

STIMSON

**Crises in South Asia:  
Trends and Potential Consequences**

**Michael Krepon  
Nate Cohn  
Editors**

**September 2011**

**Copyright © 2011  
The Henry L. Stimson Center**

**ISBN: 978-0-9845211-9-7  
Cover and book design by Shawn Woodley**

**All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or  
transmitted in any form or by any means without prior written consent from  
the Stimson Center.**

**Stimson Center  
1111 19th Street, NW, 12th Floor  
Washington, DC 20036  
Telephone: 202.223.5956  
Fax: 202.238.9604  
[www.stimson.org](http://www.stimson.org)**

# Table of Contents

Preface.....	iii
List of Abbreviations.....	v
 Crises in South Asia: Trends and Potential Consequences.....	 1
<i>Michael Krepon</i>	
 Appendices	
Appendix I: The Structure of South Asian Crises from Brasstacks to Mumbai.....	29
<i>Samuel Black</i>	
Appendix II: Spoilers, Mass-Casualty Attacks, and the Disruption of Hopeful India-Pakistan Diplomacy.....	55
<i>Nathan Cohn</i>	
Appendix III: Mass-Casualty Attacks in India .....	63
<i>Nathan Cohn and William Shimer</i>	
Appendix IV: Mass-Casualty Attacks in Pakistan.....	71
<i>Nathan Cohn</i>	
Appendix V: Chinese Involvement in South Asian Crises.....	93
<i>William Shimer</i>	
Appendix VI: Ten Countries Most Afflicted By Mass-Casualty Terrorism Since July 2007.....	99
<i>Nathan Cohn</i>	
Contributors.....	101



## Preface

Twenty years after acquiring nuclear weapon capabilities, ties between Pakistan and India remain strained. The advent of nuclear weapons has emboldened crisis-inducing behavior, mostly by Pakistan's military and intelligence services toward India. Paradoxically, the presence of nuclear weapons has also helped to prevent these crises from escalating into full-scale conventional warfare or from crossing the nuclear threshold. For twenty years, the Stimson Center has been examining prospects for conflict between India and Pakistan, and has been engaging with national security thinkers and actors in both countries to reduce the chances of conflict, through confidence building and nuclear risk reduction measures.

This new report is the latest in a series of Stimson publications that provide fresh and important insights into the various chapters of crisis and brinksmanship in South Asia – from the 1986-7 Brasstacks crisis, the 1990 crisis, the limited war in 1999 in the heights above Kargil, the 2001-2 “Twin Peaks” crisis, and the 2008 assaults on Mumbai.

Michael Krepon, Stimson's Co-founder and Director of the South Asia Program, addresses the trends and consequences of this series of crises. What have the two protagonists taken away from these events? Have the lessons shaped their behavior and their understanding of each other in subsequent crises? How can US policymakers contribute to regional stability, even while US relations with Islamabad and Delhi are on such different trajectories?

We hope you will find Michael Krepon's assessment and the supporting data in its appendices of value. We are grateful to the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation and the National Nuclear Security Administration for their support of this important work.



Ellen Laipson  
President and CEO  
The Stimson Center



## List of Abbreviations

ARN	Army Reserve North
ARS	Army Reserve South
CBM	Confidence-Building Measure
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
DGMO	Director General of Military Operations
FATA	Federally Administered Tribal Areas
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
GHQ	General Headquarters
JeM	Jaish-e-Mohammed
JuD	Jamaat-ud-Dawa
LeT	Lashkar-e-Taiba
LoC	Line of Control
NAM	Non-Aligned Movement
NCTC	National Counterterrorism Center
NGO	Non-governmental organization
NLI	Northern Light Infantry
NRRM	Nuclear Risk Reduction Measure
RAPID	Reorganized Army Plains Infantry Division
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
SATP	South Asia Terrorism Portal





# Crises in South Asia: Trends and Potential Consequences

Michael Krepon<sup>1</sup>

**T**o paraphrase Raymond Aron, crises have become the substitute of wars between nuclear-armed states. This corollary to nuclear deterrence applies to South Asia, where Pakistan and India have so far experienced two crises with the advent of covert nuclear weapon capabilities and three more after carrying out underground tests of nuclear weapon designs.<sup>2</sup> One of these crises prompted a war limited in geographical scope, duration, and intensity.

The most recent of these crises was sparked by mass-casualty assaults in November 2008 against iconic targets in Mumbai, including two luxury hotels and the central train terminus. The perpetrators of these attacks were trained, equipped, and directed by handlers within Pakistan. They were affiliated with the Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT), an extremist group with ties to Pakistan's military and intelligence services. The Government of India quickly chose not to strike back against the LeT or other targets within Pakistan. An earlier coalition government in New Delhi showed similar restraint after another extreme provocation in 2001, an attack against the Indian Parliament building and those within it. The perpetrators of the attack on Parliament are widely believed to be affiliated with the Jaish-e-Mohammed (JeM), another extremist group which, at that time, maintained close ties to Pakistan's security apparatus.

The progression of attacks carried out by Pakistani nationals directed against Indian targets has raised questions about whether New Delhi's forbearance might be expected to continue in the event of future mass-casualty assaults against iconic targets that can be traced back to Pakistan. This essay assesses the progression of five crises between Operation Brasstacks in 1986-7 to the Mumbai crisis in 2008, looking for patterns, shifts, and implications for crisis management and escalation control.

## The Stability-Instability Paradox

Nuclear weapons provide their holders some measure of reassurance when faced with severe crises. At the same time, they provide further proof that when adversaries such as India and Pakistan acquire nuclear weapons to alleviate security concerns, their sense of security is usually diminished. Political scientists have characterized this phenomenon as

---

1 The author wishes to thank Nathan Cohn, Samuel Black, William Shimer, Matthew Hauenstein, and Toby Dalton for their assistance.

2 For a short summary and comparison of these crises, see Samuel Black, "The Structure of South Asian Crises from Brasstacks to Mumbai, Appendix 1", pp. 29-54; Also see P.R. Chari, Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema, and Stephen P. Cohen, *Four Crises and a Peace Process: American Engagement in South Asia* (Washington: The Brookings Institution, 2007).

the stability-instability paradox.<sup>3</sup> In general terms, this paradox holds that the acquisition of nuclear weapon capabilities can induce caution in decision making to avoid any crossing of the nuclear threshold. At the same time, a state with serious grievances might be emboldened to engage in risk taking behavior on the assumption that the Bomb will serve as an insurance policy against escalation.<sup>4</sup>

After the expulsion of Soviet troops from Afghanistan and the acquisition of nuclear weapon capabilities, Pakistan's military and intelligence services proved willing to take risks to punish India and to weaken its hold on Kashmir. Until Pakistan's border with Afghanistan became an overriding concern, the epicenter of the stability-instability paradox was situated along the Kashmir divide—a "nuclear flashpoint," in Islamabad's parlance—where Pakistan's security apparatus sought "deterrence instability" to leverage its desired political outcome.<sup>5</sup> In the understated view of V.R. Raghavan:

The combination of escalating conflict in Jammu and Kashmir, the belief in Pakistan that nuclear weapons have constrained Indian response options, and the belief in India that a limited war against Pakistan can be fought and won despite the presence of nuclear weapons, is, to say the least, a potentially dangerous condition.<sup>6</sup>

Ashley Tellis characterized these circumstances as "ugly stability" – a condition conducive to nuclear-tinged crises.<sup>7</sup> The first crisis anticipated the advent of nuclear weapons on the subcontinent. It was sparked by an adventurous, multi-phased Indian military exercise, Operation Brasstacks in 1986-1987.<sup>8</sup> Some have surmised that the Indian Chief of Army Staff, K. Sundarji, sought to prompt a devastating military defeat of Pakistan before it could

3 See, for example, Glenn H. Snyder, "The Balance of Power and the Balance of Terror," in Paul Seabury, ed., *The Balance of Power* (San Francisco: Chandler, 1965), pp.184-202; Glenn H. Snyder, *Deterrence and Defense* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), p. 226; Robert Jervis, *The Illogic of American Nuclear Strategy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984), pp. 30-31; Michael Krepon, "The Stability-Instability Paradox, Misperception, and Escalation-Control in South Asia," in Rafiq Dossani and Henry S. Rowen, eds., *Prospects for Peace in South Asia* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005), pp. 261-279.

4 S. Paul Kapur argues that the western construct of the stability-instability paradox does not apply to South Asia in that Indian conventional superiority and off-setting nuclear weapon capabilities should theoretically dissuade Pakistan from risk-taking behavior. This definition of the stability-instability paradox is not widely held in South Asia, where government officials, military officers and strategic analysts widely view the advent of Pakistan's nuclear capabilities as enabling risky behavior, regardless of India's conventional military advantages. See S. Paul Kapur, "Revisionist Ambitions, Conventional Capabilities, and Nuclear Instability: Why Nuclear South Asia is not like Cold War Europe," in Scott D. Sagan, ed., *Inside Nuclear South Asia* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009), pp. 184-218. For South Asian perspectives, see, for example, V.R. Raghavan, "Limited War and Nuclear Escalation in South Asia," *The Nonproliferation Review* 8, no. 3 (Fall-Winter 2001), pp. 82-98; P.R. Chari, "Nuclear Restraint, Risk Reduction, and the Security-Insecurity Paradox in South Asia," in Michael Krepon, ed., *Nuclear Risk Reduction in South Asia* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), pp. 19-42; and Michael Krepon, Rodney W. Jones and Ziad Haider, eds., *Escalation Control and the Nuclear Option in South Asia* (Washington: Stimson Center, 2004).

5 V.R. Raghavan, "Limited War and Nuclear Escalation in South Asia," *The Nonproliferation Review* 8, no. 3 (Fall-Winter 2001), p. 86.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 84.

7 See Ashley J. Tellis, *Stability in South Asia DB-185-A* (Santa Monica: RAND, 1997).

8 Recommended readings on Brasstacks include Kanti P. Bajpai, P.R. Chari, Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema, Stephen P. Cohen and Sumit Ganguly, *Brasstacks and Beyond: Perception and Management of Crises in South Asia* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1995); John H. Gill, "Brasstacks, Prudently Pessimistic" in Sumit Ganguly and S. Paul Kapur, eds., *Nuclear Proliferation in South Asia: Crisis Behaviour and the Bomb* (London: Routledge, 2009), pp. 36-58.

acquire nuclear weapons.<sup>9</sup> Whatever Sundarji's ulterior motives, Operation Brasstacks did not result in war. This crisis reaffirmed the intention of Pakistani military leaders to acquire operational nuclear capabilities, which happened soon thereafter. India followed suit.

The next four crises were all initiated by actors in Pakistan, whose national security establishment is most dissatisfied with the *status quo* and disgruntled with prevailing trends on the subcontinent. In 1990, the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir became inflamed due to malfeasance by Indian authorities and the influx of many militants funded, trained, and equipped in Pakistan. A large-scale military exercise carried out by an adventurous Pakistani Chief of Army Staff, Mirza Aslam Beg, responded to in kind by the Indian Army, added fuel to this already combustible mix.<sup>10</sup> More crises followed. The next two had great potential to result in uncontrolled escalation. In 1999, Pakistan's Northern Light Infantry troops occupied the heights above Kargil, sparking a limited war and resulting in a return to the *status quo ante*.<sup>11</sup> Then, in 2001-2002, Pakistan and India mobilized more than a million troops during the "Twin Peaks" crisis, sparked by an attack on India's parliament building by militants based in Pakistan, most likely the Jaish-e-Mohammed.<sup>12</sup> Another crisis in 2008 was prompted by assaults on iconic targets in Mumbai carried out by militants associated with the LeT, once again based, trained, and equipped in Pakistan.<sup>13</sup>

Crises in South Asia have been numerous because spoilers are so prevalent, especially within Pakistan. When national leaders seek more normal relations, high profile, mass-casualty attacks happen to short-circuit diplomatic progress. (See Appendix II.) Nuclear-armed India and China also share a disputed border and have engaged in one border conflict in 1962.<sup>14</sup> Since then, New Delhi and Beijing have not experienced a procession of harrowing crises. Instead, the two Asian giants have sought to avoid friction while growing

9 See, for example, Raj Chengappa, *Weapons of Peace: The Secret Story of India's Quest to Be a Nuclear Power* (New Delhi: Harper Collins, 2000), pp. 322-24; S.S. Gill, *The Dynasty: A Political Biography of the Premier Ruling Family of Modern India* (New Delhi: HarperCollins, 1996), pp. 474-80; Lt. Gen. P.N. Hoon, *Unmasking the Secrets of Turbulence* (New Delhi: Manas, 2000), pp. 102-12; George Perkovich, *India's Nuclear Bomb: The Impact on Global Proliferation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), p. 280; Ravi Rikhye, *The War that Never Was* (New Delhi: Chanaky, 1988); and Chari, Cheema, and Cohen, *Four Crises and a Peace Process*, pp. 46-47.

10 For more on the 1990 crisis, see Zachary S. Davis, ed., *The India-Pakistan Military Standoff: Crisis and Escalation in South Asia* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

11 Recommended readings for the Kargil crisis include the contributors in Peter R. Lavoy, ed., *Asymmetric Warfare in South Asia: The Causes and Consequences of the Kargil Conflict* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Neil Joeck, "The Kargil War and Nuclear Deterrence," in Sumit Ganguly and S. Paul Kapur, *Nuclear Proliferation in South Asia* (New York: Routledge, 2009), pp. 117-143; *From Surprise to Reckoning: The Kargil Review Committee Report* (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1999); Jasjit Singh, ed., *Kargil 1999: Pakistan's Fourth War for Kashmir* (New Delhi: Knowledge World, 1999); V.K. Sood and Pravin Sawhney, *Operation Parakram: The War Unfinished* (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2003); Bruce Riedel, "American Diplomacy and the 1999 Kargil Summit at Blair House," Center for the Advanced Study of India, The University of Pennsylvania, Policy Paper Series, 2002.

12 For perspectives and analysis of the Twin Peaks crisis, see, in particular, Praveen Swami, "A war to end a war: the causes and outcomes of the 2001-2 India-Pakistan crisis" in Ganguly and Kapur, *Nuclear Proliferation in South Asia*, pp. 144-162; Kanti Bajpai, "To war or not to war: The India-Pakistan crisis of 2001-2," in Ganguly and Kapur, *Nuclear Proliferation in South Asia*, pp. 162-182.

13 For assessments of the Mumbai crisis, see Seth G. Jones et al., "The Lessons of Mumbai," RAND Occasional Paper, 2009, <[http://www.rand.org/pubs/occasional\\_papers/2009/RAND\\_OP249.pdf](http://www.rand.org/pubs/occasional_papers/2009/RAND_OP249.pdf)>

14 See Neville Maxwell, *India's China War* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1970).

their economies, including by means of expanding trade with each other. S. Paul Kapur views Pakistan's "revisionist ambitions" as the key variable for Pakistan's crisis-generating behavior.<sup>15</sup> Relations between China and India have lacked a comparable, festering sense of grievance and risk-taking behavior sufficient to trigger the worst manifestations of the stability-instability paradox.

In contrast, Pakistan and India have played with fire. The 1990 and Kargil crises focused on the divided territory of Kashmir where leaders in both countries, as Stephen Philip Cohen has written, "turned Kashmir into a badge of their respective national identities... Since from their respective standpoints neither India nor Pakistan could be complete without Kashmir, this raised the stakes for both enormously."<sup>16</sup> Kashmir became an indispensable symbol of India's multi-religious and multi-ethnic secularism and of Pakistan's founding purpose to be a safe haven for Muslims on the subcontinent.<sup>17</sup>

The combination of the Bomb and the use of surrogates provided Rawalpindi with the hope that New Delhi might be convinced to change the *status quo* in Kashmir, allowing the Muslim majority area around Srinagar to realign with Pakistan. Failing that, surrogates could tie down and inflict punishment on the large contingent of Indian forces stationed there as payback for earlier indignities, especially the loss of East Pakistan in the 1971. The architects of this policy poorly appreciated the dangers to Pakistan's domestic cohesion of pursuing a strategy of punishing India through home-based surrogates.

Deterrence optimists and pessimists have engaged in a lively debate over the likelihood that crises in South Asia could result in uncontrolled escalation.<sup>18</sup> Deterrence optimists rest their case on the fact that, despite harrowing crises in South Asia, the nuclear threshold has not been crossed. One prominent analyst in this camp, Sumit Ganguly, asserted in an article published in 1995 that "incipient nuclearization of the region has rendered direct, interstate conflict increasingly unlikely."<sup>19</sup> Similarly, Devin T. Hagerty, argued in a book published one year before Kargil that, "There is no more ironclad law in international relations theory than

15 S. Paul Kapur, *Dangerous Deterrent: Nuclear Weapons, Proliferation and Conflict in South Asia* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), p. 125.

16 Stephen Philip Cohen, *India: Emerging Power* (Washington: The Brookings Institution, 2001), p. 215.

17 For Kashmir as a clash of national identities, see, in particular, Stephen Philip Cohen, *The Idea of Pakistan* (Washington: The Brookings Institution, 2004), pp. 51-54; and Cohen, *India: Emerging Power*, pp. 198-227.

There is a substantial literature on the Kashmir dispute. Recommended readings include Howard B. Schaffer, *The Limits of Influence: America's Role in Kashmir* (Washington: The Brookings Institution, 2009); Navnita Chadha Behera, *Demystifying Kashmir* (Washington: The Brookings Institution, 2006); Verghese Koithara, *Crafting Peace in Kashmir: Through a Realist Lens* (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2004); and Sumantra Bose, *Kashmir: Roots of Conflict, Paths to Peace* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003).

18 For optimistic assessments, see Sumit Ganguly and Devin T. Hagerty, *Fearful Symmetry: India-Pakistan Crises in the Shadow of Nuclear Weapons* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2005); and Devin T. Hagerty, *The Consequences of Nuclear Proliferation: Lessons from South Asia* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1998). For cautionary assessments, see Kapur, *Dangerous Deterrent: Nuclear Weapons, Proliferation and Conflict in South Asia*; and Scott D. Sagan, ed., *Inside Nuclear South Asia*. For contesting perspectives, see Scott D. Sagan and Kenneth N. Waltz, *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: A Debate Renewed* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2003) and Sumit Ganguly and S. Paul Kapur, *Nuclear Proliferation in South Asia: Crisis Behaviour and the Bomb*.

19 Sumit Ganguly, "Indo-Pakistani Nuclear Issues and the Stability/Instability Paradox," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 18 (1995), p. 329.

this: nuclear states do not fight wars with each other.”<sup>20</sup> After Kargil, he modified this stance, allowing for the possibility of limited war. Hagerty acknowledged that nuclear weapons were “*one of many* factors in Islamabad’s decision to undertake low intensity conflict but they were the *main* factor in containing the ensuing conflict.”<sup>21</sup>

Deterrence pessimists focus on the escalatory potential of severe crises. For example, Kanti Bajpai has noted that, in the case of Kargil, “India was fully prepared to fight for victory, even if it meant escalation... and was fully prepared for its escalatory step [air power] to be matched by one of Pakistan’s own.” In Bajpai’s assessment, “it is difficult to conclude that in the Kargil war, escalation did not occur because the stakes were too high.”<sup>22</sup> Until Pakistan and India make significant headway in normalizing their relations, deterrence pessimists will employ the stronger arguments. As Neil Joeck has written, “the availability of nuclear weapons on both sides did not prevent war but did increase the potential for a catastrophic outcome.”<sup>23</sup> Deterrence optimists rely upon rational actors and cohesive governments to make their case. Domestic trends within Pakistan call these assumptions into question.

## The Locus of Mass-Casualty Attacks

The epicenter of the stability-instability paradox has shifted over time. The Twin Peaks and 2008 crises differed from the 1990 and Kargil crises in that the triggering events occurred far from the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir. Instead, the flashpoints for these two crises were mass-casualty assaults directed against high-profile targets in New Delhi and Mumbai that represented India’s political integration, economic advancement and connectivity to the globe. In effect, the perpetrators of these assaults were attacking that which Pakistan was failing to achieve – and would find even harder to achieve with each successive mass-casualty attack by proxies against a rising India.

High-profile, cross-border assaults directed against major metropolitan areas in India threaten to become the new norm. The last attacks with escalatory potential within the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir occurred almost a decade ago. The targets for these attacks were the State Assembly building in Srinagar in October 2001, the Raghunath Temple in Jammu in March 2002, and the housing facilities and dependents of Indian troops at Kaluchak in May 2002, during the Twin Peaks crisis. Subsequently, mass-casualty attacks against India have occurred in New Delhi, Mumbai, Ayodhya, Janpur, Varanasi, Hyderabad, Jaipur, Pune, Ahmedabad, and elsewhere. Not all of these attacks might be linked to elements within Pakistan since there are also aggrieved parties within India, including Naxalites and Indian Muslims. Even so, a number of these attacks bear the markings of Pakistan-based extremism.

The return of mass-casualty assaults in Jammu and Kashmir could occur at any time. Nonetheless, the data since 2002 are indicative of a trend of targeted attacks on Indian cities

---

20 Hagerty, *The Consequences of Nuclear Proliferation* (1998), p. 184.

21 Emphasis in the original. Hagerty, “The Kargil War, An optimistic assessment,” in Ganguly and Kapur, *Nuclear Proliferation in South Asia*, pp. 100-101.

22 Kanti Bajpai, “To war or not to war, The India-Pakistan crisis of 2001-2,” in Ganguly and Kapur, *Nuclear Proliferation in South Asia*, p. 136.

23 Joeck, “The Kargil War and nuclear deterrence,” in Ganguly and Kapur, *Nuclear Proliferation in South Asia*, p. 117.



to the south. [For a listing of mass-casualty attacks on Indian soil since 2002, see Appendix III.] This trend has several possible explanations. One is that militant groups with ties to Pakistan's security apparatus planning mass-casualty attacks now recognize that Muslim majority areas in the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir are not going to be dislodged from New Delhi's grasp. A second possibility is the recognition that mass-casualty attacks in the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir no longer have shock value or the ability to injure that which New Delhi holds most dear. A third possibility is that Pakistan's security concerns and force posture have been heavily focused since 2001 on the Afghan border. Inflaming the Line of Control dividing Kashmir could therefore confront Pakistani military forces with serious security concerns on two fronts, something that Rawalpindi has always sought to avoid.

## Plausible Deniability

Civilian and military leaders in Pakistan initially deny responsibility for, or any foreknowledge of, mass-casualty attacks on Indian soil. These denials were questionable for the 1990 crisis, even though Indian misrule in the State of Jammu and Kashmir contributed greatly to public disaffection there. New Delhi has, however, misruled Jammu and Kashmir for many decades, especially during state elections prior to 2002. The intensity of the 1990 uprising suggests not only domestic disaffection, but also significant external support. The extent of that support has been well chronicled,<sup>24</sup> and became more overt in the early 1990s when disaffected Kashmiris proved to be a poor match against Indian security forces. Claims of noninvolvement during the Kargil crisis were utterly implausible, as the troops involved in cross-Line of Control advances were easily distinguished from independent actors and mujahedeen, as initially claimed by the Government of Pakistan.

Pakistani officials also strenuously denied direct knowledge of or collusion in the New Delhi and Mumbai attacks that prompted the 2001-02 Twin Peaks and 2008 crises. In both of these crises, the perpetrators were individuals based, trained, and equipped on Pakistani soil. During these crises, Pakistani authorities were caught on the horns of a dilemma primarily of their own making, since the perpetrators of these attacks had links to state benefactors. Once the origins and training of the attackers were traced back to Pakistan, Islamabad resorted to the argument that Pakistan's top-most military and intelligence officials were unaware of what their underlings should have known – an embarrassing argument, but one that US officials were willing to countenance.

What could not be refuted in the Twin Peaks and Mumbai crises was that the authorities in Pakistan did not take serious preventative actions before mass-casualty attacks, suggesting either the inability of Pakistan's intelligence services to monitor activities with great escalatory potential, support for such activities, or a combination of both. It is also clear that the authorities in Pakistan have either been unable or unwilling to take significant actions against those who successfully planned mass-casualty attacks against India. There have been temporary and polite house detentions, lingering court cases, and no convictions

---

24 See, in particular, Praveen Swami, *India, Pakistan and the Secret Jihad: The Covert War in Kashmir 1947-2004* (London: Routledge, 2007).

of leading figures. It is similarly hard for Indian authorities to secure convictions in highly politicized prosecutions.

The extremist groups nurtured by Pakistan's military and intelligence services to help advance presumed regional interests have become harder to oversee and control. Some have turned against the security apparatus that helped spawn them. As Zahid Hussain, one of Pakistan's preeminent journalists, wrote:

These militant organizations were not clandestine and had not sprouted surreptitiously. Their growth, even when not sponsored by state functionaries was viewed with favor by them... Their objectives were more in line with the regional strategy of the Pakistani military establishment: the liberation of Kashmir from India and promoting a Pashtun government in Afghanistan.<sup>25</sup>

Once the initiators of crises with escalatory potential have been traced back to Pakistan, a standard response by officials there is to seek an end to the "blame game." In other words, regrettable actions have occurred, but a brighter future requires national leaders to move on. This argument has become threadbare, since "blame" comes from failing to take responsibility and preventive action.

If mass-casualty attacks against Indian cities continue by extremists based in Pakistan, followed by temporary denials and embarrassing revelations, Pakistan's military and intelligence services will again be caught between a rock and a hard place. They may be justified in arguing that continued links with outfits that may engage in such attacks are required for intelligence-gathering and preventive purposes. But if attacks on iconic Indian targets continue to occur, it is reasonable to conclude that Pakistan's intelligence services are either guilty of continued malfeasance for failing to stop them or of continued collusion. Small scale operations may elude notice, but the larger the scope of such attacks and the more planning and training required for their implementation, the more credible charges of malfeasance or collusion becomes. Since Pakistan's intelligence services are usually run by a senior military officer beholden to the Chief of Army Staff, large-scale, cross-border attacks also reflect very poorly on the head of the Pakistan Army. Each successive attack, followed by the inability or unwillingness to prosecute its perpetrators, diminishes Rawalpindi's plausible deniability. Rawalpindi's prior linkages to extremist groups exacts a heavy price on Pakistan, which cannot escape the "blame game" even though its losses from acts of extremist violence far surpass those in India, and even though monitoring and controlling extremist groups is becoming increasingly difficult.

Two types of action by Pakistan's security apparatus would serve Pakistan's interests while demonstrating clean hands: carrying out purposeful campaigns against extremist groups on Pakistani soil and engaging in meaningful counter-terrorism cooperation with India. Both of these courses of action would require a reorientation of Pakistan's security culture. To date, military campaigns have been pursued selectively against extremist groups that have directed their fire against Pakistan, not India. As for counter-terrorism cooperation, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and President Pervez Musharraf agreed to set up a joint counter-terrorism mechanism at a meeting of the Non-Aligned Movement in Havana in

---

<sup>25</sup> Zahid Hussain, "Battling Militancy," in Maleeha Lodhi, ed., *Pakistan: Beyond the Crisis State* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), p. 137.

September 2006. Prime Ministers Singh and Yousuf Raza Gilani subsequently agreed to “share real time, credible and actionable information on any future terrorist threats” on the sidelines of another NAM summit at Sharm el-Shaikh, Egypt in July 2009.<sup>26</sup> Implementation of these measures has been weak, at best. Indian security culture would also need to change appreciably for bilateral cooperation to counter terrorism to succeed.<sup>27</sup>

## Indian Restraint

A common element of the past four crises is that coalition governments in India have demonstrated uncommon restraint after severe provocations. New Delhi employed very limited military means for a return to the *status quo* after the incursions across the Kashmir divide. India’s leaders might have responded in less cautious ways had their forces been unsuccessful in repulsing the Northern Light Infantry’s advances. Instead, India’s Cabinet Committee on Security confined air strikes to the Indian side of the Kashmir divide alongside concerted efforts by ground forces to reclaim the heights above Kargil. Indian authorities reaped diplomatic benefits for their restraint, while Pakistan’s military leaders, who also exercised restraint by not reinforcing troops at the expense of their cover story that the intruders were mujahedeen, received no plaudits because of their prior recklessness. The lack of wisdom associated with the Kargil plan and the strongly negative international responses to Pakistan’s adventurism suggest that another initiative of this kind is unlikely to be repeated.<sup>28</sup>

After the second spike in the Twin Peaks crisis, Indian Prime Minister A.B. Vajpayee took the unusual step of visiting front line troops in Jammu – the site of an extraordinarily provocative attack on the family housing quarters of mobilized Indian troops – to announce that “the time has come for a decisive battle, and we will have a sure victory in this battle.”<sup>29</sup> Vajpayee then repaired to a hill station at Manali ostensibly for what the Indian government termed a “vacation” and to lay the foundation stone of an underground tunnel. This choreography caused US officials understandable confusion as well as alarm. The US Ambassador to India directed “non-essential” personnel and dependents to leave the country. Many US analysts predicted that war was imminent.<sup>30</sup> With the benefit of hindsight, it is clear that Vajpayee was very reluctant to go to war, and employed his dire warning to prompt another round of US crisis management which elicited promises from General Musharraf that the Government of India viewed as being suspect.<sup>31</sup> Nonetheless, Musharraf’s pledges were sufficient to de-escalate the Twin Peaks crisis.

26 For the complete text of the 2006 agreement, see <[http://www.mofa.gov.pk/Pages/Joint\\_Press\\_06.htm?>](http://www.mofa.gov.pk/Pages/Joint_Press_06.htm?>). For the Sharm el-Shaikh joint statement, see <<http://www.indianexpress.com/news/india-pak-issue-joint-statement-on-bilateral-relations/490301/2>>.

27 See Amarjeet Singh Dulat and Asad Durrani, “India-Pakistan: need for intelligence cooperation,” *The Hindu*, July 14, 2011. <<http://www.thehindu.com/opinion/op-ed/article2224644.ece>>.

28 All of the chapters in Lavoy, ed., *Asymmetric Warfare in South Asia* are worth reading on the Kargil crisis. Also see Neil Joeck, “The Kargil War and nuclear deterrence,” in Ganguly and Kapur, *Nuclear Proliferation in South Asia*, pp. 117-143.

