals, who seek to attain important interests. Thus, rivalry grows from individuals to states, and rivalry becomes a widespread policy between nations. Rivalry is based on conflicts of interests because usually those interests are inadequate for both sides. Thus, it is very important to know the reasons that lead to rivalry, caused it to escalate, and then eventually led to war. The historical and political events emphasize many rivalries between countries end in war, while others are resolved through peaceful mechanisms. The Indian-Pakistani Dispute represents one of the longest unsolved conflicts in the world due to the Kashmir issue, and the differences of religious, ideological, and cultural identity.

The Indian-Pakistani Dispute raises a question, what are the causes of the dispute between India and Pakistan that makes the rivalry continues for almost seven decades?

The key hypothesis in this research is that the Kashmir issue, in combination with the differences of religion and culture constitutes fuel that feeds the dispute between both countries. As long as these issues remain unresolved, the dispute and rivalry will continue between both countries.

For over six decades many scholars focus on the dispute between India and Pakistan and the continuation of the rivalry. For instance, Paul, 2006, indicates that most scholars have focused on two factors to explain the persistence of the India-Pakistan conflict: its territorial dimension and the contrasting national identities of the two states. Bose, 2003, argues that the contemporary dispute is related to the discontent of the majority of people of Indian Jammu and Kashmir with the Indian Union and the transformation of the state into a draconian police state. Bose sees many similarities in the conflict in Northern Ireland and Kashmir and suggests picking clues from the peace process in the former. Due to the differences, however, he argues that certain prerequisites such as improving relations between India and Pakistan are necessary for a successful peace process.

Dixit 2002, argues that in spite of the bloody aftermath of Partition and the war between India and Pakistan over Kashmir in 1948, the period between 1947 and 1959 was still one in which the political leadership on both sides tried to resolve their differences for the foundation of a normal relationship.

The analysis of the Indian-Pakistani dispute requires consideration of the factors that contributed to unsolved the conflict between both countries. This makes the research very important in knowing the elements that make the rivalry continue for almost seven decades.

1. Data and Methodology

This paper will be divided into three sections: the first section will try to provide a definition for rivalry, identify and discuss Indian-Pakistan rivalry through the issues that are contested, such as the Kashmir issue, nuclear weaponry, and rivalry in Afghanistan. The second section will present the number of times the rivals have had militarized crises and the number of peaceful crises between India and Pakistan. Furthermore, this section will address the reasons that lead these rivals to wage war against one another. The third section will offer findings and a conclusion. It is important to clarify that the criteria or dimensions of rivalry are different from one thinker to another. This paper is based on the analytical approach to analyze the reasons that led to the breakout of the Indian-Pakistani dispute since 1947, and the historical approach to present some historical events of the conflict between the two countries

A rivalry is a relation between two or more nations characterized by disagreement or competition over some issues, which represent vital interests for each party. This competition and threat could continue for a period of time, and likely end in using military forces (S.M. Prins, 2004).

Other thinkers, such as Vasquez, believe that rivalries are constant relationships between nations that have equal power.(Thompson, 2002). Enduring rivalries are distinguished by competitions between the same states for a long period of time over a generation or more, which lead to several crises and wars between

them. Rivalries illustrate the interaction among states involving threats or displays of military power, or real of use military power. These actions between rivals must be obvious to observers. Enduring rivalries are distinct by cruelty, strength, and duration. Rivalries are generated by main events such as internal or external political shocks, war, and crises, or more likely to be over important issues that each party seeks to achieve for their greatest benefit, such as territory, ideology, identity, and major strategic, including global or regional power position(Paul,2006).

