A NUCLEAR JIHAD:
THE EFFECTS OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS ON NON-STATE VIOLENCE IN THE
INDIA-PAKISTAN CONFLICT

A Thesis
by
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Submitted to the Graduate School
Appalachian State University
In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
MASTER OF ARTS

May 2012
Department of Government and Justice Studies

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ABSTRACT

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INDIA-PAKISTAN CONFLICT. (May 2012)

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Nuclear weapons have been studied extensively in the literature, but seldom with a focus on their effects vis a vis non-state actors and levels of non-state violence. This paper proposes a systematic way to study just this, using the comparative method and a most-similar research design to uncover the role nuclear weapons have played in the India-Pakistan conflict. This study divides the conflict into three separate cases for cross-comparison: 1948-74, 1975-85, and 1986-2007. When rates of non-state violence are compared across the cases it becomes clear that nuclear weapons have precipitated a drastic rise in levels of non-state violence.

DEDICATION

To my Mother and Father

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Introduction

Nuclear weapons have been of enormous interest to international relations scholars since they were first used in anger in August of 1945. And yet, for all the attention they have received, their precise effect on international politics has been (and continues to be) hard to measure.

The history of nuclear weapons is deeply intertwined with the history of the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union. But the Cold War is over and the Soviet Union no longer exists; nuclear weapons do. As the world has changed in the post-Cold War era, so too have perceptions of nuclear weapons and their effects on the international system. The world has shifted from the massive bi-polar alliances of 1945-1991 to the current uni-polar moment of U.S. domination. However, another, perhaps equally dramatic, shift is underway. At the economic level the world is already multi-polar; military power may lag behind economic power, but the two cannot long be separated.[1]

During the Cold War, most literature on nuclear weapons focused on the concept of deterrence. After the Cold War, proliferation became the key issue. And more recently, the specter of nuclear terrorism has been pervasive within both academic and policy circles. But, running throughout the research is a key question: do nuclear weapons generally contribute to the peace and stability of those states which posses them, or do the risks of miscalculation, proliferation, terrorism, and outright accidents outweigh their benefits?

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[1] Joseph S. Nye, *The Paradox of American Power: Why the World's Only Superpower Can't Go It Alone*, (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2002).

I propose an additional consideration: non-state violence. *Will nuclear weapons lead to a rise in non-state violence in those states which possess them?* I believe that they will. The central argument of this paper is a continuation of the *stability-instability paradox* of nuclear weapons introduced by B.H. Liddell Hart in 1960.[2] The paradox is that nuclear weapons both constrain a state's ability to wage existential war against another state, but at the same time permit that state to engage in lower intensity conflicts without fear of escalation to the level of existential crisis. I apply this logic to the sub-state level to build an argument that the rise of non-state violence in India and Pakistan beginning in the late 1980s was one result of the nuclearization of the sub-continent that began in 1974 and came to fruition with the dramatic 1998 Indian and Pakistani nuclear tests.

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[2] B.H. Liddell Hart, *Deterrent or Defense: A Fresh Look at the West's Military Position*, (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1960).

Literature Review

Before continuing, it may be helpful to explore the existing literature on the topic of nuclear weapons and to discuss some key concepts necessary for the understanding of their role in international politics.

Deterrence

States in the international system exist in a condition of anarchy. This is the central tenant of realism and it has a certain benefit: it's true. What anarchy means to states is not as clear, however, as whether it exists in the first place. To a realist, it means self-help. And the primary way a state must help itself is by acting to ensure its own security. One way to do this is through fortifications. Another is through deterrence. Unlike fortifications, deterrence does not rely on preventing an attack, but in punishing one after the fact. Nuclear weapons seem uniquely suited to this role.

Winston Churchill famously called peace "the sturdy child of terror."[3] Nuclear weapons have so changed the calculus of interstate conflict as to make full-scale war between nuclear states inherently irrational. In reality, nuclear deterrence doesn't just happen; nuclear weapons do not create a "balance of terror" in and of themselves. Rather, this terror is constructed, and, in turn, balanced, in an active and participatory way. Nuclear deterrence is, in effect, an agreement by both sides to be deterred.

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[3] Quoted in John Mueller, "The Irrelevance of Nuclear Weapons," *International Security* 13, no. 2 (Fall 1988): 56.

The balance implicit in a mutual deterrence framework is more precarious than it might initially seem.[4] Each side must build up not only the capability to attack the other first, but the capability to attack the other second. That is, each side must be able to retaliate even as the nuclear missiles are falling. This entails dispersed weapons systems with autonomous chains of command.

There is a paradox here: the more survivable a state's nuclear weapons (i.e., the more credible its deterrence), the more those weapons are prone to being used in error. This can be seen in great detail during the Cuban Missile Crisis; even as Kennedy and Khrushchev were working hard to defuse the situation, the forces of each side were following standing orders which brought the world closer and closer to nuclear war.[5] There is another paradox at play as well, this one more comforting: deterrence is facilitated by communication and the sharing of sensitive information with one's enemy.

The Cold War is over and we are still here. So, by one estimation, deterrence worked. Or, at the very least, it didn't fail. The period since 1945 has been the most peaceful in modern history, if one defines peace as an absence of general conflict between the world's great powers.[6] In the last six decades, wars have been smaller and more contained, none approaching the scale and horror of the Second World War.

However, to attribute this peace to nuclear weapons alone is difficult. John Mueller lists several intervening variables that also contributed to the absence of war since 1945. First, the memory of the horror and devastation of the Second World War, which resulted in the deaths of 50 million people worldwide, was fresh in the

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[4] Albert Wohlstetter, "The Delicate Balance of Terror," *Foreign Affairs* 37, no. 2 (January 1959): 211-34.

[5] Graham T.Allison and Philip Zelikow, *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis* (New York: Longman, 2010).

[6] D. Sagan and Kenneth N. Waltz, *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: a Debate Renewed* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2003).

minds of post-war leaders. Conventional war had become sufficiently destructive and costly to factor heavily into any state's calculus when considering war. Second, after the Second World War, the only nations left capable of starting another war were the victors. And the allied powers were sufficiently content with the post-war order as to make war unlikely.

Certainly, the outcome of the Cold War was over-determined. But, it's impossible to test a counter-factual. Whether or not a third world war would have occurred without the invention of nuclear weapons may be essentially irrelevant. Whether or not there were other factors involved, and there most certainly were, nuclear weapons have gotten the credit. "While nuclear weapons may have substantially influenced political rhetoric, public discourse, and defense budgets and planning," Mueller says, "it is not at all clear that they had a significant impact on the history of world affairs..."[7] This seems to be Mueller's main mistake; he argues that nuclear weapons have no "magical" properties, all the while ignoring their very real political effects.

The constructed meaning of nuclear weapons is just as important as their raw power. Indeed, deterrence would be impossible without such a political conception of these weapons. Nuclear war is not impossible, but norms have evolved to make it unthinkable. The atomic bombs used against Hiroshima were not qualitatively different from other weapons used in World War II. While they made it possible to cause much more damage in a much shorter time than conventional weapons, the fire-bombing of Tokyo caused far more damage overall. This is, in fact, one key reason the United States did not target Tokyo with one of the bombs; it was already mostly destroyed.

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[7] Op. cit., Mueller 1988, 56..

Why, then, weren't these weapons used again in the Korean War, years before the Soviet Union and decades before China had a credible nuclear deterrent? A rationalist would argue that norms are based in self-interest. However, a constructivist would argue precisely the opposite, that self-interest is based on norms. In this case, the constructivist seems more convincing.

President Truman, seeing the horror of the first two atomic bombs, was reluctant to consider using another, even should Japan not surrender. Truman also set an important precedent, the civilian control of nuclear weapons. Nuclear weapons were now treated as qualitatively different from other weapons at the military's disposal.[8]

By the time of the Korean War, nuclear weapons came to be defined by their disproportionate lethality and their indiscriminate nature, the fact that they kill civilians and combatants alike. Quickly, these weapons became antithetical to the moral nation its citizens understood the United States to be. Internationally, nuclear weapons were held as "uncivilized" weapons, antithetical to the ideals of any modern nation.[9] The United States and the Soviet Union quickly constructed a shared identity, that of civil enemies, without which deterrence would not have been possible. This identity was institutionalized through international law, arms-control agreements, and the like.[10] War is in many ways a social institution.

Until now, we have discussed what deterrence is and how it functions, especially vis a vis nuclear weapons. But, to gain a better understanding of how nuclear weapons have prevented general conflict, if indeed they have, it is necessary to understand why nations go to war to begin with.

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[8] Nina Tannenwald, *The Nuclear Taboo: The United States and the Non-use of Nuclear Weapons since 1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2007).

[9] Ibid.

[10] Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 1998).

To realists, the answer is anarchy.[11]   There is no external power to prevent war, so war is inevitable. States view security as a zero-sum game; as one state builds its military power, ostensibly to make itself more secure, it makes the states around it less secure.[12] In turn, those states build their own military power, leading to an arms race. This is the classic security dilemma. It is in the interest of any state to make its neighbors less secure--war is one means of doing just this. A state's primary interest is survival. If a state believes war will ensure its survival, even if the costs are great, then that state will pursue war. War is primarily a result of fear and uncertainty.[13]

However, nuclear weapons change this calculus. Nuclear weapons make full-scale war unsurvivable. A state may fight, even if it does not think it can win, if the alternative of not fighting is even worse. However, there is no worse-case scenario than fighting a full-scale nuclear war; indeed, winning a such a war becomes irrelevant. Once nuclear weapons are involved, fear remains, but uncertainty does not.

The distribution of power in the international system is key to realists. Waltz's theory of international relations is a systems-level theory linking stability to power and the distribution of power across a system.[14] Bi-polar systems are inherently more stable than multi-polar systems.   In multi-polar systems, miscalculation is more likely. There are simply more players to keep track of, and so states are more prone to shooting first, as it were. During the Cold War, power was distributed across two massive alliance systems, resulting in a relatively stable bi-polar system. Nuclear weapons were largely, but not entirely, contained within this

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[11] Kenneth Neal Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (Boston: McGraw-Hill, 2008).

[12] John H. Herz, "Idealist Internationalism and the Security Dilemma," *World Politics* 2, no. 2 (January 1950): 157-80.

[13] Robert Jervis, *Perception and Misperception in International Politics* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 1976).

[14] Op. cit., Waltz 2008.

system. In terms of nuclear power, the world is now multi-polar, and as more and more states gain access to nuclear weapons, miscalculation becomes increasingly likely.

Continuing in the realist vein, war is also more likely during power transitions. "Order [in the international system] arises from the ability of a dominant power to impose its preferences on other actors."[15] Over time, order becomes institutionalized and states learn what to expect from one another, which contributes to peace and stability.[16] However, it makes sense that less powerful states would not be content with the status quo. These states will wish to overturn the current status quo, while dominant powers will wish to preserve it. When rising powers approach parity with dominant ones, either through their rise alone or together with a decline by the dominant power, then conflict is likely.[17] This dynamic can be seen in the Napoleonic, Franco-Prussian, and Russo-Japanese Wars, as well as in the First and Second World Wars.

During the Cold War the status quo was remarkably stable, thanks in part to the absolute domination of nuclear power by the two super powers and their close allies. The first challenge to the exclusivity of the nuclear club came in 1960 when France detonated its first atomic weapon. Doubting the credibility of the United States' extended deterrence, whether the United States would initiate full-scale nuclear war to prevent a Soviet incursion into western Europe (with good reason, for a realist perspective), France wished to have its own nuclear deterrent. However,

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[15] Richard Ned Lebow, *Why Nations Fight: Past and Future Motives for War* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 2010), 33.

[16] Kenneth A.Oye "Explaining Cooperation Under Anarchy: Hypotheses and Strategies," *World Politics* 38, no. 1 (1985): 1-24.

[17] Abramo F. K. Organski and Jacek Kugler, *The War Ledger* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago, 1991), 19-20.

France remained a part of NATO, albeit without remaining under its united military command, and France's nuclear weapons did not greatly shake the bi-polar status quo.

The next test came in 1964 when China detonated its first atomic weapon. Ostensibly an ally of the Soviet Union, the actual relationship was much more complicated. The Sino-Soviet split began in the early 1960s as an ideological dispute between each state's respective communist party. However, by 1969, the dispute had risen to the level of the nation state, resulting in a limited border conflict. There is some evidence that the Soviet Union considered a nuclear first-strike against China's nuclear sites, but was discouraged by American balancing.[18] It is interesting to note that soon after this confrontation the United States took steps to normalize relations with the PRC. This is a stark example of how power transitions and multi-polarity can be exceedingly dangerous, especially when nuclear weapons are involved.

It seems clear that the effects of nuclear weapons on the international system are real and complex. The speed and totality of devastation inherent in nuclear war have caused nuclear powers to be much more cautious in their relations with other nuclear powers. The costs of escalation are enormous and the room to negotiate a victory in the midst of a crisis is extremely limited.[19] Modernization, of which nuclear weapons are one aspect, has "not only increased the costs of war, but...created alternative paths to established goals..."[20] In a stable, bi-polar system, nuclear weapons force states to communicate and compromise; they make mutual security frameworks more feasible. Their effects at the regional, national, and sub-national level are less clear.

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[18] Andrew Osborn and Peter Foster, "USSR Planned Nuclear Attack on China in 1969," *The Telegraph* [London] 13 May 2010.
[19] Robert Jervis, "The Utility of Nuclear Deterrence," *International Security* 13, no. 2 (Fall 1988): 80-90.
[20] Ibid., 88

Proliferation, Nuclear Diplomacy, and Terrorism

There are conflicting opinions on whether more nuclear weapons states will be better or worse for the general stability of the international system. Nuclear weapons have changed the nature of military force; they have proscribed some uses of force, while making others more relevant. For example, full-scale military engagements between nuclear armed countries are unlikely for fear of escalation to the nuclear level, which eliminates the need for many traditional military assets. But low-intensity guerrilla conflicts and the technology and skills to wage them are increasingly in demand. In limiting the relevance of some uses of force, and in fostering military relations between enemies and military and economic interdependence between allies, nuclear weapons have been instrumental. In addition, many key aspects of modernity stem from the nuclear stalemate of the Cold War. The internet, for example, was intended as a means of maintaining communications in the aftermath of nuclear war. The very dispersed, decentralized infrastructure that facilitated survivability also facilitated an information revolution when co-opted by the civilian world. Globalization is, in many ways, a nuclear phenomenon.

It is no wonder, then, that as power becomes more diffuse across multiple dimensions, more and more states will seek to attain nuclear weapons as a shortcut to relevance, influence, and security on the international stage. Reflexively, complex interdependence makes this easier as multiple channels of communication and powerful non-state organizations foster the proliferation of nuclear technology without respect to national interests or traditional state borders.[21]

Before addressing whether or not proliferation will make the world more or less stable, it will pay to examine in depth the consequences of proliferation vis a vis

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[21] Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye, *Power and Interdependence* (Boston: Longman, 2012).

the states that proliferate. First, while nuclear weapons do not, in and of themselves, a great power make, they do greatly increase a state's options on the world stage. Force is a fungible asset.[22] It can be used to intimidate and to coerce, and can free a state from the intimidation and coercion of others. Nuclear power is especially fungible; it is equal to prestige and influence, is the ultimate instrument of threat and blackmail, and makes one virtually immune from the threats other states (providing a credible deterrent is constructed). Force alone is rarely sufficient to achieve one's goals, but without the credible threat of force, achieving those goals is next to impossible. Force in an integral part of statecraft.[23]

Robert Art lists four primary functions of force.[24] 1) Defense: the traditional military use of force. 2) Deterrence: the threat of retaliation; discussed at length above. 3) Compellence: the threat of force applied to coerce; which will be discussed at length below. 4) Swagger: the display of military capability to gain prestige.