29 Luv Puri, “Be Ready for Decisive Battle, PM Tells Jawans,” *The Hindu*, May 23, 2002.

30 Polly Nayak and Michael Krepon, *US Crisis Management in South Asia’s Twin Peaks Crisis*, (Washington: The Henry L. Stimson Center, 2006), pp. 33-37. <<http://www.stimson.org/images/uploads/research-pdfs/USCrisisManagementFull.pdf>>, reprinted in Davis, ed., *The India-Pakistan Military Standoff*.

31 Ibid.



A very different Indian coalition government, led by Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, was similarly reluctant to strike back at Pakistani targets after the 2008 mass-casualty attacks in Mumbai. Singh, like Vajpayee, appears to have concluded soon after the Mumbai attacks that the benefits of punishing Pakistan would likely be modest and the risks would likely be great. Foremost among those risks was the possibility of uncontrolled escalation resulting in nuclear detonations. Two of Pakistan's presumed "red lines"—heavy losses to Pakistan's Air Force and its inability to control national air space as well as the loss of national territory—might have been crossed in the event of combat.<sup>32</sup>

Indian leaders weighed other risks, as well as a new, uncertain, and fragile Pakistani civilian government that had recently replaced General Pervez Musharraf, another military leader who had overstayed his welcome running the country. Those in positions of nominal authority—President Asif Ali Zardari and Prime Minister Yousuf Raza Gilani—were in no position to make credible promises or to respond effectively to New Delhi's demands. Counter-attacks on Pakistani targets could have prompted changes in civil-military relations and in Pakistani domestic politics that would not have been to India's perceived benefit. There could also have been very negative repercussions to Indian strikes against Pakistan for US and allied forces in Afghanistan—consequences that would not have served Indian interests. Other calculations contributed to uncommon Indian restraint, including the undiminished hopes of Indian Prime Minister Singh, like those of Vajpayee, to eventually normalize relations with Pakistan.

In these crises, successive Indian leaders faced the same conundrum: attacks limited to the Pakistani side of the Kashmir divide would be directed at inconsequential and ephemeral targets. Nonetheless, these attacks could result in significant air combat, counter-strikes on Indian soil, and uncontrolled escalation. Alternatively, air strikes and other military action could be authorized against emblematic and consequential targets in Pakistan's heartland, the Punjab, where extremist outfits maintained a strong presence. These actions would have had an even higher escalatory potential.

Indian governmental restraint in the face of extraordinarily provocative actions generated intense, but short-lived, domestic criticism. Indian military strategists appeared frustrated by the long three-to-six week timeline required to mobilize its armed forces for war, during which Washington would intervene and rally international efforts against retaliatory strikes. Consequently, Indian military planners reportedly revisited war plans based on large-scale mobilizations in traditional fighting corridors. Quickly labeled "Cold Start" by commentators in the Indian media and by foreign analysts, revised Indian military plans reportedly seek to be able to employ units far smaller than strike corps to make "shallow" territorial gains within a matter of days after being authorized to do so. Commentaries suggest the restructuring of Indian mechanized infantry, artillery, and armor into "integrated battle groups" supported by air assets.<sup>33</sup>

---

32 The Director-General of Pakistan's Strategic Plans Division, Lt. Gen. Khalid Kidwai (ret.), is reported to have characterized red lines as the destruction by India of a large part either of its land or air forces. Paolo Cotta-Ramusino and Maurizio Martellini, "Nuclear Safety, Nuclear Stability and Nuclear Strategy in Pakistan," January 21, 2002, <<http://www.centrovoltait/landau/content/binary/pakistan%20Januray%202002.pdf>>.

33 See, for example, Walter C. Ladwig III, "A Cold Start for Hot Wars? The Indian Army's New Limited War Doctrine," *International Security* 32, no. 3 (Winter 2007/2008), pp. 158-190.

Pakistani authorities worked tirelessly to orchestrate a drumbeat of criticism against “Cold Start”-type military plans, an indicator of their concern over the growing conventional imbalance on the subcontinent. Pakistani officials and officers highlighted “Cold Start’s” escalatory potential while downplaying habitual Indian difficulties in mounting joint operations, delays in implementing military plans, and the reluctance of Indian political leaders to authorize them during crises. To add further caution to New Delhi’s calculations, Pakistani authorities have suggested that a possible counter to military offensives of any scope would be to lower the threshold of battlefield use of nuclear weapons. In this regard, a mobile, nuclear-capable artillery system was notably field tested in the presence of the Director-General of Pakistan’s Strategic Plans Division in April 2011.<sup>34</sup>

The very existence of a Cold Start doctrine is now contested by Indian government officials. What can be said with some certainty is that Indian military leaders have been frustrated during past crises by the absence of options short of full-blown mobilization for large-scale conventional war. For example, after Kargil, the Chief of Army Staff, General S. Padmanabhan, told the Indian media that, “Nuclear war fighting is perhaps the last thing in anybody’s mind. What we are looking at is to get an optimal return from conventional warfare.”<sup>35</sup> His predecessor, General V.P. Malik, has written and spoken of a similar need: “Though India and Pakistan are nuclear nations, it is not true to say there cannot be a conventional war between them. Kargil proved that. There is a threshold under which a conventional war is possible.”<sup>36</sup> It would be irresponsible for Indian military officers not to engage in planning for military operations below the nuclear threshold. The same holds true for Pakistani military officers.

There is evidence of Indian training exercises to practice limited conventional war options.<sup>37</sup> There is also an absence of evidence that the Indian military services have moved expeditiously to purchase land, reposition assets, and commit sufficiently to joint military commands and operations to fulfill the ambitious plans of those who advocate what has been characterized as Cold Start. To be sure, far smaller-scale military operations, whether by Special Forces or the Indian Air Force, could be executed without such preparations. But they, too, might carry the risk of uncontrolled escalation.

Many astute commentators assume that if mass-casualty attacks continue against India by extremists based in Pakistan, the prior pattern of Indian restraint will likely come to an end – especially if the Indian Army and Air Force are well prepared for limited military campaigns. For example, Bruce Riedel has asserted that “India’s patience next time is

34 See Agence France Presse, “Pakistan test fires nuclear-capable missile,” April 19, 2011, <<http://www.google.com/hostednews/afp/article/ALeqM5gQrdg0hzHTiYVFW00x6jux-k4mcg?docId=CNG.66ef27570de555c667474aeac411e32.551>>; and *The Economic Times*, “Pakistan’s new missile aimed at India’s ‘Cold Start’ doctrine,” April 20, 2011 <[http://articles.economictimes.indiatimes.com/2011-04-20/news/29450960\\_1\\_nuclear-warheads-missile-system-doctrine](http://articles.economictimes.indiatimes.com/2011-04-20/news/29450960_1_nuclear-warheads-missile-system-doctrine)>.

35 “Army Will Be Prepared to Tackle Nuclear Threat,” *Hindustan Times*, September 26, 2000.

36 “Rediff interview with General V. Prakash Malik,” *Rediff*, July 27, 2001 <<http://www.rediff.com/news/2001/Jul/27inter.htm>>. Also see V.P. Malik, “Fighting limited wars: A major challenge for the military,” Observer Research Foundation, July 5, 2010 <<http://www.observerindia.com/cms/sites/orfonline/modules/analysis/AnalysisDetail.html?cmaid=19379&mmacmaid=19380>>.

37 Ladwig, “A Cold Start for Hot Wars?” pp. 158-190.

not going to ponder escalatory ladders, and they are going to find a way to strike back.”<sup>38</sup> Similarly, Teresita Schaffer has warned that “Another Mumbai-like attack will lead the Indians to take much more aggressive action than they did in 2008. Most observers believe India would feel compelled to take military action.”<sup>39</sup> These predictions could come true. But it is far from clear that the existence of limited war plans and the capabilities to execute them will sway the thinking of India’s Prime Minister and Cabinet Committee on Security.

The reasons for India’s prior restraint despite severe provocations remain in play and in some cases have become more pronounced. The threat of uncontrolled escalation still lingers over the subcontinent, and Pakistani military leaders appear to have concluded that their interests are served by heightening this threat. New Delhi continues to prefer to bolster civil authorities and diminish the influence of the Pakistani military, objectives that may not be served by prosecuting a limited war. Moreover, domestic political dynamics in Pakistan, like the civil-military imbalance, could deteriorate even with limited military clashes far below the nuclear threshold. The risk side of this ledger sheet will surely give Indian leaders pause, but these risks could be trumped by domestic political compulsions.

## The Role of Nuclear Weapons

Nuclear weapons have played a significant part in previous crises on the subcontinent. As deterrence optimists argue, nuclear weapons may well have reinforced caution and helped to forestall escalation across the nuclear threshold. At the same time, as deterrence pessimists have predicted, nuclear weapons have undeniably contributed to risk-taking behavior and the advent of crises. Each crisis, in turn, appears to have lent greater impetus to nuclear programs. For example, as Stephen Philip Cohen and his co-authors have noted, the Brasstacks crisis “contributed to the position in both countries that nuclearization was both desirable and inevitable.”<sup>40</sup> These authors have concluded that “Brasstacks pushed Pakistan down a path that led it away from the United States and towards an unknown region of weak nuclear deterrence.”<sup>41</sup> According to Raj Chengappa’s sources, the Indian government concluded that the Pakistani military had acquired an operational nuclear capability in 1988, shortly after Brasstacks.<sup>42</sup> Jasjit Singh dates this achievement in 1987.<sup>43</sup>

The 1990 crisis appeared to impel Pakistan’s military leaders to once again cross enrichment red lines that US officials sought to draw during the Ronald Reagan and George H.W.

---

38 Voice of America News, “Expert Says US Should Help Revive India-Pakistan Peace Talks,” January 21, 2011, <<http://www.voanews.com/english/news/asia/Expert-Says-US-Should-Help-Revive-India-Pakistan-Peace-Talks-114375249.html>>.

39 Teresita Schaffer, “Is There Life After Cricket?” South Asia Hand, April 1, 2011, <<http://southasiahand.com/pakistan/india-pakistan-is-there-life-after-cricket/>>.

40 Chari, et al., *Four Crises and a Peace Process*, p. 185. Also see Stephen Philip Cohen, *India: Emerging Power* (Washington: Brookings Institution, 2002), pp. 147-48.

41 Bajpai, et al., *Brasstacks and Beyond*, p. 92.

42 Chengappa, *Weapons of Peace*, p. 331.

43 Jasjit Singh, “Why Nuclear Weapons?” in Jasjit Singh, ed., *Nuclear India* (New Delhi: Knowledge World, 1998), p. 20.

Bush administrations.<sup>44</sup> The period between Brasstacks and the 1990 crisis appears to have accelerated Indian nuclear plans, as well. George Perkovich, who has authored the most detailed and masterful account of India's nuclear project, dates weaponization between 1988 and 1990.<sup>45</sup> During the 1990 crisis, India relied on *ad hoc* and crude methods to use nuclear devices, if need be.<sup>46</sup> India's most renowned strategic analyst, K. Subrahmanyam, dates the existence of an Indian nuclear deterrent in "early 1990."<sup>47</sup>

Stephen Philip Cohen and his co-authors concluded that, during the 1990 crisis, Pakistan's military leaders increased the readiness of their strike capabilities and took other visible steps to prompt Washington to engage in crisis management.<sup>48</sup> Some of these steps were misread and greatly overdramatized, as reflected in accounts of the evacuation of Kahuta and the deployment of nuclear weapons loaded on F-16s on strip alert at air bases.<sup>49</sup> The actual level of nuclear danger in the 1990 crisis was certainly real but also inflated. K. Subrahmanyam recalled that during this crisis, a top secret analysis by the Indian intelligence community concluded that the probability of Pakistani nuclear strikes was not very significant. Nonetheless, the Indian Air Force was placed on alert.<sup>50</sup> The US intelligence community appears to have been more alarmed by the potential for nuclear weapons' use. Richard J. Kerr, the deputy director of the C.I.A. during this crisis, was quoted by Seymour Hersh as saying, "It was the most dangerous nuclear situation we have ever faced since I've been in the US government. It may be as close as we've come to a nuclear exchange. It was far more frightening than the Cuban missile crisis."<sup>51</sup>

Threat inflation is difficult to avoid when an India-Pakistan crisis is unfolding, in part because it is used as a deliberate tactic by officials in both countries seeking to mobilize US crisis managers to help engineer a satisfactory, if not favorable, outcome. During crises, Indian and Pakistani leaders have engaged in "verbal pyrotechnics" which have served "to

---

44 The US Ambassador to Pakistan during the 1990 crisis, Robert B. Oakley, suggested this cause and effect in Michael Krepon and Mishi Faruquee, eds., "Conflict Prevention and Confidence-Building Measures in South Asia: The 1990 Crisis," Henry L. Stimson Center, Occasional Paper #17, April 1994, p. 45, <<http://www.stimson.org/images/uploads/research-pdfs/occasionalpaper17-web.pdf>>, reprinted in Michael Krepon and Chris Gagne, eds., *Nuclear Risk Reduction in South Asia* (New Delhi: Vision Books, 2003), pp. 188-236. Also see George Perkovich, *India's Nuclear Bomb: The Impact on Global Proliferation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999) pp. 293-308; Hagerty, *The Consequences of Nuclear Proliferation*, pp. 133-170; Naeem Salik, *The Genesis of South Asian Nuclear Deterrence: Pakistan's Perspective* (London: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 125-130; and Chari et. al., *Four Crises and a Peace Process*, pp. 100-107.

45 Perkovich, *India's Nuclear Bomb*, pp. 293-317.

46 Chengappa, *Weapons of Peace*, p. 357.

47 K. Subrahmanyam, "Indian Nuclear Policy – 1964-98 (A personal recollection)," in Jasjit Singh, ed., *Nuclear India* (New Delhi: Knowledge World, 1998), p. 44.

48 Chari, et al., *Four Crises and a Peace Process*, pp. 105-07.

49 See, for example, Seymour Hersh, "On the Nuclear Edge," *The New Yorker*, March 29, 1993, <[http://www.newyorker.com/archive/1993/03/29/1993\\_03\\_29\\_056\\_TNY\\_CARDS\\_000363214](http://www.newyorker.com/archive/1993/03/29/1993_03_29_056_TNY_CARDS_000363214)>, and William E. Burrows and Robert Windhem, *Critical Mass: The Dangerous Race for Superweapons in a Fragmenting World* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1990).

50 K. Subrahmanyam, "Indian Nuclear Policy – 1964-98 (A personal recollection)," in Singh, ed., *Nuclear India*, p. 45.

51 Hersh, "On the Nuclear Edge," *The New Yorker*, March 29, 1993. The author attended an event with Kerr after Hersh's article appeared and asked whether he was quoted properly. Kerr answered affirmatively. When asked whether he really believed that that 1990 crisis was second only to the Cuban missile crisis in terms of nuclear danger, Kerr allowed as how he might have exaggerated this point.

meet criticism of 'softness' toward the adversary from their political opposition."<sup>52</sup> Harsh, nuclear-tinged warnings also serve the purpose of reinforcing deterrence. Then, after crises subside, Indian and Pakistani officials downplay nuclear dangers, accentuating their responsible nuclear stewardship, even though they increased their readiness to employ nuclear weapons, if called upon to do so.<sup>53</sup> Washington did not need much prompting to engage in crisis management, as nuclear capabilities and the potential for missteps, accidents, and breakdowns in command and control grew on the subcontinent. While nuclear dangers during crises remained hard to assess, underestimating them was a luxury that senior US policy makers could not afford.

With each succeeding crisis and with India's growing conventional capabilities, Pakistan's reliance on nuclear weapons for deterrence has grown. The salience of nuclear weapons has been further reinforced because nuclear signaling has been employed during heightened periods of tension.<sup>54</sup> Public warnings of the potential for nuclear escalation and missile flight tests (both usually initiated in Pakistan, the weaker of the contestants) usually elicited counter-warnings by Indian officials, who did not wish to leave the impression that New Delhi could be swayed by implied or explicit nuclear threats. These signaling messages and counter-messages were especially evident during the 1990, Kargil, and Twin Peaks crises.<sup>55</sup>

There are several reasons why public warnings and signaling of increased readiness to resort to the use of nuclear weapons during crises might prompt larger nuclear requirements. One reason for doing so would be to reinforce deterrence messages. Another would be to increase whatever leverage might be gained from nuclear weapons (in the case of Pakistan) or to neutralize such leverage (in the case of India) in the event of another crisis. Cause, in the form of crises, and effect, in the form of increased nuclear requirements, cannot be proven, given the shroud of secrecy Pakistan and India place on the size of their nuclear arsenals. While the hypothesis that crises could prompt increased nuclear requirements is conjectural, it is undeniable that nuclear weapon holdings have increased in the decade following the 2001-2002 Twin Peaks crisis. The best estimates of nongovernmental organizations suggest that over the course of this decade, Pakistan's holdings of nuclear weapons more than doubled, from between 30-50 to between 70-120 warheads. During

---

52 Stephen P. Cohen, P.R. Chari, and Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema, *The Compound Crisis of 1990: Perception, Politics, and Insecurity* (Urbana: ACDIS Research Report, 2000), p. 111).

53 During the Kargil crisis, Raj Chengappa's sources led him to conclude that "India secretly kept its weapons in an advanced state of readiness." Chengappa, *Weapons of Peace*, p. 9.

54 For more on nuclear signaling during crises, see Feroz Hassan Khan, "Nuclear Signaling, Missiles, and Escalation Control in South Asia," in Michael Krepon, Rodney W. Jones, and Ziad Haider, eds., *Escalation Control and the Nuclear Option in South Asia* (Washington: The Henry L. Stimson Center, 2004), pp.75-100; Rahul Roy-Chaudhury, "Nuclear Doctrine, Declaratory Policy, and Escalation Control," in Krepon, et. al., eds., *Escalation Control and the Nuclear Option in South Asia*; pp. 101-118; Timothy D. Hoyt, "Kargil: the nuclear dimension," in Lavoy, ed., *Asymmetric Warfare in South Asia*, pp. 144-170; and Vipin Narang, "Posturing for Peace?: Pakistan's Nuclear Postures and South Asian Stability," *International Security* 34, no. 3 (Winter 09/10), 38-78.

55 For examples of public statements by Pakistani and Indian officials designed to reinforce deterrence messages during crises, see Samuel Black, "The Changing Political Utility of Nuclear Weapons: Nuclear Threats from 1970 to 2010," Stimson Center, <[http://www.stimson.org/images/uploads/research-pdfs/Nuclear\\_Final.pdf](http://www.stimson.org/images/uploads/research-pdfs/Nuclear_Final.pdf)>.



this period, NGOs estimate that Indian holdings rose somewhat less, from between 30-60 to between 60-100 warheads.<sup>56</sup>

Granted, this stockpile growth could be unrelated to crises. It is possible, for example, that the size of Pakistani and Indian nuclear arsenals was planned long ago, and has remained fixed despite this procession of crises. It is far more possible, indeed likely, that Pakistan's presumed nuclear requirements grew during this period because of developments unrelated to crises, such as the US-India civil nuclear agreement and its subsequent endorsement by the Nuclear Suppliers Group. The growing divergence of Pakistani and Indian conventional military capabilities and New Delhi's flight tests of ballistic missile defense interceptors are also likely to have factored into Pakistan's calculations.<sup>57</sup> If, however, non-crisis behavior has fostered the growth of nuclear requirements, it logically follows that nuclear requirements have also grown after crises – especially crises in which the salience of nuclear weapons has been highest and in which underlying grievances have not been resolved. Using this logic, the three crises that likely prompted additional requirements are what Stephen Philip Cohen and his co-authors call the Compound Crisis in 1990,<sup>58</sup> Kargil, and Twin Peaks.

This analysis need not apply in equal measure to India and Pakistan. Indeed, as the weaker party in these crises, Pakistan—the state whose economic and conventional military capabilities continue to be outpaced by India from one crisis to the next—has more reasons to rely on nuclear weapons for deterrence purposes than its stronger neighbor. If this analysis is correct and if current trends persist, Pakistan's nuclear requirements could continue to grow as long as its military leaders control such decisions, as long as they view India as a mortal enemy, and as long as they are unwilling to restrain the likely instigators of future crises.

The extent to which growing Pakistani nuclear capabilities have prompted or might prompt additional Indian requirements is also conjectural. The pace of Indian nuclear modernization programs seems to be more relaxed than Pakistan's, suggesting that decision makers in New Delhi continue to retain great ambivalence about the Bomb and its military

56 David Albright, "Securing Pakistan's Nuclear Weapons Complex." Paper commissioned and sponsored by the Stanley Foundation for the 42nd Strategy for Peace Conference, Strategies for Regional Security, October 25-27, 2001, <<http://www.isis-online.org/publications/terrorism/stanleypaper.html>>; <http://www.isis-online.org/isis-reports/detail/pakistan-doubling-rate-of-making-nuclear-weapons-time-for-pakistan-to-rever/>>; Hans Kristensen and Shannon Kile, "SIPRI Yearbook 2003," <<http://www.sipri.org/yearbook/2003/files/SIPRIYB03115A.pdf>>; Natural Resources Defense Council, "Archive of Nuclear Data," <<http://www.nrdc.org/nuclear/nudb/datab20.asp>>; <<http://www.isis-online.org/publications/southasia/stocks1000.html>>; Shannon Kile, Vitaly Fedchenko, Bharath Gopalaswamy, Hans Kristensen, "SIPRI Yearbook 2011: Armaments, Disarmament and International Security," Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2011, <<http://www.sipri.org/yearbook/2011/07>>; David Albright and Paul Brannan, "Pakistan Doubling Rate of Making Nuclear Weapons: Time for Pakistan to Reverse Course," ISIS Reports, May 16, 2011, <<http://www.isis-online.org/isis-reports/detail/pakistan-doubling-rate-of-making-nuclear-weapons-time-for-pakistan-to-rever/>>; and Robert S. Norris and Hans M. Kristensen, "Global Nuclear Weapons Inventories: 1945-2010," Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists 66, no. 4 (July 2010).

57 See Peter R. Lavoy, "Islamabad's Nuclear Posture: Its Premises and Implementation," in Henry D. Sokolski, ed., *Pakistan's Nuclear Future: Worries Beyond War* (Carlisle: US Army War College, 2008), pp. 129-166, and Gregory S. Jones, "Pakistan's 'Minimum Deterrent' Nuclear Force Requirements," in Sokolski, *Pakistan's Nuclear Future*, pp. 87-128.

58 Chari, et. al., *Four Crises and a Peace Process*.

utility. In a lengthy and incisive assessment of India's nuclear posture published in 2001, Ashley Tellis concluded that Indian decision makers "view their nuclear weapons primarily as political instruments intended to promote caution in the minds of their adversaries—while bolstering their own self-confidence—rather than as true weapons of war."<sup>59</sup>

Over the past decade, little has transpired to suggest fundamental change in this orientation despite promptings to do so. Indian media outlets have reported the estimates of western NGOs that Pakistan has been outpacing Indian nuclear capabilities, as well as the assessment by a high-ranking US intelligence community official, provided in confidence at a NATO meeting, that Pakistan is producing nuclear weapons at a faster rate than any other country in the world.<sup>60</sup> China, like Pakistan, appears to be increasing the pace of its nuclear modernization programs.<sup>61</sup> If New Delhi has not responded more vigorously to these reports, its decision making is remarkably impervious to external stimuli.

New Delhi's approach was anticipated by Tellis in *India's Emerging Nuclear Posture*, where he predicted an "arms crawl" rather than an arms race between India and Pakistan.<sup>62</sup> As Tellis predicted, India's nuclear decision makers appear to be proceeding in a measured way with modernization programs for ballistic and cruise missiles that will, over time, support a triad of nuclear-capable delivery vehicles. Tellis' characterization does not apply to Pakistan, whose nuclear decision makers may be seeking nuclear and escalatory advantage.<sup>63</sup> Many Pakistani leaders have referred to a military doctrine that might be termed "pro-active defense." As former President and Chief of Army Staff Pervez Musharraf noted after the commissioning of an Agosta-class submarine, "Our deterrence strategy is defensive. We have no design to go and attack the enemy. But if we are attacked we are going to be offensive in defending ourselves."<sup>64</sup> Pakistan, China and India are not arms racing by Cold War standards, but their nuclear capabilities are growing and many potential stimuli could result in a further quickening of the pace.

---

59 Tellis, *India's Emerging Nuclear Posture*, p. 672.

60 For a sampling of Indian media attention to these estimates, see *The Economic Times*, "Pakistan has 100 nuclear weapons, doubled its arsenal: Post," January 31, 2011 <[http://articles.economictimes.indiatimes.com/2011-01-31/news/28425793\\_1\\_hans-m-kristensen-science-and-international-security-nuclear-arsenal](http://articles.economictimes.indiatimes.com/2011-01-31/news/28425793_1_hans-m-kristensen-science-and-international-security-nuclear-arsenal)>; *The Hindu*, "Pakistan's nuclear arsenal to overtake India's: SIPRI," June 3, 2010 <<http://www.thehindu.com/news/national/article445321.ece>>; Press Trust of India, "Pakistan has 110 N-Weapons, edges ahead of India: US Report," *The Times of India*, January 31, 2011 <[http://articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/2011-01-31/us/28377446\\_1\\_weapons-fissile-material-nuclear-arms](http://articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/2011-01-31/us/28377446_1_weapons-fissile-material-nuclear-arms)>. Also see *The Economic Times*, "Pak has 110 N-weapons to edge ahead of India: US Report," January 31, 2011 <[http://articles.economictimes.indiatimes.com/2011-01-31/news/28430605\\_1\\_weapons-fissile-material-nuclear-arms](http://articles.economictimes.indiatimes.com/2011-01-31/news/28430605_1_weapons-fissile-material-nuclear-arms)>; <<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/us-embassy-cables-documents/181529>>.

61 See, for example, Office of the Secretary of Defense, "Military and Security Developments Involving the People's Republic of China," Department of Defense, 2010 <[http://www.defense.gov/pubs/pdfs/2010\\_CMPR\\_Final.pdf](http://www.defense.gov/pubs/pdfs/2010_CMPR_Final.pdf)>, pp.1-3, 29-35, 47.

62 Tellis, *India's Emerging Nuclear Posture*, p. 731.

63 Lavoy, "Islamabad's Nuclear Posture: Its Premises and Implementation," in Sokolski, ed., *Pakistan's Nuclear Future*, pp. 133-4. Vipin Narang labels this Pakistan's "asymmetric escalation" posture. Vipin Narang, "Posturing for Peace?" *International Security* 34, no. 3 (Winter 09/10), pp. 38-78.

64 Azfar ul-Ashfaq, "Deterrence Strategy to be Maintained: Musharraf," *The International News*, December 13, 2003, ISSN 1563-9479. V. R. Raghavan has noted that Indian military plans, like those in Pakistan, favor offensive action. V.R. Raghavan, "Limited War and Nuclear Escalation in South Asia," *The Nonproliferation Review*, pp. 89-91.

## Violence with Escalatory Potential

Domestic violence within Pakistan has been exacerbated by external factors, but its roots lie in unwise domestic decisions dating at least as far back as Zia ul-Haq's rule.<sup>65</sup> The potential for domestic blowback increased greatly when Pakistan's security apparatus decided to redirect the instruments used to expel the Soviet Union from Afghanistan against neighboring India. These "assets" have subsequently become severe liabilities as a result of growing weaknesses in governance and the provision of social services, shifting allegiances prompted during the George W. Bush administration's "war on terror," and by the Pakistan Army's selective campaigns against extremist groups that operate on its soil.

Violence perpetrated by Pakistanis against Pakistanis has reached tragic dimensions, and may well grow further. [See Appendix IV for a chronology of mass-casualty attacks within Pakistan.] These acts have not prompted crises between Pakistan and India. Indeed, to the extent that they reflect growing domestic tensions, difficulties in maintaining internal security and military efforts to combat extremist groups, Pakistan's travails may serve to reinforce Indian restraint, rather than to prompt an escalation-prone military response.

It is evident that Pakistan loses far more than India as a result of mass-casualty attacks on Indian soil that can be traced back to groups that are not greatly inconvenienced by Pakistan's security apparatus. After each crisis, India rebounds and India's economy resumes its high growth rate. Pakistan does not rebound after mass-casualty attacks. Its economy becomes increasingly burdened and its domestic political environment deteriorates. After each crisis sparked by a mass-casualty attack on Indian soil linked to Pakistani nationals, US-India relations improve, including bilateral military relations, while US-Pakistan ties deteriorate. For these reasons, New Delhi may not feel compelled to punish Pakistan in response to mass-casualty attacks unless domestic factors override this calculus.

Another source of violence on the subcontinent are the actions of extremist Hindu groups that seek to derail efforts to normalize India-Pakistan relations or to "pay back" Muslims for attacks by groups with ties to Pakistan's intelligence services. Attacks by militant Hindu groups, such as the 2007 Samjhauta (Friendship) Express train bombings, may also reoccur.<sup>66</sup> These attacks usually occur on Indian, not Pakistani soil. In the past, they have not disrupted bilateral ties for long periods of time and have not had severe escalatory potential. If, in the future, attacks by Hindu extremists occur on Pakistani soil, a very different dynamic could apply.

Yet another complicating factor for escalation control is mass-casualty attacks on Indian soil by disaffected Indian Muslims. These attacks tend to occur after incendiary decisions or actions by Hindu leaders at the national and state levels, such as the destruction of the Babri

---

65 There is a substantial literature on Pakistan's travails. For book-length treatments on this subject, see Husain Haqqani, *Pakistan: Between Mosque and Military* (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2005) and Stephen Philip Cohen, *The Idea of Pakistan* (Washington: The Brookings Institution, 2004).

66 See Muneeza Naqvi, "66 Die in India-Pakistan Train Attack," *Washington Post*, February 18, 2007, <<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/02/18/AR2007021801136.html>>.



