

Forum: Special Political & Decolonisation Committee (GA4)

Issue: Reviewing the peacekeeping operation in India and Pakistan

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Position: Co-Chair

PERSONAL INTRODUCTION

Dear delegates of the Special Political and Decolonisation Committee,

It is a pleasure to welcome you to the second annual Model United Nations conference at Queen Elizabeth's Grammar School. My name is Josh Carroll and I took part in the conference last year, winning 'Outstanding Delegate' for my Committee. I will be one of your chairs, and I hope you have as much fun at this conference as I did in the previous one.

The issue of peacekeeping in India and Pakistan is very broad, and as such this Study Guide should not be your only source of information as there will almost certainly be more information related to your designated country which I have not included. You may find some of this in the bibliography at the end of this study guide, but be aware that the vast majority of the articles will require that you have a JSTOR account (this is simple and free to get).

Should you have any questions or need any help, please feel free to contact me via the following email:
3139@queenelizabeths.kent.sch.uk,

Yours Sincerely,

Joshua Carroll

TOPIC INTRODUCTION

The history of Pakistan and India, since their independence in 1947, is a history of bloodshed. Despite a small number of peaceful intervals, negotiations have rarely ever succeeded, and have never truly been able to tackle the biggest disputes between the two countries, causing them to return to confrontation time and time again.

The most significant point of tension between the countries is the Kashmir dispute, which has long defied all attempts at peaceful resolution, being the site of three wars and a number of smaller conflicts since the partition despite numerous attempts to stop the violence. The Muslim majority of Kashmir clearly do not want to be part of India and given the choice between it and joining Pakistan will almost undoubtedly choose the latter, however India is completely unwilling to condone this, and shown it will take military action to defend its claim on the region.

DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS

The Indian Subcontinent

A geographical area in Southern Asia covering the area of land from the Himalayas to the Indian Ocean. Today, the countries found here are India, Nepal, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Bhutan, Sri Lanka, and the Maldives (see map).

The Line of Control

The de facto border between India and Pakistan, established as part of the Simla Agreement which ended the Indo-Pakistan war of 1971.

Religious Fundamentalism

Dogmatic adherence to religious scripture, and the prioritisation of one's religious community over other social groups, typically being intolerant of other religions and possessive of conservative beliefs.

Nationalism

An ideology characterised by a strong loyalty to one's nation, and the promotion of its interests and culture. It is slightly different from patriotism because it emphasises the idea that one's nation is better than others, and so can often be intolerant or even xenophobic.



BACKGROUND INFORMATION

The Partition of British India

In 1946, the Cabinet Mission to India set out that after the colony was granted independence, it would remain united. Despite initial agreement from the Muslim League (a political party in the Imperial Legislative Council, founded with the aim of achieving representation for Muslims in British India. It supported the creation of a separate Muslim state), it soon turned its back on this plan, resorting to violent, direct action to prevent the creation of a united India (Indurthy, R 2010). The following destruction and bloodshed forced leaders to agree to a partition in the interest of maintaining peace and protecting minorities.

The solution was the Mountbatten Plan, which would see the division of India into two parts along the Radcliffe Line - drawn up by Sir Cyril Radcliffe, a British lawyer. This roughly separated the majority Muslim regions in the North East and North West from the (majority Hindu) rest of the country (India Quarterly, 1999). Radcliffe was given only 5 weeks to decide on the border, which was more than 3000 km long, and the process of the Partition was rushed, which meant that when it came into effect, many Hindu and Muslim communities found themselves minorities in their new countries. This led to large-scale migration across the border as they - and other minority groups such as Jewish people and Sikhs - tried to escape discrimination and persecution.

In the chaos and violence which followed - made worse by the Foreigners Act passed in the previous year which denied refugees and displaced people the right to legal protection - 14 to 18 million people were displaced and over a million died (Khan, S.Y. 2023). It has caused much animosity between the different ethnic and religious groups.

The Kashmir Dispute

The mountainous state of Jammu and Kashmir (also referred to as just Kashmir) is located in the North of the Indian Subcontinent that sits at the convergence of Pakistan, India, China and Afghanistan.