Nuclear weapons are less suited to traditional defense (indeed, they make many aspects of traditional defense redundant, if not irrelevant); nuclear weapons are, however, well suited to deterrence, compellence, and swaggering. Of the four, swaggering is the least studied and the least remarked upon in the literature. Swaggering is indirect; it may enhance the power of both deterrence and compellence, but this is not its primary purpose. It is often linked to nationalism and can be used to foment a coherent national identity, especially in the face of oppositional factors such as ethnic or religious cleavages. "The Swaggering function of military power is...at one and the same time the most comprehensive and the most diffuse, the most versatile in its effects and the least focused in its immediate aims, the most

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[22] Robert J. Art "American Foreign Policy and the Fungibility of Force," *Security Studies* 5, no. 4 (Summer 1996): 7-42.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Robert J. Art "To What Ends Military Power," *International Security* 4 (Spring 1980): 4-35.

instrumental in the long run and the least instrumental in the short run, easy to justify on hardheaded grounds and often undertaken on emotional grounds."[25] The audience for Swaggering can be either foreign or domestic; indeed, it is usually both. We will return to swaggering shortly as it pertains specifically to the cases.

Compellence and deterrence are rooted in the diplomacy of violence. "There is a difference in taking what you want and making someone give it to you, between fending off assault and making someone afraid to assault you, between holding what people are trying to take and making them afraid to take it..."[26] To compel another state to act, or not to act, it is necessary to exploit that state's fears and desires. The diplomacy of violence is based on the power to inflict hurt, unacceptable damage, upon another state; nuclear weapons are especially suited to this role. In addition, they are highly psychological weapons, precisely because there are norms against their use.[27] Compellence can be highly asymmetrical, especially where nuclear weapons are involved. "Opposing strengths may cancel each other, pain and grief do not."[28] It does not matter how much stronger a state is, if another state can credibly threaten to inflict unreasonable hurt, it gain leverage even over a more powerful state. Nuclear weapons only exacerbate this; nuclear weapons make it possible to inflict terrible damage to one's enemy without first achieving victory. Further, it only takes one nuclear weapon to inflict unreasonable damage, especially on states that are highly accountable to their citizens. A single nuclear weapon may not pose an existential threat to a state itself, but if that state is a democracy, it certainly poses an existential threat to that state's government. For obvious reasons, less powerful states might greatly desire nuclear weapons, as they give these states leverage over much

[25] Ibid., 15
[26] Thomas C. Schelling, *Arms and Influence* (London: Yale UP, 1971).
[27] Op. cit., Tannenwald 2007.
[28] Ibid., 2

more powerful states. Further, a nuclear weapons program is often considerably cheaper than investing in conventional military capabilities. Nuclear weapons matter much more to weak states than to strong ones.

Nuclear weapons change the diplomacy of violence in several key ways. First, "war is a continuation of politics by other means."[29] The diplomacy of violence can often devolve into war with little notice. But, while conventional war is a bargaining process, nuclear war is not and cannot be.[30] Nuclear war results in such destruction at such a fantastic speed that bargaining is all but impossible. The diplomacy of violence works best when actual violence is withheld; to use nuclear weapons coercively, and not suicidally, violence must be withheld.

How, then, can a state engage in blackmail with a weapon that all parties know must never be used? It is advantageous for a state to feign irrationality in order to convince other states that it will, indeed, follow through with its threats. North Korea is a prime example. Call this the diplomacy of crazy. Alternatively, a state may hint that, if provoked, nuclear weapons could fall into the wrong hands, either intentionally or through a crisis of state. Pakistan would seem to be a good example of this.

As more states gain nuclear weapons capability, the contours of international politics and security become harder to map. The modern international system, since the fall of the Soviet Union, has been defined by a single, inclusive security community. Two major powers, Russia and China, exist at the periphery of this system, but in many ways these states are oddities when compared with the highly developed democracies of North America, Western Europe, and East Asia.[31] War

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[29] Carl Von Clausewitz, *On War* (Harmondsworth, England.: Penguin, 1982).
[30] Op. cit., Schelling 1971.
[31] Robert Jervis, "War in an Era of Leading Power Peace," *American Political Science Review* 96, no. 1 (March 2002):23-46.

between the United States and Japan, say, or France and Britain, both of which conflicts have occurred in the past, are all but unimaginable today. What's more, it doesn't make sense to say that Japan is deterred from attacking the United States, or that Britain is deterred from attacking France. This would imply that such an attack is first considered and then rejected via cost-benefit analysis. This is not the case. There seems to be something special about highly developed democracies that prevent war between them, even among nations that are natural rivals.[32]

It makes sense, then, that these countries would wish to keep nuclear technology between themselves. As mentioned, Russia and China pose the first challenges to this. Both are still developing economically, technologically, and politically. The Soviet Union was a superpower; Russia, despite its nuclear arsenal, is not. Indeed, Russia may have more in common with some other former Soviet republics, several of which also retained a residual nuclear capability, than it does with the former Soviet Union.[33]

But, Russia and China are known quantities. The Western security community has a long history of engaging with them. North Korea and Pakistan and to some degree India and Israel are more troublesome.[34] First, there is a real fear that any of these countries, if threatened, might use nuclear weapons offensively. In addition, nuclear weapons give these states the power to threaten much stronger states; they give these states the ability to engage in offensive diplomacy.[35] Second, proliferation greatly increases the possibility of an accident, especially when less-

[32] Michael W. Doyle, "Kant, Liberal Legacies, and Foreign Affairs," *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 12, no. 4 (Summer 1983): 323-53; and Thomas Risse-Kappen, "Collective Identity in a Democratic Community: The Case of NATO," in *The Culture of National Security* (Columbia: Columbia UP, 1996).

[33] Op. cit., Jervis 2002.

[34] Kenneth N. Waltz, "Peace, Stability, and Nuclear Weapons," in *International Politics: Enduring Concepts and Contemporary Issues* (New York: Longman, 2003), 448-62.

[35] Ibid.

developed states get highly advanced weaponry before developing the technological capability to handle such weapons safely.[36] Third, there is the possibility that an authoritarian state, such as Iran or Syria, or until recently Libya, would be very hard to deter. Authoritarian states are unaccountable to their citizens and have shown a willingness to use violence against their own citizens. A regime is much easier to fortify than an entire country; this changes the calculus of deterrence greatly.[37] Fourth, nuclear weapons greatly increase the difficulty of Western intervention. Had Libya not given up its nuclear weapons program, for example, NATO's air campaign against the Qaddafi regime would have been almost impossible.[38] And finally, the specter of nuclear terrorism haunts any "rogue" nuclear state.

When non-state actors engage in the diplomacy of violence it is called terrorism. Terrorism is not an inherently modern phenomenon, but the global information revolution has made the work of terrorists much easier. After all, the target of a terrorist and the victims of a terrorist attack are not one and the same. The target of terrorism is the general public. A terrorist attack is always an implicit threat: meet our demands or more attacks will follow. Terror is the message, violence is the medium. And "because of their incredible killing power and malevolent mystique, weapons of mass destruction have an unrivaled capacity to terrorize a society."[39]

The state, for now, is alive and well, and as an institution continues to shape international politics.[40] However, state sovereignty is significantly different today than it was even a hundred years ago. State control over religion, currency, and

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[36] Ibid.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Richard A. Falkenrath, Robert D. Newman, and Bradley A. Thayer, "The Non-State NBC Threat," in *America's Achilles' Heel: Nuclear, Biological, and Chemical Terrorism and Covert Attack* (Cambridge, MA: MIT, 2001), 206-15.

[40] Stephen D. Krasner "State Sovereignty Is Alive and Well," *Foreign Policy* (January/February 2001): 20-31.

citizenship has been greatly diminished by normative, institutional, and technological changes that have taken place in the last century.[41] Joseph Nye has argued that the present nature of the international system amounts to "cyber-feudalism" which is characterized by multiple and complex channels of communication, information communities, a decentralization of power, and competing loyalties. Contrary to expectations, these competing loyalties are often even more pronounced in less developed countries. In Pakistan, for example, one is expected to be loyal to one's tribe, one's ethnic group, one's religion, and one's state.[42] Technology does not foster unity, it exacerbates division.

The state's power is diminished for several key reasons. As previously discussed, nuclear weapons make war too costly, making traditional power more and more irrelevant. Economic interdependence does much the same thing. Nationalism also keeps foreign adventurism in check; it is hard to conquer an awakened population. And democratization makes war increasingly hard to justify as citizens hold their governments accountable.[43]

But politics, like nature, abhors a vacuum, and as a state's power wanes, non-state actors see their powers increase. In recent years, transnational activist networks have proven quite successful in shaping the flow of information around the globe, in engaging in information and leverage politics, and in practicing lawfare to achieve specific goals. Transnational activist networks (TANs) emerge when a state's citizens cannot resolve an issue domestically (when the state is either unable or unwilling to meet the demands of domestic activist groups) and when such domestic activist groups have the means and opportunity to network internationally. The global

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[41] Ibid.

[42] Anne L. Clunan, and Harold A. Trinkunas, *Ungoverned Spaces: Alternatives to State Authority in an Era of Softened Sovereignty* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 2010).

[43] Op. cit., Nye 2002.

information revolution has greatly increased both means and opportunity. When successful, TANs can shape or re-shape the dominant political discourse, can set new agendas, bring about institutional change, and alter a state's behavior.[44]

It's a small step from transnational activist networks to transnational terrorist groups; the difference is simply the willingness to take another step, to engage in violence to attain political ends. Islamism and violent jihad are not new, but their international aspect, which is now taken for granted, is. The collapse of the Cold War order, in part, and the diminished property of state sovereignty were instrumental in driving religious nationalists toward their "far enemy."[45]

By embracing violence, terrorist groups greatly increase their options to influence world politics. Nuclear weapons might allow a terrorist group to destabilize a state and topple a government; they also add an intrinsic legitimacy to a group as that group takes on "some of the trappings of a state."[46] Chechen separatists in Russia have "dabbled with radiological weapons" and made numerous threats that suggest a willingness to use weapons of mass destruction should they gain access to them.[47] However, it is misleading to always consider state and non-state actors in opposition.

We return now to the question of whether nuclear weapons have been, overall, a stabilizing or destabilizing force, both domestically and internationally, and whether more nuclear states will be better or worse for the peace and stability of the world.

Kenneth Waltz argues that "more may be better."[48] At the domestic level, he believes fears that nuclear weapons will force a state to become either more authoritarian or less secure to internal threats (such as coups, insurgencies, and

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[44] Op. cit., Keck and Sikkink 1998.

[45] Fawaz A. Gerges, *The Far Enemy: Why Jihad Went Global* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2009).

[46] Op. cit., Falkenrath, Newman, and Thayer 1998, 212

[47] Ibid., 212

[48] Kenneth Neal Waltz, "More May Be Better," in *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: A Debate Renewed : With New Sections on India and Pakistan, Terrorism, and Missile Defense*, (New York: W.W. Norton, 2003): 3-45.

terrorism) are overblown. "Nuclear weapons are not likely to be used at home," he says.[49] However, should a non-state group gain access to nuclear weapons, that is precisely where they would be used. At the regional level, he believes that the same forces that have constrained superpower behavior will constrain less powerful states as well. However, as we shall see, the political and security dynamics between India and Pakistan are very different than they were between the United States and USSR.

Scott Sagan offers another view. His argument centers on the increased chance of accidents as well as on uncertainty over precisely who might control nuclear weapons in less developed states, a civilian government or the military. Both factors would greatly increase the difficulty of deterrence and the instability of the regime in power.[50]

This debate remains undecided. For one, this issue is very hard to study in a systematic way without either examining deviant cases (the United States and the Soviet union, for example) or entertaining counter factual arguments. In the next section, I will propose a systematic way of examining the role of nuclear weapons in international politics as applied to the Indian-Pakistani conflict.

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[49] Ibid., 11

[50] Scott Douglas Sagan, "More Will Be Worse," in *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: A Debate Renewed : With New Sections on India and Pakistan, Terrorism, and Missile Defense*, (New York: W.W. Norton, 2003): 46-87.

Approach and Methods

To summarize what has been discussed so far: Nuclear weapons can contribute to the peace and stability of the international system, but only if deterrence is constructed: practically, institutionally, and normatively. Deterrence doesn't just happen.

Nuclear weapons allow a state to engage in coercive diplomacy. They can also be a much cheaper way of establishing security than investing in massive conventional forces. However, a state's real options vis a vis the use of force are often constrained by the added attention of the international community and the balancing of other states. This is the paradox of nuclear power: nuclear weapons have increased state security while eroding state sovereignty; they have increased the potency of coercive diplomacy (at least for some states) while decreasing the relevance of military power overall.

Nuclear weapons, quite clearly, have made war harder. However, to paraphrase Jeff Goldblum's character in Jurassic Park, war will find a way. During the Cold War, the United States and Soviet Union engaged in war by proxy.[51] Less powerful states cannot use other states to fight their wars, but they can use non-state actors. Therefore, in less developed states, *nuclear weapons will lead to a rise in non-state violence*.

A natural experiment presents itself as the best way to test this hypothesis. India and Pakistan have been at war from the very moment of their birth; in 1947 British India was granted independence and partitioned into two states, predominantly

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[51] Thomas J. Bellows "Proxy War in Indochina," *Asian Affairs* 7, no. 1 (September/October 1979): 13-30.

Muslim Pakistan and predominantly Hindu India. Kashmir, the largest of a number of semi-autonomous princely states within British India, was caught between the new states, both literally and figuratively. The population of Kashmir, which shared a border with both India and West Pakistan (present day Pakistan), was eighty percent Muslim by population. However, its maharajah was Hindu and he initially refused to take sides. When Pakistani troops, along with Muslim rebels from the British colonial army, attempted to seize the capitol of Kashmir, Srinagar, the maharajah fled to India and pledged loyalty. The Indian army was quick to march into Kashmir and reestablish a tentative border; however, India was unable to retake the entirety of the state. A divided Kashmir, with both India and Pakistan laying claim to the whole, remains to this day.[52] Three major wars and a series of skirmishes and low-intensity guerrilla actions have taken place between India and Pakistan since 1947.

What makes this case so suited to testing the influence of nuclear weapons on interstate conflict is that it actually presents itself as three cases. These cases vary on the independent variable (the presence of nuclear weapons), but much else remains constant between the cases. First, from 1948-1973, neither state had a nuclear weapons capability, which provides a useful control for establishing their baseline relationship. In 1974, India detonated its first "peaceful nuclear explosion," codenamed "Smiling Buddha."[53] By all accounts, India did not immediately move to weaponize nuclear technology; however the fact remains that it could have done so on very short notice.[54] In the end, it made little difference to Pakistan, which began its

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[52] Victoria Schofield, *Kashmir in Conflict: India, Pakistan and the Unending War* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2003).

[53] Sumit Ganguly and S. Paul Kapur, *India, Pakistan, and the Bomb: Debating Nuclear Stability in South Asia* (New York: Columbia UP, 2010).

[54] Sumit Ganguly and Devin T. Hagerty, *Fearful Symmetry: India-Pakistan Crises in the Shadow of Nuclear Weapons* (Seattle: University of Washington, 2006).

own nuclear weapons program only a year later.[55] There is very little attention paid to this period in the literature; most authors (Waltz, Sagan, Kapur) seem to pretend that India and Pakistan both acquired nuclear weapons simultaneously in May of 1998. This, however, is not the case. From 1974-1985, India possessed a nuclear capability, but Pakistan did not. Beginning the late eighties, Pakistan acquired a nuclear capability, but did not test or weaponize this capability initially. Still, this is a fact of which India was acutely aware. It is hard to pinpoint exactly when Pakistan had the capability to build a bomb on short notice, but it was certainly well before its first test. Certainly by 1986 Pakistan's nuclear capability was in no doubt, at least to India. This will become clear as the cases are presented. So this will become the first year in case three. In May of 1998, India detonated another five nuclear devices. By the end of the month, Pakistan had detonated six of its own (one for each of India's and another for India's first in 1974; which, again, shows the importance of India's first bomb). Pakistan stunned the world with how quickly it was able to respond to India's tests. Clearly, the capability was there all along. So, from 1986-present (2007 for the purposes of this study), both India and Pakistan have possessed nuclear weapons.