Masjid in 1992 at Ayodhya and the Godhra riots in 2002.<sup>67</sup> Attacks in the future by Indian Muslims directed against Hindus could be prompted by similar incidents. They could be without direction from Pakistan or could be supported by elements there. Government leaders in India would need to determine these particulars and, if there is cross-border collusion, to be able to make credible, public evidence available to this effect – especially if New Delhi chooses to take punishing reprisals. The fraying of India's secular fabric, as with the fraying of Pakistan's cohesion, would add further uncertainty to escalation control. At the same time, uncertainty in identifying the perpetrators of mass-casualty attacks, as was the case after the July 2011 attacks in Mumbai, can add a buffer of time to decision making, which is an essential element of crisis management.

Covert campaigns to destabilize Indian and Pakistani control over sensitive areas clearly have the potential for pay back and unintended escalation. Both countries have a long litany of complaints in this regard, with New Delhi having the stronger case over the past quarter-century as a result of the concerted efforts by Pakistan's security apparatus to weaken India's hold on Muslim majority areas within its state of Jammu and Kashmir. Successive Indian coalition governments have concluded that escalation was not an advisable response to Pakistani provocations in Kashmir. They have instead decided to deal with unrest and insurgency *in situ*, rather than to raise these stakes. Instead, the impulse for escalation came from Rawalpindi. After a decade of indirectly supporting militancy without loosening New Delhi's grip on Kashmir, Pakistan's military leadership decided to seek to up the *ante* in the heights above Kargil. This dangerous gamble to internationalize the Kashmir dispute and to leverage a favorable diplomatic outcome backfired, in part because New Delhi again chose to refrain from significant escalatory responses.

When Pakistan's western border with Afghanistan became inflamed following the September 11, 2001 attacks on US soil, the primary focus of Pakistan's military and security apparatus shifted away from the eastern front. The Line of Control dividing Kashmir became relatively quiet and unconventional attacks directed against India shifted elsewhere. While local dissatisfaction with Indian governance remained high in Kashmir, the escalatory potential of this unrest was tempered by New Delhi's strong preference against internationalizing this dispute and by Rawalpindi's strong preference against facing a two front threat. This calculus of restraint over Kashmir could change because so much is in flux in Pakistan and Afghanistan. Elements in Pakistan could once again up the *ante* in Kashmir, as might the Government in India in Baluchistan or elsewhere in a weakened Pakistan. Alternatively, mutual sensitivities could reinforce restraint.

This brief survey clarifies many, but not all, sources of violence and instability on the subcontinent. For the foreseeable future, however, one driver of unintended escalation remains paramount: mass-casualty attacks on Indian soil by Muslim extremists based in Pakistan. The most severe nuclear-tinged crises in the past have occurred when mass-casualty attacks prompted Indian and Pakistani military forces to mobilize for war and when

---

67 See M.S. Liberhan, Report of the Liberhan Ayodhya Commission of Inquiry, June 30, 2009, <[http://www.thehindu.com/multimedia/archive/00014/Liberhan\\_Report\\_Part\\_14078a.pdf](http://www.thehindu.com/multimedia/archive/00014/Liberhan_Report_Part_14078a.pdf)>Liberhan\_Report\_Part\_14078a.pdf>; and G.T. Nanavati and Akshay H. Mehta, Report by the Commission of Inquiry Consisting of Mr. Justice G.T. Nanavati and Mr. Justice Akshay H. Mehta, September 18, 2008, <<http://www.sacw.net/DC/CommunalismCollection/ArticlesArchive/NanavatiReport1.pdf>>.

a small decision-making group in Pakistan sought to seize territory across the Kashmir divide to leverage favorable negotiating outcomes. These scenarios now seem unlikely. While Indian political leaders are capable of repeating some familiar mistakes, they may also understand that the full mobilization of the Indian Army for compellance purposes is unlikely to succeed. Instead, a mobilization like that of Brasstacks and Twin Peaks is likely to prompt a counter-mobilization and a military stand-off.

Pakistan's military leaders are also capable of repeating familiar mistakes, but they are unlikely to be so foolish as to authorize another Kargil-type misadventure. In this event, Islamabad would become even more isolated, risking greater political, economic, and military reprisals.<sup>68</sup> The escalation scenario that has now come to the fore involves limited war initiatives by Indian forces to seize Pakistani territory or to engage in other punishing actions in response to another mass-casualty attack on India soil. This scenario, no less than Kargil and Twin Peaks, will mobilize US crisis managers.

## The Role of Confidence-Building Measures in Crises

Two predictable consequences of severe crises between Pakistan and India are the breakdown of some confidence-building and nuclear risk-reduction measures and the activation of high-level US administration officials to prevent escalation. As P.R. Chari has noted:

Despite the availability of "hotlines" between the two military establishments, these were not utilized during the weeks leading up to the Brasstacks Exercise to de-escalate the rising tensions. It would be fair to concede that no faith could be reposed in this mode of communications during crisis situations due to mutual distrust. Consequently, a lack of contact between the military/political leaderships in India and Pakistan has distinguished the various crises that have erupted in their relations over the years.<sup>69</sup>

After crises, hotlines are typically established, or their use is reaffirmed. For example, after the 1990 crisis, Prime Ministers Chandra Shekar and Nawaz Sharif met at a South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation Summit in Male, where they agreed to set up a direct hotline as well as hotlines between the Foreign Secretaries and the Directors of Military Operations.<sup>70</sup> These mechanisms have subsequently been expanded, but have been notably unsuccessful in preventing or resolving crises.

Advocates of CBMs and NRRMs recognize their subordination to political and national security agendas.<sup>71</sup> When national leaders wish to take steps to normalize bilateral relations and ameliorate security concerns, they can signal their readiness to do so through these measures. In the absence of commitments to make progress, new CBMs and NRRMs are unlikely to be negotiated and some existing measures might atrophy. Likewise, when

68 S. Paul Kapur argues otherwise: "[T]he incentives will be high for weak, revisionist proliferants such as Pakistan to attempt to change the status quo by seizing territory and compelling third parties to intervene diplomatically." Kapur, *Dangerous Deterrent*, p. 178.

69 P.R. Chari, *Indo-Pak Nuclear Standoff* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1995), p. 137.

70 J.N. Dixit, *India-Pakistan in War & Peace* (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 229.

71 See, for example, Michael Krepon, Michael Newbill, Khurshid Khoja, and Jenny S. Drezin, *Global Confidence Building: New Tools for Troubled Regions* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999); Michael Krepon, ed., *Nuclear Risk Reduction in South Asia*; Michael Krepon, et al., *Escalation Control and the Nuclear Option in South Asia*.

the pursuit of improved ties is short-circuited by dangerous, escalatory-prone practices, these measures will be utterly insufficient for crisis prevention and de-escalation. “In these circumstances,” K. Subrahmanyam wrote, “if the hotline is used what will be the degree of credibility that will be attached to these communications?”<sup>72</sup>

Raja Menon has argued that “CBMs have been backed by little hard work and remain diplomatic hot air.”<sup>73</sup> This overstates the case. During severe crises, some CBMs are mostly adhered to (such as annual notifications of nuclear facilities and ballistic missile flight test pre-notifications), while other measures are mostly cast aside, such as the use of hotlines. Menon is undeniably correct, however, that high-level Indian and Pakistani support for these measures has been partial and episodic. Paradoxically but understandably, top-down impulses for progress usually come after crises, but are delayed by the lack of trust engendered by crises.

Progress has also been stymied by structural impediments. Powers of decision have rested in civilian hands in India, and with military leaders in Pakistan. Direct communication between Indian Prime Ministers and the Chiefs of Army Staff in Pakistan are irregular except when Army leaders have seized power. To complicate matters further, civil-military relations within Pakistan can make it extremely difficult for Indian and US leaders to resolve crises, as was most evident and well chronicled during Kargil. In this instance, Prime Minister A.B. Vajpayee tried to create space for Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif to climb down from an untenable position by suggesting that he may not have been fully engaged in decision making. If true, as is highly likely, then it would also be true that Sharif would not have the power of decision to de-escalate without military consent. Consequently, the backchannel created by the two Prime Ministers during Kargil had scant chance of success.<sup>74</sup> Little evidence exists of attempts by the leaders of India and Pakistan to resolve matters through backchannels during the 1990 and Twin Peaks crises.

Severe crises have been a manifestation of divides between Pakistan and India and within Pakistan. These divides are too wide to be bridged by CBMs and NRRMs. Technical and symbolic measures cannot substitute for sustained, top-down efforts and the consent of powerful interest groups to reconcile. Lacking these conditions for success, some CBMs and NRRMs are likely to fall by the wayside when serious crises flare. For example, hotlines remain underutilized during crises, while ballistic missile flight test notifications continue to be given. This juxtaposition suggests low expectations for high-level exchanges as well as mutual interest in preventing unintended escalation. Under these circumstances, national leaders in India and Pakistan have found it very difficult to engage directly in crisis management. Instead, they have turned to Washington, the essential crisis manager during the 1990, Kargil, Twin Peaks, and Mumbai crises.

---

72 K. Subrahmanyam, “The Myth of Nuclear Deterrence,” in K. Subrahmanyam, ed., *Nuclear Myths and Realities: India's Dilemma* (New Delhi: ABC Publishing House, 1981), p. 56.

73 Raja Menon, *A Nuclear Strategy for India* (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2000), p. 294.

74 See Strobe Talbott, *Engaging India: Diplomacy, Democracy, and the Bomb* (Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 2004); Lavoy, ed., *Asymmetric Warfare in South Asia*; and Riedel, “American Diplomacy and the 1999 Kargil Summit at Blair House.”

## US Crisis Management

During the four crises after Brasstacks, senior US administration officials have developed what amounts to a crisis management playbook for South Asia. This playbook is premised on the assumption that India might again be badly victimized by extremist groups linked to Pakistan. All crises have unique as well as common elements. Decision making will be partly *ad hoc*, reflecting new and fast-moving developments, and partly based on steps that have helped prevent escalation in the past. Washington's decision making has been mostly confined to a small group of senior officials, usually at the State Department, who rely heavily on the US embassies for field assessments and for reinforcing messages conveyed from the White House, State Department, and Pentagon. The effectiveness of Washington's playbook has depended upon what outcome the Government of India has wanted and was willing to accept.

After mass-casualty attacks at iconic Indian targets, Washington's most immediate objective is to play to for time to identify the perpetrators, help cooler heads prevail in New Delhi, persuade Pakistani authorities to take responsibility for actions originating on their soil, and pursue actions necessary for de-escalation. When India is the aggrieved party, calls for vengeance by the public and the press will reach a crescendo early afterward, when the circumstances behind the attack may not be clear. In past crises, Indian military plans were based on two-front, full mobilization scenarios like those employed in previous wars with Pakistan. These war plans required three weeks or more to implement, providing US leaders time to determine facts on the ground, to assess motives, and to pursue diplomatic remedies while New Delhi prepared for military contingencies.

During this interval, US presidents have conveyed urgent messages to political leaders in India and Pakistan. These messages have been reinforced by senior State Department officials, the Secretary and Deputy Secretary of Defense, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the National Security Advisor, and by the US ambassadors to India and Pakistan. A key component of US crisis management has involved message coordination and visits to the region by senior US Government officials. Another key element has been to coordinate with senior government officials from other key nations, as well as high-ranking officials from the European Union and the United Nations.

One measure of the severity of a crisis is the number of high-level foreign emissaries seeking to dampen tensions. During the 1990 crisis, deputy national security adviser Robert Gates and Richard Haass of the National Security Council staff led a US delegation to facilitate de-escalation and to propose CBMs that might be considered to help prevent similar crises. Gates and Haass arrived after the apogee of the crisis had passed, but by all accounts, their mission was effective in moving the parties further away from confrontation.<sup>75</sup> During the Kargil crisis, there was a notable absence of distinguished foreign visitors, but no shortage of direct communication between President Bill Clinton, his senior advisors, and other foreign leaders with Indian and Pakistani officials. At key junctures of the Twin Peaks crises,

---

75 See Cohen, et al., *The Compound Crisis of 1990*; P.R. Chari et. al., *Four Crises and a Peace Process*, pp. 80-117; Nayak and Krepon, "US Crisis Management in South Asia's Twin Peaks Crisis," in Davis, ed., *The India-Pakistan Military Standoff*, pp. 143-186; Col. (Retd.) David Smith, "The 2001-2002 Standoff: A Real-Time View," in Davis, ed., *The India-Pakistan Military Standoff: Crisis and Escalation in South Asia*, pp. 187-212.

Secretary of State Colin Powell, Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage, Assistant Secretary of State Christine Rocca, and Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld visited New Delhi and Islamabad. After the Mumbai attacks, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, Deputy Secretary of State John Negroponte, Assistant Secretary of State Richard Boucher, and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Mike Mullen visited the region.

The choreography of foreign dignitaries to reinforce Washington's messages has been another hallmark of US crisis management. During the Twin Peaks crisis, distinguished visitors to the subcontinent included British Prime Minister Tony Blair (January 2002), Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres (January 2002), Chinese Premier Zhu Rongji (January 2002), UN Secretary General Kofi Annan (January 2002), Russian Deputy Prime Minister Ilya Klebanov (February, 2002), Russian Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov (February 2002), Chinese Foreign Minister Tang Jiaxuan (May, June, and July 2002), Chinese President Jiang Zemin (who met with Indian and Pakistani leaders in Kazakhstan in June 2002), and Russian President Valimir Putin (June 2002).

Using the measurement device of visits by foreign dignitaries, the escalatory potential of the 2008 Mumbai attacks was far less than during the Twin Peaks crisis. Shortly after the Mumbai attacks, India and Pakistan were visited by British Prime Minister Gordon Brown (December 2008), Chinese Deputy Foreign Minister He Yafei (December 2008-January 2009), British Foreign Minister David Miliband (January 2009), the European Union's Javier Solana (July 2009), and UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon (February 2009). The indicator of visits by foreign dignitaries can sometimes be deceiving, however. Kargil had great escalatory potential, but did not prompt the same procession of visitors as Twin Peaks. One partial explanation for the absence of high-level emissaries during Kargil was that India and Pakistan quickly transitioned from crisis to limited war; another was the existence of a backchannel between the Indian and Pakistani prime ministers.

The role of China in conveying messages to Pakistan during crises is especially noteworthy. Quiet coordination between Washington and Beijing was an important page in the playbook employed by the Clinton and Bush administrations during the Kargil and Twin Peaks crises. Army Chief of Staff Pervez Musharraf and Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif both flew to Beijing during Kargil seeking tangible benefits or at least strong expressions of support from Beijing. They returned disappointed. Musharraf made three trips to Beijing during the Twin Peaks crisis, again returning with cautionary advice. China may well be Pakistan's "all-weather friend," but when very dark storm clouds gather over the subcontinent, Beijing has stood shoulder to shoulder with Washington in counseling restraint. [See Appendix V for a chronology of Pakistan-China interactions during crises.]

During these crises, Beijing's tepid response to Pakistani expectations of assistance has spoken volumes. Chinese leaders cannot view with equanimity domestic trend lines within Pakistan, nor the unconventional means chosen by its Army and intelligence services to keep India off-balance. But cautionary, public messages have been rare. One notable exception was Chinese President Jiang Zemin's speech to Pakistan's National Assembly in December 1996, in which he advocated "properly handling existing disputes in the spirit of seeking common ground while setting aside differences..."



We should look at the differences or disputes from a long perspective, seeking a just and reasonable settlement through consultations and negotiations while bearing in mind the larger picture. If certain issues can not be resolved for the time being, they may be shelved temporarily so that they will not affect the normal state-to-state relations.<sup>76</sup>

Even with Beijing's firm backing, US crisis management in South Asia has been challenging, in part because in intense crises, as Neil Joeck has noted, Pakistan and India will do "what [Thomas] Schelling expected" – they will compete in taking risks.<sup>77</sup> Escalation control is especially hard when both Pakistani and Indian military doctrine emphasize offensive action. The best strategy to prevent severe risk taking is to avoid future crises, but this presumes sufficient control over extremist groups that are willing to spark conflagrations and constructive learning from previous crises. Stephen Philip Cohen and his co-authors have concluded that, "Clearly, the military and political leaderships of both countries have learned little from past crises."<sup>78</sup> The primary lesson that India's military planners seem to have absorbed from prior crises is to provide more and quicker strike options to their political masters.

It is unclear what lessons Pakistan's military and intelligence services have taken away from prior crises, but miscalculation has been a hallmark of their pre-crisis behavior. If Rawalpindi has learned that crises with India sparked by extremist groups greatly damage Pakistan, they would pursue preventive measures that can render Indian military options moot. But there is considerable skepticism that Pakistan's security apparatus has the commitment to learn from or the capacity to act on this lesson.<sup>79</sup>

The apparent mix of lessons learned and unlearned does not provide sufficient grounds for optimism that future crises can be avoided.<sup>80</sup> Kanti Bajpai has emphatically argued that "military confrontation is distinctly possible in the future, indeed quite likely" as long as Pakistan's military and intelligence services remain trapped by their own "misperceptions of risk and gain."<sup>81</sup> The threads of miscalculation, misapprehension, misperception, and exaggerated threat estimates are woven through every past crisis.<sup>82</sup> For example, during the Twin Peaks crisis, New Delhi as well as Rawalpindi misperceived risk and gain. India's mobilization plans could not compel desired outcomes and were too uncertain and dangerous for the Prime Minister to execute. Misperception was also widely shared during Kargil, a crisis that New Delhi did not foresee and where, as Neil Joeck has noted, a small circle of senior Pakistani military officers "planned and conducted a war of aggression based on faulty premises, incomplete reading of history, and false assumptions of how India

76 Aparna Pande, "Pak-China: Changed Equations," *Indus Asia Online Journal*, August 26, 2009, <<http://iaoj.wordpress.com/2009/08/27/pak-china-changed-equations/>>.

77 Neil Joeck, "The Kargil War and nuclear deterrence," in Ganguly and Kapur, *Nuclear Proliferation in South Asia*, p.137.

78 Chari et al., *Four Crises and a Peace Process*, p. 215.

79 See, for example, Swami, India, Pakistan and the Secret Jihad and Swami, "A War to end a war: the causes and outcomes of the 2001-2 India-Pakistan crisis" in Ganguly and Kapur, eds., *Nuclear Proliferation in South Asia*, pp. 144-161.

80 On the absence of learning, see Chari et al., *Four Crises and a Peace Process*, p. 215. This book ends on an optimistic note, but Stephen Philip Cohen's subsequent writings have expressed a more pessimistic view.

81 Bajpai, "To war or not to war," in Ganguly and Kapur, *Nuclear Proliferation in South Asia*, p. 135.

82 See Chari et al., *Four Crises and a Peace Process*, especially p. 190.

would respond.”<sup>83</sup> Peter Lavoy’s authoritative reconstruction of decision making for Kargil reached the same conclusion:

The planners of Kargil assumed that India would not respond to what they considered to be localized military maneuvers on superior terrain with military escalation, and even if it did, Pakistani troops, together with pressure from allies, would be able to neutralize any possible Indian riposte. They were sorely mistaken.<sup>84</sup>

It is not reassuring when the initiation and outcome of crises come as a surprise to one or both contestants. Misperception is hard to avoid when the gulf between India and Pakistan has grown and when grievances have not narrowed since Partition.

Peter Lavoy draws the analytical conclusion that misperception and contesting interests can lead nuclear-armed states to fight each other, “but only where their vital interests are not at stake.”<sup>85</sup> Missteps and crises can, however, elevate peripheral into vital interests. If, for example, Indian forces were unable to recapture the heights above Kargil, and if Pakistan’s high command had decided to reinforce the intruders, New Delhi might well have resorted to more extreme measures. The return to the *status quo ante* in a peripheral area quickly became a vital interest to New Delhi.

Deterrence optimists have identified a silver lining in the Kargil crisis. As Sumit Ganguly and Devin Hagerty have argued, “Absent nuclear weapons, Pakistan would probably not have undertaken the Kargil misadventure in the first place; but absent nuclear weapons, India would likely have punished Pakistan much more severely for violating the Line of Control in such a blatant and duplicitous fashion.”<sup>86</sup> The particulars in this case, as enumerated by Kanti Bajpai, suggest otherwise: “India was fully prepared to fight for victory, even if it meant escalation... and was fully prepared for its escalatory step [air power] to be matched by one of Pakistan’s own.”<sup>87</sup> Peter Lavoy’s definitive account of Kargil, *Asymmetric Warfare in South Asia*, and interviews with decision makers by S. Paul Kapur support Bajpai’s conclusion.<sup>88</sup>

If constructive lessons are not learned, another crisis will almost certainly occur. Many iconic sites within India continue to be poorly secured and open to assault. The training and equipping of internal security forces in both India and Pakistan remain sluggish, at best. Pakistan’s military and intelligence services still appear to be far more focused on “foreign hands” than on internal threats to national cohesion, threats that are tackled in a very selective fashion. Vested interests in both countries view sustained progress toward improved bilateral relations as an unwarranted gift to an untrustworthy neighbor. Top-down impulses to normalize ties have been episodic and have typically generated blocking actions. Under these circumstances, a future crisis on the subcontinent will not come as a surprise, although its particulars will.

83 Joeck, “The Kargil War and nuclear deterrence,” in Ganguly and Kapur, *Nuclear Proliferation in South Asia*, p.138.

84 Lavoy, “Introduction: the importance of the Kargil conflict,” in Lavoy, ed., *Asymmetric Warfare in South Asia*, p. 32.

85 Ibid., p. 13.

86 Ganguly and Hagerty, *Fearful Symmetry*, p. 191.

87 Bajpai, “To war or not to war” in Ganguly and Kapur, *Nuclear Proliferation in South Asia*, p. 136.

88 Lavoy, ed., *Asymmetric Warfare in South Asia*; Kapur, *Dangerous Deterrent*, pp. 115-140.

As Stephen Philip Cohen and his co-authors have noted, previous crises between India and Pakistan have been managed, not resolved. These crises ended, in this view, because leaders in both countries concluded “that further escalation was self-defeating.”<sup>89</sup> This conclusion is not axiomatic. Escalatory steps could occur for the same reasons that crises reoccur: miscalculations need not stop once they have triggered a crisis. An absence of buffers continues to invite unintended escalation. For example, both countries are plagued by a lack of coordination in crises and by deficient joint military planning.<sup>90</sup> Another lingering concern has been identified by Neil Joeck: “Crises can lead to escapist thinking and human failings may overwhelm good judgment.”<sup>91</sup>

Still another wild card for crises and crisis management is the composition and standing of national governments. A strong government—like that in India during Twin Peaks and Mumbai—could either tilt toward escalation or find it easier, in a domestic political sense, to de-escalate during crises. Likewise, weak governments—as were the case in both Pakistan and India during the 1990 crisis and in Pakistan during the Mumbai crisis—might slide into an escalatory spiral more easily. Weak governments might also invite punishing reprisals. On the other hand, weak governments might also seek to avoid escalation and, in the case of Pakistan, might actually serve as a disincentive to punitive action, if New Delhi is concerned about the further unraveling of central, civil authority.

How government leaders react to escalatory developments depends more on cost/benefit assessments and the personality type of their leaders than on whether governments are weak or strong. Prime Ministers A.B. Vajpayee and Manmohan Singh were personally popular and sat atop stable governments during the Kargil, Twin Peaks, and Mumbai crises. As the severely aggrieved party, New Delhi could have had wide political latitude to take punishing ripostes. Many factors contributed to restraint in these cases. Perceived nuclear dangers were certainly a factor, but these prime ministers were disinclined toward bellicosity and wished to avoid actions that would have shut the door on improving bilateral ties.

Personality matters, as personality shapes preference. Prime Ministers Lal Bahadur Shastri and Morarji Desai were disinclined to advance India’s nuclear weapon programs, as was Vikram Sarabhai, the head of India’s Atomic Energy Commission. Their successors thought differently about the Bomb.<sup>92</sup> In the world’s largest democracy, decisions on national security rest on a small number of votes. As V.R. Raghavan has noted, there has been a shift in Indian decision making “from a collegial and consensus-based process to decisions arrived at by a small group of individuals based in the prime minister’s office.”<sup>93</sup> Partly for this reason, Kanti Bajpai has surmised that a future Indian government led by a more assertive leader of the Bharatiya Janata Party might be more inclined to resume nuclear testing or pursue a more bellicose approach to Pakistan than a Congress Party leader.<sup>94</sup>

89 P.R. Chari et al., *Four Crises and a Peace Process* (2007), pp. 188-89.

90 See Pervez Iqbal Cheema, *The Armed Forces of Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 184.

91 Neil Joeck, *Maintaining Nuclear Stability in South Asia*, Adelphi Paper 312 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 30.

92 For the role of personality in India’s nuclear programs, see, for example, Itty Abraham, *The Making of the Indian Atomic Bomb: Science, Secrecy and the Postcolonial State* (London: Orient Longman, 1998); Perkovich, *India’s Nuclear Bomb*; and Amrita Shah, *Vikram Sarabhai: A Life* (New Delhi: Penguin Books, 2007).

93 V.R. Raghavan, “Limited War and Nuclear Escalation in South Asia,” *The Nonproliferation Review*, p. 91.

94 Kanti Bajpai, “The BJP and the Bomb,” in Sagan, ed., *Inside Nuclear South Asia*, pp. 25-67.



A surprisingly diverse group of military officers have risen to become Chiefs of Army Staff in India and Pakistan. Three of them took risks that precipitated serious crises: K. Sundarji during Brasstacks, Mirza Aslam Beg during the 1990 crisis, and Pervez Musharraf prior to Kargil. As K. Subrahmanyam has written, “effective command of nuclear weapons may vest in the Chief of Army Staff. Hence changes in Army Chiefs of Staff in Pakistan are as important as changes in heads of government.”<sup>95</sup> The personality type of the Pakistani Chief of Army Staff is a key variable for crisis prevention and escalation control.

One of the conclusions reached by Stephen Philip Cohen and his co-authors was that Washington’s role as crisis manager grew from one crisis to the next in South Asia.<sup>96</sup> This progression is no longer assured. While China, Russia, Great Britain, the United Nations, the European Union and Japan all play helpful supporting parts in crisis management, they do not have the clout or the connections to play the leading role. Only the United States could have served as the honest broker and indispensable crisis manager from 1990 to Mumbai. It is becoming increasingly difficult for Washington to play this part, which will further complicate crisis management.

One constraint on US crisis management efforts is that some of the methods and “deliverables” used to defuse prior crises will be harder to carry out or will be suspect. One essential US service in the past has been to clarify facts on the ground and to deflate wildly exaggerated threat assessments, usually emanating from Pakistan. During the 1990 crisis, for example, US military attachés were allowed to visit staging areas for ground combat in India and Pakistan in order to confirm that preparations for war were not underway. An airplane belonging to the Air Force attaché in Pakistan was also used for this purpose. Reportedly, US national technical means have also been used during previous crises, and information has been shared to alleviate exaggerated or unwarranted concerns.<sup>97</sup>

It is becoming harder for the United States to perform the role of the honest broker and dispassionate dispenser of intelligence assessments during crises. After each crisis, US relations with Pakistan have become more problematic, while US-Indian ties have markedly improved. US standing in Pakistan has plummeted due to the pursuit of al Qaeda and Taliban leaders and their affiliates on Pakistani soil, the use of drone strikes, friction between the US and Pakistani intelligence communities, and disparate US and Pakistani objectives for a political settlement in Afghanistan. When combined with vastly improved US-Indian relations, including the US-India civil nuclear cooperation agreement, defense technology transfers, arms sales, and joint military training programs, Washington has lost the status of honest broker in Pakistan. Moreover, heightened sensitivities in Pakistan would appear to foreclose the use of US military personnel and equipment to help defuse crises, as was the case in 1990.

Washington helped defuse the Mumbai crisis by other means, including the provision of forensic support by the Federal Bureau of Investigation as well as other assistance to clarify culpability within Pakistan for these attacks. These methods could also be employed

95 K. Subrahmanyam, *Shedding Shibboleths*, p. 115.

96 Chari et al., *Four Crises and a Peace Process*, p. 192.

97 For the role played by US defense attachés during the 1990 crisis, see Krepon and Faruquee, eds., “Conflict Prevention and Confidence-Building Measures in South Asia: The 1990 Crisis.”

in a future crisis, which could be helpful to New Delhi and painful for Islamabad and Rawalpindi. The substantial deterioration in US-Pakistan relations could leave Islamabad in a quandary in a future crisis if the previously indispensable crisis manager is no longer welcome or politically acceptable. A crucial question that cannot be answered confidently in advance of another severe crisis on the subcontinent is how significantly improved ties between Washington and New Delhi would affect the choices of Pakistan's military and intelligence services.

Another complication for US crisis management is that New Delhi might choose to be increasingly unwilling to seek or accept promises extracted from Pakistani leaders and delivered by Washington. In past crisis, these promises have been ephemeral. For example, during the first spike of the Twin Peaks crisis, General Pervez Musharraf appeared on national television to announce that, "No organization will be allowed to perpetuate terrorism behind the garb of the Kashmiri cause." After the second spike, Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage traveled to Islamabad where he extracted a pledge from President Musharraf to do his utmost to cease infiltration "permanently" across the Line of Control. Armitage publicized Musharraf's pledge when he traveled to New Delhi at the behest of Indian leaders. Indian officials were very skeptical about both pledges, but they utilized them to help defuse a long, dangerous, and increasingly unwelcome crisis.<sup>98</sup>

It is unclear whether similar pledges would be sought or would be sufficient to resolve a future crisis sparked by another mass-casualty attack on India soil. The credibility of such pledges and the ability of Pakistani authorities to honor them have diminished over time. Pakistani actions, rather than pledges, are increasingly required to help defuse crises. But the actions that would be most credible to demonstrate constructive intent—a pro-active counter-terrorism campaign within Pakistan against groups most likely to target India, and cooperation between Pakistani and Indian intelligence agencies to combat terrorism—will be very hard to achieve. In their absence, New Delhi's risk/benefit calculus could be uncomfortably stark in the event of another attack against an iconic target that can be traced back to Pakistan. Another crucial question that cannot be answered confidently in advance of this scenario is how New Delhi's choices might be affected by significantly improved ties with the United States. Senior US officials believe that this factor helped defuse the Mumbai crisis.