Despite India and Pakistan both claiming the vast majority of Kashmir, in reality India controls just under half of it, and Pakistan around a third.. The remaining area is under Chinese control, shown in the image on the right. The dispute over Kashmir is longstanding and soldiers from India and Pakistan continue to engage one another along the Line of Control. While there are other sources of tension between the two countries, this is by far the most significant.



The First Indo-Pakistan War 1947-49

The First Indo-Pakistan War began in the same year as the partition. In the Mountbatten Plan, it was stated that the Maharaja Hari Singh, who ruled the princely state of Jammu and Kashmir, was free to join whichever of his neighbours that he wished following the partition. He, and the Hindu and Sikh elite of the state, had historically persecuted the Muslim majority

(77% Muslim majority in 1941) so were concerned that joining Pakistan would leave them unable to maintain control (as they weren't looked upon favourably by the Islamic community), but the Maharaja's poor relationship with Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru dissuaded him from joining India.

Conflict began when Pakistani tribesmen attempted an invasion of Jammu and Kashmir in October 1947. The Maharaja responded by requesting military assistance from India in return for accession - some argue that he was coerced into this. In May 1948, Pakistan reinforced its borders with regular troops while fighting continued but eventually the UN brokered a ceasefire, recommending that a referendum be held in the region and establishing a ceasefire line.

The Second Indo-Pakistan War 1965

During the 60s, anti-Indian sentiment in Kashmir was growing and in 1963, riots devastated the region after a relic (claimed to be one of the Prophet Muhammed's hairs) was stolen from the Hazratbal Mosque in the region's capital, Srinagar. In the Summer of 1965, Pakistan enacted Operation Gibraltar, and sent soldiers disguised as local tribesmen across the Ceasefire Line and into Jammu and Kashmir, hoping to spark another revolt (Ganguly, S 1995). This, however, was not successful. While there was certainly sufficient anti-Indian sentiment among the population, this did not necessarily translate to a willingness to take part in violence to express this sentiment, or mean they would even be in support of Pakistan taking over.

The Kashmir Insurgency

The Kashmir Insurgency is the term used to describe the armed revolt which has been ongoing in Kashmir for almost 35 years, beginning with the kidnapping of Dr Rubiya Sayeed, the Indian Minister of Home Affairs' daughter, by members of the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front. The event provoked dozens of Islamic militant groups, united by their opposition to Indian control of Jammu and Kashmir (despite varying ideological commitments), and soon, Indian authority in the region had crumbled.

Using its experience with defeating insurgencies in neighbouring states (eg Punjab) and those in the Northeast, the Indian Government has attempted to suppress the insurgency by: applying military pressure, undermining the groups by negotiating with their members, and attempting to bring back state control. It has been far less successful here than elsewhere because of the greater availability of arms with its proximity to Afghanistan and the support provided by Pakistan.

The Revocation of Article 370

When India took control of its portion of Jammu and Kashmir in 1949, it granted it special status in an attempt to appease the Kashmiri Muslims who wanted independence. Within article 370, it is set out that Kashmir has several unique rights, (compared to other Indian states) such as the rights to a constitution, a flag and a legislative body (the Kashmir Legislative Assembly) making it rather autonomous.

The Bharatiya Janata Party (a Hindu nationalist political party in India, aligned with right-wing ideas), led by Narendra Modi (the current Prime Minister), has long supported the repeal of this special status, making it a commitment in its 2019 manifesto. The same year, the Article was revoked, almost in its entirety, and since then, Indian-administered Kashmir has erupted into greater levels of violence. Many



violent protests have broken out and Islamic Militant Groups (who have seen an upsurge in support since the revocation) have been carrying out the targeted killing of Hindus and Police officers in the region. Despite India moving more troops to Kashmir, it has been unable to establish control. This violence is not contained to the Indian side of the Line of Control as it has been historically, the Independence movement has gained support in Pakistan-administered Kashmir too since the revocation.