By treating each period as a separate case, a comparative analysis can determine the precise effect of the key variable of nuclear weapons; by treating the same conflict, involving the same states, as three separate cases, most variables can be keep the same--*ceteris paribus*. However, the real world never conforms entirely to laboratory expectations. One complication is the involvement of outside forces in the conflict, especially following the Cold War dynamic of bi-polarity. The Soviet Union, as early as 1952, began to support India's position on Kashmir, claiming that the British were using Kashmir as a wedge to retain some control of their former

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[55] Op. cit., Granguly and Kapur 2010.

empire; further, the Soviet Union pledged to be at India's side should India need them.[56] In 1954, Pakistan signed a Mutual Defense Assistance Agreement with the United States, effectively balancing against the Indian alliance with the Soviet Union.[57]

The Cold War politicization of the Kashmir issue actually strengthens the comparative framework. After the superpowers became involved, the United Nations "ceased to be a viable forum for the resolution of the Kashmiri dispute."[58] Just as with many other issues, the United States and Soviet Union came to stalemate in the Security Council over Kashmir. Had only one superpower involved itself in the Kashmir conflict, this comparison would not work. But, both superpowers took an interest and effectively canceled each other out, leaving the conflict very much in the hands of the Indians and Pakistanis themselves.

In addition, neither superpower must have provided a credible extended deterrence in the minds of the Indians and Pakistanis, as both undertook their own nuclear weapons programs. The very fact that each nation undertook to build nuclear weapons, against the wishes of their superpower patrons, shows how limited the influence of the global powers were in South Asia.

In the case of the India-Pakistan conflict, as opposed to the global conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union, the outcome was not, and is not, over-determined. No war between India and Pakistan has been sufficiently horrible to deter another war, certainly nothing approaching the horror of World War II for the allied powers. Neither has either India or Pakistan seemed particularly content in its geopolitical position, although India's discontentment seems more pronounced vis a

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[56] Op. cit., Schofield 2003.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Ibid., 87

vis China than in relation to Pakistan. Neither are there massive alliance systems that threaten to escalate a conflict to unimaginable proportions. And there is no constructed identity between India and Pakistan as "civil enemies."

Rather, if anything, this case seems crucial when one considers all the historical, ethnic, and religious factors that exacerbate conflict in the region, especially between the two countries. If nuclear weapons can significantly alter patterns of violence here, then they can anywhere.

The dependent variable is non-state violence, which I define non-state violence as organized acts of aggression carried out by any entity other than the military apparatus of a state. Non-state actors may engage in violence at the behest of the state; they may be funded or trained by the state, or both, but they are not direct appendages of the state; their interests are intrinsically different from a state's. Non-state actors may wish to become a state, or seize control of an existing state's bureaucratic infrastructure, but they are not there yet.

To measure state versus non-state violence I will use data from the Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP) and the Center for the Study of Civil Wars at the International Peace Research Institute (PRIO) in Oslo. I have combined data from two datasets, the UCDP non-state conflict dataset and the UCDP/PRIO armed conflict dataset. I have chosen these datasets for two reasons. First, when combined they allow me to measure how the ratio of state versus non-state conflict has changed across my cases. And second, the data runs from the beginning of case one to as near the end of case three as is possible (1948-2007), allowing me to get do accurate comparison across the entirety of the cases.

The non-state conflict dataset records all conflicts with more than 25 battle deaths between 1947 and 2007 and categorizes them by type (interstate, intrastate,

extrasystemic non-state, and internationalized intra-state). For my purposes, I am interested in the ratio or interstate conflicts to non-state conflicts as a whole. A non-state conflict is defined here as "the use of armed force between two organized armed groups, neither of which is the government of a state, which results in at least 25 battle-related deaths in a year".[59] However, this dataset does not record the number of fatalities that each conflict produced. I wish to weigh each conflict by the number of resulting fatalities, so I have combined data from the UCDP/PIRO armed conflict dataset which does record these numbers.[60] I have cross-referenced each event between the datasets and removed events outside the scope of my paper (events that did not involve either India or Pakistan). However, these numbers will not tell the whole story. So, in addition to these measures, I will attempt to build a more holistic picture of my three cases by consulting various histories and case studies. My goal is to construct a convincing narrative that can be tested by via the comparative method.

I make several theoretical assumptions along the way. First, there are several real and persistent conditions of the international system. Among these are anarchy and complex interdependence. However, the effects of these structural conditions are not necessarily naturally occurring or persistent across time and space. Rather, states construct various meanings and apply them to these conditions and then respond to those constructed meanings, rather than the condition itself. The international system is constructed reflexively and over time patterns of interpretation develop and are institutionalized. Deterrence is one such institutionalized pattern of constructed meaning. To understand the contours of deterrence, nuclear or conventional, in a given situation, you must first understand the constructed patterns of meaning

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[59]Kristine Eck, Joakim Kreutz and Ralph Sundberg, "Introducing the UCDP Non-State Conflict Dataset" (Unpublished manuscript, Uppsala University, 2010).
[60]Gleditsch et al., "UDCP/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset," (Oslo: Center for the Study of Civil Wars, International Peace Research Institute, 2007).

between the principal actors in the deterrence framework. Therefore, a qualitative approach is necessary to truly explain the interactions of India and Pakistan (or any states in the international system). I will examine both institutions (including culture) and rational actors at several levels of analysis (the system, the state, and the individual). Such a broad approach is necessary because nuclear weapons have an impact at all these levels. Further, states are shaped both by institutions and by the individuals that govern them, as well as by the constraints of the international system (which are constructed by individuals and consolidated by institutions).

In the first case, I examine the relationship of India and Pakistan without nuclear weapons to get a baseline for comparison across the cases, focusing both on state and non-state violence. In the second case, the role of India's nuclear weapons are highlighted and, as no major interstate violence took place during this period, the focus shifts to the non-state level. Finally, in the third case, Pakistan's nuclear weapons infuse the Kashmir conflict with new energy, and while the rate of interstate violence rises, rates of non-state violence skyrocket. The rates fall in the early 1990s, but remain high compared to pre-1980s levels. This can be seen in the following graph.
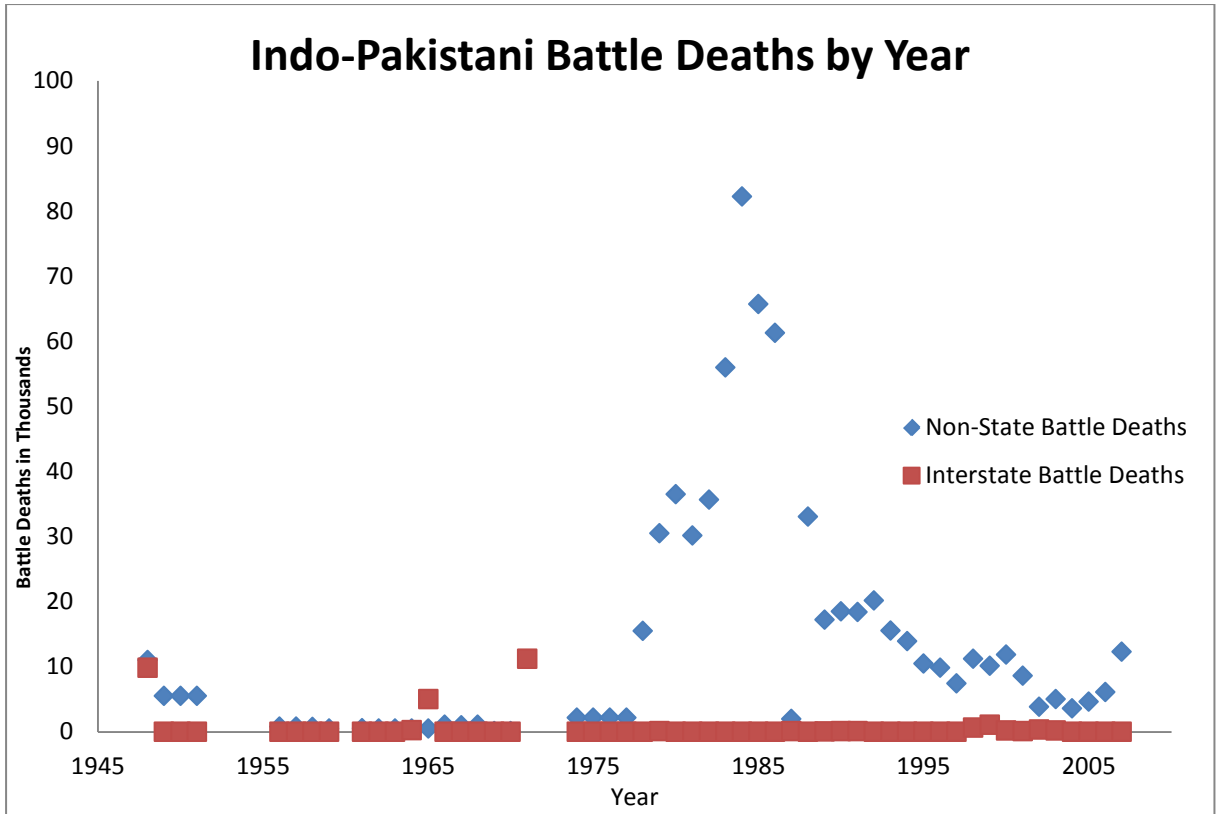
Figure 1: Indo Pakistani Battle Deaths by Year (UCDP/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset)

Case 1: 1948-1973

Kashmir is a crossroads, both geographically and philosophically. It is here that Asia and the Middle East truly come together; three nations claim parts of this tiny region. India, in fact, claims it all. Pakistan claims most of the Western areas, and China claims a small portion of the North. Where Pakistan and China's claims overlap, Pakistan has ceded territory in exchange for leverage against its true rival, India. India is perhaps more concerned strategically with China; however, Pakistan remains a thorn in its side that will not go away.

Kashmir is also a crossroads of religions, cultures, and political ideologies. Pakistan is culturally and religiously distinct, yet its identity as a modern nation is inextricably linked with India. Pakistan lacks a positive national identity of its own; rather, a strong Pakistani nationalism directed against India cements many diverse ethnic groups into a nation. "This distinction between nationalism and nation is not a rhetorical one. Nationalism is an ideology, be it based on territorial or ethnic notions. On the other hand, a nation is a social construction."[61] Pakistan is a nation of many nationalities or sub-nations--its borders are porous and the central power lacks direct control over wide swaths of the country. However, the national ideology of Pakistan is much more integrated across ethnic groups. In many ways, it is an ideological state, constructed in opposition to India.[62] India is Pakistan's eternal Other. To understand the India-Pakistan conflict, an understanding of this dynamic is prerequisite.

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[61] Cristophe Jaffrelot, *Pakistan: Nationalism Without a Nation* (New Delhi: Manohar Publishers, 2002), 7.

[62] Asaf Hussain, "Ethnicity, National Identity, and Praetorianism: The Case of Pakistan," *Asian Survey* 16, no. 10 (October 1976): 918-30.

Pakistan was created to be the homeland of Muslims living in British India. On August 15, 1947, by order of the British Parliament, India was formally granted independence and what was one nation became two. A demarcation line was drawn between areas of majority Muslim and majority Hindu occupation; everything on one side became India and everything on the other became Pakistan (then East and West Pakistan). However, this left millions of people living on the "wrong" side of the border. This led to one of the largest mass migrations of peoples in modern history. It was also one of the bloodiest; over one million lives were lost to ethnic, religious, and nationalist violence on the roads between India and Pakistan.[63] Caught between the violence and political machinations of the Partition were the regions of Jammu and Kashmir.

On the eve of Partition, the Maharaja of the Princely State of Kashmir, Hari Singh, found himself caught between two options, neither of them optimal. On the one hand, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru's support of the National Conference, a party opposing the Maharaja, led Singh to doubt that he would retain power under Indian rule. However, as a Hindu himself, ruling a predominantly Muslim population, the prospects of Pakistani rule did not look much better. The Maharaja desired independence for Kashmir; however, neither India nor Pakistan could tolerate this, and tensions between the three parties continued to grow, as did violence at the non-state level.

In Muslim-majority areas, Hindu militias carried out a series of massacres against the local populations, killing upwards of 200,000 and displacing many more.[64] Likewise, Muslim riots, with the support of former (Muslim) soldiers in the British-Indian Army, targeted and killed similar numbers of Hindus. These same soldiers led

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[63]Praveen Swami, *India, Pakistan, and the Secret Jihad: The Covert War in Kashmir, 1947-2004* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 18.
[64]Ibid., 15

a rebellion in the north of the Jammu and Kashmir territory and joined officially with Pakistan.

The success of this rebellion encouraged the Pakistani military that very little force would be necessary to topple the Maharaja's regime. So, in the summer of 1947, irregulars with the support of the Pakistani military pushed into the heart of Kashmir. The Maharaja turned to India for help, but India would only agree to commit troops if Singh brought Kashmir under the direct control of India. He agreed and Indian and Pakistani troops clashed in the first Indo-Pakistani War. This agreement is the primary legal basis for India's claim to Kashmir today; however, Pakistan has always maintained that the accession was illegitimate.

The months leading up to Partition and the first few months after marked a time of dramatic violence, the vast majority of it non-state violence falling along traditional ethno-religious lines. However, once Kashmir picked a side (or, rather, once Pakistan believed Kashmir had picked a side), the ethno-religious conflict crystallized into a border dispute between sovereign states. Pakistan's claim on Kashmir was still driven by an irredentist concern for cultural contiguity, but the Pakistani government was at least equally concerned with the strategic importance of Kashmir.

> One glance at the map was enough to show that Pakistan's military security would be seriously jeopardized if Indian troops came to be stationed along Pakistan's western border. Once India got the chance, she could establish such stations anywhere within a few miles of the 180 miles long vital road and rail route between Lahore and Pindi. In the event of war, these stations would be a dangerous threat to our most important civil and military lines of communication....From an economic point of view the position was equally perilous. Our agricultural economy was dependent particularly upon the rivers coming out of Kashmir....What then would be our position if Kashmir was in Indian hands?[65]

That Pakistan would retain Kashmir seemed to the Pakistanis necessary to their continued existence as a state. Pakistan, thus, sponsored the armed revolt inside

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[65] Akbar Khan, *Raiders in Kashmir* (Islamabad: National Book Foundation, 1970), 9-10.

Kashmir. The rebels were organized around a core of active Pakistani military personnel. Further, they were armed with Pakistani weapons secretly diverted into the region by Pakistan's civilian government.[66] While Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan wished to keep Pakistani regulars, uniformed or otherwise, out of the conflict, Pakistani troops were deeply involved with the rebellion both inside Pakistan (organization and logistics) and inside the territories of Jammu and Kashmir.

However, even for Pakistan's significant involvement, neither the military nor the civilian government was able to maintain much operational control over the rebels. Uprisings quickly turned into massacres, tribesmen from Pakistan poured into Kashmir, "their indiscriminate 'liberating'...terrorizing Hindu, Sikh, and Muslim villager alike".[67] It was the brutality of these first uprisings that pushed the Maharaja Singh into action and, ironically, sealed the loss of Jammu and Kashmir for Pakistan. However, Pakistani forces were able to seize about a third of the territory before Indian forces halted their advance. Once India committed troops into Kashmir, Pakistan abandoned its facade and committed uniformed troops as well in support of their *Azad Kashmir* (Free Kashmir) counterparts.[68]

By New Year's Eve of 1948, both sides had dug in and, the mountainous terrain heavily favoring defense, further gains by either side were only going to come at a steep price.[69] Prime Minister Nehru and his top military leadership realized that only by cutting off Pakistani support to Azad Kashmir and the ongoing insurgency could the war be brought to a close. Nehru wished to expand the war into Pakistan, but could find neither the resources nor the political will to do so. Thus, in many

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[66] Op. cit., Swami 2007, 21.
[67] Margaret Bourke-White, *Halfway to Freedom* (Mumbai: Asia Publishing House, 1950), 163.
[68] Op. cit., Swami 2007, 24.
[69] Op. cit., Swami 2007, 20.

respects the 1947-48 war never ended. Neither side could accept the status quo, nor could they change it.

Rather than expand the war, on the advice of the British government, India referred the matter to the United Nations Security Council. The Security Council passed two resolutions calling for the removal of Pakistani troops from Kashmir and the draw-down of Indian troops to a level sufficient only for the maintenance of law and order. The resolutions also called for a plebiscite to determine the wishes of the people of Kashmir. Neither India nor Pakistan complied with these resolutions, however, and Kashmir remained locked in an armed truce between the two countries for the next decade and a half.