## Conclusion

In a book published in 1991, Stephen Philip Cohen wrote that "India cannot make peace, Pakistan cannot make war."<sup>99</sup> The procession of crises analyzed in this essay suggests a more complex equation. It remains true that India cannot make peace without a partner in Pakistan, and Islamabad will only become New Delhi's partner if there are significant changes in Rawalpindi's threat assessments or in civil-military relations within Pakistan. It is also true that Pakistan's conventional military options to take the offensive against India are increasingly limited. There are, however, other options with escalatory potential.

<sup>98</sup> Nayak and Krepon, "US Crisis Management In South Asia's Twin Peaks Crisis," pp. 17-18.

<sup>99</sup> Stephen Philip Cohen, "Nuclear Neighbors," in Cohen, ed., *Nuclear Proliferation in South Asia: The Prospects for Arms Control* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1991), p. 15.

A small clique in the Pakistan Army sought to change the *status quo* along the Kashmir divide in 1999, resulting in a limited war below the nuclear threshold. Violence carried out by extremists, a common occurrence on the subcontinent over the past two decades, triggered an intense crisis in 2001-2002. This analysis suggests that additional crises of this magnitude cannot be ruled out, even if the 2008 Mumbai attacks did not prompt an escalatory spiral.

If and when there is another severe crisis on the subcontinent, it will play out in the context of a greater disparity in conventional capability in India's favor and a greater disparity in nuclear capability in Pakistan's favor. A future civilian government in Pakistan may have little writ over decisions made by its military and intelligence services. In response to another severe provocation, the Government of India may or may not feel compelled to take military actions below the nuclear threshold. If punitive military actions are taken, they could have a chastening effect on Pakistan's military establishment, or they could prompt a succession of more dangerous political and military developments. The worst case scenario of the possible use of nuclear weapons—whether by accident, miscalculation, a breakdown of command and control, or preconceived plan—has been overdramatized, but cannot be ruled out.

Washington will take steps to defuse another crisis, but some pages in its crisis management playbook may no longer be as effective. Profound changes in the fortunes of Pakistan and India, as well as in US relations with both countries, have occurred since the September 11, 2001 attacks on US soil and the Twin Peaks crisis that soon followed. The implications of these markedly different trajectories on crises and US crisis management are insufficiently appreciated and difficult to assess. What can be stated with greater assurance is that trends now evident on the subcontinent are not conducive to deterrence stability. Worrisome sources of instability remain in place and some are growing, especially Pakistan's internal weaknesses. Washington's crisis management playbook is geared toward preventing the initiation of conflict after a triggering event. There is no credible playbook, whether in India, Pakistan, or the United States, for escalation control once conflict has begun.



# Appendix I: The Structure of South Asian Crises from Brasstacks to Mumbai

Samuel Black<sup>1</sup>

**E**ditor's note: Crises between India and Pakistan, like Shakespearean plays, tend to unfold in five acts. The first act focuses on preliminary indicators of more serious trouble ahead. These developments may be subtle, at first, and then ominously cumulative. Government officials and intelligence community professionals have the responsibility to identify troubling pre-crisis developments and to provide early warning of dangers ahead to national decision makers. Act two begins with the triggering event for a crisis that will now unfold very publicly. Act three focuses of steps taken by the adversaries that have escalatory potential after the triggering event. The peak of the crisis constitutes the core of act four. Act five is the *dénouement*, where war or larger-scale war are averted due, in part to US crisis management efforts and, more importantly, the strong preference by Indian and Pakistani leaders to avoid uncontrolled escalation. These dramas could turn into great tragedies if the escalatory measures taken in act three reflect the intention to fight wars that leaders are unable to control. In this event, acts four and five will unfold quite differently. So far, however, nuclear-tinged crises in South Asia have had unresolved, but not tragic endings. This appendix by Samuel Black summarizes the structure of the Brasstacks crisis of 1986-7, the Compound crisis of 1990, the Kargil conflict in 1999, the Twin Peaks crisis of 2001-2, and the Mumbai crisis in 2008-9.

## The Brasstacks Crisis

### Prelude and Trigger

Both India and Pakistan typically conduct large-scale military exercises in the winter months. During the 1980s, India established a pattern of holding annual military exercises, with larger-scale exercises every third year. Brasstacks built upon and shared some commonalities with its predecessor, exercise Digvijay, in 1983. Like Digvijay, Brasstacks was held in the north of the border state of Rajasthan. This desert area is conducive to mechanized and tank warfare exercises, is sparsely populated, and does not support the intensive agriculture that would be disrupted by a military exercise. The desert along the

---

<sup>1</sup> The author is indebted to a number of people for their assistance with this appendix. First and foremost, to Michael Krepon for his guidance and his patience. He and Polly Nayak provided clarity about events for which it is sorely needed. Jessie Cleveland, Nate Cohn, Shireen Havewala, Will Shimer, and Allison Smith provided invaluable research and editing assistance. And Kate Loeffelman, as always, was an inspiration throughout. Any remaining errors remain the responsibility of the author alone.

Rajasthan-Punjab border has also been a fighting corridor in prior hostilities between India and Pakistan.<sup>2</sup>

Operation Brasstacks consisted of four stages. Brasstacks I, held in May and June of 1986, involved the Northern, Southern, and Western army commands. It was a map exercise held in New Delhi towards the end of July.<sup>3</sup> Brasstacks II, held in November, used a computerized war game to set the stage for a series of maneuvers executed by the Indian Army and Air Force. Brasstacks III, which was planned to begin immediately after the previous stage and last through December, called for segmented exercises designed to support large-scale, mobile offensive operations at the division and corps level. This phase reportedly involved “setting up standing operating procedures and drills, formulating concepts related to specific areas such as communications, electronic warfare, [and] amphibious operations.”<sup>4</sup> Brasstacks IV, due to occur in February and March of 1987, was to be the culmination of the previous stages. It would simulate a conflict between Northern and Southern forces (representing India and Pakistan, respectively) in an area approximately 160 by 240 kilometers, with the long axis of this area lying parallel to the international border. All told, Brasstacks involved two armored divisions, one mechanized division, and six infantry divisions. Two of the latter had been converted so as to comprise two infantry and one mechanized brigades, a formation known as Reorganized Army Plains Infantry Division or RAPID.<sup>5</sup>

From the perspective of some Indian leaders, Brasstacks could be viewed as an extension of Digvijay. Since Pakistan’s reaction to Digvijay had been relatively mild, some in New Delhi might have expected Rawalpindi’s reaction to Brasstacks to be about the same. Also, the exercise area was located east of the Indira Gandhi Canal, a major waterway. To cross it, Indian forces would have required bridging equipment which was not used in the exercise.<sup>6</sup>

Rawalpindi was most definitely not relaxed about Operation Brasstacks, which was larger and lengthier than Digvijay, and which was overseen by a risk-taking, ambitious Chief of Army Staff, General K. Sundarji. Brasstacks was designed to introduce and validate new strategies and concepts for conducting offensive combined arms operations, including the use of the RAPID formation. Live ammunition and a considerable number of tanks and mechanized vehicles were transported by rail to the exercise area.

Furthermore, Brasstacks was carried out during a troubled period in India-Pakistan relations. Pakistan was presumed to be close to developing nuclear weapons. Indian and then Pakistani troops had assumed positions on the previously demilitarized Siachen Glacier, which became the world’s highest area of combat. More importantly, Pakistan-

---

2 P.R. Chari, Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema, and Stephen P. Cohen, *Four Crises and a Peace Process: American Engagement in South Asia* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2007), pp. 42-5.

3 Shuja Nawaz, *Crossed Swords: Pakistan, Its Army, and the Wars Within* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 391.

4 Ibid., p. 391.

5 Chari et al., *Four Crises and a Peace Process*, pp. 44-6.

6 Ibid., p. 51.

backed separatist violence exploded in the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir<sup>7</sup>, as was the case in the Indian Punjab, another extremely sensitive state. Across the border in Pakistan, ethnic tensions in Sindh were high and rising. Pakistan strongly suspected a “foreign hand” behind domestic unrest. In Afghanistan, the US- and Pakistani-backed anti-Soviet jihad was ramping up. The region was tense, there were many reasons for mistrust, and enmity was rising.

Preparations for the fourth phase of Operation Brasstacks triggered the ensuing crisis. Pakistani military leaders were unsure whether the Brasstacks exercise’s major axis would be East-West or North-South. Nor could they be assured, given the proximity of the exercises just 60-80 kilometers from the international border, their emphasis on mobility and their size, that these maneuvers would not quickly evolve into a surprise attack. In his book about the Pakistan Army, *Crossed Swords: Pakistan, Its Army, and the Wars Within*, Shuja Nawaz, citing a Pakistan General Headquarters (GHQ) document, claims that GHQ possessed Indian documents indicating that Brasstacks was designed to mask an operation to bisect Pakistani territory by driving through the center of the country in a 500-kilometer long corridor roughly bounded by the towns of Bahawalpur in the north and Khairpur in the south.<sup>8</sup>

Pakistan’s intelligence services, in characteristic fashion, offered dire assessments, including the possibility that one of India’s goals was to “test operational planning and reaction to the use of limited tactical nuclear weapons by the enemy [Pakistan] to blunt the offensive of the strike Corps.”<sup>9</sup> Rawalpindi approved use of the hotline between the Indian and Pakistani Directors General of Military Operations to seek information from the Indian Army about Brasstacks in September and again in October. However, whatever replies were received do not seem to have been persuasive to Rawalpindi, which would soon seek additional information from the highest-ranking Indian government official, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi.

Rawalpindi sought more information during a leadership conference of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC). The SAARC meeting, which was held in Bangalore, India on November 16 and 17, was chaired by Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, with Prime Minister Mohammad Khan Junejo of Pakistan, among others, in attendance.<sup>10</sup> On the sidelines of the summit, Junejo expressed his concern about Brasstacks. Accounts of their meeting vary, but Rajiv Gandhi apparently told Junejo that Brasstacks would be reviewed. It is possible that Rajiv Gandhi either wasn’t fully aware of the details and implications of the exercise or dismissed Junejo’s intervention as an overreaction, or was vague in his assurances. For whatever reason, the Indian Prime Minister did not follow up

7 Any name used to describe this region will inevitably run afoul of the sensitivities associated with its political status. This appendix will use the names “Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir” or “Jammu and Kashmir” to describe the portion of the former princely state of Jammu and Kashmir that is administered by India. The name “Kashmir” will be used to refer to the region more generally. The author takes no position on the political disputes over the former princely state, and the use of these names should not be taken to infer any bias towards or against any party to the dispute.

8 Nawaz, *Crossed Swords: Pakistan, Its Army, and the Wars Within*, p. 392.

9 Ibid., p. 391.

10 “The Bangalore Declaration of the Heads of State or Government of the member countries of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation,” November 17, 1986, <<http://www.saarctourism.org/second-saarc-summit.html>>.



on what Pakistani authorities believed to be a promise to downgrade the exercise.<sup>11</sup> In any case, when the Indian armed forces undertook a preliminary evaluation of the first three phases of Brasstacks in December, their recommendation was to proceed with the fourth and largest phase on a slightly smaller scale.<sup>12</sup>

## Escalatory Steps

Two Pakistani strike corps were also holding exercises in the winter of 1986. Pakistan's Army Reserve South (ARS), comprising the 1st Armored Division and the 37th Infantry Division, was holding an exercise code-named Saf-e-Shikan in the Bahawalpur-Marot area. Meanwhile Army Reserve North (ARN)—the 6th Armored and 17th Infantry Divisions—carried out Exercise Flying Horse in the area between the Ravi and Chenab Rivers. Saf-e-Shikan was completed by the first week of November, while Flying Horse continued until the middle of December.<sup>13</sup> Army Reserve South remained near its exercise area after Saf-e-Shikan was completed, effectively positioning itself to defend against an Indian attack mounted by the forces participating in Brasstacks.<sup>14</sup>

As Operation Brasstacks progressed, the situation in the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir was deteriorating. In March 1986, the Indian Governor, Malhotra Jagmohan, suspended the state legislature and exercised a clause in the state constitution allowing him to “assume to himself all or any of the functions of the Government of the State.”<sup>15</sup> Political unrest in Muslim majority areas had grown noticeably since 1984, marked by strikes, demonstrations, and physical violence.<sup>16</sup> Pakistan's military and intelligence services were pleased to see unrest growing in the Kashmir Valley, which they had covertly supported. But they were not pleased to see an Indian Mountain Division deployed to Jammu and Kashmir, which presented the possibility of a two-pronged invasion from Indian forces now deployed close to the international border in Rajasthan and near the Line of Control in Jammu and Kashmir.<sup>17</sup>

Toward the end of December 1986, Army Reserve North completed Exercise Flying Horse and began Exercise Sledgehammer, which was situated near the town of Shakargarh, a mere 20 kilometers from the international border.<sup>18</sup> Army Reserve South moved northwest, away from the international border. It crossed the Sutlej River just north of Bahawalpur in the second week of January 1987, but these units did not continue in that direction towards their cantonment areas in Multan. Instead, the Army Reserve South wheeled right and headed northeast towards Lahore. The 37th Infantry Division stopped south of Lahore, opposite

11 Chari et al., *Four Crises and a Peace Process*, pp. 50 and 145.

12 Ibid., pp. 45-6.

13 Ibid., p. 52.

14 P.R. Chari, “Nuclear Crisis, Escalation Control, and Deterrence in South Asia,” Stimson Center Working Paper, August 2003, <[http://www.stimson.org/southasia/pdf/escalation\\_chari.pdf](http://www.stimson.org/southasia/pdf/escalation_chari.pdf)>, p. 15.

15 Constitution of Jammu and Kashmir, Article 92, Paragraph (a), <<http://jkgaad.nic.in/statutory/Rules-Constitution-of-J&K.pdf>>.

16 Sumit Ganguly, “Explaining the Kashmir Insurgency: Political Mobilization and Institutional Decay,” *International Security* 21, no. 2 (Fall 1996).

17 Nawaz, *Crossed Swords: Pakistan, Its Army, and the Wars Within*, p. 392.

18 Chari et al., *Four Crises and a Peace Process*, p. 53.



the Indian cities of Bhatinda and Ferozpur, while the 1st Armored Division continued past Lahore, to Gujranwala.<sup>19</sup>

By the end of January 1987, leaders in India as well as in Pakistan felt discomfort due to military maneuvers. Pakistan's Army Reserve North, with its 1st Armored Division in reserve, was now poised to drive north and east, a move which could sever India's line of communication between New Delhi and the state of Jammu and Kashmir. The Pakistan Army's GHQ had gambled by having its Army Reserve South move across the north bank of the Sutlej River. It was now poorly-positioned to counter a westward thrust by the Indian troops, but it was better positioned to seize Indian territory.<sup>20</sup>

## Peak

By the end of January 1987, the Brasstacks crisis had reached its apogee. Military forces were in position along fighting corridors in the desert and across the Kashmir divide. Military maneuvers appeared increasingly provocative and bilateral discussions were unsatisfactory. By mid-December, the hotline between the Directors General of Military Operations had effectively been de-activated. Pakistani leaders were dissatisfied by what they saw as a lack of forthright responses to their queries about Brasstacks. Indian political leaders recognized the severity of the crisis but were concerned that information provided via the hotline could be turned against them.<sup>21</sup>

After Rawalpindi moved Army Reserve North and Army Reserve South units toward the Indian border, General Sundarji initiated Operation Trident, moving Indian forces to defensive positions along the international border and reinforcing them with an airlift of reserve troops. In all, some 15 reserve divisions were deployed along the border, in positions designed to counter the threat posed by Pakistan's Army Reserve North and Army Reserve South.

## Dénouement

The forward deployment of 15 reserve divisions was not something India could accomplish overnight. The Indian government recognized that maneuvers of this magnitude would be monitored by Pakistan's intelligence services, which were in the habit of accentuating threats from India. Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and his senior advisors must have assessed that Operation Trident could be interpreted as a prelude to attack, because the Prime Minister's Office directed Minister of State for Defense Arun Singh and General Sundarji to publicly brief the press on January 18, 1987 to explain the rationale behind these deployments. Arun Singh and General Sundarji indicated India's readiness to negotiate a joint withdrawal from forward positions at the same time that the Army was engaged in occupying them.<sup>22</sup> If

---

19 Ibid., p. 53.

20 Ibid., pp. 53-4.

21 Chari, "Nuclear Crisis, Escalation Control, and Deterrence in South Asia," p. 16; Chari et al., *Four Crises and a Peace Process*, p. 63.

22 Chari et al., *Four Crises and a Peace Process*, pp. 40, 55, 64.

Operation Trident had been a prelude to attack, Rajiv Gandhi would not have allowed the press conference to take place a full five days before the deployment was completed.<sup>23</sup>

After the January 18 briefing, public statements and private diplomacy supported de-escalation. US Ambassador to India John Gunther Dean discussed the situation with Minister of State for Defense Arun Singh on January 23. Arun Singh expressed New Delhi's concern about the deployment of Army Reserve South close to the international border and asked for information about the move. Dean then passed on the request via Washington and the US Embassy in Islamabad to the Pakistani leadership. American diplomats expressed the view to both Indian and Pakistani officials that simultaneous, unusually large military maneuvers were taking place, and that neither side had aggressive intentions toward the other. Washington also warned of the danger of misperceptions spurring an accidental and unwanted conflict, and urged both India and Pakistan to discuss the maneuvers directly.<sup>24</sup>

The next day, January 24, both New Delhi and Islamabad offered conciliatory statements. Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi expressed his interest in de-escalating border tensions to Pakistan's Ambassador to India, Humayun Khan, prior to a meeting on another matter. This remark was widely reported, as was a press conference held by Humayun Khan later that day in which he discussed the assurances conveyed by Rajiv Gandhi. Also on January 24, Rajiv Gandhi reorganized the leadership of the Defense Ministry, a move that appeared to signal his lack of confidence in Arun Singh and his lack of interest in an accidental war with Pakistan. Arun Singh was relieved of his duties, and a new Minister of Defense (Rajiv Gandhi had to this point formally held the portfolio of the Minister of Defense), V.P. Singh, was put in charge.<sup>25</sup>

On January 25, Rajiv Gandhi and Prime Minister Junejo had a telephone conversation in which both expressed a desire for normalcy. Later that day, Pakistan's President Zia ul-Haq (who was concurrently serving as Chief of Army Staff) left the country for a meeting of the Organization of the Islamic Conference in Kuwait. While some of Zia's advisers were concerned about him being out of the country at a time of heightened tension, Zia was more concerned about the message that would be sent if he cancelled the trip. As it turned out, his departure, like Rajiv Gandhi's decision to reorganize the Defense Ministry, indicated his intent to avoid a war caused by unnecessarily provocative military maneuvers. For the first time in almost two months, the Directors General of Military Operations (DGMOs) conferred on their hotline.<sup>26</sup>

On January 26, Islamabad announced that Foreign Secretary Abdul Sattar would visit India for talks on defusing the crisis. New Delhi announced that while its forces would remain on alert for the time being, it would undertake no new deployments. Talks between the two Foreign Secretaries began on January 31, and were characterized by both governments in a positive way. On February 4, Indian and Pakistani leaders announced an agreement providing for a 15-day staged withdrawal from the international border and Line of Control. Pakistani authorities agreed to withdraw one infantry and one armored division, while the

23 Vipin Narang, "Posturing for Peace: Pakistan's Nuclear Postures and South Asian Stability," *International Security* 34, no. 3 (Winter 2009/10), p. 51.

24 Chari et al., *Four Crises and a Peace Process*, p. 74.

25 Ibid., p. 56.

26 Ibid., pp. 56, 62.

Indian Army withdrew a mountain division. In addition, national leaders agreed not to make offensive moves toward the border and to deactivate forward air bases.<sup>27</sup>

While immediate military danger was lifted by the February 4 agreement, political tension remained until President Zia visited India to engage in “cricket diplomacy.” General Zia and Rajiv Gandhi held informal discussions on bilateral relations during a cricket match at Jaipur, which helped bring a sense of normalcy back to the subcontinent.

## The 1990 Crisis

### Prelude and Trigger

The 1990 Crisis was triggered mostly by a major Pakistani military exercise and a severe surge of separatist violence in the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir. Another contributing cause in what Stephen Philip Cohen and his co-authors describe as a “compound” crisis was Sikh separatism in the Indian Punjab which, like the violence in the Kashmir Valley, was abetted by Pakistan’s intelligence services. Sikh radicalization culminated in 1984 when militants led by Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale seized the Golden Temple complex in Amritsar. Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi authorized Operation Bluestar in order to clear the temple, during which at least 500 soldiers, militants, and bystanders perished. Subsequently, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was assassinated by two of her Sikh bodyguards, which sparked mass anti-Sikh riots in which tens of thousands perished. The Indian Punjab was still suffering from Sikh militancy and alienation when the 1990 crisis occurred.<sup>28</sup>

The 1990 crisis was compounded further because India and Pakistan were led by weak governments facing formidable domestic political opposition. The two Prime Ministers, Benazir Bhutto and V.P. Singh, issued provocative and harsh public statements, making resolution of the 1990 crisis more difficult.

V.P. Singh was the leader of the Janata Dal Party which, with its allies, formed the National Front. The two most powerful parties in Indian politics, the Congress Party and the Bharatiya Janata Party, as well as the Communist Left Front, were all outside Singh’s fragile coalition government. One complaint about V.P. Singh was that he failed “to provide any substantial intellectual foundation for public policy responses to India’s strategic needs.”<sup>29</sup> V.P. Singh was in no position to appear meek or solicitous when on the receiving end of Pakistani threats during the crisis.

27 Ibid., pp. 57-8.

28 Simrat Dhillon, “The Sikh Diaspora and the Quest for Khalistan: A Search for Statehood or for Self-preservation?” Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies Research Paper #12, December 2007, <[http://www.ipcs.org/pdf\\_file/issue/1787132181IPCS-ResearchPaper12-SimratDhillon.pdf](http://www.ipcs.org/pdf_file/issue/1787132181IPCS-ResearchPaper12-SimratDhillon.pdf)>, pp. 2-4; Varinder Walia, “Army reveals startling facts on Bluestar,” *The Tribune* (Chandigarh, India), March 19, 2007, <<http://www.tribuneindia.com/2007/20070320/punjab1.htm>>; Jaskaran Kaur, “Twenty Years of Impunity: The November 1984 Pogroms of Sikhs in India,” Ensaaf Report, 2nd Edition, October 2006, <<http://ensaaf-org.jklaw.net/publications/reports/20years/20years-2nd.pdf>>.

29 M.L. Sondhi, “Security In Perspective,” *The Hindustan Times*, April 24, 1998, <<http://mlsondhi.org/Indian%20Foreign%20Policy/SECURITY%20IN%20PERSPECTIVE.htm>>.

Pakistan's power struggles have long featured a triangular competition between the prime minister, the president, and most importantly, the chief of army staff. Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto was by far the weakest leg of this triangle, which included President Ghulam Ishaq Khan and Chief of Army Staff Mirza Aslam Beg. Pakistan's pre-eminent leader for nearly a decade, General Zia ul-Haq, had been killed in a mysterious plane crash in August 1988. Zia had removed Prime Minister Muhammad Khan Junejo prior to his violent death, but had not yet replaced him. Since Zia had been President and Chief of Army Staff concurrently, all three major power centers were simultaneously vacant. Ghulam Ishaq Khan, the Chairman of the Senate at the time of the crash, was constitutionally next in line to be President, and was sworn in at Army GHQ the same day as the crash. He in turn promoted then-Vice Chief of Army Staff Beg. Benazir Bhutto became the third, unwelcome, leg of the triangle after national elections in November 1988 were won by her Pakistan Peoples Party.<sup>30</sup>

India, too, faced a difficult internal situation. Rigged state elections in 1987 exacerbated the turmoil brewing in Jammu and Kashmir (which had preceded the Brasstacks crisis). Widespread violence erupted in August 1988 and was further exacerbated by Pakistani intelligence and military support for some of the perpetrators and by the botched responses of state and national officials to domestic unrest.<sup>31</sup> Violence increased throughout the remainder of 1988 and spiked dramatically the following year, when the number of incidents recorded by India's Ministry of Home Affairs increased from 390 in 1988 to 2154 in 1989.<sup>32</sup>

The prelude to the 1990 crisis included unrelenting pressures on Benazir Bhutto. She faced and won a no-confidence vote in Parliament by parties aligned with the Army who complained about her perceived lack of toughness towards India. Benazir Bhutto's rhetoric became more hawkish after the vote, most notably by promising during the height of the crisis to wage a thousand year war to liberate Kashmir.<sup>33</sup> Meanwhile, General Beg was planning the Army's largest-ever military exercise, Zarb-e-Momin (Strike of the True Believer). The exercise area was near the International Border dividing Punjab, which was still in turmoil from Sikh separatist violence. The commencement of this exercise was set for December 1989. It would involve 200,000 soldiers, including four army corps, seven infantry divisions, one armored division, three independent infantry and armor brigades, a squadron of Army Cobra helicopters, air defense units, and air squadrons. A Pakistani Air Force exercise, Highmark, in which aircraft fired live missiles, rockets, and bombs, was merged with the Army exercise to create "a realistic air-threat environment."<sup>34</sup>

Zarb-e-Momin was designed to simulate defending against a two-pronged thrust from India. The forces taking part in the exercise were divided such that the attacking force ("Foxland") outnumbered the defending force ("Blueland") by a ratio roughly equivalent to that of the overall troop strengths of India and Pakistan.<sup>35</sup> During these exercises, which were observed by military attachés from India and other countries, Blueland apparently lost

30 Nawaz, *Crossed Swords: Pakistan, Its Army, and the Wars Within*, pp. 391-411.

31 Howard B. Schaffer, *The Limits of Influence: America's Role in Kashmir*, (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2009), p. 124.

32 Chari et al., *Four Crises and a Peace Process*, pp. 84-5.

33 George Perkovich, *India's Nuclear Bomb: The Impact on Global Proliferation* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2001), p. 307.

34 Chari et al., *Four Crises and a Peace Process*, p. 86.

35 Nawaz, *Crossed Swords: Pakistan, Its Army, and the Wars Within*, pp. 418-420.

several of the engagements, and the exercise formally wound down earlier than planned. However, Pakistani forces did not return to their cantonments, as would be expected after the conclusion of a major exercise.<sup>36</sup> In December 1990, with 200,000 Pakistani troops remaining in the field, events in the Indian State of Jammu and Kashmir again took a turn for the worse. Separatists kidnapped the daughter of India's Home Minister (a Muslim from the Kashmir Valley), sparking an intense popular upheaval. According to Howard Schaffer:

In Srinagar and other Valley cities and towns, thousands marched in defiance of curfews and police cordons to demand azadi – literally independence – for Kashmir. As violence surged in January 1990, government authority in the Valley virtually collapsed. Hundreds of Kashmiri citizens were killed. New Delhi ordered in the army to reinforce police and paramilitary units, dismissed the badly shaken Kashmir state government, and placed the state under central control.<sup>37</sup>

In December 1989, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto sent an accomplished diplomat, Abdul Sattar, to New Delhi in an attempt to improve relations. Pakistani newspapers reported that Prime Minister V.P. Singh “conveyed a warning to Pakistan to stop supporting the freedom movement in Kashmir or face the consequences.”<sup>38</sup> The juxtaposition of the Zarb-e-Momin exercise, the massive uprising in the Kashmir Valley, the ongoing Sikh insurgency in the Indian Punjab, and weak civilian governments in India and Pakistan, set the stage for a crisis.

## Escalatory Steps

In early 1990, the Indian Army undertook “precautionary movements” in which three additional troop divisions were deployed to the state of Jammu and Kashmir and one additional division was moved to Punjab.<sup>39</sup> These deployments supported the crackdown on militancy by the Governor of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, Malhotra Jagmohan. In addition to bringing in regular army troops, the governor also dissolved the state assembly and imposed curfews. Violence remained high, with more than 200 fatalities between January and March of 1990.<sup>40</sup>

Pakistani authorities initiated a second diplomatic overture in January 1990, one that exacerbated the situation. Foreign Minister Sahibzada Yaqub Khan visited New Delhi for three days, starting on January 21. He was apparently under instructions to deliver a tough message, and may have actually brandished or hinted at the threat of nuclear war.<sup>41</sup> The Government of India's response was unambiguously negative. As the government-sponsored Kargil Committee Report recalled:

[Sahibzada Yaqub Khan] referred to the tense situation in the Valley and hinted that this situation could get out of control. The manner in which this message was conveyed led both V.P. Singh and I.K. Gujral to take Yakub Khan's demarche as an ultimatum. It was taken

36 Ibid., p. 421.

37 Schaffer, *The Limits of Influence: America's Role in Kashmir*, p. 125.

38 Chari et al., *Four Crises and a Peace Process*, p. 89.

39 Chari, “Nuclear Crisis, Escalation Control, and Deterrence in South Asia,” p. 16.

40 Chari et al., *Four Crises and a Peace Process*, p. 87.

41 Ibid., pp. 89-90, 101, 107.

so seriously that the Cabinet Committee on Political Affairs was convened informally to discuss the matter.<sup>42</sup>

After a meeting of the Cabinet Committee, Prime Minister V.P. Singh stated that India would “retaliate even if it meant war” to any provocations. For his part, Sahibzada Yaqub Khan returned home and gave a nationally televised address in which he discussed Pakistan’s Kashmir policy in forceful, belligerent, hawkish terms.<sup>43</sup>

With Islamabad and New Delhi exchanging verbal broadsides over the violence in Kashmir, in February the Indian Army began its annual winter exercises in Rajasthan (on a much smaller scale than Brasstacks). The Mahajan training range in Rajasthan, where Indian armored units exercise, is approximately 160 kilometers away from the Pakistani city of Multan, an area where some of the Pakistani troops, including its reserve divisions, had remained after the completion of the Zarb-e-Momin exercise in December.<sup>44</sup> Pakistan’s reserve forces were moved into positions that would allow them to rapidly strike across the international border. The Indian and Pakistani Air Forces were placed on a higher state of alert.<sup>45</sup> Once again, Indian and Pakistani troops were facing each other across the border. By the end of February, tensions were high and still rising.