Other Sources of Tension

➤ The Bangladesh Liberation War

The 1970 General Election in Pakistan was held at a time of tension between the West (Punjabi) and East (Bengali) of the country over issues such as regional autonomy and Punjabi-centric governance. In March 1971, after negotiations between the leading parties of each region broke down, the Pakistani military began a brutal crackdown on Dacca, the Capital of East Pakistan, which was followed by a mass movement of refugees into India ([Ganguly, S 1995](#)). This forced India to get involved militarily. The war ended with the emergence of East Pakistan as Bangladesh and the signing of the Simla Agreement in July 1972 which not stated that India and Pakistan would settle their difference through peaceful negotiation from then on, but also converted the Ceasefire Line in Kashmir into the Line of Control.

➤ Nuclear Weapons

In recent decades, both India and Pakistan have developed nuclear weapons and now each hold more than 100 of them. While this new nuclear deterrent has the potential to ease tensions by levelling the playing field between the two countries - whereas historically India's much larger military has given it an advantage - it hasn't stopped them from coming to diplomatic blows since.

MAJOR COUNTRIES AND ORGANISATIONS INVOLVED

India

India, which currently has the largest population in the world, is one of the two main countries in this topic. Its population is mostly Hindu and in recent years its politics have become dominated by nationalism and religious fundamentalism (see definitions of key terms), propagated by Modi and the Bharatiya Janata Party. The Party is part of Sangh Parivar, a large group of organisations in India with a presence in most areas of society, founded by Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (a Hindu nationalist volunteer paramilitary organisation). India's government sees Jammu and Kashmir as its territory because of the Maharaja's succession of the territory to them in 1947, and has been willing to defend that claim.

Pakistan

The Islamic Republic of Pakistan is the other of the two main countries in this topic and the fifth highest populated country in the world, its capital city is Islamabad. Pakistan is currently in a state of political deadlock as former Prime Minister Imran Khan refused to accept the Vote of No Confidence that had him ousted from his position and has since organised a number of rallies and fought against the current government in court. This all is happening amid food shortages, terror attacks and soaring inflation.

China

Due to the perceived security threat posed by India, China maintained a strong pro-Pakistan stance in the 1960s and 70s. It became involved in the Kashmir dispute after the Sino-Pakistan Agreement in 1963, where it gained land in the region. Since Deng Xiaoping gained power, however, China's foreign policy decisions began to be motivated more by economic modernisation, which requires a more stable relationship with its neighbours. As such, it now focuses more on emphasising the need for negotiation and diplomatic resolution, in order to heal its relations with India, and will prioritise the prevention of conflict over protecting Pakistan's interests.

Afghanistan

The Taliban takeover of Afghanistan in 2021 deeply concerned the Indian government because they feared it would feed the Kashmir Insurgency, seeing as the country shares a border with Jammu and Kashmir. However, when it was complete - despite previous assistance of Kashmiri militants by the Taliban - its leader claimed that, "Kashmir is not part of our jurisdiction and interference is against our policy" ([Khare, V 2021](#)). Afghanistan will continue to vocally support the Kashmiri Muslims, but will not intervene directly.

That said, weapons and equipment (much of which is quite advanced) which was left behind during the US withdrawal from Afghanistan and then appropriated by the new Government, have been turning up in the possession of Kashmiri Insurgents ([Kathju, J 2023](#)), many of whom fought and trained alongside the Taliban prior to 2021.

UNMOGIP

Formed in January 1949, the United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan is a UN mission dedicated specifically to the Kashmir dispute and preventing the escalation of tensions along the Line of Control. Its main contributors are currently Croatia, the Republic of Korea and Thailand. It has helped to broker a number of peace agreements, however with only 110 personnel its capabilities are limited.

TIMELINE OF EVENTS

Date of event	Description of event
August 1947	The Partition of India took place when the British Empire withdrew colonial rule from the region. British India was partitioned into India (with a Hindu majority) and Pakistan (with a Muslim majority)
October 1947 - January 1949	The First Kashmir War took place.