There are many historical and political events that illustrate rivalry between nations in different periods and regions in the world. Some rivalries are ended with the use of military force while others are solved by peaceful mechanisms. One can provide a list of rivalries, such as USA-Cuba 1959- 1990, Honduras-Nicaragua 1907-1929, Ecuador and Peru 1891-1955, Brazil-UK 1838-1863, Chile-Argentina 1873-1909, UK-Russia 1876-1923, Belgium-Germany 1914-1940, France-Germany 1911-1945, Spain-Morocco1957-1980, Italy-Yugoslavia 1923-1965, Chad-Sudan 1964–1969, China-France 1844–1900, Colombia-Peru 1824–1935, Greece- Turkey 1958-1989, Iran-Iraq 1953-1992, Austria-Italy 1848–1918, Bosnia-Croatia 1992, Syria-Israel 1948-1986, Chad-Libya 1966–1994 and India-Pakistan 1947-1991(Thompson,2001).

Pakistan. The Indian-Pakistani case includes two important factors of rivalries: territory and identity. There are three main issues



still outstanding between India and Pakistan: Kashmir, nuclear weaponry, and Afghanistan. These issues pose the core of the rivalry between the two countries, and they continue to aggravate the situation.

The India- Pakistan rivalry remains one of the most enduring and unresolved conflicts since the end of British colonial rule in 1947, which led to the partition of the subcontinent of India into two main countries, India and Pakistan (Jhangiani,2009)

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. The first issue of rivalry between India and Pakistan is over Kashmir. It has remained the essence of conflict between the two countries since their independence. The Jammu and Kashmir's social makeup consists of 70 percent Muslim and 30 percent Hindus, Sikhs, and Buddhists. Jammu and Kashmir was a semi-independent principality under the British rule (Jhangiani,2009).

In 1947, the British government gave the ruler of Kashmir the option of joining either Pakistan or India or remaining independent(Dispute, 2004).

Although the majority of Kashmir's population is Muslim, it was ruled by a Hindu Maharaja. He was unable to decide which state

to join, so India and Pakistan sought to sway Kashmir's government. Pakistani government believed that Kashmir should accede to it because of the majority of its Muslim people(Indo-Pakistani, 1947). Following this process of civil turmoil and military intervention of the Pakistani side, the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir decided to join India. Pakistan refused accession of Jammu and Kashmir to India, which led to strong tensions between both countries and ended by using military forces many times(<http://www.globalsecurity.org>).

The foundation of conflict between India and Pakistani over Kashmir is based on religious and ethnic reasons, and also its strategic location. The Pakistani intervention in Kashmir referred to the claim that Kashmir's majority population is Muslim; therefore, Pakistan should protect Muslims in this region. India aimed to protect Hindus and to support Maharaja's decision. India deemed Jammu and Kashmir their own, while Pakistan occupied the region. In fact, India did not want Kashmir to get its independence because that would open the door for other minorities in India to demand their independence. Thus, the conflict between India and Pakistan continued for nearly seven decades, which cost both countries hundreds of thousands of lives and billions of dollars.

For India and Pakistan, Kashmir constitutes a strategic location and national security issue. Both countries sought for a long time to control this region and maintain their security and stability because of Kashmir's contact with the borders of three states: the former Soviet

Union, China, and Afghanistan. Thus for India, Kashmir shapes a vital area. Gandhi said, “Kashmir had the greatest strategic value, perhaps, in all India.” While Sheikh Abdullah said “Due to the strategic position that the State (Kashmir) holds, if this State joins the Indian Dominion, Pakistan would be completely encircled.(Ashraf,2010). Both India and Pakistan see Kashmir as a security risk with a strategic depth to the other, thus, Kashmir represents to them a geographic extension and natural barrier. This view from both sides over Kashmir created mistrust. Decision-makers in both India and Pakistan believe that controlling Kashmir from one side will pose a serious challenge and risk to the other. Thus, each party attempts to maintain the area they control.

1.1 War after War

The Indian-Pakistani rivalry led to the breakout of four main wars over Kashmir since their independence in 1947. These wars occurred in 1948, 1965, 1971, and 1999 (Mitra,2001).

Also, the rivalry between India and Pakistan produced nine unarmed crises (Thompson,2002). The numbers of wars and crises appear to deepen the rivalry between India and Pakistan because of the importance of Kashmir’s location. The first war between India and Pakistan was in 1948.