Meanwhile, India had other concerns. In addition to border disputes with Pakistan, the British withdrawal also left India with a disputed border between it and its northern neighbor, The People's Republic of China (PRC). Initially, India made a series of concessions, hoping to appease rather than confront the PRC, but this approach soon backfired. Nehru wished to limit defense spending and focus instead on domestic poverty programs; he was also worried about giving the military too much power in domestic politics. However, as China pushed for even more concessions on India's Himalayan border, Nehru quickly found himself backed into a corner. Nehru went so far as to hide the dispute from the Indian parliament, for fear of upsetting right-wing opposition parties, until the border clashes at Kongka Pass in 1958 made this impossible.

Shortly after these early skirmishes, India began its "forward policy," sending small patrols of troops into the disputed territory. This policy "amounted to a flawed attempt to pursue a strategy of compellence--the use of force to induce an adversary to

undo a hostile act."[70] Rather than compel China to give up its territorial claims, these acts provoked China into war.

The 1962 Sino-India war marked a drastic change in India defense posture. Dramatic losses convinced Indian leaders to undertake a significant military modernization program.   And, yet again, Indian defense policy proved to have unforeseen side effects. While preoccupied with China, India did little to consider the effects of its military posture on its smaller, weaker neighbor, Pakistan.   India effectively created a security dilemma with Pakistan.   After all, India's growing military might just as readily be turned against Pakistan as China.   Furthermore, Pakistan's window of opportunity on Kashmir seemed to be closing.

In 1965, Pakistan sent irregular forces into Indian-controlled Kashmir to foment local unrest and pave the way for uniformed troops to come. However, many of these Pakistani militia were turned over to the authorities and India was alerted. Nonetheless, Pakistan stuck with the plan and committed regular troops. Pakistan's incursion into Kashmir, across the cease-fire line established in 1947, prompted an Indian counter attack, also across the cease-fire line into Pakistani controlled Azad Kasmir. What began as an attempt by Pakistan at producing an insurgency within Kashmir quickly became full scale war as Pakistan and India committed both infantry and armored divisions as well as their respective air forces to the conflict. Important to note here is the ease with which Pakistan escalated the already unwinnable conflict. With the infiltrators discovered and the local uprisings revealed to be a pipe dream, the Pakistani military argued that it was time to cut losses and accept defeat gracefully.[71]   However, Zulfiquar ali Bhutto, then minister of foreign affairs to President Ayub Khan, argued that such a course of action would signal weakness to

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[70] Op. cit. Ganguly and Hagerty 2005, 27.
[71] Op. cit., Swami 2007, 62.

India and provoke future aggression. Despite the risk of massive India retaliation, Khan went along with Bhutto's assessment. By comparing Pakistan's willingness to fight in this case and its lack of fear vis a vis escalation, the effects of nuclear weapons in later cases become pronounced.

When Pakistani forces made key tactical gains within Indian-controlled Kashmir, India escalated the conflict a degree more when it attacked across the international border near Lahore, successfully taking pressure off Indian troops in Kashmir for the time being. A series of large set-piece tank battles ensued that September. But Indian forces quickly bogged down, failing to capture the city of Sialkot in north eastern Punjab. India found itself caught in a stalemate. By 21 September, India had accepted the terms of U.N. Security Council resolution 211, which demanded an immediate cease-fire, and hostilities came to an end in the second major Indo-Pakistani war.

This war marks a transition from "informal war," where Pakistan supported the Kashmir insurgency rather haphazardly, to a much more coherent movement organized around a "master cell" that answered directly to the Pakistani Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) Directorate.[72] The master cell was integral to Operation Gibraltar, which began the 1965 war. A communique from August of that year, from Major-General Akhatar Hussain Malik to a leader of the Master Cell read:

> You will infiltrate across CFL [Cease Fire Line] to operate behind enemy disposition...and cause max attrition of enemy potential.... You will not undertake set piece attacks and tie down our own troops unnecessarily thereby suffering casualties. The pattern must be to concentrate at a preselected target at a fixed time, carry out raids, inflict max casualties, cause max damage and disperse in different directions.[73]

The cease-fire after the 1965 war did not put an end to the operations of the Master Cell within Jammu and Kashmir; however Kashmiri police, together with

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[72] Op. cit., Swami 2007, 49.
[73] As quoted in op. cit., Swami 2007, 49.

Indian counter-intelligence agents, soon did. This would mark an end to the highly organized insurgency with direct ties to the Pakistani state and would begin another phase of the Kashmir resistance which would be cemented six years later after Pakistan's outstanding defeat in the 1971 war, culminating with its loss of East Pakistan.

The third and final major war of this period (1948-1973) stands out as an anomaly in the Indo-Pakistani conflict. It does so for two reasons. First, this war was not over Kashmir. And second, it was instigated not by Pakistan, but by India. The 1970 Pakistani national elections left a political division between West Pakistan led by the Pakistani People's Party of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto) and East Pakistan, led by the Awami League. No power sharing arrangement could be reached and the Western government eventually fell back on the support of the military. The Pakistani military had, from the beginning, been dominated by ethnic Punjabis and Pashtuns from the West. East Pakistan had been spared the brunt of Indian aggression in both previous wars; "a Pakistani military strategy that had long claimed that 'the defense of the east lies in the west...' facilitated the India politico-military decision not to pursue significant war aims in the eastern sector [of Pakistan]."[74] In effect, the Pakistani military had left East Pakistan at the mercy of India. This decision, combined with Indian forbearance in the east, led to a pronounced schism between the Punjabi and Pashtun West and the Bengali East.

In 1966, Sheikh Rahman, leader of the Awami League, had called for a restructuring of the federal relationship between East and West, essentially, home rule. Among his demands were the establishment of an East Pakistani militia and currency, separate from the military and currency of West Pakistan. The West was

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[74] Op. cit., Ganguly and Hagerty, 2005, 31.

heavily dependent on the East's textile industry, but the relationship was one of highly asymmetric interdependence. "In 1970, almost half of East Pakistan's industrial assets were controlled by six non-Bengali industrialists."[75] The inequality, coupled with the high rates of economic growth under President Ayub Khan, fueled Bengali resentment toward the West.

> The country leaped forward in economic terms during the Ayub era, but the political rights of the people were buried in the process. Bengalis felt it more because their presence in the civil-military bureaucracy was only symbolic. In the army, the most important institution in the country, there were only 300 Bengali officers out of 6000.[76]

In the 1970 elections, the Awami League won 160 of 162 seats in the East and none in the West, while the Pakistani People's Party won 81 of 138 seats in the West and none in the East. However, the situation that followed was reminiscent of the 1956 elections that led to a military coup and the installation of Ayub Khan as President. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, head of the PPP, made it clear that the ruling party of West Pakistan "would not sit in the opposition," electoral defeat notwithstanding.[77] When no coalition government could be formed between the two literal wings of Pakistani politics, the Awami League began to consider the possibility of secession. President Yahya Khan called off the opening of the National Assembly only two days before its first scheduled meeting.[78] Shortly thereafter, Sheikh Rahman took charge of the administration of East Pakistan, asserting para-constitutional authority in what amounted to a de-facto declaration of independence. In the Spring of 1971, Rahman was arrested, and the Pakistani military responded with a crackdown on the population of East Pakistan in an attempt to deracinate Bengali dissidents before

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[75] Op. cit., Swami 2007, 110.
[76] Hassan Abbas, *Pakistan's Drift Into Extremism: Allah, the Army, and America's War on Terror* (London: ME Sharpe, 2007), 57.
[77] Op. cit., Swami 2007, 111.
[78] Ibid., 111.

Rahman's nascent separatist movement could take root. However, this crackdown was exceptionally broad in scope.

> On March 26, 1971, Yahya Khan ordered the initiation of Operation Searchlight, a brutal military pogrom directed at people Pakistan claimed were its citizens. Pakistan's military had believed that a short display of force would serve its purpose; instead, the 'Bengali population stood full square behind their arrested leader, Mujibur Rahman.' In response to this defiance, the Pakistani Army unleashed its full wrath, 'raping, murdering and even massacring whole villages, women and children included.' Elements of the Islamist Jammat-e-Islami party, eager to demonstrate their support for the Army, joined in the killing of those they claimed were 'enemies of Islam.' ...West Pakistani troops killed at least 30,000 people. Among them were hundreds of the East Bangladesh Rifles who had refused to disarm when ordered to do so at the outset.... Some 17,000 soldiers crossed the border into India over the coming months, along with millions of civilian refugees-- student activists, politicians, and ordinary people who had come under attack for no other reason than their ethnicity.[79]

Millions of displaced Bengali began to cross the Indian border to escape the harsh tactics of the Pakistani military. Within months the refugee population approached ten million.[80] India was unable or unwilling to absorb so many refugees into its already large, factious, and fractious population; rather, "Prime Minister Indira Gandhi...concluded that it was cheaper to resort to war...than to absorb the refugees."[81] Prior to undertaking hostilities, Gandhi signed a treaty with the Soviet Union that included an important mutual defense clause. In large part, this was done to dissuade China from coming to the aid of Pakistan, an ally. Only two years previously China had fought an embarrassing war with the Soviet Union and was not eager to risk another conflict. Pakistan's alliance with the United States and China, and India's with the Soviet Union effectively stymied any outside interests in the conflict. In the Spring of 1971, India took a page from Pakistan's own playbook and undertook to fund a nascent Bengali insurgency, the Mukti Bahini.[82]

By December of 1971, an increasingly successful insurgency in the East had left Pakistan with few options. Indian provocation became increasingly intolerable.

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[79] Ibid., 112.
[80] Op. cit., Ganguly and Hagerty 2005, 33.
[81] Ibid., 32.
[82] Ibid., 32.

Frustrated with India's support of the Bengali insurgency, on December 3, Pakistan launched air strikes at Indian military bases in the north (close to the India-East Pakistan border). This was what the Indian leadership had been waiting for. The Pakistani strikes effectively legitimized a war Gandhi and those around her had wanted all along. The Indian Air Force launched counter-strikes immediately and within days had established air superiority over Pakistan. Taking advantage of its air power, India struck targets deep inside Western Pakistan, including Peshawar, the major port city of Karachi, and the capital, Islamabad. Further, the Indian navy bombarded the cities of Jewani and Gawadar in the country's far west. While India's aims in the 1971 war were fairly limited, its means must not have seemed so at the time, neither to Pakistan nor to the United States. As a show of force meant to dissuade India from vivisecting Pakistan, the United States dispatched a carrier battle group to the Bay of Bengal. However, by the time the carrier arrived on station, India had already succeeded in routing Pakistani forces in the east and capturing Dhaka, the modern capitol of Bangladesh.

Unlike in 1948 and 1965, in 1971 India was unconcerned with fears of escalation. Pakistan was thoroughly outmatched in every way, completely at the mercy of Indian military might. Bilateral talks in May of 1972 re-introduced the Kashmir issue to the discourse. In exchange for nearly 90,000 prisoners of war, Pakistan's government under President Yahya Kahn agreed (once again) to settle the Kashmir issue without violence. Further, Pakistan was forced to make territorial concessions; the agreed shift in nomenclature from "Cease-Fire Line" to "Line of Control" reflected Indian gains made as a direct result of the 1971 war.

After the 1965 and 1971 wars, India embraced a hard-line position on Kashmir. Why peacefully negotiate away what Pakistan had been unable to take

through war? Further, neither of Pakistan's major alliances had been of any use during these wars. China was obviously unwilling to intervene and provoke a wider regional war with India. And the United States had responded to the 1965 war with an arms embargo on both India and Pakistan. In 1971, the United States did posture militarily against India, but too little too late to forestall the loss of half of Pakistan's territory. In these conflicts Pakistan had, unwittingly, tipped a losing hand and India was no longer afraid to call its bluff. This dynamic would remain in place until Pakistan acquired a nuclear capability several decades later.

The Peace treaty that ended the 1965 war, mediated by the Soviet Union, left President Ayub Khan in a precarious position. While the treaty left Pakistan with marginally more territory than it had begun with, it in many ways sealed a perpetual stalemate on the issue. Both India and Pakistan pledged to resolve the matter non-militarily. Further, the treaty did not include any reference to the plebiscite demanded by the United Nations in 1948, leaving both pro-Indian and pro-Pakistani Kashmiris unhappy.[83] The 1966 student riots in Lahore and Sialkot were a direct result of this dissatisfaction. Many Kashmiri refugees living within Pakistan felt that President Khan had betrayed them and the nation by conceding, before the Soviets and the world, Pakistan's non-negotiable claim on the entirety of Kashmir.[84] The Pakistani nation served as an echo chamber, amplifying discontent over the Kashmir issue and channeling it both against India (back into the Kashmir insurgency), and also against the Pakistani state itself. The Pakistani military was in an equally precarious position, having to maintain some semblance of support for the Kashmir insurgency without provoking India into another war.

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[83] Op. cit., Swami 2007, 80.
[84] Op. cit., Schofield 2003, 112.

Political change in India also complicated Pakistan's delicate balance vis a vis the Kashmir insurgency. Only hours after the treaty with Pakistan was signed, Indian Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri died of a heart attack. The leadership of India's dominant political party, the Indian National Congress, were divided on who should succeed him, but finally agreed on a "safe" choice whom they believed would not upset the political status quo; Jawaharlal Nehru's daughter, Indira Ghandi, would serve in the interim until a true successor could be appointed. Moraji Desai and Rammanohar Lohia, prominent conservatives within the National Congress, dubbed Ghandi a "dumb doll."[85] Her aggressive leadership, especially in the Kashmir issue, would prove them quite wrong. In 1968, Ghandi ordered the creation of a dedicated espionage agency and even managed to secure state-of-the-art surveillance technology from the United States in return for feeding the United States intelligence on China.[86] India's new spy agency, the Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) managed to put external pressure on Pakistan and its proxies inside Kashmir at the same time as Pakistani citizens and Kashmiri nationalists were putting internal pressure on the regime of Ayub Khan.

Indeed, very soon after its formation, the RAW began funding the Bangladeshi insurgency, fighting fire with fire, so to speak, and formulating plans to establish an independent state in East Pakistan. One plot, foiled in 1967 by Pakistani counter-intelligence, involved the assassination of Khan himself.[87] This plan, to be carried out by Bangladeshi nationals, very likely began in the upper echelons of the Indian intelligence wing. In response to this plot, Khan put over fifty East Pakistani citizens on trial, including Sheikh Rahman, head of the Awami league. Rahman enjoyed immense popularity within East Pakistan and the backlash against the Pakistani

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[85] Katherine Frank, *Indira: The Life of Indira Nehru Gandhi* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2003), 303.
[86] Op. cit., Swami 2007, 83.
[87] Ibid., 84.

government was immediate and severe.[88] The unrest begun in later 1967 would eventually necessitate martial law within East Pakistan and would also lead to the ousting of Khan, who had himself come to power by coup. Indeed, the coup that brought Khan to power in 1958 was motivated by a power struggle between the East Pakistani Awami league and a number of fractious West Pakistani political parties. The 1956 elections shifted power from the West to the East (where a majority of the population lived); this was unacceptable to the country's military and feudal elite, which were concentrated within the Punjab. So, in 1958, the military abrogated the constitution and deposed the East Pakistani prime minister, Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy, instead appointing the head of the military, Iskandar Mirza, President. Mirza was himself deposed less than a month later by Khan.

To borrow an analogy from Joseph Nye, the Indo-Pakistani conflict could be compared to a game of three dimensional chess.[89] On the top board is the system level characteristic of bi-polarity which defined Indian and Pakistani relations to the superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union. On the middle board is the level of the state. And on the lower board is the national level, the level of the sub-state actor: ethno-religious movements, insurgent groups, terrorist organizations.