September - August 1965	The Second Kashmir War took place after Pakistani troops crossed the border in Kashmir.
March - December 1971	The Bangladesh Liberation War was sparked by the rise of Bengali Nationalism in East Pakistan. It ended with the formation of Bangladesh.
May 1974	India became nuclear-capable.
July 1989	The Kashmir Insurgency began, it involved a number of terrorist attacks across following decades
May 1998	Pakistan became nuclear-capable
May - July 1999	The Kargil Conflict took place after India launched airstrikes against Pakistani troops who had entered Kashmir
August 2019	India revoked article 370, removing Kashmir's autonomy

PREVIOUS ATTEMPTS TO SOLVE THE ISSUE (KASHMIR DISPUTE)

The Ceasefire in 1949

Within the ceasefire agreement for the First Kashmir War, there were the conditions that both countries adhere to a previous resolution from August 1948, requiring that (on top of several other conditions) a referendum would be held in the State of Jammu and Kashmir on whether it should be part of India or Pakistan. The result would undoubtedly be in favour of Pakistan.

Unfortunately, India never allowed the resolution to be implemented. Rather than following the demilitarisation that was set out in the resolution, it instead built up its armed forces, forcing Pakistan to maintain its own and allowing India to claim that the resolution couldn't be followed, as Pakistan had not removed its troops.

The Tashkent Declaration

Signed in January 1966, this agreement - which is binding on both Pakistan and India - demands that neither country may seek to resolve a dispute by force, and must instead resort to diplomacy and other peaceful means (Indurthy, R 2010). The following negotiations, however, were not constructive and achieved very little. Most of the major disputes remained - including over Kashmir - and it did little to achieve peace, since 5 years later, another war broke out between the two countries.

Relations After the Kargil Conflict

In order to relieve tensions and find a solution to the Kashmir dispute, Prime Minister Vajpayee of India and President Musharraf of Pakistan held a summit soon after the Kargil Conflict concluded. While no solution was reached, they promised to resume the dialogue. However relations soured soon after when Pakistan-based terrorist groups, such as Lashkar-e-Taiba (LET) and Jaish-e- Muhammed (JEM), retaliated by scaling up cross-border terrorism, launching a suicide bomb on the Jammu and Kashmir Legislative Assembly (on the Indian side of the Line of Control) and attacking the Indian Parliament while it was in session. (Malik, M 2019)

In an attempt to force the Pakistani government to control these attacks, Vajpayee's government took a number of harsh measures, including cancelling rail links with the country, moving around 800,000 troops to the border, and withdrawing their ambassador stationed in Islamabad (Pakistan's Capital). While President Musharraf attempted to suppress the insurgents, he was not successful. The terror attacks continued, and many of the arrested militants were released by Pakistan's courts due to a lack of credible evidence.

Prime Minister Vajpayee (in response to an attack where LET terrorists allegedly disguised themselves in uniforms and targeted the family quarters of an army base in India) told soldiers on the border to prepare for a "decisive battle" against the Pakistani terrorists prompting a military confrontation between India and Pakistan.

POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS

Maintain the 'Status Quo'

The current situation in Kashmir is widely regarded as unstable and dangerous by the international community, but there seems to be an unwillingness to intervene. While the European Union (for example) recognizes the human rights violations, it does not see the conflict as a priority, regarding it more as a domestic problem for India to solve. This viewpoint may come from the pragmatic desire not to interfere in case the situation is inadvertently made worse, however the current situation following the revocation of Article 370 may force the UN's hand.

A Referendum in Kashmir

As proposed by the ceasefire in 1949, one solution to relieving tensions between India and Pakistan could be to hold a referendum to determine which country the state of Jammu and Kashmir should be part of, in name as well as in practice. Seeing as the result would undeniably support its full integration into Pakistan, India is heavily opposed to it, and it is possible that it would react with violence. On the other hand, democracy is important, and even if India doesn't like this solution, it would be a positive outcome for many people in Kashmir, and even help to subdue Kashmir's militant groups, whose action is primarily based in a desire to be free from India.

Restore Article 370

Another solution to the current instability in Kashmir could be to restore Article 370, as the revocation of this has caused so much unrest. It is important to be aware that the Indian government is unlikely to agree to this, and that this is only one small piece of the issue.

Complete Autonomy for Kashmir

In recent years, a movement - on both the Indian and Pakistani sides of the Line of Control - for the complete independence of the Kashmir region has taken root (Shams, S 2019) as many Kashmiris (including groups such as the People National Alliance and the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front) are discontent with the high price they have had to pay for India and Pakistan's rivalry over the region. While this option has the potential to ease tensions in the short term, neither Pakistan nor India would be content with it and may make moves to reassert their control.

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