

A STUDY OF CRISIS

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***THE* UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN PRESS**

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Published in the United States of America by
The University of Michigan Press
Manufactured in the United States of America
©Printed on acid-free paper

2000 1999 1998 1997 4 3 2 1

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A CIP catalog record for this book is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Brecher, Michael.
A study of crisis / Michael Brecher and Jonathan Wilkenfeld.
p. cm.
Includes bibliographical references (p.) and index.
ISBN 0-472-10806-9 (hardcover)
1. World politics—20th century. I. Wilkenfeld, Jonathan. II. Title.
D443.B7135 1997
909.82—dc21 97-6067
CIP

Background

The roots of the India/Pakistan protracted conflict can be traced to two closely related phenomena. One is *intercommunal* (Hindu/Muslim) and *civilizational* (Hinduism/Islam) strife during the past four centuries. The other is the partition of the subcontinent into two independent states in 1947, the catalyst to half a century of *interstate* conflict.

Before independence the British empire in India comprised two segments: 11 provinces, with increasingly representative governing institutions, each headed by a governor under the authority of the viceroy and governor-general, the British Crown's representative in India; and more than 500 autocratically ruled "princely states," each linked by treaty to the reigning British monarch.

The rulers of almost-all the princely states signed an "Instrument of Accession" to India or Pakistan by 15 August 1947, the date of the transfer of power from the U.K. to the new Dominions of India and Pakistan. Although many would have preferred independence, they had no meaningful choice, for they were surrounded by the territory of India or Pakistan; and the ruler and the ruled were from the same community, Hindu or Muslim.

The three exceptions were Junagadh, Jammu and Kashmir (Kashmir), and Hyderabad, in which one or both of these conditions did not obtain. In Junagadh and Hyderabad, a Muslim nawab and a Muslim nizam ruled over a population of whom 75 percent were Hindu. In Kashmir, both conditions were lacking: the state was ruled by a Hindu maharaja, with an overwhelmingly Muslim population; and its territory is contiguous to both India and Pakistan.

These special cases were accentuated by a human tragedy on the grand scale, an unparalleled migration of 15 million people—Hindus and Sikhs fleeing from Pakistan to India and Muslims in the reverse direction. It was estimated that a million people were killed in the riots that accompanied the transfer of population. Thus it was no accident that these three princely states were the focus of the first three international crises in the India/Pakistan protracted conflict.

(118) Junagadh

The crisis between India and Pakistan over Junagadh took place from 17 August 1947 to 24 February 1948.

Crisis

The news of Junagadh's accession to Pakistan on 17 August 1947 triggered a crisis for India. New Delhi responded on 25 October by approving a plan to occupy Mangrol and Babariawad with civil personnel accompanied by a small military force. This triggered a crisis for Pakistan on 1 November 1947. After the nawab left Junagadh, its government formally requested India to assist in the administration. Accordingly, instructions were issued on 9 November to occupy Junagadh, marking the termination of India's crisis.

Pakistan's response on 11 November took the form of a reply by Liaquat Ali Khan to a cable from Nehru requesting a discussion on Junagadh. Pakistan's prime minister contended that, since Junagadh had already acceded to Pakistan, there was no room for discussion and that India's action was a clear violation of Pakistani territory. However, Pakistan was in no position to defend Junagadh because they were not contiguous and Junagadh was 300 miles from the sea. Pakistan's crisis ended on 24 February 1948 when a plebiscite was held in Junagadh, reinforcing India's control over the state.

The U.K. was deeply involved in this crisis. Lord Mountbatten, India's last viceroy and governor-general, held talks in Lahore with Liaquat Ali Khan and received Pakistan's agreement to hold a plebiscite in Junagadh. The U.S., the USSR, and the UN were not involved.

(See *Master Table*, pp. 686-87.)

Sources

See sources for Case #119.

(119) Kashmir I

The first crisis between India and Pakistan over Kashmir lasted from 24 October 1947 to 1 January 1949.

Background and Pre-crisis

In 1847 the British sold the Vale of Kashmir to the *Dogra* ruler of Jammu who, in turn, acknowledged British paramountcy. In 1947 it was run along orthodox Hindu lines. If the disposition of Jammu and Kashmir had been made according to the principles applied to British India, the state—with the possible exception of a Hindu majority area in Jammu, adjacent to the Indian Punjab—would have gone to Pakistan. At that time Kashmir had a Hindu ruler, with an overwhelming Muslim population, approximately 75 percent of more than four million. However, the power of decision rested with the maharaja. Accession to a democratic India had no appeal for him; but the future looked even less promising in a Muslim Pakistan.

The last viceroy of British India visited Kashmir in July 1947 in an effort to convince the maharaja to accede to either India or Pakistan. However, he was suspicious of the British and resisted Mountbatten's pressure to make a definite decision. Hoping to achieve independence, the maharaja arrested most of the state's politicians and tried to arrange "standstill agreements"—status quo arrangements—with both India and Pakistan.

The importance of this territory for Pakistan lay in the fact that the upper regions of four of the rivers upon which Pakistan depended for irrigation—the Indus River and its tributaries—were inside Kashmir or on the border. The location of Kashmir, contiguous to India and Pakistan, Chinese-controlled Tibet, and the Afghanistan-controlled narrow Wakhan corridor leading to the Soviet