Conceptions of power differ at each level. But power at one level is inherently dependent on power at the level below. Pakistan's power as a state is intimately connected to the power of ethnic and religious factions within Pakistan; the state's military power vis a vis India is also tied directly to the power of its sub-state proxies. Pakistan's leadership was chiefly aware of this in 1953 when Islamist uprisings necessitated martial law in Lahore.[90] Later that year, as a means of co-opting the

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[88] Ibid., 84.
[89] Op. cit., Nye 2002.
[90] Ibid., 31.

power of the Islamist movement within the state, Pakistan declared itself an Islamic Republic.

Pakistan has been a state since 1947, but it has had a very hard time conceiving of itself as a nation, despite intense, sometimes competing, nationalisms running through Pakistani identity: anti-Indian nationalism, Muslim nationalism, increasingly Islamist nationalism, and most recently, nuclear nationalism.

Before continuing, some definitions are necessary. *Nationalism* is an ideology that defines what it means to be a member of a particular group; it is an inherently exclusionary ideology. However, nationalism is not sufficient for the existence of a nation. Rather, nationalism is fuel; a nation is a vehicle. A *nation* is a social construction, an "imagined community" build upon a given nationalist ideology.[91] A nation is the idea of a state that members of that state carry around in their heads. To further complicate matters, a *state* is a political entity which maintains a monopoly on violence within a given territory.[92] A nation is built of people; a state is built of institutions.

Pakistan is effectively a state without a single, coherent nation. There is no vehicle for Pakistani identity. However, there are strong currents of nationalism in Pakistan, an excess of fuel, as it were, and no shortage of potential matches. The British partitioned the subcontinent based on a faulty idea that nationalism was rooted in givens, language or religion, for instance. It's hard to fault them; this was the conventional understanding through the middle of the century.[93] Pakistan was created as a Muslim nation with the idea that Islam was a sufficient foundation upon which to build a nation. "Nationalism," however, "is not the awakening of nations to self-

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[91] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (New York: Verso, 1983).
[92] Max Weber, "Politics as Vocation." (1919).
[93] Clifford Geertz, "The Integrative Revolution: Primordial Sentiments and Civil Politics in the New States," in *Old Societies and New States* (New York: Glencoe, 1963).

consciousness: it invents nations where they do not exist."[94] Even Islam was insufficient to overcome ethnic cleavages in Pakistan, though the Muslim elite tried to leverage Islamic symbols to shape a strong nationalist identity within British India before partition.[95] This was reasonably successful only because of high levels of discrimination against Muslims by the Hindi majority. Islam provided a relatively weak cultural basis for a Pakistani state, but Hindi discrimination fomented high levels of separatist feelings within the Muslim population of British India.[96]

Mohammad Ali Jinnah is the father of modern Pakistan. Before independence, he led the All-India Muslim League, a powerful Muslim separatist group. In 1947, he became the first Governor-General of the independent state of Pakistan. Jinnah advanced a two-nation policy for British India.

> Islam and Hinduism are not religions in the strict sense of the word, but are, in fact, different and distinct social orders.... The Hindus and the Muslims belong to two different religious philosophies, social customs, and literatures.... To Yoke together two such nations under a single State, one as a numerical minority and the other as a majority, must lead to growing discontent and the final destruction of any fabric that may be so built up for the government of such a state.[97]

However, ironically, the same might be said for modern Pakistan: simply replace Muslim and Hindu with Punjabi, Pashtun, and half a dozen other ethnicities, each with its own history, culture, language or dialect, and interpretation of Islam.

Indeed, simply examine the state's name. The suffix -stan is an Indo-Aryan marker meaning "land of." Afghanistan, for example, is the land of the Afghans; Tajikistan, the land of the Tajiks. The name Pakistan, however, has no such literal meaning. Rather, it is an acronym. *P* stands for Punjab, *A* for Afghan (actually the Pashtuns of the North-West Frontier Province), *K* for Kashmir, *S* for Sindh, and *Tan* for Baluchistan. That a name can unite such disparate peoples seems incredibly

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[94] Ernest Geller, *Thought and Change* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964).
[95] Op. Cit., Jaffrelot 2002, 10.
[96] Ibid., 12.
[97] Ibid., 15

naive. But, if it can, the importance of Kashmir to the idea of the Pakistani state is apparent; it is integral to the very name.

Very early the Punjabis came to dominate both the civilian and military bureaucracy of Pakistan. The adoption of Urdu as the national language solidified this domination and began the process that would eventually lead to the break-off of Bangladesh. The 1954 Bengali demonstrations in East Pakistan were met with repressive measures by the military and central government, watering the seed of Bengali nationalism that would blossom almost two decades later into a separate nation-state.[98]

Both India and Pakistan are states comprised, at least in part, from displaced peoples. Britain attempted to manage ethno-religious conflict through Partition and facilitated population transfers between Hindu-majority India and Muslim-majority Pakistan. Partition theory is based on the logic of the security dilemma extended to the sub-state level.[99] Weak states create within them a state of anarchy which causes individuals to mobilize along ethnic lines. Ethnic groups arm to facilitate their own security. But, small arms are even harder to differentiate between offensive and defensive capability than large ones. No faction has an interest in disarming until an outside agency, such as a state or international organization, can ensure protection for all parties.[100]

Kin-states may also be tempted to intervene when their co-ethnic populations are in danger. "If warring groups are not completely separated into defensible enclaves, the ethnic security dilemma will remain unresolved, perpetuating conflicts

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[98] Ibid., 18.

[99] Erin K. Jenne, "Ethnic Partition under the League of Nations: The Cases of Populations Exchanges in the Interwar Balkans," in *Rethinking Violence: States and Non-State Actors in Conflict* (Cambridge: MIT Press 2010), 123.

[100] Roy Licklider, "The Consequences of Negotiated Settlements in Civil Wars, 1945-1993," *American Political Science Review* 89, no. 3 (September 1995): 685.

and provoking interstate conflicts by drawing the minority's kin state into the conflict."[101] However, the population transfers necessary to ensure a successful partition "are associated with significant loss of life and property as well as human rights violations."[102] This was certainly the case during the Partition of India and Pakistan. "Moreover, partition through state creation risks transforming internal conflicts into even deadlier interstate wars. Territorial partition...encourages secessionist efforts...while creating authoritarian statelets whose leaders are left unaccountable to the people."[103]

Indeed, this theory describes the relation of Pakistan to India from Partition until India's acquisition of nuclear weapons very well, explaining how intra-state conflict becomes inter-state conflict. Partition failed because the British failed to understand that Islam was not monolithic in the sub-continent; rather, it was incredibly factious. Sunni/Shia conflicts which would be pronounced in Pakistan after Partition, were mostly absent before it.[104] Partition failed because the requisite population transfers were incredibly bloody, leaving anger and resentment on both sides. Partition failed and perhaps even agitated Pakistan's irredentism which led to conflict between the newly partitioned states.

Partition left Pakistan with a weak state incapable of dealing with its heterogeneous population without resorting to a nationalism of opposition vis a vis India. Charles Tilly and Jeffrey Herbst have both argued that war is necessary to the consolidation of modern states.[105] "War made the state and the state made war."[106]

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[101] Op. cit., Jenne 2010, 124.
[102] Ibid., 124.
[103] Ibid., 124-25.
[104] Op. cit., Jaffrelot, 115.
[105] See Charles Tilly "War Making and State Making as Organized Crime," in *Bringing the State Back In* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); and Jeffery Herbst, "War and the State in Africa," *International Security* 14, no. 4 (Spring 1990): 117-139.
[106] Charles Tilly, *The Formation of National States in Western Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975).

Accepting this as fact, Pakistan is an excellent example. Had its government not been able to channel intra-state conflict into inter-state war, Pakistan would not have survived as a single state; in all likelihood, it would be a failed state along the lines of Somalia or Afghanistan. Indeed, as it is, the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) amount to a failed state within a state.

Georg Sorensen has argued that the defining problem of the international system is no longer the security dilemma, which occurs between sovereign states, but rather, an insecurity dilemma that plagues primarily weak states.[107] Weak states pose dangers to neighboring states in the form of refugees, communicable diseases, and terrorism; as well, they pose dangers to their own citizens.

As a category, all weak states share three characteristics. First, a feeble economy with large sectors of the population living outside of the formal economy. Pakistan has a modern economy which is quite strong in some sectors, but large tracts of the country do not participate in or benefit from it. Much of the country, rather, retains a subsistence agricultural economy with feudal organizational structures.[108] Further, in relation to India, Pakistan suffers from many structural impediments; its economy simply cannot keep up. Second, weak states typically lack a strong national identity or "community of citizens."[109] Pakistan has an exceptionally weak national identity. And third, weak states lack institutions responsive to the needs of their citizens and effective in meeting those needs.[110]

In effect, there is anarchy within the state in the same way that there is anarchy on the international level. The regime and other powerful non-state actors become

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[107] Georg Sorensen, "After the Security Dilemma: The Challenges of Insecurity in Weak States and the Dilemma of Liberal Values," *European Journal of International Relations* 14, no. 1 (March 2008): 358.
[108] Ibid., 362.
[109] Ibid., 363.
[110] Ibid., 364.

synonymous with states on the international level; each acts in its own interests and as one becomes more secure, the others necessarily become less secure. The elite may fortify themselves, but cannot do much for the average citizen caught between conflicting groups.

> As seen from the perspective of the populations of weak states, this is an insecurity dilemma, because they cannot know what to expect from the state; furthermore, strategies of resistance and support may be counterproductive in terms of achieving security. The government's primary task ideally should be to provide security for its population, but instead it makes up the greatest potential threat to people within its boundaries.[111]

In Pakistan, the most powerful non-state group has been the Armed Forces. Indeed, at times it has been synonymous with the state, and has kept a wary eye on the civilian government when it has not been. Another aspect to the insecurity dilemma in Pakistan is that as the military strengthens its defenses vis a vis India, it leaves itself more open to attack from indigenous jihadist groups. As already mentioned Pakistan has attempted to combat this problem by adopting an Islamist identity and by funding the very groups that threaten to destabilize the Pakistani state; turning them outward against India. The danger is that Pakistan could lose control of these groups and find itself facing adversaries that the state itself has armed and trained.

So, a baseline relationship has been established. From 1947-1973, India and Pakistan fought all three of the major wars that have occurred between the countries. Further, each state provided funding and training to non-state actors in order to wage proxy war against the other. Neither India nor Pakistan was reluctant to engage the other in conflict; neither did either worry significantly about escalation. With the introduction of an Indian nuclear weapon to the conflict, the change would be pronounced.

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[111] Ibid., 365.

Case 2: 1974-1985

In May of 1974, India detonated its first nuclear device, Pokhran-I, code-named "Smiling Buddha." This single test dramatically changed the balance of power on the sub-continent; or rather, it changed perceptions of that balance of power, especially within Pakistan. India was greatly concerned with its northern neighbor, China, which had trounced India in the 1962 war and had tested its own nuclear weapon only two years later.

Further, U.S. president Richard Nixon's overtures to China throughout 1971, and his visit in 1972, increasingly made India wary of China's global position. Indeed, the U.S. had deployed a carrier task force to the Bay of Bengal that same year as a show of force against India's war in East Pakistan (modern Bangladesh). Superpower balancing, India feared, was no longer enough to hold off an aggressive China with new economic ties to the United States. Rather, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi felt that India needed its own nuclear deterrent. China was seated at the United Nations in October of 1971 and this proved to be the straw that broke the camel's back. India had been pursuing a nuclear weapons capability, if not the weapons themselves, since the late 1940s. In 1972, Prime Minister Gandhi authorized the construction of a device to be tested. Only two years later, it was.

India's potential as a nuclear weapons state was now a real and kinetic force on the sub-continent. And as Pakistan's potential grew, many in Islamabad, Washington, and Moscow began to fear a preemptive strike on India's part.[112] In 1984, these fears reached a head when it appeared that India was mobilizing

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[112] Op. cit., Ganguly and Hagerty 2005, 46.

squadrons of fighter-bombers for an airstrike. The crisis that ensued proved to be the first nuclearized dispute between India and Pakistan.

Several years before the 1984 crisis, Soviet troops invaded Afghanistan to aid a faltering Marxist regime in its fight with an Islamic insurgency. The United States redoubled its aid to Pakistan in an effort to "raise the cost of potential aggression"[113] and to send a message to the Soviets. At the same time, the United States began covertly supporting the Afghan insurgency by funneling money and weapons through Pakistan.

At this same time, the constraints of bipolarity on the region began to slacken. India was increasingly upset by Soviet actions in Afghanistan. At the same time, the special economic relationship between India and the Soviet Union began to lose some of its utility for India. India economic liberalization throughout the 1980s brought greater levels of outside investment, including investment from the United States and other Western countries. The subcontinent, like the world more generally, was beginning a shift to the "unipolar moment."

Pakistan, however, was in a moment of crisis. The relatively peaceful decade since the 1971 war hid Pakistan's inner turmoil. Pakistan's utter defeat, and its loss of half its territory, prompted a crisis of national identity. If Islam was not able to unite East and West Pakistan, for how much longer would it united the disparate peoples of West Pakistan itself. India, Pakistan's eternal Other, seemed powerful beyond challenge and its power was only growing as it came more fully into the Western economic system. Pakistan, however, for all the military and economic aid it received from the United States, faced such a structural deficit vis a vis India that any semblance of economic or military parity with that country seemed a distant memory.

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[113] As quoted in Ganguly and Hagerty, 47.

At this time, Pakistanis turned their attention inward. The Pakistani government under Zulfikar Ali Bhutto cut off funding to the Kashmir insurgency. The loss of their main source of funding set the insurgency back in many ways. But in other ways, it actually strengthened these groups. Like kites with their strings cut, these groups no longer had to answer to the Pakistani military and we able to adapt their tactics to better suit their own interests, as opposed to the interests of the Pakistani state.

Nevertheless, Pakistan did retain less formal ties to the insurgency while building new strategies vis a vis Kashmir. The 1948 war made it clear that a tribal insurgency was not appropriate. While, the experience of the 1965 war made it clear that there was not a will within Kashmir for a more general uprising. Further, the 1971 war made it clear that an outright war with India was not winnable. The new nuclear dimension of the dispute from 1974 on only made this clearer: full-scale war with India was not only unwinnable, but very likely unsurvivable.

Within Jammu and Kashmir, the insurgency lamented the loss of Pakistan as an ally, but, "despite being militarily ineffectual, were able to keep the idea of liberation from Indian rule alive until more favorable times arrived."[114] In August of 1965, Kashmiri nationalists under the direction of Maqbool Bhat formed the National Liberation Front (NLF), which was patterned after the Algerian Front de Liberation Nationale. "...The NLF was most likely born of the realization amongst Kashmiri nationalists that they needed to compete with the official jihad being run by Pakistan's covert services or risk marginalization."[115] However, only a few years later, the NLF would be the only game left in town.

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[114] Op. cit., Swami 2007, 105.
[115] Ibid., 107.

In the years before the 1971 war, the NLF floundered, unable to gain much support from the Pakistani military or intelligence services. Pakistan was already running its own covert campaign within Jammu and Kashmir and the NLF had no established relationship with the military or the ISI. Bhat charged that "generals hate the concept of a people's army because it challenges the monopoly of the generals on military resources."[116] In this case, at least, it seems to have been true. Further, in the run up to the 1971 war, Pakistan's attention was focused over a thousand miles to the East; provoking India over Kashmir would have given India cover to instigate outright war over East Pakistan, which it would later anyway.

In January of 1971, the NLF hijacked an Indian airliner and forced a landing in Lahore. The Pakistani government was taken unawares and began negotiating with the hijackers to secure the release of the passengers. Zulfikar ali Bhutto, head of the Pakistani Peoples' Party, happened to be in Lahore at the time and stepped into the negotiations, pledging his support to the hijackers, even offering them political asylum. The hostages were released, but the plane was destroyed, perhaps at Bhutto's behest.[117] When Yahya Khan, who had succeeded Ayub Khan as Pakistan's president, was forced from power in December of 1971, Bhutto was aptly positioned to assume power in a country reeling and bitter from defeat. While Bhutto largely cut ties with the Kashmiri insurgency, and quietly negotiated with Indira Gandhi's government behind the scenes, he nevertheless maintained a constant facade of Islamist furor, careful to avoid the fate of the previous president. "Bhutto's vocal support of the Kashmiris' right of self-determination could not hide the fact that Pakistan's position over any further initiatives in Kashmir was greatly weakened."[118]

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[116] Ibid., 108.
[117] Ibid., 122.
[118] Op. cit., Schofield 2003, 121.