The decision of the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir to join India was a reason for this war. Pakistan immediately refused the annexation decision, which led it to initiate a war between the two countries. India turned to the United Nations to broker a truce, which

led to an agreement that emphasized each side continuing to administer the areas their military-controlled and allowing the people of Jammu and Kashmir to choose which country to join through a plebiscite, following a complete withdrawal of forces from both sides (Dispute, 2004).

This war established the division of Jammu and Kashmir into parts. One is controlled by India, and another by Pakistan. Rather than resolve the issue, this position of the United Nations increased the rivalry and created hostility between the two countries that led to the breakout of wars and unarmed crises.

The second war started between India and Pakistan in 1965 as the result of rivalry between two sides over Kashmir. Pakistani anxiety was increased because of Indian efforts to integrate Kashmir. Also, according to the Pakistani perception, there was widespread popular dissent from Kashmiri people to join India. These reasons were strong motivations that led to the ongoing rivalry between the two neighbors (Indo-Pakistan,2005).

The lack of trust between India and Pakistan pushed them to fight each other over Kashmir in an attempt to ensure their national security and achieve their interests.

The third war was initiated by India in 1971 when India supported the secession of East Pakistan. The war resulted in a military debacle for Pakistan and the separation of the eastern part of its territory

established as Bangladesh. Although India won the war in 1972, it was unable to translate its victory on the ground and solve the conflict with Pakistan (Paul, 2006).

The India-Pakistan rivalry did not stop at this point, but it escalated, specifically in 1999 when Pakistan's group of forces crossed the ceasefire line and occupied some places in the Kargil zone of the Indian part of Jammu and Kashmir. When this was noticed in May 1999, the Indian reaction was a strong use of land and air forces, which after several weeks of conflict pushed back Pakistani intruders to their side of the ceasefire line and controlled the heights of Tololing on 14 June and Tiger Hill on 4 July 1999 (Chaudhury, 2004).

The second issue that led to the increase in the India-Pakistan rivalry is the arms race, but this kind of rivalry is a consequence of conflict over Kashmir. The two countries sought a nuclear arsenal to deter the other side over the Kashmir issue. Thus, the Indian-Pakistani rivalry took a new direction since nuclear tests from both sides in 1998 (Schweers,2008).

According to Paul, the possession of nuclear weapons by India and Pakistan posed a crucial factor in the capability equation that diminished the power asymmetry between the two countries. Pakistani power was based on short and medium-range missiles such as the Ghauri, Hatf, and Shaheen, and on aircrafts such as the F-16. To some extent, with the power and unclear first-use policy, Pakistan could deter any large offensive of the Indian side(Paul, 2006).

The Kashmir issue pushed India and Pakistan to adopt an arms race policy. These disputes and the arms race between India and Pakistan for years increased pressure on their economy.

The Lahore- Summit in 1999 aimed to build trust between India and Pakistan, and the two countries agreed on non-deployment of their nuclear weapons. This meant that nuclear warheads were stored separately. Indian-Pakistan initiative reduced mutual fear of using weapons of mass destruction in any potential conflict between the two neighbors.(Schweers, 2008).

The possession of nuclear weapons created a balance of power between India and Pakistan, so decision-makers realized the next war would be an unconventional war. This war, if it occurred, would reflect not only in the two countries, but also the whole region, and it would be very costly on both humanitarian and economic levels. Thus, the possession of nuclear weapons prevented them to initiate a new war, although they still have the same problems.

The third issue of rivalry between India and Pakistan is over Afghanistan. The rivalry between the two countries has emerged in this region since their independence in 1947. India had better relations with Afghanistan than Pakistan during the rule of King Zahir Shah (1933-1973). Through the Afghan war, India supported Ahmad Shah Massoud because of his hostility toward Pakistani-supported Mujaheddin groups. In 1996, India lost its relations with Afghanistan due to the Taliban victory, which led India to withdraw its diplomatic

personnel from Afghanistan. Pakistan promoted its relations with the Taliban, which were deeply strategic against India, and continued until after 9/11(Howenstein,2009).