## Peak

Rhetorical volleys peaked in March and April, as did the crisis. Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto spoke at the aforementioned rally in Muzaffarabad on March 13, promising a “thousand-year war” in support of the Kashmiri separatists and pledging several million dollars to their cause. On April 10, 1990, in a speech to Parliament, Prime Minister V.P. Singh asked parliamentarians to be “psychologically prepared for war.” He also issued a rejoinder to Benazir Bhutto’s remarks at the March 13 rally in Muzaffarabad: “I warn them [that] those who talk about a thousand years of war should examine whether they will last a thousand hours of war.” On April 15, the Indian Home Minister, Minister Mufti Muhammed Sayeed (a Kashmiri), was quoted as saying that war would be “fully justified if the objective of freeing Kashmir from the stranglehold of the secessionists was achieved.”<sup>46</sup>

These fierce statements prompted more concerted, high-level US interest in the crisis as well as a re-evaluation within Pakistan and India of their military postures. After Prime Minister V.P. Singh’s speech, Pakistani Chief of Army Staff Mirza Aslam Beg asked his corps commanders to carry out a detailed threat assessment of the Indian Army’s winter exercises in Rajasthan, which Pakistani intelligence indicated involved 100,000 troops located within 80 kilometers of the international border. Indian Army spokesmen claimed that only two

42 K. Subrahmanyam, K.K. Hazari, B.G. Verghese, and Satish Chandra, *From Surprise to Reckoning: The Kargil Review Committee Report* (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2000), p. 65.

43 Chari et al., *Four Crises and a Peace Process*, pp. 90-1.

44 “Conflict Prevention and Risk Reduction: Lessons from the 1990 Crisis,” in Michael Krepon and Chris Gagne, eds., *Nuclear Risk Reduction in South Asia* (New Delhi: Vision Books, 2003), p. 200. This chapter is also available as Mishi Faruquee and Michael Krepon, eds., “Conflict Prevention and Confidence-Building Measures in South Asia: The 1990 Crisis,” Henry L. Stimson Center, Occasional Paper #17, April 1994, <<http://www.stimson.org/southasia/pdf/occasionalpaper17.pdf>>.

45 Chari, “Nuclear Crisis, Escalation Control, and Deterrence in South Asia,” p. 16.

46 Chari et al., *Four Crises and a Peace Process*, p. 91.



newly-equipped tank units were performing exercises, and said that the Army's strike corps were still in their peacetime cantonments. A Pakistani parliamentary committee was informed by GHQ on April 14 that the armed forces were in a "high state of preparedness and vigilance to meet any external threat."<sup>47</sup>

The US Department of State viewed the situation with significant concern. Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs Robert Kimmit issued the Department's first public statement on the crisis on April 18, cautioning that "there is a growing risk of miscalculation which could lead events to spin dangerously out of control."<sup>48</sup> With the knowledge of Indian and Pakistani authorities, US military attachés in Islamabad and New Delhi had been making regular trips to monitor and assess the dispositions of Indian and Pakistani forward deployed troops since February. At the height of the crisis, attachés were observing staging areas near the international border and Line of Control at least every other week. While they observed substantial deployments of infantry, the attachés based in New Delhi viewed the deployments along the Kashmir divide as being entirely consistent with India's declared aim of reducing cross-border and cross-Line of Control infiltration. As for the international border, they observed no activities consistent with preparations for launching a military offensive, such as the requisitioning of trains to move heavy equipment and ammunition to the front.<sup>49</sup>

At this point, Pakistan's primary concern was India's armor exercises in Rajasthan. The Indian armed forces were concerned about the prolonged deployment of troops involved in Zarb-e-Momin along the international border. Indian Air Force squadrons in the border areas were put on a higher state of alert, matching the heightened alert status already in effect at corresponding Pakistani Air Force bases. On the same day as the Pakistan Army briefed parliament on its deployments, Prime Minister V.P. Singh discussed India's military posture with the Indian press. He shared India's assessment that Pakistan's deployment of armored regiments along the International Border might be a prelude to an attack; he also noted that Pakistani forces along the Kashmir divide were on "red alert."<sup>50</sup>

## Dénouement

After nearly two weeks at peak tension, the crisis began to unwind. India's Defense Secretary Naresh Chandra was quietly sent to Islamabad and Rawalpindi to provide assurances to Pakistani military and political leaders that India's forces were not preparing to attack. These assurances were validated by the US Embassies in Islamabad and New Delhi, which shared the results of the trips by military attachés to forward areas. These small, quiet first steps facilitated larger ones. On April 25, Indian and Pakistani leaders arranged for their Foreign Ministers to meet in New York City on the sidelines of the meeting of the U.N. General Assembly. The Foreign Ministers, as authorized by their superiors, agreed to reduce tensions by reinvigorating existing confidence-building measures such as the hotline between their respective DGMOs and by keeping all lines of communication open. After this conversation, no additional troops were deployed by either side. This high-level

47 Ibid., pp. 91-2.

48 Ibid., p. 97.

49 Krepon and Gagne, eds., *Nuclear Risk Reduction in South Asia*, pp. 201-6.

50 Chari et al., *Four Crises and a Peace Process*, p. 93.



intervention was crucial. As noted by Chari, Cheema, and Cohen, “Both sides were well aware of the many factors that cautioned against a drift toward war. In the absence of clear directions from political bosses, however, political statements were ambiguous enough to allow for unnecessary saber rattling, which continued for quite some time.”<sup>51</sup> The widely-reported and high-profile meeting between senior government officials to discuss ways of reducing tensions signaled the joint commitment of Indian and Pakistani leaders to de-escalate tensions.

US diplomats and military attachés in the region reinforced the April 25 commitment by the Foreign Ministers in several useful ways. US embassies in Islamabad and New Delhi were in regular communication to coordinate on crisis management, to ascertain the validity of, and to rebut rumors of, threatening maneuvers. When the first troops were withdrawn from the international border in early May, both sides used the United States to verify the other’s moves.<sup>52</sup> As Howard Schaffer recalled, “The two armed forces tended to overreact to one another’s movements, and Washington’s initial interventions were designed to reduce their largely unwarranted concerns.”<sup>53</sup>

On May 16, the White House announced that Deputy National Security Adviser Robert Gates would visit the region. He arrived on May 20, and met with Pakistani President Ghulam Ishaq Khan and General Beg in Pakistan. He then traveled to New Delhi to meet with Prime Minister V.P. Singh, External Affairs Minister I.K. Gujral, and Minister of State for Defense Raja Ramanna.<sup>54</sup> Gates told Ghulam Ishaq Khan and General Beg that US war games indicated that Pakistan would surely lose a war with India, and that the United States would not intervene on Pakistan’s behalf should the two neighbors come to blow. In New Delhi, Gates’ message centered on the necessity for India to avoid taking actions that would cause the situation to escalate further. He also shared the results of US war games with his interlocutors, adding that the long-term costs of even an Indian victory would exceed the short-term benefits.<sup>55</sup> Gates also committed the United States to helping India and Pakistan verify a mutual withdrawal of military forces from border regions, and suggested confidence-building measures (CBMs) to help prevent unplanned escalation in the future.<sup>56</sup>

Moscow and Beijing also sent messages to both Islamabad and New Delhi that conveyed similar entreaties to step back from the brink. Within two weeks of Gates’ trip to the region, the crisis was essentially over. Indian government spokesmen announced the end of Indian Army exercises in Rajasthan. The Indian government also proposed a number of CBMs for consideration by Pakistan, including a measure to prevent airspace violations by the Indian and Pakistani Air Forces, which was subsequently agreed to in 1991. Pakistan recommended Foreign Secretary-level talks to discuss contentious issues.<sup>57</sup>

51 Ibid., p. 94.

52 Krepon and Gagne, eds., *Nuclear Risk Reduction in South Asia*, pp. 204-5, 215

53 Schaffer, *The Limits of Influence: America’s Role in Kashmir*, p. 129.

54 Siddharth Varadarajan, “When Robert M. Gates Came Calling,” *The Hindu*, November 10, 2006, <<http://www.hindu.com/2006/11/10/stories/2006111019281400.htm>>.

55 Devin T. Hagerty, “Nuclear Deterrence in South Asia: The 1990 Indo-Pakistani Crisis,” *International Security* 20, no. 3 (Winter 1995).

56 Chari et al., *Four Crises and a Peace Process*, pp. 97-8.

57 Ibid., p. 95.

## The Kargil Conflict

### Prelude and Trigger

The former princely state of Jammu and Kashmir was divided between India and Pakistan in 1947, and has been a bone of contention ever since. The Kargil conflict, the third war over Kashmir since Partition, was prompted by a plan by a few senior officers in the Pakistan Army to alter the territorial situation in Kashmir in Pakistan's favor. Feroz Hassan Khan, Peter Lavoy, and Christopher Clary have identified the key planners as Chief of Army Staff Gen. Pervez Musharraf, Chief of General Staff Lt. Gen. Muhammad Aziz Khan, 10 Corps Commander Lt. Gen. Mahmud Ahmed, and General Officer Commanding Force Command of Northern Areas Maj. Gen. Javed Hassan.<sup>58</sup>

Kargil is a small town roughly halfway between Srinagar and Leh in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. The terrain in the heights above Kargil is inhospitable to warfare. Mountains near the town are more than 4000 meters high, and even the lesser peaks are quite rugged. The area is generally covered in a thick layer of snow from November until April or May. During this long winter season, Indian and Pakistani troops along the Line of Control (LoC) dividing Kashmir are typically withdrawn from forward positions. When the snow melts, vehicular traffic traverses highway 1A, which connects Srinagar and Leh. This route is the most important means of re-supplying Indian positions in Ladakh, the easternmost region of the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir. A spur of the road also provides India's only access to the contested Siachen Glacier.<sup>59</sup> The Kargil Review Committee reported that the interdiction of highway 1A would have "far reaching political, diplomatic, and military implications."<sup>60</sup>

The plan authorized by General Musharraf and briefed to Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif called for elements of the Northern Light Infantry to cross the LoC during the winter season in several different sectors along a 100 kilometer corridor extending roughly from Dras to Kargil. The distance between highway 1A and the LoC is at its smallest in this corridor. Upon reaching forward positions, the infiltrators would establish approximately 100 bunkers at various important points along the corridor.<sup>61</sup> By infiltrating when Indian troops had withdrawn from forward positions, this bold plan held out the prospect of success and leverage on Indian decision makers – or so the planners thought.

According to Peter Lavoy, "The planners of Kargil assumed that India would not respond to what they considered to be localized military maneuvers on superior terrain with military escalation, and even if it did, Pakistani troops, together with pressure from allies, would be able to neutralize any possible riposte."<sup>62</sup> To be able to withstand international pressures

58 Feroz Hassan Khan, Peter R. Lavoy, and Christopher Clary, "Pakistan's Motivations and Calculations for the Kargil Conflict," in *Asymmetric Warfare in South Asia: The Causes and Consequences of the Kargil Conflict*, ed. Peter R. Lavoy (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 85.

59 Schaffer, *The Limits of Influence: America's Role in Kashmir*, p. 157.

60 Subrahmanyam et al., *From Surprise to Reckoning: The Kargil Review Committee Report*, p. 93.

61 Ibid., p. 513.

62 Peter R. Lavoy, "Introduction: the Importance of the Kargil Conflict," in *Asymmetric Warfare in South Asia: The Causes and Consequences of the Kargil Conflict*, ed. Peter R. Lavoy (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 32.

long enough to gain tactical advantage from this incursion, the Pakistan Army leadership sought to deny its role in the plan and its implementation.

Troops from the Northern Light Infantry (NLI) were employed in the operation and characterized as mujaheddin when the infiltration was belatedly discovered by the Indian government. To maintain plausible deniability of its involvement, Pakistan's Army leadership chose not to provide the infiltrators with appropriate logistical support once the Indian Army and Air Force joined the fight. Islamabad's already flimsy cover story collapsed at the end of May when Indian intelligence succeeded in recording a conversation between General Musharraf and Chief of General Staff Lt. Gen. Mohammad Aziz in which they discussed the Kargil operation, exposing the Army leadership as being deeply involved in the incursion.<sup>63</sup>

While an Indian helicopter reconnaissance mission detected footprints in one of the infiltrated areas on March 31, 1999, subsequent flights could not confirm the presence of intruders.<sup>64</sup> The Indian government again received evidence of an intrusion on May 6, when local herders reported seeing people on the Indian side of the LoC in positions normally left vacant in the winter.<sup>65</sup> Between May 7 and May 19, Indian military and intelligence services gained improved situational awareness of the extent of intrusions. As each position was discovered, the Indian Army introduced brigade-strength reinforcements into the relevant sector.<sup>66</sup>

By May 17, the Indian Army had arrived at an initial estimate of the intruding force of between 540 and 680, spread across four different sectors of the corridor.<sup>67</sup> Indian combat troops captured some of the intruders. Supplementing information gleaned from interrogations of these prisoners were identification documents and diaries recovered from the dead. As Bruce Riedel, who was then on staff at the National Security Council, recalled later, Pakistan's denial of official involvement was "not taken seriously anywhere."<sup>68</sup>

## Escalatory Steps

The Indian Army's initial probes of the infiltrators' positions around Kargil were repelled, suffering significant losses. This prompted the introduction of additional reinforcements in the form of infantry brigades, heavy artillery batteries, and Air Force sorties for close air support. Elements of the Indian Navy's Eastern Fleet were deployed along Pakistan's southern coast, which threatened the vital port of Karachi. The Indian Air Force was first involved on May 26, with instructions from Prime Minister Vajpayee to not cross the LoC. India lost one MiG-21 and one MiG-27 in the early days of the Air Force's involvement.<sup>69</sup> The NLI had been equipped with 12.7 millimeter anti-aircraft weapons to enhance their

63 Chari et al., *Four Crises and a Peace Process*, p. 141-2.

64 Subrahmanyam et al, *From Surprise to Reckoning: The Kargil Review Committee Report*, p. 88.

65 Chari et al., *Four Crises and a Peace Process*, p. 120.

66 The size of Indian and Pakistani infantry brigades is generally about 3,000 men.

67 Subrahmanyam et al, *From Surprise to Reckoning: The Kargil Review Committee Report*, p. 100.

68 Bruce Riedel, *American Diplomacy and the 1999 Kargil Summit at Blair House*, Policy Paper Series, 2002, <[http://media.sas.upenn.edu/casi/docs/research/papers/Riedel\\_2002.pdf](http://media.sas.upenn.edu/casi/docs/research/papers/Riedel_2002.pdf)>, p. 3.

69 BBC News, "India Loses Two Jets," *BBC.com*, May 27, 1999, <[http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south\\_asia/354120.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/354120.stm)>.

defensive capabilities, but it is unclear whether anti-aircraft weapons, pilot error, or mechanical failure were responsible for the downed aircraft.<sup>70</sup>

On May 24, Prime Minister Vajpayee and Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif spoke on the telephone. During this conversation, Vajpayee pledged to take “all possible steps” to “clear our territory.”<sup>71</sup> They also activated a back channel, using Pakistani diplomat Niaz Naik and Indian journalist R.K. Mishra as go-betweens. The same day, US Assistant Secretary of State for South Asia Karl Inderfurth warned both the Indian and Pakistani Ambassadors to Washington against further escalation.

On May 26 the Indian Air Force flew its first sorties of the conflict, Indian intelligence recorded the damning conversation between Generals Musharraf and Aziz, and US Secretary of State Madeline Albright spoke to Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif about the conflict.<sup>72</sup> On May 29, the Indian Army deployed an additional infantry brigade to the region, its third brigade-strength reinforcement in two weeks.<sup>73</sup> Further escalation, in terms of firepower and geography, seemed quite possible.

## Peak

The period of peak danger during the Kargil Conflict was in June 1999, thirteen months after India and Pakistan carried out multiple tests of nuclear weapons. Thus, when Pakistani Foreign Secretary Shamshad Ahmad warned that Pakistan “would not hesitate to use any weapon in our arsenal to defend our territorial integrity,” his words carried great weight.<sup>74</sup> This threat prompted further diplomatic overtures from the United States. President Bill Clinton contacted both Prime Ministers, and Secretary of State Albright sent messages to both Foreign Ministers.<sup>75</sup>

Direct bilateral talks were held on June 12, 1999. Pakistani Foreign Minister Sartaj Aziz traveled to New Delhi with instructions drawn up by the Army. He proposed that UN observers be allowed to verify the locations of the combatants with respect to the actual LoC, an offer that Pakistani officials expected the Government of India to reject. Pakistani diplomats then blamed India for closing the door to dialogue. This maneuver failed to alter Washington’s judgment that the Pakistani Army was responsible for the crisis and needed to take initiatives to resolve it. On June 15, President Bill Clinton called Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and urged him to withdraw his forces from Kargil. He also called Prime Minister Vajpayee to keep him informed of the continued US diplomatic stance that Pakistan must withdraw its forces behind the LoC, in the hopes that Vajpayee would refrain from further escalation.<sup>76</sup>

70 Subrahmanyam et al, *From Surprise to Reckoning: The Kargil Review Committee Report*, p. 95.

71 Chari et al., *Four Crises and a Peace Process*, p. 146.

72 Riedel, *American Diplomacy and the 1999 Kargil Summit at Blair House*, p. 4; Chari et al., *Four Crises and a Peace Process*, p. 131.

73 Subrahmanyam et al, *From Surprise to Reckoning: The Kargil Review Committee Report*, p. 100.

74 Chari et al., *Four Crises and a Peace Process*, p. 139.

75 Ibid., p. 131; Talbott, *Engaging India: Diplomacy, Democracy, and the Bomb*, pp. 157-8.

76 Chari et al., *Four Crises and a Peace Process*, pp. 122, 131; Talbott, *Engaging India: Diplomacy, Democracy, and the Bomb*, pp. 158.

As US diplomacy accelerated, bilateral diplomacy stagnated. The back channel involving Niaz Naik and R.K. Mishra was terminated after its existence became public. Furthermore, the proposal conveyed by Sartaj Aziz was seen by senior Indian leaders as a cynical ploy to deflect Pakistan's obvious culpability for provoking the crisis. Senior US officials filled this diplomatic void. President Clinton and Secretary Albright were in verbal and written contact with their Pakistani and Indian counterparts throughout the month of June. The head of US Central Command, the joint command with responsibility for Pakistan, General Anthony Zinni, talked with General Musharraf on June 7 and June 20.<sup>77</sup>

In mid-June, senior US officials became convinced that the risk of further and uncontrolled escalation was increasing. Two key developments drove this assessment. The first was a phone conversation on June 16 between the Indian and American National Security Advisors, Brajesh Mishra and Sandy Berger, in which Mishra warned that India would not be able to continue with its policy of restraint for much longer, and might have to let its forces cross the LoC and/or the international border. The White House took this warning very seriously. The second source of concern was conveyed by US intelligence to the White House in late June. According to Strobe Talbott, then the US Deputy Secretary of State, the intelligence indicated that "Pakistan might be preparing its nuclear forces for deployment."<sup>78</sup>

At the end of June, Zinni traveled to Islamabad to meet with Nawaz Sharif and General Musharraf. His message was simple yet chilling: "If you don't pull back, you're going to bring war and nuclear annihilation down on your country. That's going to be very bad news for everybody."<sup>79</sup>

## Dénouement

Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif was desperate to find an exit strategy. Pakistan was almost completely isolated internationally, the possibility of a full-scale or a nuclear war was on the rise, and he feared that the Army leadership would mount a coup d'état if he blamed the military for the Kargil misadventure. Sharif placed a call to President Bill Clinton on July 2, 1999 asking for immediate American intervention to "stop the fighting and resolve the Kashmir issue."<sup>80</sup> He called the President again the following day, asking to come to Washington and seek Clinton's help in person. On both occasions, President Clinton was clear that the only way out was for Pakistan to withdraw its forces behind the Line of Control. As Nawaz Sharif headed to Washington, President Clinton's aides prepared two statements: one in the event that Sharif agreed to withdraw, and another for if he didn't. The latter statement laid the blame for the crisis squarely upon Pakistan.<sup>81</sup>

Nawaz Sharif arrived in Washington on July 4. After several hours of meetings, he agreed to a slightly modified version of the draft joint statement prepared by the President's aides that announced a Pakistani withdrawal. The statement noted that Kargil "contains the

77 Chari et al., *Four Crises and a Peace Process*, p.133.

78 Talbott, *Engaging India: Diplomacy, Democracy, and the Bomb*, p. 161; Chari et al., *Four Crises and a Peace Process*, p. 136; Steve Coll, *Ghost Wars* (New York: Penguin Books, 2005), p. 480.

79 Tom Clancy and General Tony Zinni (Ret.) and Tony Koltz, *Battle Ready* (New York: G.P Putnam's Sons, 2004), p. 347.

80 Riedel, *American Diplomacy and the 1999 Kargil Summit at Blair House*, p. 6.

81 Ibid., p. 7.

seeds of a wider conflict,” and reported that “It was agreed between the President and the Prime Minister that concrete steps will be taken for the restoration of the Line of Control in accordance with the Simla agreement.”<sup>82</sup> This statement set the stage for a withdrawal of the NLI troops from the Kargil heights, which was announced in a speech by Prime Minister Sharif July 12 in which he continued to deny Army involvement. Instead, Sharif explained that “Once the Mujahideen had succeeded in drawing world attention to Kashmir, it is understandable that they would wish to withdraw.”<sup>83</sup>

## The Twin Peaks Crisis

### Prelude and Trigger

Two years after Kargil, relations between India and Pakistan remained poor. New Delhi cancelled the 2000 SAARC summit, objecting to “the presence of a military regime in Islamabad.”<sup>84</sup> The level of violence in Jammu and Kashmir remained quite high, culminating on October 1, 2001 in a truck bomb attack against the state’s Provincial Assembly in Srinagar, killing 38 bystanders. The extremist group with links to Pakistan’s intelligence services, Jaish-e-Mohammad (JeM), initially claimed responsibility, but later denied involvement.<sup>85</sup> The Srinagar bombing was soon eclipsed by a far more brazen attack on December 13. On that day, five men armed with assault rifles and explosives attacked India’s Parliament building in New Delhi. Their apparent plan was to burst into a legislative session and kill participating parliamentarians, including the Prime Minister. They were foiled by a combination of luck and the efforts of the small security force assigned to the Parliament building. The legislative session, unbeknownst to the terrorists, had adjourned earlier than expected, and many parliamentarians, including the senior ministers, had already departed.<sup>86</sup>

### Escalatory Steps

US President George W. Bush and Secretary of State Colin Powell called their Indian counterparts on the day of the attack to express sympathy and offer assistance. They decided to withhold judgment about who was responsible for the attack until India’s investigation of the incident was complete. For its part, Pakistan suggested a joint investigation to establish the identity of the attackers. New Delhi’s investigation quickly concluded that the JeM and LeT were responsible for the attack. As with the attack on the Jammu and Kashmir State Legislature, the attack on the national Parliament was preceded by calls from the perpetrators to Karachi, Pakistan, a haven for JeM’s operational wing. Pakistani government spokesmen argued that these coincidences were not a substitute for hard evidence, and might be part of

82 Full text of the joint statement is available at: <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/world/monitoring/386171.stm>>.

83 Nawaz, *Crossed Swords: Pakistan, Its Army, and the Wars Within*, p. 523.

84 K.K. Katyal, “India forces cancellation of SAARC meeting,” *The Hindu*, August 17, 2000, <<http://www.hinduonnet.com/2000/08/17/stories/03170002.htm>>.

85 Chari et al., *Four Crises and a Peace Process*, pp. 150-1.

86 Michael Krepon and Polly Nayak, *US Crisis Management in South Asia’s Twin Peaks Crisis* (Washington: The Henry L. Stimson Center, 2006), <<http://www.stimson.org/southasia/pdf/USCrisisManagementFull.pdf>>, pp. 14-5.



an unwarranted conspiracy to place responsibility for the attacks on Pakistan. Government spokespersons denied any involvement by the Pakistani government or its security services in the attack on the Indian Parliament.<sup>87</sup>

Senior Indian officials transmitted a number of demands to their Pakistani counterparts, including that Pakistan surrender twenty terrorists and criminals believed to be located in Pakistan, shut down terrorist training camps in Pakistani territory, freeze the financial assets and arrest the leaders of JeM and LeT, and take steps to halt the infiltration of extremists across the LoC.<sup>88</sup> The Indian Army also mobilized its troops and deployed them near the LoC and international border, the largest such mobilization since the 1971 war.<sup>89</sup> The mobilization, Operation Parakram (Valor), involved 800,000 troops, including strike formations equipped with tanks and heavy artillery. The Air Force was activated, and some of its squadrons were deployed to forward air bases near the border. As for the Indian Navy, elements of its Eastern Fleet joined the Western Fleet in the Arabian Sea, threatening a complete blockade of the Pakistani coastline.<sup>90</sup>

Indian Army plans to strike targets across the international border and LoC found their way into the press. These plans reportedly included both limited commando raids on terrorist training camps and a broader multi-pronged assault across the LoC designed to seize and hold territory. Indian troops in Jammu and Kashmir were moved to battle positions.<sup>91</sup>

Operation Parakram failed to compel senior Pakistani officials to accede to the Indian demands. As Indian troops began their forward deployments, on December 19 Pakistan's Foreign Office rejected Indian demands, noting New Delhi's disinterest in convening a joint inquiry and failure to turn over evidence to help Pakistani authorities with their investigation. President Bush froze assets of the LeT on December 20. On December 24, the State Department added JeM and LeT to the US list of Foreign Terrorist Organizations. This action made it illegal for US citizens to transfer funds or material support to these groups, authorized US officials to deny visas to members and representatives, and facilitated the blockage of assets of foreign individuals and entities by US banks.<sup>92</sup>

## First Peak

The crisis reached the first period of peak danger at the end of 2001. The Indian and Pakistani armed forces had been mobilized and deployed to allow for the commencement of combat operations in short order. Authorities in both countries had also signaled their resolve by placing nuclear-capable delivery vehicles into a greater state of readiness. On December 27, *The Hindu* reported that Indian Prithvi short-range ballistic missiles were being deployed in Punjab. The military leadership in Pakistan reportedly deployed Hatf-1

87 Chari et al., *Four Crises and a Peace Process*, p. 152; Krepon and Nayak, *US Crisis Management in South Asia's Twin Peaks Crisis*, pp. 14-6.

88 S. Paul Kapur, *Dangerous Deterrent: Nuclear Weapons, Proliferation and Conflict in South Asia* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), p. 80.; Chari et al., *Four Crises and a Peace Process*, p. 149.

89 John H. Gill, "Dissuasion and Confrontation: US Policy in India-Pakistan Crises," *Strategic Insights* 3, no. 10 (October 2004), <<http://www.ccc.nps.navy.mil/si/2004/oct/gillOct04.asp>>.

90 Chari et al., *Four Crises and a Peace Process*, p. 153.

91 Ibid., pp. 154 and 159.

92 Ibid., pp. 153 and 168.



and Hatf-2 short-range ballistic missiles across the international border in Punjab. These short-range Indian and Pakistani missiles could fire conventional or nuclear warheads.<sup>93</sup>

Official rhetoric at the end of December was chilling. On December 30, India's Defense Minister, George Fernandes, was quoted as saying that, "We could take a strike, survive and then hit back. Pakistan would be finished." He went on to say that "Everyone is raring to go. This applies as much to the army as the air force. In fact, something that actually bothers them from the ordinary jawan to the mid-level officer to the men at the top is that things might now reach a point where one says there is no war."<sup>94</sup> In addition to military deployments, Indian leaders took other steps to pressure their Pakistan counterparts to comply with their demands. On January 1, 2002, New Delhi discontinued the Lahore-New Delhi bus service (which had been inaugurated by Indian Prime Minister A.B. Vajpayee just prior to Kargil in February 1999) as well as the Samjhauta Express train (which had been running without interruption since 1976). Both cross-border transit routes were visible symbols of prior efforts by national leaders to improve bilateral relations.<sup>95</sup>

## Lull

Several factors contributed to escalation control after the first peak. Operation Parakram deployments took over a month, as did the Pakistan Army's counter-deployments, which provided US and foreign crisis managers a window of opportunity to counsel restraint. Indian and Pakistani leaders as well as their crisis managers were concerned about the risks of unintended escalation. Indian Prime Minister Vajpayee appeared to be reluctant to initiate hostilities that might efforts to normalize bilateral relations with Pakistan for an extended period.<sup>96</sup>

Other discrete events also militated against combat in January 2002. One was the ability of Pakistan's Army to redeploy in ways that could deny quick gains by an attempted Indian military thrust.<sup>97</sup> Additionally, Indian Army Headquarters relieved the head of India's II (Strike) Corps of his command in January, ostensibly for taking actions beyond the scope of his orders. This suggested that the Indian Army's deployments were not necessarily a prelude to war.<sup>98</sup> A civil handshake between President Musharraf and Prime Minister Vajpayee at a SAARC summit in Nepal on January 5 also sent a reassuring message.<sup>99</sup>

Another important factor in climbing down from the first peak was a speech given by President Musharraf on January 12, 2002. US diplomats had been urging him to make a public gesture that would reduce tensions, and the speech took important steps in that direction. Musharraf pledged that no group would be allowed to use the terms Jaish (army),

93 Ibid., p. 173. Since these ballistic missiles can deliver both conventional and nuclear warheads, assessments of the type of warheads deployed with the missiles are vitally important.

94 P.R. Chari, "Nuclear Restraint, Risk Reduction and the Security-Insecurity Paradox in South Asia," in Michael Krepon and Chris Gagne, eds., *Nuclear Risk Reduction in South Asia*, (New Delhi: Vision Books, 2003), p. 33.

95 Lawrence Saez, "India in 2002: The BJP's Faltering Mandate and the Morphology of Nuclear War," *Asian Survey* 43, no. 1 (January-February 2003), p. 187.