Beginning in 1973 and continuing into 1974, riots within Indian-controlled Kashmir, organized in part by the NLF and the Jamaat-e-Islami (Islamist Party), sent a message to New Delhi that, while the insurgency had lost an important battle, the war was far from over. These riots were not spontaneous, but rather the result of a sophisticated propaganda initiative. A student at a local college "discovered" a copy of an encyclopedia that depicted the angel Gabriel dictating the Koran to the prophet Mohammad and the Jamaat-e-Islami used this blasphemy to mobilize protests which very quickly became riots as Indian police attempted to disperse the protesters by setting lines of fire in semi-controlled burns. Four people died.

Kashmiri Islamists had managed to convince the Muslim population of the territory that their religion was under attack and India made this attack seem all the more real by its harsh reaction to the protests. During this crisis, the Jamaat-e-Islami was set squarely against the Plebiscite Front, a Kashmiri political party led by Sheikh Abdullah, a prominent Kashmiri nationalist. The Jamaat-e-Islami criticized India of trying to "Hinduize" Kashmir and set up Islamic schools to counter their belief that "many young Kashmiris had begun to lose their Islamic moorings."[119] However, at the same time Bhutto was negotiating with Ghandi behind the scenes, Sheikh Abdullah was doing the same, in his case, negotiating from an Indian jail where he had been, on and off, since 1953, when he was removed as Prime Minister of Kashmir for his separatist views.

Indeed, the rise of Jamaat-e-Islami can, in many ways, be traced to the outlawing of Abdullah's Plebiscite Front prior to the 1971 Kashmiri elections. This created the political space for the far right party to take several seats in the Kashmiri parliament and for it to garner the support and legitimacy it needed to begin a

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[119] Yoginder Sikand, "The Emergence and Development of the Jamaat-e-Islami of Jammu and Kashmir," *Modern Asia Studies* 36, no. 3 (2002): 733.

propaganda program within Jammu and Kashmir and undertake the construction of its network of Islamic schools. It was in these schools that the Kashmiri insurgency was truly preserved, curated by Jamaat-e-Islami.

The pact between Ghandi and Abdullah set up Abdullah once again as prime minister of Jammu and Kashmir. In exchange, Abdullah pledged that he would no longer advocate for independence, effectively eliminating the Plebiscite Front's *raison d'etre*. However, Abdullah's return to power came with a loss of widespread legitimacy. Prior to the 1977 Jammu and Kashmir elections, Ghandi declared martial law and assumed emergency powers, outlawing Jamaat-e-Islami and dismantling its network of schools. However, "Jammu and Kashmir's Islamists proved adept at evading the law."[120] Most of Jamaat-e-Islami's schools simply re-branded themselves, many of them actually offering a better education than some state-run schools, which attracted even more middle class children into their ranks.

In 1977, Gandhi relinquished emergency powers, called for elections, and lost. New elections were also called in Jammu and Kashmir. Sheikh Abdullah's National Conference, which consisted of many members of the old Plebiscite Front, managed to take power with over forty percent of the popular vote. Jamaat-e-Islami took only a tenth of that. This loss, however, simply forced the Islamists outside the realm of politics and led directly to the birth of the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front, which was an evolution of the aforementioned National Liberation Front.

After the arrest of Maqbool Bhat in a failed bank robbery, the NLF was crippled on both sides of the line of control. In 1977, an alliance between Jamaat-e-Islami and more radical members of Abdullah's Plebiscite Front infused the NLF with new energy, re-branding it into the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF).

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[120] Op. cit., Swami 2007, 125.

The JKLF grew considerably over the next few years, as did the strength of Islamists in general, both in India and Pakistan, and around the world. The 1979 Islamist revolution in Iran as well as the soviet invasion of Afghanistan later that same year added fuel to the fire. Islamists in Kashmir were convinced that if they could topple a pro-Western government in Iran and take on a super power in Afghanistan, then they could fight India too.[121] During this time, Jamaat-e-Islami expanded its organization of schools under the direction of the Islamic Students Union or Islami Jamiat-e-Tulaba (IJT), the party's youth wing.

Sheikh Abdullah challenged the growing influence of the Islamist movement in any way he could, banning many activities of the Jamaat-e-Islami. Abdullah wished to construct a Kashmiri national identity that had the legitimacy of Islam as a core tenant, but that went beyond it. "Inevitably, Sheikh Abdullah's 'obsession with empowering the *majority community*, the [ethnic] Kashmiris, at the cost of the minorities [of Jammu and Kashmir]...led to growing discontentment.'"[122] Indeed, Jamaat-e-Islami challenged the legitimacy of both Abdullah and the National Conference at every turn and, perhaps not surprisingly, India did nothing to stop the efforts of the Islamists, "not even denying visas to the Jamaat-e-Islami's foreign guests."[123] Indira Gandhi, who had regained power in the 1980 general election, gave the Islamists her tacit approval, using them to keep Abdullah in check, believing he was the real threat within Kashmir. Perhaps, in this respect, she had learned (or failed to learn) a thing or two from Pakistan's government.

In 1977, Zulfikar ali Bhutto was removed from power, arrested on orders of General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq who would assume the presidency later that year. Bhutto was accused of rigging the national elections and was hanged for his crime.

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[121] Op. cit., Schofield 2003, 126.
[122] Op. cit., Swami 2007, 131.
[123] Ibid., 131.

Bhutto had walked a fine line with Pakistani Islamists. He had offered them lip service at every opportunity, but had done nothing to meet their actual demands. The 1977 coup was the direct result of Islamist uprisings which took place after the elections. Bhutto ordered the army to put down the Islamists, but the army "refused orders to fire on civilian demonstrators. Martial law was soon declared and the Pakistani Army took de facto control of Pakistan."[124]

> The polity, which had only five years earlier been overwhelmingly in support of populism and socialist idealism, had once again exposed itself to manipulation by Islamic symbols. The return of Islam to the center stage was now complete. The fact that all this happened under the aegis of Pakistan's most popular government to date, one which had a strong ideological basis of its own, only attested to the incomparable influence of Islam on the life and thought of Pakistanis. The seemingly implausible resurgence of Islam in lieu of socialism during the Bhutto era meant total victory for Islam and confirmed its central role in Pakistani politics. As populism lost its momentum to Islam, the fate of Bhutto's government was sealed long before Islam actually pulled down the People's Party and its populist government.[125]

General Zia-ul-Haq embraced Islam wholeheartedly, incorporating religious teaching into even Pakistani military doctrine. State-supported terrorism was given religious sanction. Further, Zia-ul-Haq pushed enthusiastically for a robust nuclear weapons program, creating a shield for a renewed jihad against India.

In the early 1980s, two deaths would shape the contours of both politics and political violence within Kashmir for years to come. The first was of Sheik Abdullah in 1982 which created the political space for Jamaat-e-Islami to co-exist with Abdullah's nationalist party, the National Conference. The second death was that of Maqbool Bhat, who was executed by India in 1984 in response to the kidnapping and murder of an Indian diplomat by Kashmiri nationalists in the United Kingdom. Bhat was no Islamist. "Nations survive," Bhat had said in a letter from prison, "because...of that abiding passion for liberty, which...emboldens one to recite the call

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[124] Ibid., 141.
[125] As quoted in Swami 2007, 141.

for truth before a tyrant...”[126] In other letters, he drew on examples from other religions and other traditions to illustrate the ethics of his insurgency: “did Aristotle not have to drink poison? Did Jesus not have to kiss the cross...? Did Gautam Buddha ever compromise...? Did Martin Luther King, or Marx and Engels...ever compromise?.”[127] However, the Islamists seized on Bhat’s death to fuel their growing movement, claiming Bhat as a martyr to the Islamist cause. So, in death, Bhat was able to unite the nationalists and the Islamists of Kashmir under a single banner, a goal he would never have shared in life.

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, which began on Christmas Eve, 1979, transformed the Pakistani jihad in Jammu and Kashmir in many ways. “A war that would have consequences of then unimagined magnitude had begun. In the years to come, the jihad in Afghanistan would set off a whirlwind that would turn that country into a wasteland, transfigure Pakistan, bring down the Soviet Union, and turn the Islamists...against their one-time masters.”[128] The Soviet invasion brought a new influx of U.S. military aid to Pakistan, which served to prop up Zia-ul-Haq’s military regime, and also compelled the United States to look the other way over Pakistan’s growing nuclear program and to provide weapons such as F-16 fighter jets that would have no use in Afghanistan, but would serve well in any future war against India. Further, money not only flowed from the United States, but from many wealthy Gulf emirates and Saudi Arabia, which, like Pakistan, hoped to channel their own internal Islamist movements against an external enemy. And all of this money was funneled through the ISI. The Afghan jihad also served to legitimize the spread of global and regional Islamist movements, not only in Pakistan, but to some degree, in the West as well.

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[126] As quoted in Swami 2007, 134.
[127] As quoted in Swami 2007, 134.
[128] Ibid., 142.

The Afghan jihad taught Pakistan some important lessons which it would soon apply to the jihad in Kashmir. First, Pakistan learned that, with sufficient support, an insurgency could bleed a more powerful state to death. With some tweaking the strategy that Pakistan employed in the run up to the 1965 war might still work. Indeed, India's own 1971 campaign in East Pakistan that led to Bangladeshi independence proved the same point. Second, the Afghan campaign proved to Pakistan that a proxy-war could be "calibrated to a point where it was not worth the while of an adversary to punish the sponsor-state."[129] "The water in Afghanistan," Zia-ul-Haq maintained, "must boil at the right temperature."[130] What temperature, then, would be appropriate for the conflict in Kashmir? This is a question to which Pakistan's military would soon apply itself.

In the early 1980s, a Sikh separatist movement began to take root in the Indian state of Punjab. These conservative nationalists called for the creation of Khalistan, an independent, theocratic state where Sikhs would be the majority. Indira Gandhi took a hard line against the Sikhs and what had begun as a political movement soon succumbed to its more militant urges.

In many ways, India's experience with Sikh extremism parallels Pakistan's with Islamic extremism. Indeed, Prime Minister Gandhi could have learned much from Bhutto's precarious position prior to the 1977 coup that led to his death. Gandhi used Sikh fundamentalists to undermine her political opponents. In order to challenge the center-right Sikh party Shiromani Akali Dal, Gandhi turned to a far-right preacher, Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, who actively campaigned for her in 1980, but declared his independence from her only months later. After the elections, the Akali Dal ceased to act within the political system, launching a sustained campaign of low-

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[129] Ibid., 145.
[130] Mohammad Yousaf and Mark Adkin, *Afghanistan: The Bear Trap* (Havertown, PA: Casemate, 2001), 20.

intensity violence against the Indian state. As the political situation further deteriorated, Bhindranwale himself embraced militancy; "as with Bhutto and the Islamists, the fundamentalist tiger nurtured by Indira Gandhi soon grew large enough to break the chains that contained him."[131] Bhindranwale was the primary organizer of a terror campaign in the Summer of 1984, which he ran out of the Golden Temple, a revered Sikh holy site he had turned into a makeshift fortress.[132]

From at least 1981 the ISI was supplying Sikh terrorists with small arms.[133] It appears, however, that Zia-ul-Haq was too cautious to go much further until at least 1983. From that year onwards, Pakistan not only supplied Sikh insurgents with arms, but with training and significant financial support as well.[134] Pakistan, for instance, was crucial to smuggling funds procured from an affluent Sikh diaspora into Punjab.[135] The ISI's operations in Punjab through Sikh proxies were also in large part funded through the narcotics trade; "Pakistanis were apt to see narcotics as a resource...comparing it to the oil of the Middle East."[136]

In June of 1984, Indira Gandhi ordered the Indian army to seize the Golden Temple. This would radicalize many more Sikhs and add significant numbers to Pakistan's covert cadre of operatives, making Pakistan as significant a player in the Indian state of Punjab as it was in Jammu and Kashmir. Around a thousand people were killed in the army's three day siege of the temple, insurgents and civilians alike.[137] Four months later Indira Gandhi was dead, assassinated by her Sikh body guards in retaliation for the actions she ordered at the Golden Temple. Soon after, in

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[131] Op. cit., Swami 2007, 146.
[132] Op. cit., Ganguly and Hagerty, 49.
[133] Paul Wallace and Surendra Chopra, *Political Dynamics and Crisis in Punjab* (Amritsar: Department of Political Science, Guru Nanak Dev University, 1988), 475.
[134] Op. cit., Swami 2007, 149.
[135] Satyapal Dang, *Genesis of Terrorism: An Analytical Study of Punjab Terrorists* (New Delhi: Patriot Publishers, 1988), 90.
[136] As quoted in Swami 2007, 149.
[137] Op. cit., Ganguly and Hagerty 2005, 50.

the worst wave of sectarian violence since partition, countless Sikhs were killed across India; almost 3,000 died in the capitol of New Delhi alone.[138]

Pakistan, however, was not the only one fomenting cross-border violence in the early 1980s. India was also supporting a nascent separatist movement in the Pakistani province of Sindh. In 1983, a Sindh opposition movement advocating the restoration of democracy launched a campaign of violent protests against Zia-ul-Haq's regime. "This agitation took on a sharp regionalist tone, with Sindhis demanding greater provincial autonomy, reduced disparities in economic development, a more equitable distribution of federal government funds, and increased representation in the military and civil services."[139] In many ways, this movement was reminiscent of the Bengali movement in its earliest stages, which is perhaps why Zia-ul-Haq responded with such overwhelming force, deploying two army divisions and helicopter gunships to crush the movement before it could really take root.

The stark rise in non-state violence during the late 1970s and early 1980s is not associated with an appreciable rise in inter-state violence during the same period. However, there was a major crisis between the two states in the Fall of 1984. Pakistan's growing nuclear program, which the United States was forced to overlook in return for Pakistan's continued support against the Soviet Union in Afghanistan, alarmed India greatly. There is significant evidence that Indira Gandhi considered a preemptive strike against Pakistan's nuclear facilities, along the lines of "the Israeli model," referencing Israel's 1981 attack on the Iraqi nuclear reactor at Osirak.[140] However, a clean attack in the Indo-Pakistani context, she knew, was not possible;

[138] Ibid., 50.
[139] Ibid., 50.
[140] George Perkovich, *India's Nuclear Bomb: The Impact on Global Proliferation* (Berkeley: UC Press 2001), 331.

any attack against Pakistani nuclear facilities would lead to a wider war. Clearly, India had no qualms about escalation prior to this crisis, so fears of escalation don't seem to fully explain why India chose not to strike in 1984. Neither does super-power balancing; while bi-polarity was indeed waning in the region, India still had a firm pledge of mutual defense from the Soviet Union. Further, the United States had not come to Pakistan's aid in the 1965 war and had made only tentative gestures of doing so in 1971, so India had no reason to believe the United States would do so this time. Rather, there seems to have been a distinctly nuclear dimension to India's calculations. Certainly, India did not fear Pakistani nuclear reprisals; by 1984 Pakistan had not yet achieved the capability to build a bomb, let alone on the short notice it would take to use it against Indian aggression. Rather, Ganguly and Hagerty suggest the notion of "boosted conventional deterrence." "It is not pure nuclear deterrence, because no actual nuclear weapons have been deployed by the states involved; but it is not pure conventional deterrence either because the deterrent effect derives not from a balance of conventional forces, but from the prospect that conventional assets can be used to kill far beyond their basic potential when targeted against nuclear installations."[141] India's nuclear facilities were just as exposed as Pakistan's. And what's more, India utilized the far more radioactive isotope, Plutonium, while Pakistan used primarily Uranium. India's nuclear facilities were also much closer to large population centers than Pakistan's. For India to attack Pakistan or its nuclear facilities would be to risk the loss of an expensive, decades' long nuclear program of its own, as well as civilian casualties possibly numbering in the millions.

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[141] Op. cit., Ganguly and Hagerty 2005, 61.