The events of September 11 and the following American war on terrorism changed the Pakistani strategy in Afghanistan. Pakistan abandoned support of the Taliban movement as a consequence of converged American-Pakistani interests (Akbarzadeh,2003).

Although Massoud was assassinated on 9/11, India continued to support its alliance in North Afghanistan, but also India cooperated with the United States against the Taliban regime within the War on Terror(Ganguly & Howenstein, 2009).

Here also, the rivalry between India and Pakistan took a new direction. Both countries sought to sway the American side and achieve interests on the other account's part within the War on Terrorism.

Once again, the Indian-Pakistani rivalry was centered on different views and interests in Afghanistan, each side sought to attain its interest through supporting its alliance. Pakistan deemed Afghanistan as an extended strategy. Therefore, Pakistan saw its interests through supporting Mujaheddin against Indian influence and Soviet intervention. At the same time, anti-Soviet Union influence in Afghanistan led to the improvement of Pakistani-American relations because the United States also aimed to undermine the Soviet's existence in the region.

The American-Pakistani cooperation continued within the War on Terrorism since 9/11. India sought to achieve its interests through supporting Ahmad Shah Massoud who was a tool to weaken Pakistani's influence in Afghanistan, specifically when the Taliban seized power. Although the Taliban regime collapsed, the rivalry between India and Pakistan still continues in Afghanistan because both countries see this region as a deeply strategic and vital location in achieving their national security.

Conclusion

Strategic enduring rivalries are focused on competitions and conflicts between states for periods of time. This policy becomes a key feature in international relations. There is no period of history that did not include rivalry between states. In addition, studying and analyzing strategic enduring rivalries are very important because they help us to understand the reasons and motivations that lead to rivalry. One of the enduring rivalries unresolved in the world is the Indian-Pakistan rivalry. This rivalry includes two important factors of rivalries: territory and identity, and three main issues: Kashmir, arms race, and Afghanistan. The India-Pakistan rivalry over Kashmir has emerged since their independence in 1947. This issue led to four wars and nine unarmed crises. Kashmir shapes a strategic dimension and national security issue for both countries. Therefore, India and Pakistan sought different ways to control this area. Each side

supported groups with belief in their respective religion; India supports Hindus, while Pakistan supports Muslims.

The second issue is the arms race, which is generated by the Kashmir issue. Nuclear weapons created a balance of power and prevented any new war between the two countries. Both sides realized any war would be an unconventional war, so it would be very costly. The third issue is rivalry in Afghanistan where India and Pakistan see Afghanistan as a natural extension to their stability, security, and interests. In fact, the India-Pakistan rivalry is centered on vital territory, differences of identity, and religion. These reasons made the conflict continue for nearly seven decades and hold strong today.

Findings

- Much evidence in international relations clearly illustrates that a rivalry could be ongoing for years between nations because of important issues outstanding between them, such as the territorial issue between India-Pakistan.
- Kashmir issue emerged since the independence of India and Pakistan, and it continues to be unresolved. For India and Pakistan, the Kashmir territory shapes a strategic and national security issue; therefore, this issue is enduring for more than six decades.
- In the Indian-Pakistani case the differences in ideologies are clearly illustrated in religious differences. The religious factor is a very strong motivation to increase rivalry between the two countries because each side supports their religious group.

- Inconsistent and diverse national identities played a role to kindle rivalry between India and Pakistan, and each side supported their ethnic group. Therefore, differences in national identities play a role in continuing the rivalry.

Recommendations

- Adopting rational policies will reduce the conflict between India and Pakistan.
- Deepening economic ties eases tension between India and Pakistan
- Promoting bridges of trust between India and Pakistan as they trend towards a focus on economic development, rather than arms race,

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