96 Krepon and Nayak, *US Crisis Management in South Asia's Twin Peaks Crisis*, pp. 22-25, 29, 31.

97 Chari, "Nuclear Restraint, Risk Reduction and the Security-Insecurity Paradox in South Asia," p. 31.

98 Chari et al., *Four Crises and a Peace Process*, p. 154.

99 Saez, "India in 2002: The BJP's Faltering Mandate and the Morphology of Nuclear War," p. 188.

Lashkar (volunteer force) or Sipah (soldier) in its name and that no group would be allowed to use Pakistani soil to conduct terrorism in Kashmir. He also banned five organizations, placed their leaders under house arrest, arrested several hundred militants, and froze some of their assets. In this speech, Musharraf refused to extradite any individuals wanted by India. He also reaffirmed Pakistan's support for the right of Kashmiri self-determination and called on India to "bring an end to state terrorism at human rights abuses" in Kashmir.<sup>100</sup>

Tensions remained high in January and February. Violence in Jammu and Kashmir continued, and at least three attacks were attributed to the LeT.<sup>101</sup> Terrorist attacks in Jammu and Kashmir killed 1008 people from January through April in 2002.<sup>102</sup> In the month following General Musharraf's speech, India tested a nuclear-capable Agni II missile, and more details emerged about possible Indian military strikes into Pakistan. Indian Chief of Army Staff S. Padmanabhan invoked the threat of nuclear war during a press statement in January and March, as did General Musharraf in a speech in March.<sup>103</sup> CIA Director George Tenet, in testimony before the Senate Intelligence Community in early February, argued that the probability of war between India and Pakistan was "higher than at any point since 1971."<sup>104</sup>

Throughout the months after mobilizing its Army, New Delhi "refused to withdraw its troops until cross-border terrorism ceased, shunned a bilateral dialogue unless this occurred, and refused to accept external mediation to achieve these objectives."<sup>105</sup> While tensions remained high after the first peak, the longer Indian troops were mobilized without going to war, the more difficult and costly such an action would have been. India-Pakistan relations were characterized by an uneasy lull from February to May.

## Second Peak

The pledges given by General Musharraf in his January 12 speech were not enforced. By April, internal security pressures on anti-Indian groups had noticeably eased. Many of the militants arrested immediately after the January 12 speech were released, terrorist training camps were not shut down, and LeT and JeM leaders enjoyed a polite form of house detention. The lull in between peaks broke suddenly when on May 14, extremists launched another attack against the dependents of troops housed near the town of Kaluchak in Jammu, killing 31 people. The outcry in India, particularly among Army jawans, was intense.

President Bush again called Prime Minister Vajpayee to condemn the attack, calling it "terrible and outrageous." Vajpayee's government demanded the withdrawal of Pakistan's High Commissioner (whose Indian counterpart in Islamabad had been recalled in December). Then, on May 22, Prime Minister Vajpayee went to the front to speak to Indian

100 Chari et al., *Four Crises and a Peace Process*, p. 157; BBC News, "Musharraf Speech Highlights," BBC.com, January 12, 2002, <[http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south\\_asia/1757251.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/1757251.stm)>.

101 See Appendix X by Nathan Cohn for a more complete list of mass-casualty attacks during this time period.

102 South Asia Terrorism Portal, "Jammu and Kashmir: Fatalities in Terrorist Violence: January-July, 2002-2005," <[http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/india/states/jandk/data\\_sheets/inj\\_camp.htm](http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/india/states/jandk/data_sheets/inj_camp.htm)>.

103 Rahul Roy-Chaudhury, "Nuclear Doctrine Declaratory Policy, and Escalation Control," in Michael Krepon, Rodney W. Jones, and Ziad Haider, eds., *Escalation Control and the Nuclear Option in South Asia* (Washington DC: Henry L. Stimson Center, 2004), pp. 106-7.

104 Ibid., p. 188.

105 Chari et al., *Four Crises and a Peace Process*, p. 160.

troops in Jammu. He insisted that no one should “think that we would indefinitely go on tolerating things,” and concluded that “our aim should be victory – as the time has come to fight a decisive battle.”<sup>106</sup> These comments sparked a press frenzy and widespread speculation that war was imminent. Many US government officials thought war was imminent,

Indian troop redeployments reinforced US concerns. Three strike corps were repositioned in Rajasthan, suggesting plans for a two-front war across the international border and LoC.<sup>107</sup> Ten days after the Kaluchak attack, the Pakistani military notified several countries, including India, that it would be carrying out a series of tests of short- and medium-range ballistic missiles on May 25 and 28, although denying that the tests had anything to do with the “current situation.”<sup>108</sup> In addition to carrying out missile tests, Pakistani officials openly discussed the prospect of nuclear war in the media. On May 31, Pakistani Ambassador to the United Nations Munir Akram raised the subject of nuclear war and reaffirmed Pakistan’s rejection of a “no first use” nuclear doctrine.<sup>109</sup> On April 7, Musharraf was quoted as saying that “...if the pressure on Pakistan becomes too great, then nuclear weapons use (is possible) as a last means of defence.”<sup>110</sup> Indian newspapers reported additional stories and details of Indian military plans.<sup>111</sup>

## Dénouement

A key step in deescalating the crisis was a second speech given by President Musharraf on May 27. In this speech, he again promised to take serious steps to curb terrorism and cross-border infiltration, saying that “no infiltration is taking place across the Line of Control...Pakistan will never allow the export of terrorism anywhere in the world from within Pakistan.”<sup>112</sup> Non-essential US State Department employees were advised to evacuate the Indian embassy and consulates on May 31, and the State Department issued a broad warning against travel to the region on June 5.<sup>113</sup> Shortly thereafter, the United Kingdom, Japan, France, Germany, Israel, and other countries took similar steps.<sup>114</sup> The evacuations and travel advisories were a tangible manifestation of US concerns. They also had the effect of clarifying to Indian leaders the extent to which this extended crisis could severely impact business and tourism.

Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage’s trip to the region was crucial in de-escalating tensions. President Bush and other senior US officials preceded Armitage’s mission with phone calls to Musharraf and Vajpayee. On June 6, Armitage sought and received a promise from Musharraf that cross-border infiltration would cease “visibly and permanently” and would be accompanied by “other activities that had to do with the dismantling of camps

106 Saez, “India in 2002: The BJP’s Faltering Mandate and the Morphology of Nuclear War,” p. 189.

107 Chari et al., *Four Crises and a Peace Process*, 154, 182.

108 Agence France-Presse, “Pakistan to Test Missiles,” *Dawn*, May 25, 2002, <<http://www.dawn.com/2002/05/25/top10.htm>>.

109 Masood Haider, “Islamabad refuses to accept ‘no first strike’ doctrine,” *Dawn*, May 31, 2002, <<http://www.dawn.com/2002/05/31/top4.htm>>.

110 “Pakistan May Use Nukes, says Musharraf,” *Dawn*, April 7, 2002, <<http://www.dawn.com/2002/04/07/top5.htm>>.

111 Chari et al., *Four Crises and a Peace Process*, p. 169.

112 Ibid., p. 163.

113 Krepon and Nayak, *US Crisis Management in South Asia’s Twin Peaks Crisis*, p. 34.

114 Chari et al., *Four Crises and a Peace Process*, p. 170.

that led to the capacity to conduct these kinds of operations.”<sup>115</sup> During his subsequent visit to New Delhi on June 8, Armitage relayed this message in private to senior Indian officials, and, at their behest, announced this pledge in public to the Indian press.<sup>116</sup> A visit by Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld following close on the heels of Armitage’s mission reinforced the US messages of restraint.

After the Armitage and Rumsfeld trips, war seemed less likely. Once again, the longer troops remained poised to fight without receiving orders to do so, the less likely these orders became. Nonetheless, troops remained deployed near the international border and along the Line of Control, ostensibly to provide security for the state elections held in four phases in September and October 2002. Shortly after the election was concluded, India announced the end of Operation Parakram and gave notice that its troops would undertake a “strategic relocation.”<sup>117</sup> Pakistani troops were redeployed as well.

## The Mumbai Crisis

### Prelude and Trigger

On November 21, 2008, ten Pakistani members of LeT hijacked an Indian fishing trawler. They arrived off the coast of Mumbai on November 26, killed the trawler’s crew, and headed toward the city aboard inflatable boats. The ten attackers split into four separate groups, each armed with assault rifles and grenades. Over the next 60 hours, they killed 172 people at several Mumbai landmarks: its main train station (Chatrapati Shivaji Terminus), Nariman House (a complex run by the Jewish Chabad Lubavich movement), the Leopold Café, and two prominent upscale hotels, the Trident-Oberoi and Taj Mahal. On the morning of November 29<sup>th</sup>, the siege of the Taj Mahal Hotel, where the last group of terrorists had been holed up, was declared over. Nine of the ten attackers had been killed. One was injured and in police custody.<sup>118</sup>

During the crisis, on November 28, Pakistani President Asif Ali Zardari received a threatening phone call from someone claiming to be India’s External Affairs Minister, Pranab Mukherjee. At a press conference ten days later Mukherjee denied making any such call, but the incident was emblematic of the confusion that reigned during the attack and in its immediate aftermath.<sup>119</sup> Shortly after the attack, Mukherjee said that “Preliminary evidence, prima facie evidence, indicates elements with links to Pakistan are involved.”<sup>120</sup> President Zardari told Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh he was “appalled and shocked” by the attacks and said that non-state actors must not be able to “force upon the governments their own agenda.”<sup>121</sup>

115 Ibid., p. 163; Krepon and Nayak, *US Crisis Management in South Asia’s Twin Peaks Crisis*, p. 35.

116 Krepon and Nayak, *US Crisis Management in South Asia’s Twin Peaks Crisis*, p. 18.

117 Chari et al., *Four Crises and a Peace Process*, p. 177.

118 Robert D. Blackwill et al., “The Lessons of Mumbai,” RAND Corporation Occasional Paper #249, 2009 <[http://www.rand.org/pubs/occasional\\_papers/2009/RAND\\_OP249.pdf](http://www.rand.org/pubs/occasional_papers/2009/RAND_OP249.pdf)>, pp. 1-6.

119 Press Trust of India, “I made no phone call to Zardari: Mukherjee,” *Hindustan Times*, December 12, 2008 <<http://www.hindustantimes.com/StoryPage/Print.aspx?Id=4bfc7b7e-2a0e-4f65-8497-4fd4e926eeff>>.

120 Keith Bradsher and Somini Sengupta, “Mumbai Terrorist Siege Over, India Says,” *New York Times*, November 28, 2008 <<http://www.nytimes.com/2008/11/29/world/asia/29mumbai.html>>.

121 Ibid.

## Escalatory Steps

This crisis was most notable by the absence of escalatory steps, given the importance of the targets struck and the number of casualties resulting from the attacks. Despite the initial expression of sympathy from Zardari, Indian and Pakistani diplomats quickly began sparring with each other. On December 1, 2008, Pakistan's High Commissioner to India, Shahid Malik, was summoned to a meeting with Joint Secretary (Pakistan) T. C. A. Raghavan at the External Affairs Ministry in New Delhi. Raghavan told Malik that the attack was an "outrage" that was a "serious setback" for bilateral relations. Raghavan also asked for "strong action" against those responsible.<sup>122</sup> The next day, Pakistani Foreign Minister Shah Mahmood Qureshi responded by offering to establish a joint investigation of the attacks, calling terrorism a "major challenge," and a "common enemy." Qureshi also offered to cooperate with India's investigation of the attack, but made no mention of India's request for Pakistan to extradite 20 high-profile suspects, many of whom were also on a list presented to Pakistan during the Twin Peaks Crisis.<sup>123</sup>

The George W. Bush administration moved quickly to help defuse the crisis. An FBI team arrived in Mumbai on December 1, 2008 to assist Indian investigators.<sup>124</sup> Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, the primary US crisis manager, cut short a trip to Europe to meet with External Affairs Minister Mukherjee in India on December 3. She said that Pakistan had a "special responsibility" to cooperate with the investigation and prevent terrorists from using its territory, but also warned India against actions that could produce "unintended consequences." While Rice was in India, the Chairman of the US Joint Chiefs of Staff, Admiral Mike Mullen, was in Islamabad. There, he met with President Zardari and the Chief of Army Staff, General Ahfaq Kayani, urging them to "investigate aggressively any and all possible ties to groups in Pakistan."<sup>125</sup> The day after Rice's meeting in India, she traveled to Pakistan to reinforce Mullen's message by meeting with President Zardari, Prime Minister Yousuf Raza Gilani, Foreign Minister Qureshi, and Chief of Army Staff Kayani. She was told by these leaders that Pakistan would not act against any Pakistani citizens without "concrete evidence" of their involvement in the attack on Mumbai. Subsequent reports emerged that Rice conveyed the message that there was "irrefutable evidence" that Pakistani nationals were involved and that if Pakistan did not act, the United States would.<sup>126</sup>

Pakistani security forces carried out a limited crackdown on terrorist groups. On December 7, Pakistani authorities arrested 22 members of LeT at a camp near the city of Muzaffarabad,

122 Press Trust of India, "India summons Pak envoy, issues protest note," *Times of India*, December 1, 2008 <[http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/India/MEA\\_summons\\_Pak\\_high\\_commissioner\\_over\\_terror\\_attacks/articleshow/3781021.cms](http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/India/MEA_summons_Pak_high_commissioner_over_terror_attacks/articleshow/3781021.cms)>.

123 Candace Rondeaux, "Pakistan Offers to Join with India in Investigating Mumbai Massacre," *Washington Post*, December 3, 2008 <<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2008/12/02/AR2008120201120.html>>.

124 Press Trust of India, "FBI Files Case in Mumbai; Assists Sleuths in Breaking Codes," *India Journal*, December 5, 2008 <<http://www.indiajournal.com/pages/event.php?id=5261>>.

125 Rama Lakshmi and Emily Wax, "As Rice Presses Pakistan, Tens of Thousands Take to Streets in Mumbai," *Washington Post*, December 4, 2008 <[http://articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/2008-12-06/pakistan/27928790\\_1\\_mumbai-terror-attacks-state-condoleezza-rice-terror-strikes](http://articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/2008-12-06/pakistan/27928790_1_mumbai-terror-attacks-state-condoleezza-rice-terror-strikes)>.

126 Press Trust of India, "Mumbai attack: Rice asks Pak to act urgently, else US will act," *Times of India*, December 6, 2008 <<http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/articleshow/msid-3801376,prtpage-1.cms>>.



including a man named by India as an organizer of the Mumbai attack, Zaki-ur-Rehman Lakhvi.<sup>127</sup> Pakistani Foreign Secretary Salman Bashir notified India's High Commissioner to Pakistan, Satyabrata Pal, that Islamabad rejected Indian demands to extradite LeT members arrested by Pakistani security forces. Bashir also reiterated Pakistan's support for a joint investigation of the attacks and urged India to share any evidence it had that Pakistani citizens were involved.<sup>128</sup>

Outside pressures grew on LeT and its support network. On December 10, the United Nations' Al-Qaida and Taliban Sanctions Committee placed financial sanctions on four members of LeT and added Jamaat-ud-Dawa (JuD), an ostensible Islamic charity organization to which the LeT is affiliated, to its list of terrorist organizations.<sup>129</sup> After these actions by the United Nations, the Government of Pakistan belatedly took its first steps against JuD, closing nine JuD offices that had been linked to the Mumbai attacks and banning the JuD outright on December 13. However, several newspaper reports on these steps noted that the office closings were not strongly enforced, and JuD appeared to have quickly reconstituted itself under a new name.<sup>130</sup>

## Peak

The peak period of the crisis passed quickly. There were no mobilizations of ground forces comparable to earlier crises, despite negative diplomatic signals in December. The "composite dialogue" that was started after the January 2004 SAARC summit was placed on hold by the Government of India. Pakistani officials began to push back more strenuously against the nearly-universal view elsewhere that Pakistani nationals were involved in the attack. President Zardari stated on December 17 that "no concrete evidences have been unearthed yet that prove Pakistani citizens being involved in the Mumbai terror strikes."<sup>131</sup> India's rhetoric similarly took a turn towards a harder line. External Affairs Minister Mukherjee stated that Pakistan was "acquiring an increasingly dangerous dimension and continues to threaten peace and stability in this region and beyond," and stressed that India was "not closing any options."<sup>132</sup>

On December 14, Pakistan's Minister of Information, Sherry Rehman claimed that Indian Air Force fighter jets had violated Pakistani air space the day before. Although the Pakistani Air Force was on a heightened alert status, Rehman called the breach "inadvertent," and said that there was "no need for undue alarm."<sup>133</sup> Pakistan's Air Force carried out exercises over Islamabad, Rawalpindi, Lahore, and Kashmir on December 22.

127 Candace Rondeaux, "Suspected Planner of Attacks in Mumbai is Seized in Raid," *Washington Post*, December 9, 2008, <<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2008/12/08/AR2008120800331.html>>.

128 Baqir Sajjad Syed, "Extradition demand rejected in response to demarche," *Dawn*, December 9, 2008, <<http://archives.dawn.com/2008/12/09/top3.htm>>.

129 The full list of sanctioned groups is available at: <<http://www.un.org/sc/committees/1267/consolist.shtml>>.

130 Blackwill et al., "The Lessons of Mumbai," p. 17.

131 "No evidence of Pak involvement in 26/11 fallout: Zardari," *Geo TV*, December 18, 2008, <<http://www.geo.tv/12-18-2008/30883.htm>>.

132 "Global community should do 'much more' to tackle terror: Pranab," *Zee News*, December 22, 2008, <<http://www.zeenews.com/news493041.html>>.

133 Candace Rondeaux, "Pakistan Cites Airspace Breach," *Washington Post*, December 14, 2008, <<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2008/12/13/AR2008121301311.html>>.

Also on December 22, External Affairs Minister Mukherjee again emphasized to a group of Indian diplomats that New Delhi was not ruling out any possible response to the attack. While the Pakistan Air Force exercises were taking place, Admiral Mullen arrived in Islamabad for a second round of talks with senior Pakistani military officers. General Kayani reportedly told Mullen that “We want peace with India, but any aggression will be matched by a befitting response.”<sup>134</sup> On December 24, the head of India’s Western Air Command, Air Marshal P. K. Barbora, told the local Indian press that India had “earmarked” 5,000 targets in Pakistan for airstrikes.<sup>135</sup>

In late December, the Pakistan Army reportedly shifted several infantry units from Pakistan’s western front with Afghanistan to its eastern front with India. The *New York Times*, citing two anonymous sources in Pakistani intelligence, erroneously reported that the troops were “on the highest state of alert.”<sup>136</sup> The number of troops redeployed by Pakistan probably did not exceed 20,000. However, both India and Pakistan cancelled all leave for military personnel, a step indicative of preparations for the deployment and/or use of large troop formations.<sup>137</sup>

## Dénouement

With Pakistani military maneuvers becoming more prominent and the rhetoric from senior Indian and Pakistani officials intensifying, officials in New Delhi and Islamabad took steps to reverse rising tensions. On December 26, even as reports about troop movements were published by news media across the region, Indian High Commissioner to Pakistan Pal again met with Pakistani Foreign Secretary Bashir in Islamabad. Pal told Bashir that India had no plans to go to war, but rather preferred to deal with terrorism through “executive action and judicial processes.” A day later, Pakistani Prime Minister Gilani said that “Pakistan is a peace-loving country. We don’t want to have war or aggression.”<sup>138</sup> Shortly thereafter, the two Directors General of Military Operations held an unscheduled discussion over their hotline to discuss the actions taken by both sides during the preceding weeks.

On January 5, 2009, the Indian government presented a 69-page dossier to the Pakistani government detailing the links between the Mumbai terrorists and Pakistan. Media outlets and foreign capitals received copies of the dossier, placing added pressure on Pakistani officials to take further steps against LeT and other like-minded groups. At the same time, New Delhi indicated its willingness to cooperate with Pakistan on counter-terrorism by providing information about the perpetrators of mass-casualty attacks.<sup>139</sup> On January 15,

134 Rama Lakshmi, “Pakistani Jets Scramble as India Hardens Tone,” *Washington Post*, December 23, 2008 <<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2008/12/22/AR2008122202024.html>>.

135 Sujan Dutta, “Unguided Missiles in War of Words,” *The Telegraph* (Kolkata), December 24, 2008 <[http://www.telegraphindia.com/1081225/jsp/frontpage/story\\_10299108.jsp](http://www.telegraphindia.com/1081225/jsp/frontpage/story_10299108.jsp)>.

136 Richard A. Oppel Jr. and Salman Masood, “Pakistan Moves Troops Amid Tension With India,” *New York Times*, December 26, 2008, <<http://www.nytimes.com/2008/12/27/world/asia/27pstan.html>>.

137 “Pak-India tension: troops leave cancelled,” *The News*, December 26, 2008, <<http://www.thenews.com.pk/updates.asp?id=63264>>; Press Trust of India, “War clouds hover along border,” *O Herald*, December 20, 2008 <<http://oheraldo.in/pagedetails.asp?nid=14341&cid=2>>.

138 “India not building up troops, as Pak toes anti-war line,” *Express India*, December 27, 2008 <<http://www.expressindia.com/latest-news/India-not-building-up-troops-as-Pak-toes-antiwar-line/403618/>>.

139 Blackwill et al., “The Lessons of Mumbai,” p. 12.; see <<http://www.hindu.com/nic/dossier.htm>>.



External Affairs Minister Mukherjee announced that the perpetrators of earlier attacks could be tried in Pakistan, a modification of India's demand that they be extradited. While he later qualified this statement by expressing a strong preference for extradition (with the prosecution of the suspects in Pakistan being a backup option), it was evidence of the Indian government's willingness to work towards positive outcomes.<sup>140</sup>

The response of the Pakistani government to these steps was not very forthcoming. Prime Minister Gilani's reaction to the Indian dossier was that, "All that has been received formally from India is some information. I say 'information' because these are not evidence."<sup>141</sup> However, Gilani also stated that, "Serious, sustained and pragmatic cooperation is the way forward." And on January 12, 2009, Pakistani Advisor to the Prime Minister for Interior Rehman Malik stated that Pakistan had arrested some 124 people allegedly associated with LeT and other terrorist groups proved his government's good intentions.<sup>142</sup>

Tensions between India and Pakistan remained at a low simmer for the remainder of 2009 and 2010. Indian authorities convicted Ajmal Kasab, the surviving member of the LeT terrorist unit, of his actions in the Mumbai attack. The United States Department of Justice arranged a plea bargain with David Headley in which he plead guilty for his role as a scout for LeT in return for information about activities of interest – information that was shared with New Delhi.<sup>143</sup> Pakistan's prosecution of subjects arrested following the attacks has proceeded fitfully, in part because the presiding judge was changed three times.<sup>144</sup> Counter-terrorism cooperation between Pakistan and India has been extremely limited. Dialogue between weakened Indian and Pakistani leaders has resumed in 2011.

---

140 Sandeep Dikshit and Siddharth Varadarajan, "No dilution of position, says Pranab," *The Hindu*, January 17, 2009 <<http://www.hindu.com/2009/01/17/stories/2009011757680100.htm>>.

141 Saeed Shah, "Pakistan dismisses Indian dossier on Mumbai attacks," *The Guardian*, January 14, 2009 <<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2009/jan/14/mumbai-terror-attacks-india-pakistan>>.

142 Salman Masood, "Pakistan Says 124 Arrested in Mumbai Investigation," *New York Times*, January 15, 2009, <<http://www.nytimes.com/2009/01/16/world/asia/16pstan.html>>.

143 BBC News, "Surviving Mumbai gunman convicted over attacks," *BBC*, May 3, 2010 <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/8657642.stm>>; Press Trust of India, "Headley's plea bargain will not affect 26/11 trial: Nikam," *The Hindu*, March 18, 2010 <<http://www.thehindu.com/news/national/article257283.ece>>.

144 Associated Press, "No Breakthrough In India-Pakistan Talks," *CBSNews.com*, February 6, 2011 <<http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2011/02/06/ap/asia/main7323633.shtml>>.

## Appendix II: Spoilers, Mass-Casualty Attacks, and the Disruption of Hopeful India-Pakistan Diplomacy

Nathan Cohn

**E**ditor's Note: Spoilers seek to prevent the normalization of ties between Pakistan and India. They exist in both countries, but, as the snapshot chronologies of events listed below indicate, they are far more of a factor within Pakistan, where spoilers have had links to the state's security apparatus. When mass-casualty attacks are clearly intended to disrupt hopeful diplomatic initiatives, national leaders in India and Pakistan face the choice of acceding to the malevolent intention of the attackers, or rejecting their nefarious agenda and proceeding as planned. The more brazen the attack, the harder it is to pursue diplomatic initiatives. The 2008 Mumbai attacks, for example, led to a suspension of attempts to normalize India-Pakistan relations for over two years. In 2011, New Delhi and Islamabad began to resume what used to be known as their composite dialogue, with discussions focusing on Kashmir, water, trade, and other neuralgic issues. The resumption of diplomacy could once again mobilize spoilers to try to checkmate progress.

### Pre-Kargil

October 15, 1998	Foreign Secretary-level dialogue resumes between India and Pakistan. <sup>1</sup>
November 18, 1998	Foreign Secretary talks include discussions on Siachen, Tulbal-Wular, Sir Creek, terrorism, drug trafficking, economic and commercial cooperation, and friendly exchanges. <sup>2</sup>
January 18, 1999	Foreign Secretary-level talks on Kashmir are scheduled for mid-February. <sup>3</sup>
February 21, 1999	Indian Prime Minister Vajpayee takes symbolic bus trip to Lahore; Vajpayee and Pakistani Prime Minister Sharif sign Memorandum of Understanding. <sup>4</sup>
March 6, 1999	India and Pakistan exchange prisoners. <sup>5</sup>

---

1 Deutsche Press-Agentur, "India-Pakistan talks end with fond hopes but no breakthrough," October 18, 1998.

2 "India, Pak. Need More Time to Thrash Out Issues," *The Hindu*, November 18, 1998.

3 BBC Monitoring South Asia, "India-Pakistan Secretary-Level Talks on Kashmir To Be Held Mid-February," January 17, 1999.

4 Kenneth Cooper, "India, Pakistan Kindle Hope for Peace; Leaders Meet Near Border After Symbolic Bus Trip, Pledge to Resolve Disputes," *Washington Post*, February 21, 1999.

5 BBC Monitoring South Asia, "India and Pakistan Agree on Action Plan for Dialogue," March 19, 1999.

March 19, 1999	India and Pakistan's Foreign Ministers meet at a SAARC summit and agree to a six-point action program to accelerate normalization of bilateral relations and composite dialogue process. <sup>6</sup>
April 18, 1999	Pakistani Prime Minister Sharif reiterates commitment to solve bilateral issues through dialogue. <sup>7</sup>
April 28, 1999	India and Pakistan agree to resume Foreign Secretary-level talks despite political turmoil in India. <sup>8</sup>
May 8, 1999	Indian Army Patrols detect Pakistani intrusions across the Line of Control near Kargil. <sup>9</sup>

## Pre-Indian Parliament Attack

July 27, 2001	Pakistani President Musharraf invites Indian Prime Minister Vajpayee to visit Pakistan. <sup>10</sup>
July 30, 2001	Indian Prime Minister Vajpayee says he will accept Musharraf's offer. <sup>11</sup>
August 11, 2001	India and Pakistan's Foreign Secretaries meet at a SAARC summit. <sup>12</sup>
September 6, 2001	Indian Prime Minister Vajpayee says talks could lead to a negotiated settlement and calls for more talks. <sup>13</sup>
October 1, 2001	Militants attack Jammu and Kashmir State Assembly. <sup>14</sup>
October 8, 2001	Indian Prime Minister Vajpayee and Pakistani President Musharraf talk on the phone; President Musharraf promises to investigate the

6 BBC Monitoring South Asia, "India, Pakistan Agree "Concrete Measures" To Implement Lahore Declaration," March 20, 1999.

7 BBC Monitoring South Asia, "Pakistan: Prime Minister wants to solve issues with India through Dialogue," April 18, 1999.

8 BBC Monitoring South Asia, "India: dialogue with Pakistan postponed indefinitely due to government turmoil," April 24, 1999.

9 Global Security, "1999 Kargil Conflict," <<http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/war/kargil-99.htm>>.

10 Agence France Presse, "Indian foreign minister receives invitation to visit Pakistan," July 27, 2001.

11 Rahul Bedi, "Indian leader plans fresh peace quest to Pakistan," *The Daily Telegraph*, July 30, 2001.

12 Xinhua, "India, Pakistan Hold Talks Without Setting Date for Next Summit," August 11, 2001.

13 BBC Monitoring South Asia, "Indian Prime Minister Says Talks Could Lead To Settlement With Pakistan," September 6, 2001.

14 BBC News, "Pakistan blamed over Kashmir temple raids," November 25, 2002, <[http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south\\_asia/2510141.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/2510141.stm)>.

	Jammu and Kashmir State Assembly building attack and expresses desire to resume dialogue. <sup>15</sup>
October 9, 2001	Pakistani President Musharraf publicly calls for renewed talks. <sup>16</sup>
November 25, 2001	Indian Prime Minister Vajpayee says a meeting with Musharraf at a SAARC summit is possible; Pakistani President Musharraf says he will discuss issues other than Kashmir. <sup>17</sup>
December 13, 2001	Five gunmen kill seven in attack on India's parliament. <sup>18</sup>

## Pre-Mumbai Train Attacks

April 27, 2006	The governments of India and Pakistan agree to reduce the risk of nuclear accidents, prohibit new posts and defense works along the Line of Control (LoC) and to speedily return inadvertent line crossers. <sup>19</sup>
May 3, 2006	The governments of India and Pakistan agree to open a bus service between Punch in Jammu and Rawalakot in Azad Kashmir and open truck services from Srinagar to Muzaffarabad, aimed at promoting trade relations across the Line of Control. <sup>20</sup>
May 24, 2006	The governments of India and Pakistan agree to continue talks in "phased manner." <sup>21</sup>
May 25, 2006	Five bilateral working groups are established to address Kashmir issues. <sup>22</sup>
May 30, 2006	The governments of India and Pakistan formally agree to trade a limited number of products across the Line of Control. <sup>23</sup>
May 31, 2006	The governments of India and Pakistan agree to release imprisoned fishermen and other civilian prisoners. <sup>24</sup>

15 BBC Monitoring South Asia, "Pakistani President, Indian Premier in Telephone Contact on Regional Tension," October 8, 2001.

16 Celia Dugger, "Pakistan Asks India to Revive Talks Aimed at Bringing Peace to Kashmir," *New York Times*, October 9, 2009.