It is very likely as well that this calculation played into India's decision not to punish Pakistan for its support of Sikh insurgents in Punjab, something it had been all too willing to do in previous wars, despite risks of escalation. The lack of large-scale war during this period and the corresponding rise in non-state violence on the parts of both India and Pakistan seem to be rooted in the proto-nuclear politics of the early 1980s. In detonating its first nuclear explosive in the previous decade, India had created a credible deterrent vis a vis Pakistan, but the same nuclear facilities that made the construction of that device possible also gave Pakistan a boosted conventional deterrence vis a vis India. It is unlikely, however, that the Pakistani government would have been able to capitalize on it had Washington and wealthy Arab emirates not re-infused the state with new sources of money and ideology. The fledgling nuclear programs of both counties created political space for non-state actors to seize the initiative, leading to the first true terror campaigns in the sub-continent.

Case 3: 1986-2007

Pakistan's nuclear program was started not long after India's, growing out of that country's close relationship with the United States and its participation in Dwight Eisenhower's "Atoms for Peace" initiative. Eisenhower's December 1953 speech was widely reported in the Pakistani media and, inspired by the United States, Pakistan began a rapid modernization program directed at all sectors of society.[142] In 1955, a traveling exhibition on the Atoms for Peace program, put together by the U.S. Information Agency, opened in Bahawalpur. It later moved to Karachi, Lahore, and Peshawar, touring the country and drawing enthusiastic crowds at each stop. Thanks to the speech and the exhibition, "the atom was now firmly part of the public consciousness of a significant number of urban, middle-class Pakistanis."[143] Successive Pakistani administrations, when attempting to construct and re-construct a coherent national identity, stressed the country's inexorable commitment to science, technology, and economic modernization. Of course, the yardstick by which Pakistan measured itself in each of these areas was India. As India pulled further and further ahead in these areas, Pakistan became more and more committed to the simple binary variable of nuclear power, and by extension, nuclear weapons. "If India builds the bomb," Zulfikar ali Bhutto once said, "we will eat grass or leaves; even go hungry, but we will get one of our own."[144] Pakistan needed a nuclear weapon not only to deter India aggression, but as a matter of national pride. However, the Pakistani nuclear program sewed seeds of conflict in Pakistani society.

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[142] Zia Mian, *South Asian Cultures of the Bomb: Atomic Publics and the State in India and Pakistan* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 2009), 34.
[143] Ibid., 35.
[144] Owen Jones, *Pakistan: Eye of the Storm* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 187.

> The embrace of an atomic future essentially distinguished those who saw a way for the country to become modern at home and part of the modern world from those who were rooted in the past and locality, clung to tradition, and did not believe in rapid social change. In this respect, the idea and ideal of an atomic future may be read as representing both the future and the universal as opposed to the local and the present. Based on this radical vision of a future world, these new bureaucracies of economy, violence, and technology, exposed at a formative stage to American goods, skills, and ways of doing things, imbued with certain American tastes and desires, and all privileging 'technical superiority,' set about creating the necessary conditions for the exercise of their power.[145]

Pakistani elites, chiefly the military, began, in effect, constructing a nuclear nationalism to justify their new nuclear state. By framing nuclear technology in terms of Muslim Pakistan versus Hindu India, Pakistani elites were able to capture the minds of many conservative Islamists. When Pakistan detonated its first nuclear weapons more than four decades after it first started down the road to nuclear weapons capability, it framed this weapon as a Muslim bomb for precisely this reason.

Pakistan's nuclear weapons program (in addition to the nuclear weapons programs of at least five other countries) can be traced back to one man, A.Q. Kahn. Kahn, a Pakistani expatriate, was working in the Netherlands with gas centrifuges designed to produce low-enriched uranium for nuclear reactors, but which were also capable of producing highly enriched, weapons-grade uranium.[146] Pakistan's native nuclear weapons program was faltering and desperately in need of the help that Kahn was in place to offer. Over ten years Kahn had studied the gas centrifuges in minute detail until he was sure that he could re-create them on his own. When India detonated its bomb in 1974, Kahn was alarmed; memories of Pakistan's defeat at the hands India and the loss of its eastern territory just three years earlier were fresh in his mind. Indeed, they were also fresh in the mind of the Pakistani prime minister,

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[145] Op. cit., Mian 2009, 35
[146] David Albright, *Peddling Peril: How the Secret Nuclear Trade Arms America's Enemies* (New York: Free Press 2010), 15-17.

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. When Kahn sent Bhutto an impassioned letter offering his aid, Bhutto was eager to accept it.[147]

This account, largely Kahn's own, may be conflated to one degree or another, but the details are unimportant. By 1976, Dutch intelligence was onto Kahn, and his access to classified material at Ultra-Centrifuge Nederland (UCN), the company for which he worked, a member of the Anglo-Dutch-German Uranium Enrichment Consortium (URENCO), was restricted. And yet, the Dutch intelligence services did not move to arrest Kahn; they even failed to notify their British and German partners in URENCO, as they were required to do under treaty obligation.[148] Soon, Khan inferred that he was under observation and a month later he left the country on an indefinite "vacation."

Upon returning to Pakistan, Kahn maneuvered to take control of Pakistan's weapons program, and with the support of Prime Minister Bhutto did just that. Kahn's direction of the program was aggressive; his pursuit of both the knowledge and materiel necessary for the construction of a bomb was critical to the success of the program in the long run. However, it took the aid of China and the better part of a decade before Pakistan finally had a workable prototype weapon. This design was "cold" tested, that is tested without the fissionable core, in March of 1983.[149] Certainly a Pakistani nuclear capability began to figure into Indian defense policy around this time. Indira Gandhi first had the Indian military draw up plans for a preemptive strike against Pakistani nuclear facilities in 1981. However, at no time prior to 1985 did the Indian military believe that Pakistan had the capability to build a bomb in short order.[150] By 1986, Pakistan had produced enough fissile material at

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[147] Ibid., 20-23.
[148] Ibid., 26.
[149] Op. cit., Ganguly and Kapur 2010, 17-19.
[150] Op. cit., Ganguly and Hagerty 2005, 61.

sufficiently high enrichment to produce a bomb.[151] This also seems to be the year India began to believe as much.[152] So, for these reasons, the truly nuclear period in the Indo-Pakistani conflict began in 1986. After this year, while neither country believed that the other had constructed an actual weapon, neither could be sure, and both knew that the other had the capability to build one in short order, a matter of weeks at most, and certainly quick enough to be decisive in a prolonged conflict.

And this period began with yet another crisis. By 1986, violence in Punjab had reached levels intolerable to India; Pakistan's belief that its nuclear shield would forestall any Indian response to its covert war was about to be tested. Indira Gandhi's son and political successor, Rajiv Gandhi, gave Lieutenant-General K. Sundarji the go-ahead to plan and execute a military exercise to signal to Pakistan India's ability to wage a full-scale war against Pakistan. Operation *Brasstacks* was a dramatic exercise in compellance. It was also a dramatic failure. Indeed, one of the enduring legacies of *Brasstacks* is the insight it gives into the Indian politico-military bureaucracy. "A naive, inexperienced prime minister easily allowed an ambitious general to pursue a...strategy fraught with considerable risk."[153]

By December of 1986, India had deployed thirteen divisions, including the First Armored Division and the 37th Infantry Division, a total of more than 160,000 troops, to the Pakistani border.[154] Military exercises had been used to mask an offensive in the 1973 Yom Kippur war, a fact of which Pakistan's military leadership was well aware. So, Pakistan responded by mobilizing its own forces along the Indian border. President Zia-ul-Haq authorized his minister of foreign affairs to convey a message to the Indian government:

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[151] Joseph Cirincione, *Deadly Arsenals: Tracking Weapons of Mass Destruction* (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2002), 210-11.
[152] Devin Hagerty, *Consequences of Nuclear Proliferation* (Boston: MIT Press, 1998), 85.
[153] Op. cit., Ganguly and Hagerty 2005, 77.
[154] Op. cit., Swami 2007, 151.

> If India took any action not conducive to its sovereignty and territorial integrity, then Pakistan was 'capable of inflicting unacceptable damage on it.' Pakistan's action would not be limited to northern India alone but also to facilities outside the north. When asked whether this implied an attack on Bombay [now Mumbai], the Pakistani Minister replied that 'it might be so.'[155]

Although there is some evidence that General Sundarji may have wanted to provoke an outright war with Pakistan, when it became clear that Pakistan could not be intimidated, the crisis quickly deescalated.[156] "Put simply, India had threatened to respond to sub-conventional war with conventional means--and Pakistan had called its bluff."[157] To Zia-ul-Haq, support of the insurgents in Punjab seemed to have been a "low cost, low risk, high return" investment.[158] This example shows that nuclear weapons played a fundamentally different role in South Asia than they played in the Cold War.

> Nuclear weapons were used to compensate for the perceived conventional inferiority of NATO, but the U.S. was not interested in using military force to upset the status quo in Europe. In South Asia, however, nuclear weapons have helped Pakistan compensate for the conventional superiority of India, and Pakistan has been interested in using military force to upset the status quo.[159]

Of perhaps more interest that the exercise itself is India's response to its failure to compel Pakistan to desist from its covert war in Punjab. After *Brasstacks*, India set up an offensive program within the RAW, which carried out a series of reprisal bombings inside Pakistan, demonstrating "India's ability to meet terrorism with terrorism."[160] Indian attacks within Pakistan continued well into the 1990s and met with some success, helping to limit Pakistan's support for insurgents in Punjab.

Over the next few years, the political conditions of Jammu and Kashmir deteriorated rapidly. Farooq Abdullah enjoyed enormous success as chief minister in

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[155] Ibid., 152.
[156] Op. cit., Ganguly and Hagerty 2005, 74-5.
[157] Op. cit., Swami 2007, 153.
[158] Ibid., 153.
[159] Sumit Ganguly and Harrison Wagner, "India and Pakistan: Bargaining in the Shadow of Nuclear War," *Journal of Strategic Studies* 27, no. 3 (September 2004): 480.
[160] Op. cit., Swami 2007, 154

the first months after his father's death. However, he was soon undermined by New Delhi, which had grown wary of his success. In a coup sponsored by Indira Gandhi, Abdullah was removed from office, which paved the way for the Islamists to make their resurgence into politics. Prior to the 1987 elections, Islamist opposition coalesced around the Muslim United Front (MUF), which included the Jamaat-e-Islami and a handful of other Islamist parties under its banner. Once again, it seems, the Indian government had snatched defeat from the jaws of victory, undermining the very peace and stability it seemed to espouse in Jammu and Kashmir for fear Kashmiri nationalists would enjoy too much electoral success. The MUF enjoyed some electoral success, but fell short of a majority in the assembly. This failure demonstrated that democracy was viable if the Islamists ever wished to take control of Jammu and Kashmir. "Flush with military resources diverted from the Afghan jihad, and having tested Indian responses in Punjab, Pakistan's covert services were ready to initiate a third front in Jammu and Kashmir."[161] What followed was an "attempted putsch: a bid by a defeated social class to seize power after their attempt to acquire it through the formal processes of democracy had been thwarted."[162]

In 1987, the JKLF and Jamaat-e-Islami renewed their offensive in Jammu and Kashmir, this time with Pakistan's full and military and financial support. Widespread violence from 1987 onward racked Jammu and Kashmir. Mass protests resulted in confrontations with Indian police that left many dead, insurgents and civilians alike. Only a harsh crackdown by the Indian military staved off an outright coup on the part of the Islamists, a coup that "Indian authorities believed...had been

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[161] Ibid., 163.
[162] Ibid., 163.

brewing ever since 1987... [when] a declaration of independence would be made in Srinagar, and the flag of Islam hoisted in place of the Indian national flag."[163]

Nonetheless, the political violence continued. There were countless rapes and killings; liquor, beauty parlors, and cinemas were banned; and acid was thrown on women who refused the hijab.[164]

> With the wisdom of hindsight, 1990 marked the end of a phase of the jihad in Jammu and Kashmir, the very year it exploded on the world's consciousness. From this point on, the jihad would be given substance not by the anti-India forced which had grouped together in the MUF, but by the ISI and the jihadist groups it sponsored.[165]

The year 1990 would also bring with it another interstate crisis and the first phase of a truly *nuclear* jihad. It was, indeed, a nuclear jihad because without Pakistan's nuclear arsenal as a shield against a conventional India reprisal, it would have been impossible to wage for long. By 1990, Kashmir had descended into anarchy; insurgents were in open rebellion, attacking rail lines, communications hubs, and other key military infrastructure. India believed that these attacks might be prelude to a Pakistani offensive, and so deployed the Indian Army along the border. At the same time, Kashmir's local democracy was suspended, and the territory was placed under martial law. In January, Indian police, attempting to break up a mass demonstration, sprayed a crowd of civilians with machine gun fire, killing thirty-two people.[166] This massacre would serve to catalyze resistance in Jammu and Kashmir, not only during the 1990 crisis, but for years to come.[167]

In march, Benazir Bhutto, who had been elected Prime Minister of Pakistan after the restoration of democracy two years earlier, traveled to Kashmir and promised

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[163] Ibid., 166.
[164] Ibid., 167.
[165] Ibid., 169.
[166] Op. cit., Ganguly and Hagerty 2005, 88.
[167] Op. cit., Swami 2007, 165-66.

"'a thousand year war' in support of the militants."[168]   India was certainly listening. India put more military resources into Jammu and Kashmir and mobilized several divisions along the Pakistani border "in such a way to 'halve India's response time...'"[169]   One prominent India politician warned that "Pakistan would 'cease to exist' if it attacked India.[170]   There seems to have been an overt nuclear dimension to such signaling.

> By mid-April 1990, the disposition of military forces near the Indo-Pakistani border and the LoC in Kashmir was as follows. In Kashmir, India had deployed up to 200,000 troops, drawn from both the Indian Army and paramilitary soldiers. Pakistan had deployed a smaller force of at least 100,000 soldiers in the part of Kashmir under its control. the Indian and Pakistani forces were reported to be 'eyeball to eyeball' across the LoC, in some cases as close as 20 meters apart. Demonstrating the heightened tension in the disputed territory, the UN Military Observer Group in Indian and Pakistan reported a quadrupling of LoC violations...as compared to the same period in 1989.[171]

By April, the United States was certainly concerned with escalation; in May, then Deputy National Security Advisor Robert Gates paid a visit to the region. Gates impressed upon Pakistan's leadership that it could not hope to win a war with India and it could expect no help from the United States should things get out of hand. Further, Gates admonished Pakistan for its support of terror in Kashmir and Punjab. Since the withdrawal of the Soviet Union from Afghanistan, the U.S.-Pakistani relationship had become increasingly more strained. Gates also warned India that war would be costly and that any victory would by Pyrrhic. As well, he impressed upon India Pakistan's growing nuclear capabilities and the danger that any war with Pakistan "'might go nuclear.'"[172]

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[168] Op. cit., Ganguly and Hagerty 2005, 92.
[169] Ibid., 93.
[170] Ibid., 94.
[171] Ibid., 94.
[172] P.R. Chari, Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema, and Stephen P. Coen, *Perception, Politics, and Security in South Asia: The Compound Crisis of 1990* (London: Psychology Press, 2003), 110.

In effect, both nations were already de facto nuclear weapons states; the United States simply helped to construct a deterrence framework between the two countries. Only a few weeks after Gates's mission, India pulled back its armored divisions from the border, and Pakistan followed suit soon thereafter. In 1965, Pakistan had sent infiltrators across the cease-fire line and India had responded with conventional forces, escalating the conflict to full-scale war. In 1990, the situation was much the same, but as with the 1986 crisis, India had failed to respond conventionally; and neither had it breached the Line of Control. The key difference between the two cases is nuclear weapons.

In 1998, both India and Pakistan transitioned from *de facto* to *de jure* nuclear weapons states. In May of that year, India tested a series of five nuclear devices in its northern desert state of Rajasthan. Only seventeen days later, Pakistan began its own series of six nuclear tests, one to match each of India's, including India's first test in 1974.

India faced extraordinary pressure, both internal and external, during the 1990s to demonstrate its military capabilities. The fall of the Soviet Union had left India without the comfort of a superpower patron, and China was quickly achieving great power status, both in economic and military terms. Just as Pakistan has always measured itself in comparison to India, India has done the same with China. The Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) of 1970 legitimized China's nuclear weapons status and a year later China became a permanent member of the U.N. Security Council. To India, this was not a coincidence. In 1971, the U.S. warned India against pursuing further aggression against Pakistan by sailing an aircraft carrier into the Bay of Bengal. Shortly after these events, India tested its first nuclear device. Though India claimed that this was a "peaceful device," its political effect was the same as a

weapon and clear enough; "the fact remained that if such a peaceful device were to be dropped on Islamabad, the city would be no more."[173]   In 1998, India's coalition government promised a return to Indian greatness.   These nuclear tests were an example of Indian "swagger" in that they were meant to demonstrate to the world that India was a *de jure* nuclear weapons state, regardless of the NPT.   They also demonstrated to China that India possessed a credible nuclear deterrent, and there may have been some limited amount of compellence intended vis a vis Pakistan.

Pakistan's nuclear tests were also largely swagger as well.   That Pakistan's tests came so close on India's heels and matched India's tests tit for tat point to this fact.   In addition, both states exaggerated the yields of their respective tests to make them seem more impressive to each other.   Pakistan also wanted to declare its *de jure* status and to signal to India that its nuclear deterrent was credible.   Pakistan also faced significant internal pressures.   "As a weak prime minister...[Nawaz Sharif was] faced with a tidal wave of nationalistic sentiment from every quarter of Pakistani society."[174]   Former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto challenged the current prime minister's manhood "by throwing down her bangles (bracelets), 'suggesting that if he did not authorize a test promptly he was the woman and should wear the bangles.'[175] Then, there is the real possibility that Pakistan's failure to respond in kind could have been taken by India to mean that its nuclear posturing had been a bluff all along.

The United States did attempt to pressure Pakistan not to engage in any nuclear tests, but failed for some key reasons.   President Clinton offered Pakistan "a huge conventional arms package" and a significant reduction in Pakistan's foreign

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[173] Op. cit., Abbas 2005, 83.
[174] Op. cit., Ganguly and Hagerty 2005, 124.
[175] Neil Joeck, "Nuclear Developments in India and Pakistan," *Access Asia Review* 2, no. 2 (July 1999): 22.

debt obligations.[176]   However, there was "intense resentment among Pakistan's strategic elites for having been 'abandoned' by Washington after the Soviets left Afghanistan..." and stiff economic sanctions, which the United States imposed in the early 1990s (after Washington no longer needed Islamabad's help) left the United States with little leverage.[177] The promise of future aid, which can easily be revoked by an unwilling Congress or a future administration, is never as compelling as the threat of taking away aid already in place. This is important enough to say again because it can be directly applied to the current crisis over Iran's nuclear program: economic sanctions were not effective in dissuading either India or Pakistan from pursuing and testing nuclear weapons, and in Pakistan's case actually served to inhibit any leverage the United States may have had.

Almost exactly one year after the 1998 nuclear tests Pakistan initiated another covert infiltration of Indian-controlled Kashmir. One of the key goals of this incursion was to disrupt supply lines to an Indian garrison on the disputed Siachen glacier. Further, Pakistan was losing influence inside Jammu and Kashmir and wished to regain the initiative. An "unwavering and increasingly calibrated" application of force by India's security forces had succeeded in pushing back Islamist insurgents without significant civilian casualties.[178] Further, local support for foreign fighters, *mehamaan mujahideen* (literally, guest insurgents) was beginning to wane as these insurgents' attacks increasingly led to unacceptable civilian deaths. By the mid-1990s, the JKLF had forsworn the use of violence and recommitted itself to the political process. At the same time, Farooq Abdullah reentered politics, winning back his old position as chief minister of Jammu and Kashmir. At the same time as political conditions were improving within Kashmir, the bi-lateral relationship

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[176] Op. cit., Ganguly and Hagerty 2005, 130.
[177] Ibid., 134.
[178] Ibid., 136.

between Islamabad and New Delhi also seemed to be warming. Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee of India paid an historic visit to Lahore in February of 1999, ostensibly "to inaugurate a new bus service linking it [Lahore] to the Indian city of Amritsar."[179] However, the visit had a symbolic depth well beyond this. "It was significant...because Vajpayee, the leader of a hyper-nationalistic party, chose to initiate this attempt at reconciliation....also...because during the visit he paid his respects at...a monument that commemorates...the creation of the Pakistani state."[180] Vajpayee and Sharif soon thereafter signed the Lahore declaration which "called for a series of nuclear-related confidence-building measures and reaffirmed the two sides' wish to resolve the Kashmir dispute through peaceful means."[181] However, Prime Minister Sharif was not fully in control of Pakistan, especially when it came to defense policy. The military had always kept a watchful eye on Pakistan's domestic politics and it is extremely likely that the Pakistani Army wished to undermine the peace process and efforts to normalize relations with India. Indeed, the head of Pakistan's military, General Pervez Musharraf, would force Sharif from power in a bloodless coup only a few months later.

What started as a relatively minor incursion quickly escalated as India proved unable to dislodge the infiltrators. India resorted to the use of its air power for the first time since the 1971 war. Indian casualties were heavy, but nonetheless, India soon gained the upper hand. By mid-July, Pakistan had begun to withdraw forces, "keen on maintaining the fictive position that the mujahideen had scaled these heights and seized the redoubts of their own accord."[182]

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[179] Ibid., 151.
[180] Ibid., 151.
[181] Ibid., 151.
[182] Ibid., 157.

Fear of nuclear escalation, however, kept Indian forces firmly on their side of the line of control. It is undeniable that without nuclear weapons Pakistan could never have engaged in such a limited probe of Indian defenses with any certainty that India would not escalate the conflict out of hand. By forestalling a return to normalcy in Kashmir, Pakistan managed to retain some degree of influence vis a vis the insurgency; this also would not have been possible without Pakistan's nuclear weapons. Ganguly and Hagerty argue that "the mutual acquisition of nuclear weapons could not prevent low-level incursions in peripheral areas."[183] Nuclear weapons, will however, ensure peace and stability on a macro level, they argue. I find a crucial flaw in this argument: by preserving the status quo at the macro level, nuclear weapons also inherently destabilize the micro level, especially when possessed by states with irredentist claims and highly ideological foreign policy. It is not simply a case of nuclear deterrence being unable to prevent low-intensity conflict; in the Indo-Pakistani conflict it has actively encouraged it.

In December of 2001, six members of Pakistani terrorist group Lashkar-e-Taiba, the Army of the Righteous, assaulted the Indian parliament building in New Delhi; after a fierce gun battle, all six attackers and eight Indian security personnel lay dead. "Within a day after the attack on the Indian national parliament, Indian officials linked the attackers to the Lashkar-e-Taiba. They also contended that the group acted at Pakistan's behest."[184] By the late 1990s insurgent groups within Jammu and Kashmir were beginning to ally with transnational terrorist groups, most notoriously al-Qaida, and to focus their attacks further afield; if they could not win in Kashmir itself, they would take the fight to New Delhi or Mumbai.[185] This tactic increased

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[183] Ibid., 162.
[184] Ibid., 168.
[185] Op. cit., Swami 2007, 182.

dramatically after September 11, 2001 and represents a new phase in Pakistan's decades long jihad.

In response to the Indian parliament attack and others like it, India undertook another significant military mobilization and demanded that Pakistan ban both Lashkar-e-Taiba and another group, the Jaish-e-Mohammed (Army of Mohammed); in addition, India demanded the extradition of twenty accused terrorists from Pakistan; and demanded that Pakistan cease its support to insurgents in Jammu and Kashmir.[186] Pakistan did none of these things and India, again, backed down.

After this last crisis, tensions again eased, thanks in large part to pressure from the United States and Pakistan's desire to stay on the good side of America's "war on terror." By mid-2002 insurgent activity in Kashmir had abated to levels more in line with those before the 1999 Kargil crisis. In this sense, India's signaling was successful in that the United States was a tertiary audience and *was* convinced of the credibility of India's threat, even if Pakistan wasn't.

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[186] Op. cit., Ganguly and Hagerty 2005, 168.

CONCLUSION

In the first period examined (1948-1973) there were three major inter-state wars between India and Pakistan. Of a total 220,317 estimated battle deaths during this period, 166,223 (75 percent) are directly attributable to interstate conflict.[187] Of particular interest during this period is the willingness of both states to escalate the conflict when it served their ends. For example, in 1965, India crossed the international border, taking the fight into Pakistan instead of simply fighting Pakistani infiltrators on their own ground. The scope of India's 1971 war was even broader and certainly posed an existential threat to the Pakistani state; indeed, Pakistan lost half of its territory in this war.

For most of the second period (1974-1985), Pakistan appeared defeated and demoralized. During this period violence fell remarkably. Further, of 30,926 total battle deaths, only 172 are directly attributable to interstate conflict, just over half a percent.[188] After 1971, insurgents in Kashmir were largely on their own. More than anything, the influx of foreign fighters and U.S. and Saudi money towards the end of this period is responsible for turning this trend around. It is unlikely that India's nuclear weapon had much to do with Pakistan's reluctance to engage in violence; rather these effects were largely over-determined by Indian conventional superiority during this period. However, it is very unlikely that Pakistan would have been able to recover and re-engage with not only the insurgency in Kashmir, but one in Punjab as well, had it not been edging towards nuclear weapons status in the early to mid-1980s.

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[187] See UCDP/PRIO datasets Op. cit., Eck et al., 2010 and Op. cit., Gleditsch et al., 2007.
[188] See UCDP/PRIO datasets Op. cit., Eck et al., 2010 and Op. cit., Gleditsch et al., 2007.

During the third period of the Indo-Pakistani conflict (1986-2007) violence once again skyrocketed. It is during this final period that nuclear weapons made their greatest impact on the conflict. Pakistan, while still reluctant to engage in a conventional conflict with India, redoubled its efforts to support the insurgency in Kashmir and Punjab. For the first time, India was now equally reluctant to engage in a conventional conflict with Pakistan, for fear any such conflict might escalate to the nuclear level. Of 353,926 estimated battle deaths during this period, only 3,015 (slightly less than 1 percent) were directly attributable to interstate conflict.[189]

Most previous work looking at the effects of nuclear weapons on conflict, even such work specifically applied to the Indo-Pakistani context, has focused primarily on the state level of analysis. Authors that have examined non-state actors have only viewed them as an extension of the state, not as a political force in their own right with interests very much separate from the interests of a state. Ganguly, Hagerty, and Waltz, in particular, have treated non-state violence as inseparable from other forms of low-intensity conflict, such as limited probes and special operations actions. This is not the case. Non-state actors in Kashmir and Punjab, while enjoying the significant support and direction of the Pakistani state, have never been fully under control of the ISI. Ganguly and Kapur have argued that Pakistan has a "sorcerer's apprentice" problem.

> During the 1980s and 1990s, the Pakistani government nurtured terror organizations…as tools of asymmetric warfare against the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan and then against Indian rule…in Kashmir. The jihadis were armed and trained by elements of the Pakistani military and intelligence services, and funded by a sophisticated international financial network….Now, however…the jihadi organizations, like the magic brooms in Goethe's tale, have taken on a life of their own….Like Goethe's brooms, they often act against the interests of their creators, attacking security personnel, assassinating government officials, and seizing large swaths of territory within Pakistan, as well as launching attacks on India that could trigger a regional conflagration. (Ganguly and Kapur, p. 91)[190]

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[189] See UCDP/PRIO datasets Op. cit., Eck et al., 2010 and Op. cit., Gleditsch et al., 2007.
[190] Op. cit., Ganguly and Kapur 2010, 91.

To examine the actions of non-state groups such as the JKLF or Lashkar-e-Taiba as if they were always the direct will of the Pakistani state is the wrong approach. Rather, these actors exist, or are allowed to exist, precisely because Pakistan is incapable of exorcising its will in many ways that other states take for granted. Nuclear weapons only exacerbate this problem. Pakistan is a state too weak to fully monopolize the use of violence within its borders; nuclear weapons make this weak state capable of demanding that those borders actually expand.

According to Charles Tilly, "war made the state, and the state made war."[191] Jeffery Herbst has applied this reasoning to Africa, arguing that a lack of interstate conflict is one reason that African states are notoriously weak. States that are unable to efficiently extract resources from their populations and that are unable to maintain control of all their territory, lose those populations and territory to more efficient rival states. Therefore, through a process of unnatural selection, states become smaller and smaller until they are able to control their territory and extract their resources efficiently. A terrific example of this is the 1971 Indo-Pakistan war which led to the creation of Bangladesh from former Pakistani territory. Since independence, Bangladesh has enjoyed a remarkably stable democracy and high levels of economic development, both of which would have been impossible under Pakistani rule.

Edward Luttwak has argued that war has, among many other evils, the great virtue of being able to resolve political conflict and eventually bring peace. However, "this can [only] happen when all belligerents become exhausted or when one wins decisively."[192] It is profoundly ironic that nuclear weapons, in preventing such decisive conflict, have prolonged the Indo-Pakistani conflict and led to countless civilian deaths. Some authors have argued that nuclear weapons create macro-level

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[191] Op. cit., Tilly 1975, 42.
[192] Edward Luttwak, "Give War a Chance," *Foreign Affairs* 78, no. 4 (July/August 1999): 36.

stability, preventing great numbers of civilian casualties. Sumit Ganguly, Devin Hagerty, Paul Kapur, and Kenneth Waltz have made a strong case that nuclear weapons have prevented full-scale war between India and Pakistan, admitting, however, that nuclear weapons have been unable to prevent smaller-scale conflicts. This misses the point. In the case of India and Pakistan, nuclear weapons have actively prolonged conflict, leading to profound regional "bottom-up" instability. Nuclear weapons have provided Pakistan with a shield against Indian conventional forces, leaving India unable to deal with Pakistani state-sponsored terrorism without resorting to the same tactics itself. By investing in nuclear weapons programs, both states have been forced to withhold precious resources from other areas; Pakistan, especially, suffers from a weak state and could use those same resources to strengthen the central government and improve the lives of its citizens. The feminist challenge to realist notions of security "security for whom and by what means?" seems especially apt in this case.[193] And further, by funding non-state actors and encouraging their use of violence, Pakistan has further undermined the legitimacy of its state, both internally and internationally. Pakistan's "sorcerer's apprentice" problem is very real; if Islamist groups with no qualms about using violence ever gained access to just one of Pakistan's nuclear weapons, millions of innocent civilians could pay the price. A recent piece in the *Atlantic* suggests that Pakistan is much more concerned with keeping its nuclear weapons safe from India and the United States than it is with keeping them safe from domestic terrorist groups; Pakistan has even carted fully assembled devices around in delivery vans to hide their locations from foreign spy agencies.[194] If these reports are true, it is a terrifying prospect.

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[193] Ann Tickner, *Gender in International Relations* (New York: Colombia University Press, 1992).
[194] Jeffrey Goldberg and Marc Ambinder, "The Ally from Hell," *The Atlantic*, December 2011.

Further, the terrorist attacks in Mumbai in 2008 demonstrate that Pakistan is still very much in the business of terror.

Whether these conclusions hold true beyond the sub-continent remains to be seen, but I believe it is very likely they will. Israel has already been accused of supporting Iranian dissident groups and helping them to plan and carry out attacks on Iranian nuclear scientists. Should Iran gain access to nuclear weapons, one can easily imagine Iranian support of groups like Hezbollah increasing.

Nuclear weapons are incredibly effective at preventing full-scale war. However, there are other ways to do this that are just as effective: conventional deterrence, alliances, shared identity, democratic peace. The pattern established during the Cold War seems to be the exception rather than the rule. Between proximate developing states, especially when one or more of those states has a compelling interest in upsetting the status quo, nuclear weapons are a profoundly destabilizing influence. The profound tragedy of nuclear weapons is not that they will be used (though that remains a stark possibility) nor that they are irrelevant; the tragedy of nuclear weapons is that the very strength of their deterrent effect allows states to pursue their ends beyond the constraints of their neighbors and beyond the constraints of the international system; nuclear weapons allow weak states to consolidate their weakness; and nuclear weapons lead to high levels of non-state violence, which disproportionately affects civilians.

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