17 BBC Monitoring South Asia, "Pakistan welcomes Vajpayee's willingness for talks with Musharraf," November 25, 2001.

18 BBC News, "Pakistan blamed over Kashmir temple raids," November 25, 2002, <[http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south\\_asia/2510141.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/2510141.stm)>.

19 BBC Monitoring South Asia, "Pakistan, India conclude talks on confidence-building measures," April 27, 2006.

20 Financial Express, "India, Pakistan to Launch Another Bus Service," May 3, 2006.

21 BBC Monitoring South Asia, "Pakistan, India agree to continue talks in "phased manner" – statement," May 24, 2006.

22 Muzamil Jaleel, "First in J&K: a Five-group plan," Indian Express, May 26, 2006, <<http://www.indianexpress.com/news/first-in-j&k-a-fivegroup-plan/5189/>>.

23 Asia Pulse, "India, Pakistan reach agreement on imports from Kashmir," June 1, 2006.

24 BBC Monitoring South Asia, "Pakistan, India agree to free fishermen, civilian prisoners," May 31, 2006.

June 18, 2006	Pakistani Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz urges new talks on Kashmir. <sup>25</sup>
July 11, 2006	Mumbai train bombings kills 209. <sup>26</sup>

## Pre-Samjhauta Express Attack

December 6, 2006	Pakistani President Musharraf says concessions could produce a Kashmir pact. <sup>27</sup>
December 18, 2006	Foreign Secretary-level talks yield understanding on visa liberalization measures. <sup>28</sup>
December 20, 2006	Pakistani President Musharraf says "favorable progress" on Kashmir expected. <sup>29</sup>
December 21, 2006	Indian Prime Minister Singh calls for a treaty of peace, security and friendship between India and Pakistan. <sup>30</sup>
December 22, 2006	Indian and Pakistani authorities exchange prisoners. <sup>31</sup>
December 22, 2006	Indian and Pakistani defense officials express satisfaction on progress in Sir Creek talks. <sup>32</sup>
December 27, 2006	Pakistan naval chief publicly expects amicable solution of Sir Creek dispute with India. <sup>33</sup>
January 14, 2007	Indian External Affairs Minister Mukherjee and Pakistani President Musharraf meet and claim that progress has been made on key issues. <sup>34</sup>

25 BBC Monitoring South Asia, "Pakistan PM urges India to hold "result-oriented" talks on Kashmir," June 18, 2006.

26 "India police: Pakistan spy agency behind Mumbai bombings," September 30, 2006, *CNN*, <[http://articles.cnn.com/2006-09-30/world/india.bombs\\_1\\_students-islamic-movement-pakistan-spy-agency-indian-police?\\_s=PM:WORLD#](http://articles.cnn.com/2006-09-30/world/india.bombs_1_students-islamic-movement-pakistan-spy-agency-indian-police?_s=PM:WORLD#)>.

27 Somini Sengupta, "Pakistani Says Concessions Could Produce Kashmir Pact," *The New York Times*, December 6, 2006.

28 BBC Monitoring South Asia, "Pakistan, India said ready to liberalize visa policy," December 18, 2006.

29 BBC Monitoring South Asia, "Pakistan president says "favourable progress" on Kashmir expected," December 20, 2006.

30 BBC Monitoring South Asia, "Indian PM backs Kashmir proposals, friendship treaty with Pakistan," December 21, 2006.

31 BBC Monitoring South Asia, "Pakistan frees 70 Indian prisoners as talks held on disputed creek – PTI," December 22, 2006.

32 BBC Monitoring South Asia, "Pakistan, India satisfied on progress in Sir Creek talks," December 22, 2006.

33 BBC Monitoring South Asia, "Pakistan naval chief expects amicable solution of Sir Creek dispute with India," December 27, 2006.

34 The Statesman (India), "India, Pakistan Agree to Push Dialogue," January 14, 2007.

January 15, 2007	Indian Prime Minister Singh says progress made on Siachen issue. <sup>35</sup>
January 25, 2007	Pakistan Prime Minister sends greetings to Indian counterpart on Republic Day. <sup>36</sup>
February 2, 2007	Pakistani President Musharraf says relations between India and Pakistan are improving, and that both sides want to resolve bilateral disputes. <sup>37</sup>
February 14, 2007	Indian Border Security Force Deputy Inspector General Vishwakarma says upcoming talks with Pakistan Rangers will discuss cross-border infiltration. <sup>38</sup>
February 17, 2007	The Indian and Pakistani governments reach agreements to reduce risks of nuclear accidents. <sup>39</sup>
February 18, 2007	Samjhauta Express attacks kill 68 near Panipat, Haryana, India. <sup>40</sup>

## Pre-Kabul Embassy Attack

May 11, 2008	Indian Minister for External Affairs Pranab Mukherjee and Pakistani Minister for External Affairs Shah Mehmood Qureshi discuss "Kashmir-specific" measures, including visas and travel. <sup>41</sup>
May 13, 2008	Blasts in Jaipur kill 80. <sup>42</sup>
May 21, 2008	Foreign Secretaries Shivshankar Menon of India and Salman Bashir of Pakistan meet for talks, and agree to a series of Kashmir-specific CBMs, including a triple-entry permit to facilitate crossing the Line of Control. <sup>43</sup>

35 BBC Monitoring South Asia, "Indian PM says progress made with Pakistan over Siachen issue," January 15, 2007.

36 BBC Monitoring South Asia, "Pakistan PM sends greetings to Indian counterpart on Republic Day," January 25, 2007.

37 BBC Monitoring South Asia, "Pakistan president says peace process with India making progress," February 2, 2007.

38 BBC Monitoring South Asia, "India to raise issue of cross-border infiltration in talks with Pakistan," February 14, 2007.

39 Xinhua General News Service, "Pakistan, India to sign deal on reducing Nuclear accident risks," February 17, 2007.

40 BBC News, "Dozens dead in India train blasts," February 19, 2007, <[http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south\\_asia/6374377.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/6374377.stm)>.

41 BBC Monitoring South Asia, "Pakistan, India to discuss "Kashmir-specific" measures in ministerial meeting," May 11, 2008.

42 "80 killed, 150 wounded in Jaipur blasts," *The Times of India*, May 14, 2008, <[http://articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/2008-05-14/india/27765805\\_1\\_tripolia-bazar-jaipur-blasts-serial-blasts](http://articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/2008-05-14/india/27765805_1_tripolia-bazar-jaipur-blasts-serial-blasts)>.

43 Nirupama Subramanian, "India, Pakistan agree on Kashmir-specific CBMs," *The Hindu*, May 21, 2008, <<http://www.hindu.com/2008/07/19/stories/2008071960181200.htm>>; Heather Timmons, "Pakistan: High-Level Talks With India Resume," *New York Times*, May 21, 2008.

May 21, 2008	Pakistan-India sign accord on consular access. <sup>44</sup>
May 22, 2008	Pakistani Foreign Minister Qureshi says Pakistan ready for "grand reconciliation" with India, says terrorism is a "common menace," and announces plans for Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh to visit Pakistan. <sup>45</sup>
June 1, 2008	The governments of India and Pakistan agreed to allow inspections on the Baglihar dam in Jammu and Kashmir and Nelum-Jhelum hydropower project in Azad Kashmir. <sup>46</sup>
June 3, 2008	Federal Minister for Kashmir Affairs and Northern Areas Qamar Zaman Kaira talks of "indications" of resolution of Kashmir issue, and says Pakistan was in a position to accelerate talks. <sup>47</sup>
June 24, 2008	Indian and Pakistani officials, meeting under the aegis of the Joint Anti-Terror Mechanism, agreed to exchange information to prevent terrorism and violent attacks. <sup>48</sup>
June 28, 2008	Pakistan Foreign Minister Shah Mehmood Qureshi terms talks with Indian counterpart "cordial," schedule next round of dialogue for 21 July. <sup>49</sup>
July 7, 2008	41 killed in blast at Indian embassy in Kabul. <sup>50</sup>

## Pre-Mumbai Attacks

September 25, 2008	Pakistani President Asif Ali Zardari and Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh formally announced the opening of the Wagah-Attari road link and the Khokrapar-Munnabao rail route to all trade. <sup>51</sup>
--------------------	--

44 Manish Chand, "India, Pakistan ink deal on consular access for prisoners," *Thaindian News*, May 21, 2008 <[http://www.thaindian.com/newsportal/south-asia/india-pakistan-ink-deal-on-consular-access-for-prisoners-lead-2\\_10051235.html](http://www.thaindian.com/newsportal/south-asia/india-pakistan-ink-deal-on-consular-access-for-prisoners-lead-2_10051235.html)>.

45 BBC Monitoring South Asia, "Pakistani ready for "grand reconciliation" with India - foreign minister," May 22, 2008.

46 BBC Monitoring South Asia, "India, Pakistan agree on Kashmir water project inspections – PTI," June 1, 2008.

47 BBC Monitoring South Asia, "Pakistan minister talks about "indications" of resolution of Kashmir issue," June 3, 2008.

48 Xinhua, "Pakistan, India to share information to prevent terrorist acts," June 24, 2008 <[http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2008-06/24/content\\_8431476.htm](http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2008-06/24/content_8431476.htm)>.

49 BBC Monitoring South Asia – Political, "Pakistan foreign minister terms talks with Indian counterpart "cordial,"" June 28, 2008.

50 Abdul Waheed Wafa and Alan Cowell, "Huge blast at Indian Embassy in Kabul kill 41," *New York Times*, July 7, 2008 <<http://www.nytimes.com/2008/07/07/world/asia/07iht-afghan.4.14305634.html>>.

51 Press Trust of India, "Manmohan-Zardari meet: Following is the text of the joint statement," *Hindustan Times*, September 24, 2008 <<http://www.hindustantimes.com/storypage/Print.aspx?Id=93deb343-d1eb-419d-bb46-f142ac0405cf>>.



September 26, 2008	Pakistani President Zardari says meeting with Indian Prime Minister Singh at the United Nations may have “lasting impact” on ties. <sup>52</sup>
October 9, 2008	A delegation of business leaders from Azad Kashmir visits Srinagar to discussed cross-LoC trade. <sup>53</sup>
October 11, 2008	Pakistan's National Security Adviser Maj. Gen. (retd.) Mahmoud Durrani traveled to New Delhi to meet Indian Prime Minister Singh and other officials. <sup>54</sup>
October 17, 2008	Pakistan's Indus Water Commissioner Shah Jamaat Ali and his Indian counterpart G Ranganathan meet for talks on the Chenab river. <sup>55</sup>
October 22, 2008	India and Pakistan reopen Kashmir trade route after six decades. <sup>56</sup>
October 24, 2008	Joint Anti-Terrorism Mechanism meets for anti-terror talks. <sup>57</sup>
October 25, 2008	Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and Pakistani Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gilani meet at Asia-Europe (ASEM) summit and term terrorism “common enemy.” <sup>58</sup>
November 25, 2008	Pakistan frees 101 Indian prisoners, including 99 fishermen. <sup>59</sup>
November 26, 2008	Mumbai attacks kill 164. <sup>60</sup>

52 BBC Monitoring South Asia, “Pakistan president-India PM meet may have “lasting impact” on ties – daily,” September 26, 2008.

53 Historic Kashmir delegation visit,” *BBC News*, October 9, 2008 <[http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south\\_asia/7662029.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/7662029.stm)>.

54 BBC Monitoring South Asia, “Pakistan security adviser visiting India, terror to dominate talks,” October 11, 2008.

55 BBC Monitoring South Asia, “India, Pakistan to hold talks on river water sharing conflict,” October 17, 2008.

56 Omar Waraich, “India and Pakistan reopen Kashmir trade route after six decades; Trade route opens across disputed border for first time since Partition,” *The Independent*, October 22, 2008.

57 BBC Monitoring South Asia, “Pakistan, India hold anti-terror talks,” October 24, 2008.

58 BBC Monitoring South Asia, “Indian, Pakistani premiers term terrorism “common enemy,”” October 25, 2008.

59 “Pakistan frees 101 Indian fishermen,” *Rediff*, November 25, 2008 <<http://ia.rediff.com/news/2008/nov/25pakistan-releases-101-indian-prisoners.htm>>.

60 Somini Sengupta, “At Least 100 Dead in India Terror Attacks,” *New York Times*, November 26, 1998 <<http://www.nytimes.com/2008/11/27/world/asia/27mumbai.html>>.



## Appendix III: Mass-Casualty Attacks in India 2002 - 2011

Nathan Cohn and William Shimer

**E**ditor's Note: This appendix documents mass-casualty attacks in India since 2002. As with the appendix detailing internal violence within Pakistan, mass-casualty incidents are defined here as an assault by non-state actors killing five or more individuals. For the purposes of this dataset, mass-casualty attacks thus exclude killings resulting from armed clashes between India's security forces and militant groups; attacks by non-state actors resulting in less than five fatalities; and deaths due to landmine explosions.

The following data are drawn from the South Asia Terrorism Portal (SATP), an affiliate of the New Delhi-based Institute for Conflict Management, and the Worldwide Incidents Tracking System of the National Counter-Terrorism Center (NTCT), a US government agency. These sources are invaluable, but not comprehensive. The NCTC data do not include incidents prior to 2004 or attacks that have occurred after April, 2011. The SATP primarily focuses on "Islamic Extremism" and consequently does not provide complete information on all mass-casualty incidents in India. Thus, this appendix undercounts incidents and fatalities prior to 2004 suspected to be perpetrated by non-Islamic groups, as well as casualties since April 2011.

Mass-casualty attacks are most prevalent in the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir and in states where Naxalite violence has become commonplace, including Chhatisgarh, Bihar, and Jharkhand. Since 2002, 80 mass-casualty incidents have killed 658 in Jammu and Kashmir, while 148 mass-casualty attacks elsewhere in India have resulted in at least 2,565 fatalities. Although most mass-casualty attacks occur in sparsely populated regions, the deadliest attacks are directed against metropolitan centers. No city has suffered more from mass-casualty attacks than Mumbai. Seven blasts on seven trains across Mumbai killed 209 on July 11, 2006, and the November, 2008 assault on the Taj Hotel and other targets that precipitated the 2008 Mumbai crisis killed 164 innocent bystanders. As documented in Appendix IV, mass-casualty attacks are more pervasive across Pakistan than within India.

### Mass-Casualty Attacks in India

Date	Location	Deaths
1/20/2002	Jammu and Kashmir	11
1/22/2002	West Bengal	5
2/16/2002	Jammu and Kashmir	8
3/30/2002	Jammu and Kashmir	7
4/30/2002	Jammu and Kashmir	5

Date	Location	Deaths
5/13/2002	Uttar Pradesh	12
5/14/2002	Jammu and Kashmir	36
6/13/2002	Jammu and Kashmir	25
8/5/2002	Jammu and Kashmir	9
9/9/2002	Jammu and Kashmir	5
9/11/2002	Jammu and Kashmir	12
9/24/2002	Gujarat	33
10/2/2002	Jammu and Kashmir	5
11/11/2002	Jammu and Kashmir	8
11/22/2002	Jammu and Kashmir	6
11/23/2002	Jammu and Kashmir	19
11/24/2002	Jammu and Kashmir	13
12/6/2002	Mumbai	25
12/21/2002	Andhra Pradesh	20
3/13/2003	Mumbai	12
3/14/2003	Jammu and Kashmir	11
3/23/2003	Jammu and Kashmir	24
4/25/2003	Jammu and Kashmir	7
4/26/2003	Jammu and Kashmir	5
5/19/2003	Jammu and Kashmir	6
5/26/2003	Jammu and Kashmir	5
6/28/2003	Jammu and Kashmir	12
7/21/2003	Jammu and Kashmir	7
7/22/2003	Jammu and Kashmir	8
8/25/2003	Mumbai	52
9/6/2003	Jammu and Kashmir	7
1/3/2004	Tripura	5
1/19/2004	Assam	8
3/3/2004	Jammu and Kashmir	7
3/9/2004	Jammu and Kashmir	5
3/24/2004	Assam	27
4/8/2004	Jammu and Kashmir	9
6/12/2004	Jammu and Kashmir	5
6/22/2004	Jharkhand	6
6/24/2004	Assam	6
6/25/2004	Jammu and Kashmir	12
7/2/2004	Jammu and Kashmir	6
7/19/2004	Jammu and Kashmir	5

Date	Location	Deaths
7/28/2004	Jammu and Kashmir	5
8/4/2004	Jammu and Kashmir	9
8/15/2004	Assam	17
9/3/2004	Jharkhand	5
10/2/2004	Assam	35
10/2/2004	Assam	14
10/3/2004	Assam	6
10/4/2004	Assam	6
10/4/2004	Assam	6
10/5/2004	Assam	10
10/5/2004	Assam	10
10/9/2004	Jammu and Kashmir	5
10/29/2004	Madhya Pradesh	12
11/15/2004	Jammu and Kashmir	6
12/3/2004	Jammu and Kashmir	5
12/5/2004	Jammu and Kashmir	10
1/7/2005	Jammu and Kashmir	5
2/5/2005	Jammu and Kashmir	5
3/1/2005	Andhra Pradesh	8
3/12/2005	Andhra Pradesh	7
5/10/2005	Assam	5
5/30/2005	Maharashtra	8
6/13/2005	Jammu and Kashmir	15
6/19/2005	Chhattisgarh	8
6/24/2005	Jammu and Kashmir	9
7/16/2005	Chhattisgarh	7
7/18/2005	Jammu and Kashmir	6
7/19/2005	Jammu and Kashmir	6
7/20/2005	Jammu and Kashmir	5
7/28/2005	Uttar Pradesh	12
7/28/2005	Chhattisgarh	7
7/29/2005	Jammu and Kashmir	5
8/12/2005	Jammu and Kashmir	5
8/15/2005	Andhra Pradesh	10
8/17/2005	Jammu and Kashmir	5
9/5/2005	Jharkhand	11
9/9/2005	Jammu and Kashmir	6
9/11/2005	Jharkhand	15

Date	Location	Deaths
9/14/2005	Assam	8
9/25/2005	Tripura	8
9/30/2005	Chhattisgarh	5
10/9/2005	Jammu and Kashmir	5
10/10/2005	Jammu and Kashmir	10
10/17/2005	Assam	23
10/29/2005	New Delhi	62
11/1/2005	Jammu and Kashmir	10
11/13/2005	Bihar	12
11/14/2005	Jammu and Kashmir	6
11/15/2005	Jammu and Kashmir	6
11/23/2005	Jammu and Kashmir	5
2/9/2006	Chhattisgarh	8
2/28/2006	Chhattisgarh	55
3/5/2006	Chhattisgarh	5
3/6/2006	Chhattisgarh	6
3/7/2006	Uttar Pradesh	15
3/7/2006	Varanasi	28
4/14/2006	Jammu and Kashmir	5
4/16/2006	Chhattisgarh	10
4/24/2006	Bihar	7
4/25/2006	Chhattisgarh	15
4/25/2006	Bihar	6
4/26/2006	Bihar	6
4/30/2006	Jammu and Kashmir	13
5/1/2006	Jammu and Kashmir	22
5/1/2006	Jammu and Kashmir	13
5/18/2006	Bihar	9
5/21/2006	Assam	7
5/21/2006	Jammu and Kashmir	5
6/9/2006	Assam	5
6/12/2006	Jammu and Kashmir	10
6/20/2006	Chhattisgarh	7
7/8/2006	Jammu and Kashmir	5
7/11/2006	Jammu and Kashmir	6
7/11/2006	Mumbai	209
7/11/2006	Jammu and Kashmir	9
7/17/2006	Chhattisgarh	29



Date	Location	Deaths
8/4/2006	Assam	6
8/11/2006	Assam	5
9/8/2006	Maharastra	31
10/4/2006	Jammu and Kashmir	8
10/6/2006	Assam	12
11/5/2006	Assam	5
11/5/2006	Assam	6
11/10/2006	Jammu and Kashmir	6
1/5/2007	Assam	6
1/5/2007	Assam	70
1/5/2007	Assam	8
1/6/2007	Assam	8
1/7/2007	Assam	7
2/8/2007	Nagaland	7
2/8/2007	Jammu and Kashmir	5
2/18/2007	Haryana	68
3/8/2007	Manipur	5
3/9/2007	Manipur	5
3/15/2007	Chhattisgarh	54
3/29/2007	Jammu and Kashmir	5
3/30/2007	Jammu and Kashmir	5
4/6/2007	Jharkhand	6
5/18/2007	Andhra Pradesh	12
5/26/2007	Assam	6
6/30/2007	Bihar	9
7/10/2007	Chhattisgarh	25
7/17/2007	Chhattisgarh	6
7/29/2007	Jammu and Kashmir	7
8/8/2007	Assam	9
8/10/2007	Assam	14
8/17/2007	Jammu and Kashmir	5
8/25/2007	Andhra Pradesh	43
8/29/2007	Chhattisgarh	12
10/11/2007	Jammu and Kashmir	7
10/14/2007	Punjab	7
10/27/2007	Jharkhand	17
10/29/2007	Chhattisgarh	5
11/23/2007	Uttar Pradesh	14

Date	Location	Deaths
11/27/2007	Assam	11
12/13/2007	Assam	5
12/16/2007	Manipur	8
1/1/2008	Rampur	7
2/15/2008	Orissa	16
2/19/2008	Assam	5
3/17/2008	Manipur	7
4/8/2008	Jharkhand	8
4/10/2008	Bihar	6
4/13/2008	Bihar	6
5/11/2008	Assam	8
5/13/2008	Nagaland	6
5/13/2008	Rajasthan	64
5/15/2008	Assam	10
6/13/2008	Jammu and Kashmir	5
6/29/2008	Orissa	35
6/29/2008	Assam	7
6/30/2008	Jharkhand	5
7/4/2008	Jammu and Kashmir	5
7/16/2008	Orissa	17
7/19/2008	Jammu and Kashmir	10
7/24/2008	Jammu and Kashmir	5
7/26/2008	Gujarat	56
8/21/2008	Bihar	7
8/27/2008	Jammu and Kashmir	8
9/2/2008	Mizoram	6
9/13/2008	New Delhi	31
9/27/2008	Jammu and Kashmir	8
9/29/2008	Maharastra	5
10/21/2008	Manipur	17
10/30/2008	Assam	81
10/31/2008	Assam	10
11/25/2008	Chhattisgarh	7
11/26/2008	Mumbai	164
11/27/2008	Manipur	5
12/5/2008	Jharkhand	5
1/1/2009	Assam	6
2/1/2009	Maharastra	15

<b>Date</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Deaths</b>
2/9/2009	Bihar	10
4/6/2009	Assam	10
4/12/2009	Orissa	10
4/15/2009	Jharkhand	8
4/16/2009	Chhattisgarh	5
4/21/2009	Jammu and Kashmir	6
4/23/2009	Bihar	5
5/6/2009	Chhattisgarh	11
5/21/2009	Maharastra	16
6/12/2009	Jharkhand	9
6/18/2009	Orissa	9
9/6/2009	Jharkhand	5
10/5/2009	Assam	15
10/8/2009	Maharastra	17
11/10/2009	Tripura	8
11/22/2009	Assam	8
2/13/2010	Maharastra	17
2/17/2010	Bihar	12
3/16/2010	Jammu and Kashmir	6
4/2/2010	Jammu and Kashmir	5
4/4/2010	Orissa	10
5/16/2010	Chhattisgarh	6
5/17/2010	Chhattisgarh	44
5/21/2010	Bihar	5
5/28/2010	West Bengal	148
7/16/2010	Jharkhand	5
8/4/2010	Jharkhand	5
11/8/2010	Assam	6
11/8/2010	Assam	8
11/21/2010	Bihar	8
12/17/2010	West Bengal	7
1/7/2011	West Bengal	9
7/13/2011	Mumbai	20



## Appendix IV: Mass-Casualty Attacks in Pakistan 2002-2011

Nathan Cohn

**E**ditor's Note: *These data reflect how far the idea and promise of Pakistan's creation are being dissolved by poor governance and by poor choices made by Pakistan's military and intelligence services. Divisions within the state have been unaddressed, resulting in growing sectarian and ethno-political violence in Sindh and the Punjab. An even greater number of mass-casualty attacks occur along Pakistan's periphery. There is also near-perpetual disaffection in Balochistan. Azad Kashmir, the launching point for violent attacks directed against Indian security forces across the Line of Control during the 1990s, is the most peaceful part of Pakistan at present. Material changes in the status quo favoring Pakistan in divided Kashmir, the ostensible reason for wars and severe crises initiated by Pakistan, are now most improbable, while the agents of change trained and equipped by Pakistan's security apparatus to engineer this result are presently creating more sorrow in Pakistan than in India. Many have tried to persuade Pakistani military leaders to increase the scope and intensity of their operations against those who threaten the idea of Pakistan as well as its citizens. These data suggest reasons why the Pakistan Army withholds its fire. Whenever Pakistan's security apparatus has turned against militant groups, it has borne the brunt of spikes in mass-casualty attacks.*

Militant groups are tearing apart the fabric of Pakistani society, exacting a terrible toll against innocent bystanders, sectarian foes, political leaders, security forces, and the economy. Since 2002, over 7,000 Pakistanis have died in nearly 450 mass-casualty attacks by non-state actors. The frequency, scope, and magnitude of these mass-casualty attacks have grown steadily over the last decade, and have risen markedly since the July 2007 military operation against the Red Mosque in Islamabad. Only one other country—Iraq—has suffered more from mass-casualty terrorism than Pakistan over the last five years. These deadly assaults are calculated to settle scores, influence Pakistan's regional, foreign, and national security policies, as well as to affect domestic power struggles and election campaigns. This appendix documents incidents of mass-casualty attacks by non-state actors within Pakistan in which five or more people were killed to illuminate patterns and trends from January 2002 to August 2011.

The data reveal that different militant groups attack different aspects of Pakistani society. Violence is most concentrated along the Afghan border, in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa, the locations of more than 250 attacks and 4,500 deaths in mass-casualty incidents. Death tolls are lower in the more populous eastern provinces: 860 have died in 67 incidents in Sindh; 963 perished in 42 attacks in the Punjab; and in Islamabad and Rawalpindi, defined here as the National Capital Area, 29 incidents have killed 462. In Balochistan, 579 have died in 45 mass-casualty incidents, while 37 have died in 3 attacks in the area known within Pakistan as Azad Kashmir and Gilgit-Baltistan. Annual death tolls have risen from below 250 to above 1,300 since 2007. The brunt of this

increase was disproportionately directed against Pakistan's state security apparatus. Attacks against security forces have increased more than 3,000% since 2005, now constituting 31% of all deaths from mass-casualty incidents over the last five years.

Many attacks correlate with triggering events. Politically-inspired killings rise with upcoming electoral contests. Military campaigns in FATA or Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa are often accompanied by mass-casualty incidents in the Punjab and the National Capital Area. Bloodletting in Sindh and the Punjab can be sectarian in nature, with clear political overtones. Shifting allegiances and military plans in Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa or along the Afghan border can affect casualty counts. Because there are so many triggering events and grievances, it will be very difficult for Pakistani political leaders and military authorities to reverse these trends.

## Methodological Challenges

The task of cataloging and categorizing mass-casualty attacks in Pakistan is fraught with methodological challenges. Comprehensiveness is a problem, even for the best databases. Two organizations come closest to providing complete and detailed chronologies of attacks in South Asia: the South Asia Terrorism Portal, an affiliate of the New Delhi-based Institute for Conflict Management, and the Worldwide Incidents Tracking System of the National Counter-Terrorism Center (NTCT), a US government agency.<sup>1</sup> While these two datasets are extensive, they are not identical. Whether this is due to methodological differences or other reasons, several large attacks are missing from each dataset. This appendix combines all mass-casualty incidents from both databases. The data in this appendix, like the databases it relies upon, may not be truly comprehensive or accurate.

For the purpose of this appendix, a mass-casualty attack is defined as an assault by non-state actors killing five or more individuals in Pakistan. Non-state actors are defined as individuals linked to organizations independent of, or disaffected from, Pakistan's security apparatus; individuals belonging to political or sub-national groups; religious or sectarian organizations; and armed militias. For the purposes of this dataset, mass-casualty attacks thus exclude killings resulting from armed clashes between Pakistan's security forces and militant groups; attacks by non-state actors resulting in less than five fatalities; and deaths due to landmine explosions.

These definitions acknowledge difficulties in distinguishing between non-state actors and proxies or surrogates of the Pakistani security apparatus. The inflamed situation along Pakistan's western border with Afghanistan, attempts by Pakistan's security forces to leverage favorable outcomes in Afghanistan, and US and allied military operations in Afghanistan complicate efforts to delineate wartime casualties from other mass-casualty attacks.

Attacks causing less than five deaths were excluded from this dataset because little information is usually available about death by violent means of small numbers of individuals. This accounting method by no means diminishes the significance of these losses. Indeed, violent

---

<sup>1</sup> National Counterterrorism Center, available at <<http://www.nctc.gov/>>; South Asia Terrorism Portal, available at <[www.satp.org](http://www.satp.org)>.



deaths of less than five individuals at a time constitute a slight majority of all violent deaths within Pakistan.

In this appendix, mass-casualty assaults are categorized by province, with attacks in Islamabad and Rawalpindi combined into a National Capital Area account. Attacks are also highlighted and categorized when carried out against Pakistan's state security apparatus, defined here as attacks against the personnel or installations of the armed forces of Pakistan, Inter-Services Intelligence, Federal Investigation Agency, and police units.

This appendix does not have the means to distinguish between the deaths of militants, their intended victims and innocent bystanders. When the databases employed report different casualty figures, this appendix generally relies on the higher death tolls cited in the NCTC data. This appendix does not attempt to identify perpetrators of mass-casualty attacks.

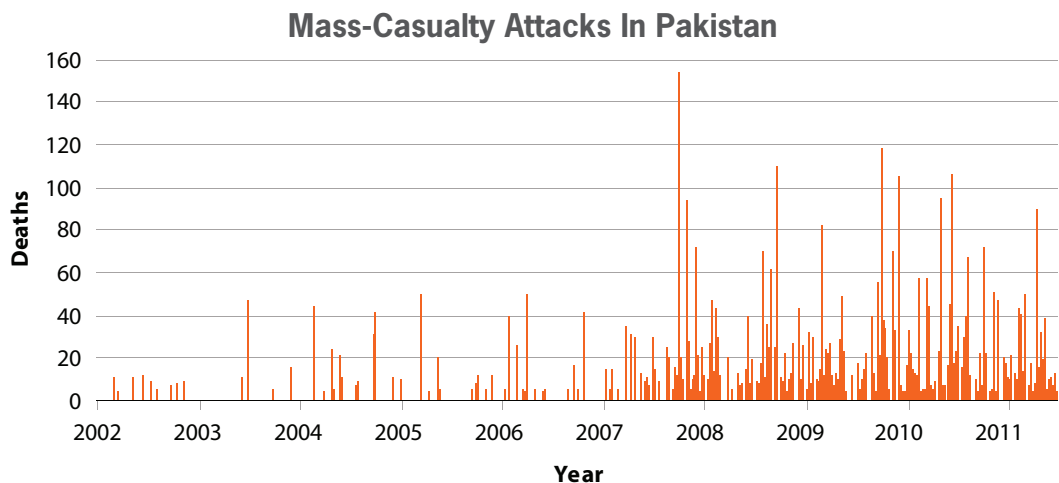
## Findings

The appendix begins in 2002 to reflect the repercussions of the September 11, 2001 attacks within Pakistan, including the rout of al-Qaeda and the Afghan Taliban by coalition forces in Afghanistan, and President Pervez Musharraf's first public declarations of intent to curb militancy after the 9/11 attacks and during the Twin Peaks crisis that soon followed. Trends and patterns should be interpreted with caution for the reasons stated above. The following conclusions seem particularly noteworthy:

- Deaths from mass-casualty attacks in Pakistan increased after the July 2007 siege of the Red Mosque in Islamabad. Between 2002 and 2006, mass-casualty incidents occurred infrequently, at an annual rate of 10 incidents and 150 deaths. This increased to an annual rate of approximately 90 incidents and 1,500 deaths from 2008 to August 2011.
- Mass-casualty attacks are more common on Pakistan's periphery. More than 60% of deaths recorded in this appendix occur in the FATA and Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa.
- Since 2007, the percentage of the total number of mass-casualty attacks directed against security-related targets has grown from 9% in 2002-2006 to 31% after 2007.
- Deaths from mass-casualty attacks against security-related targets are most common in Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa. More than 60% of deaths from these attacks have occurred in Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa and the FATA combined. Fifteen percent of security-related deaths result from incidents in the Punjab, while only four percent of deaths from these attacks occur in Sindh, where violence is mostly directed at civil society. Although only ten percent of deaths from attacks against security-related targets occur in the National Capital Area, fatalities from these attacks are particularly high, representing more than 50% of all deaths in Islamabad and Rawalpindi.
- As would be expected, mass-casualty attacks against security-related targets, especially against Pakistan's armed forces, grow in conjunction with Pakistani military operations. Outside of the war zone, attacks against security targets have been rare in the absence of military campaigns. Spikes in mass-casualty attacks against security-related targets

in the National Capital Area and the Punjab accompanied the 2008 Swat campaign, and the fall 2009 military campaign in the FATA.

- Two attacks on security targets merit particular notice. The coordinated attack on Pakistan Naval Station Mehran in May 2011 followed the raid by US Special Forces against Osama Bin Laden's residence in Abbottabad. The siege of Army General Headquarters in October 2009 followed the announcement of Pakistan Army plans to launch an operation in South Waziristan. Both attacks were characterized by commando-style operations and may have been assisted by insider knowledge.
- Mass-casualty attacks against security-related targets, especially against Pakistan's armed forces, have greatly diminished since late 2009. The last such attack in the National Capital Area occurred December 4, 2009. In contrast, mass-casualty attacks against security forces in Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa and the FATA, as well as against police units, continue unabated.
- Mass-casualty attacks in Sindh have increased markedly beginning in December 2009.
- Mass-casualty attacks in Balochistan have been characterized by relatively unchanged levels of violence.
- Mass-casualty attacks in the National Capital Area fell more than 90% after 2009. Less than one percent of deaths from mass-casualty incidents in Pakistan from 2010-2011 have occurred in the National Capital Area, compared to nine percent in 2009.
- Mass-casualty attacks in the Punjab have been characterized by relatively high numbers of fatalities. Forty-two percent of mass-casualty incidents in the Punjab have resulted in twenty fatalities or more, compared to 23% nationally.



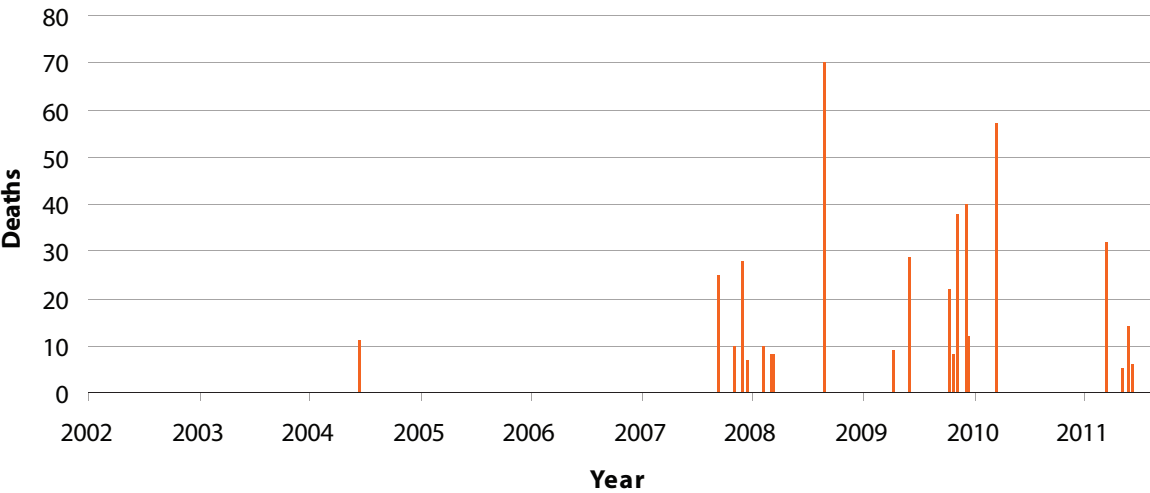
### Mass-Casualty Attacks In Pakistan By Year

Year	Number of Attacks	Deaths in All Mass-Casualty Attacks	Percentage of Deaths Resulting From Attacks on Security Targets
2002	9	78	0.0%
2003	4	80	0.0%
2004	11	211	7.6%
2005	11	141	0.0%
2006	15	243	22.2%
2007	50	1,003	33.9%
2008	78	1,321	29.5%
2009	93	1,639	35.1%
2010	91	1,699	23.7%
1-8/2011	78	1,021	38.6%
TOTAL	440	7,436	29.3%

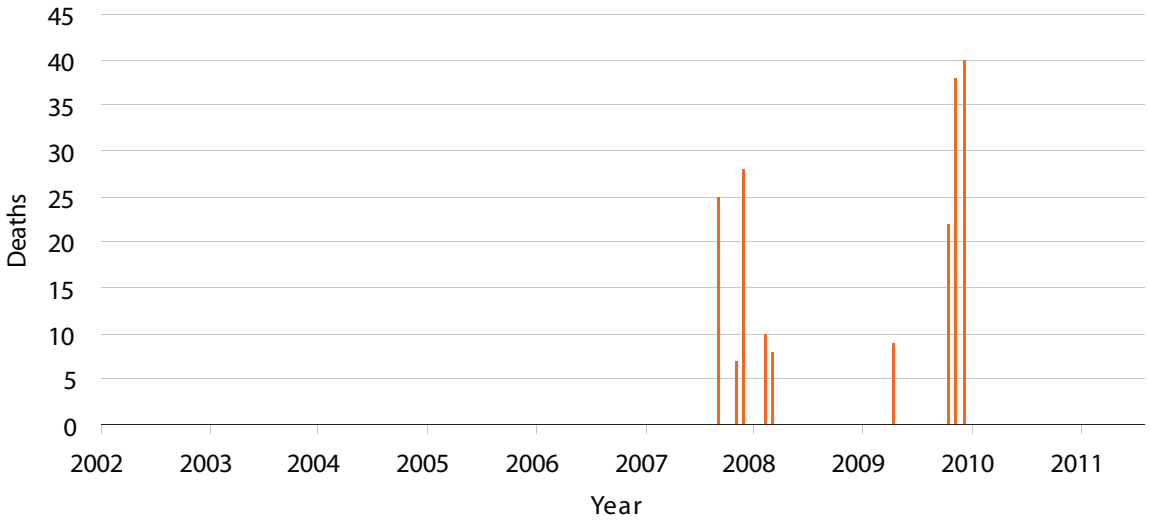
Deaths from Mass-Casualty Attacks By Province

Province	Deaths	Attacks	% Of National	Percentage of Deaths Resulting From Attacks on Security Targets
Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	3,143	182	42.3%	37.3%
FATA	1,392	82	18.7%	17.2%
Punjab	963	42	13.0%	35.8%
Sindh	860	57	11.6%	9.1%
Balochistan	579	45	7.8%	18.5%
National Capital Area	462	29	6.2%	51.1%
Azad Kashmir and Gilgit-Baltistan	37	3	0.5%	0.0%

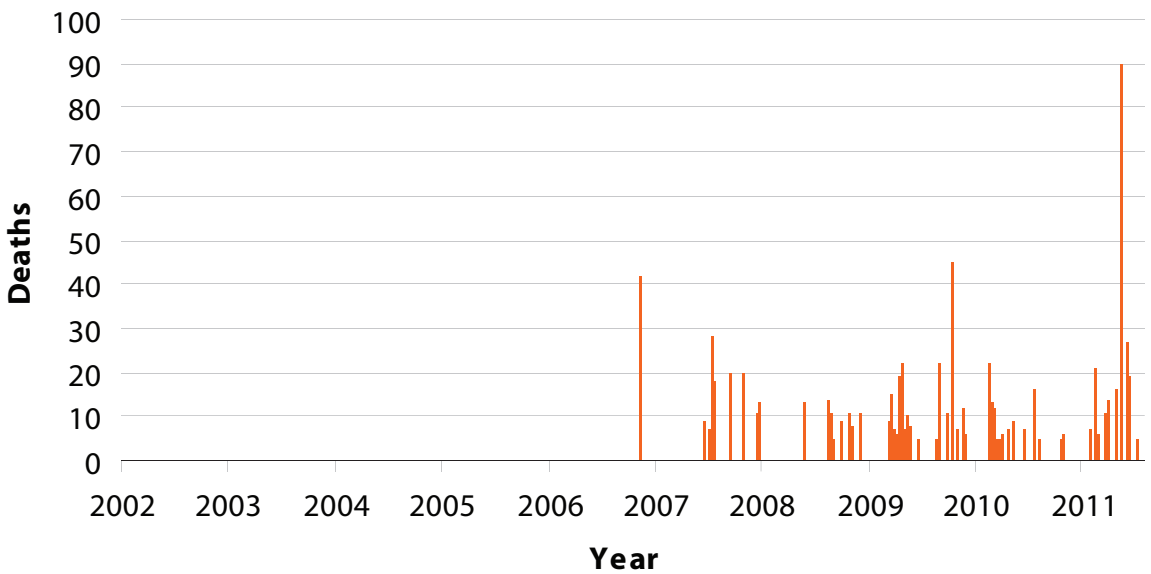
Mass-Casualty Attacks Against Military Forces and Intelligence Services in National Capital Area, Sindh, Punjab

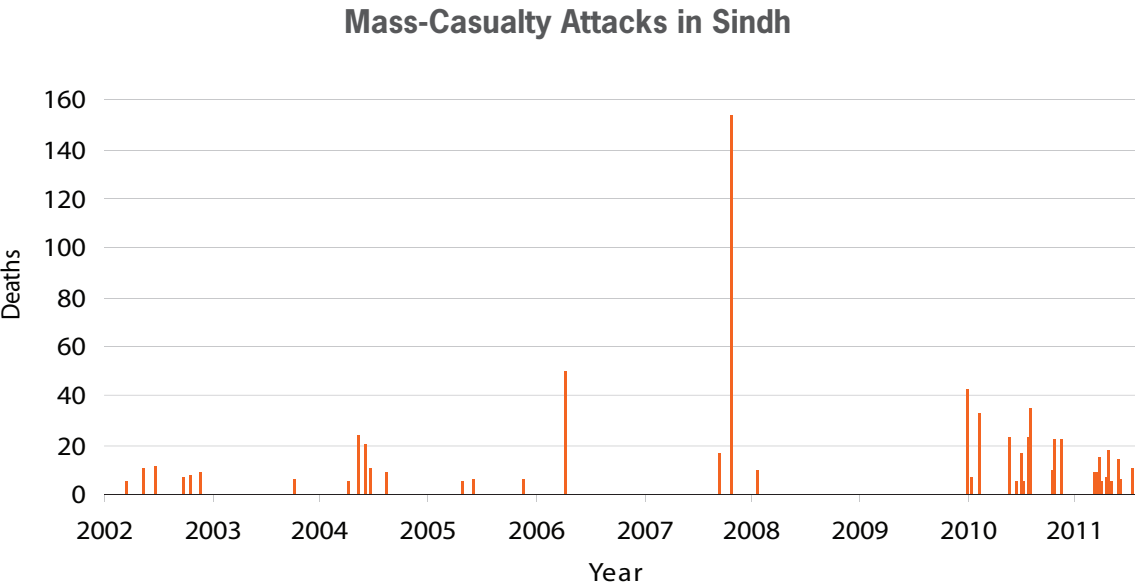
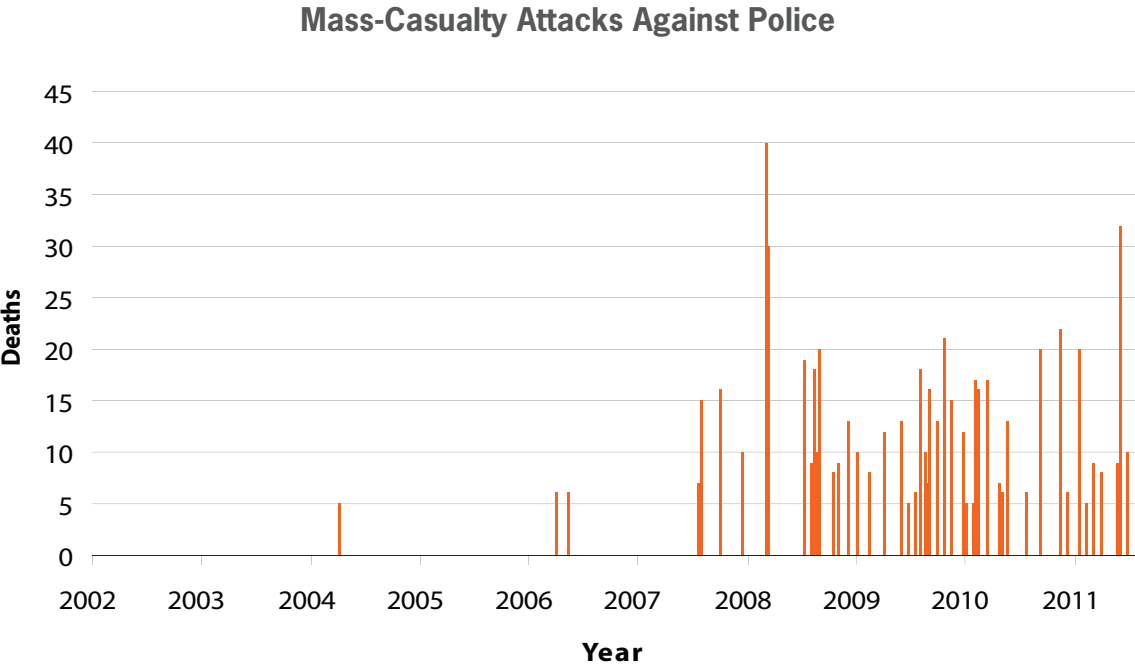


### Mass-Casualty Attacks Against Military Forces and Intelligence Services in National Capital Area



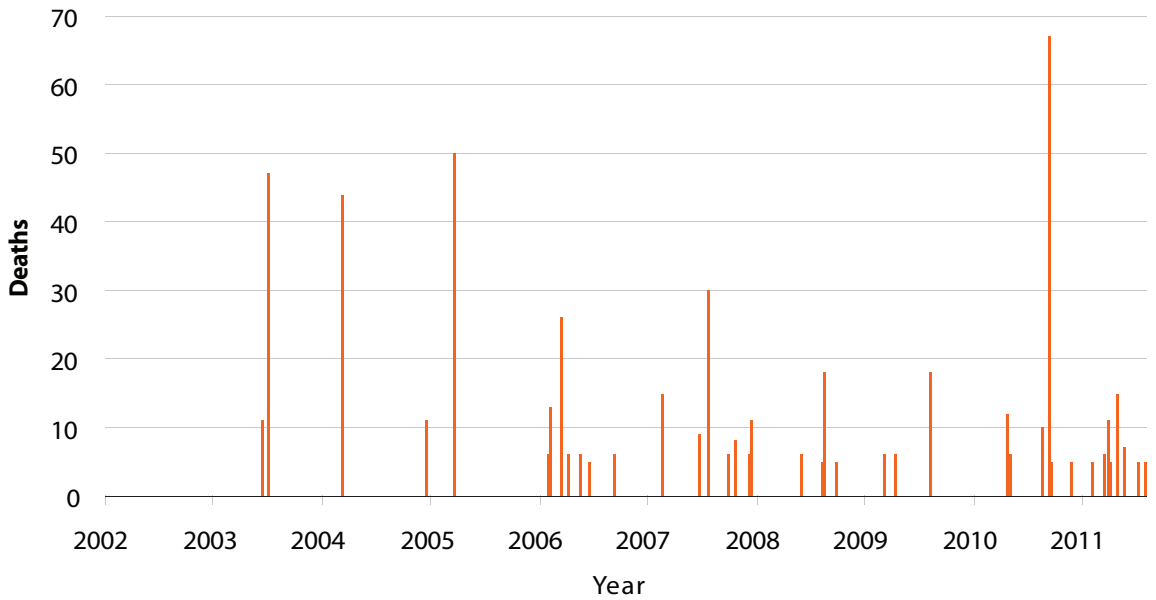
### Mass-Casualty Attacks Against Military Forces and Intelligence Services in Balochistan, FATA, and Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa



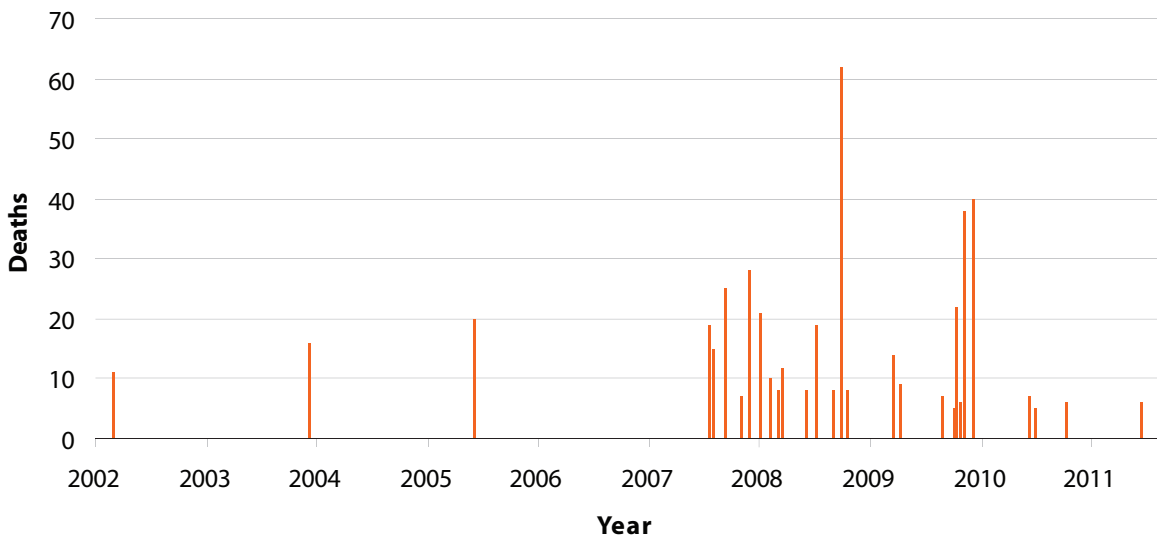




### Mass-Casualty Attacks in Balochistan



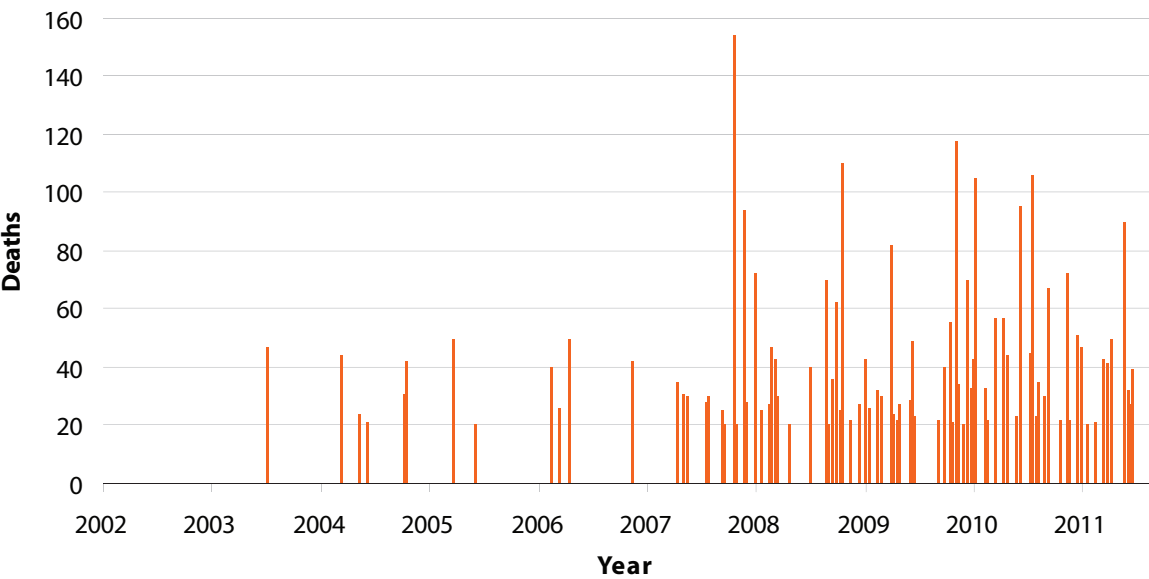
### Mass-Casualty Attacks in National Capital Area



Mass-Casualty Attacks Resulting In More Than 20 Fatalities

Province	Number of Attacks
Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	45
FATA	17
Punjab	18
Sindh	11
Balochistan	6
National Capital Area	8
Azad Kashmir and Gilgit-Baltistan	0

Mass-Casualty Attacks Resulting In Over Twenty Fatalities



## Mass-Casualty Attacks in Pakistan

Date	Type of Target	Location	Deaths
2/26/2002	Non-Security	Rawalpindi	11
3/17/2002	Non-Security.	Sindh	5
5/8/2002	Non-Security	Sindh	11
6/14/2002	Non-Security	Sindh	12
7/13/2002	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	9
8/5/2002	Non-Security	Punjab	6
9/25/2002	Non-Security	Sindh	7
10/16/2002	Non-Security	Sindh	8
11/15/2002	Non-Security	Sindh	9
6/8/2003	Non-Security	Balochistan	11
7/3/2003	Non-Security	Balochistan	47
10/3/2003	Non-Security	Sindh	6
12/5/2003	Non-Security	Rawalpindi	16
3/2/2004	Non-Security	Balochistan	44
4/4/2004	Security	Sindh	5
5/7/2004	Non-Security	Sindh	24
5/14/2004	Non-Security	Punjab	6
5/31/2004	Non-Security	Sindh	21
6/10/2004	Security	Sindh	11
7/30/2004	Non-Security	Punjab	7
8/8/2004	Non-Security	Sindh	9
10/1/2004	Non-Security	Punjab	31
10/7/2004	Non-Security	Punjab	42
12/10/2004	Non-Security	Balochistan	11
1/8/2005	Non-Security	Gilgit-Baltistan	10
3/19/2005	Non-Security	Balochistan	50
4/20/2005	Non-Security	Sindh	5
5/25/2005	Non-Security	FATA	6
5/27/2005	Non-Security	Islamabad	20
5/31/2005	Non-Security	Sindh	6
9/22/2005	Non-Security	Punjab	6
10/7/2005	Non-Security	Punjab	8
10/13/2005	Non-Security	Gilgit-Baltistan	12
11/15/2005	Non-Security	Sindh	6
12/8/2005	Non-Security	FATA	12
1/25/2006	Non-Security	Balochistan	6
2/5/2006	Non-Security	Balochistan	13

<b>Date</b>	<b>Type of Target</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Deaths</b>
2/9/2006	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	40
3/10/2006	Non-Security	Balochistan	26
4/2/2006	Security	Balochistan	6
4/3/2006	Non-Security	FATA	5
4/11/2006	Non-Security	Sindh	50
5/11/2006	Security	Balochistan	6
6/12/2006	Non-Security	Balochistan	5
6/20/2006	Non-Security	FATA	6
9/8/2006	Non-Security	Balochistan	6
10/6/2006	Non-Security	FATA	17
10/20/2006	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	6
11/8/2006	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	42
11/10/2006	Non-Security	FATA	9
1/27/2007	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	15
2/9/2007	Non-Security	Punjab	6
2/17/2007	Non-Security	Balochistan	15
3/11/2007	Non-Security	FATA	6
4/10/2007	Non-Security	FATA	35
4/28/2007	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	31
5/15/2007	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	6
5/15/2007	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	30
5/31/2007	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	13
6/2/2007	Non-Security	FATA	5
6/15/2007	Security	Balochistan	9
6/23/2007	Non-Security	FATA	11
7/4/2007	Security	FATA	7
7/14/2007	Security	FATA	23
7/15/2007	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	21
7/15/2007	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	28
7/17/2007	Non-Security	Islamabad	19
7/19/2007	Non-Security	Balochistan	30
7/19/2007	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	18
7/19/2007	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	7
7/24/2007	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	9
7/27/2007	Security	Islamabad	15
8/4/2007	Non-Security	FATA	9
9/4/2007	Security	Rawalpindi	25
9/11/2007	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	15

Date	Type of Target	Location	Deaths
9/11/2007	Non-Security	Sindh	17
9/13/2007	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	20
9/26/2007	Security	Balochistan	6
10/1/2007	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	16
10/3/2007	Non-Security	FATA	14
10/11/2007	Non-Security	FATA	12
10/18/2007	Non-Security	Sindh	154
10/20/2007	Non-Security	Balochistan	8
10/25/2007	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	20
10/26/2007	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	13
10/27/2007	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	9
10/30/2007	Security	Rawalpindi	7
11/1/2007	Security	Punjab	10
11/17/2007	Non-Security	FATA	94
11/24/2007	Security	Rawalpindi	28
12/3/2007	Non-Security	Balochistan	6
12/9/2007	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	10
12/10/2007	Security	Punjab	7
12/13/2007	Security	Balochistan	11
12/15/2007	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	5
12/17/2007	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	12
12/21/2007	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	72
12/23/2007	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	13
12/27/2007	Non-Security	Rawalpindi	21
12/28/2007	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	10
1/7/2008	Non-Security	FATA	5
1/10/2008	Non-Security	Punjab	25
1/14/2008	Non-Security	Sindh	10
1/17/2008	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	12
2/4/2008	Security	Rawalpindi	10
2/9/2008	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	27
2/11/2008	Non-Security	FATA	10
2/16/2008	Non-Security	FATA	47
2/18/2008	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	24
2/22/2008	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	14
2/25/2008	Security	Rawalpindi	8
2/29/2008	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	40
3/2/2008	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	43

Date	Type of Target	Location	Deaths
3/3/2008	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	12
3/4/2008	Security	Punjab	8
3/11/2008	Security	Punjab	30
3/15/2008	Non-Security	Islamabad	12
4/17/2008	Non-Security	FATA	20
4/26/2008	Non-Security	FATA	6
5/18/2008	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	13
5/26/2008	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	7
5/30/2008	Non-Security	Balochistan	6
6/2/2008	Non-Security	Islamabad	8
6/19/2008	Non-Security	FATA	15
6/22/2008	Non-Security	FATA	8
6/23/2008	Non-Security	FATA	8
6/23/2008	Non-Security	FATA	40
6/29/2008	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	8
7/6/2008	Security	Islamabad	19
7/6/2008	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	19
8/2/2008	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	9
8/5/2008	Non-Security	Balochistan	5
8/9/2008	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	8
8/12/2008	Security	Balochistan	18
8/12/2008	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	14
8/13/2008	Security	Punjab	10
8/13/2008	Non-Security	Balochistan	6
8/19/2008	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	35
8/21/2008	Security	Punjab	70
8/23/2008	Non-Security	FATA	5
8/23/2008	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	20
8/25/2008	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	11
8/25/2008	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	10
8/26/2008	Non-Security	Islamabad	8
8/28/2008	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	10
8/29/2008	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	5
9/5/2008	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	15
9/6/2008	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	36
9/10/2008	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	25
9/19/2008	Non-Security	Balochistan	5
9/19/2008	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	5



Date	Type of Target	Location	Deaths
9/20/2008	Non-Security	Islamabad	62
9/22/2008	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	9
10/6/2008	Non-Security	Punjab	25
10/9/2008	Security	Islamabad	8
10/9/2008	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	12
10/10/2008	Non-Security	FATA	110
10/23/2008	Non-Security	FATA	8
10/26/2008	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	11
10/26/2008	Security	FATA	11
10/31/2008	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	9
11/2/2008	Security	FATA	8
11/4/2008	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	7
11/6/2008	Non-Security	FATA	22
11/11/2008	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	13
11/12/2008	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	5
11/20/2008	Non-Security	FATA	9
11/20/2008	Non-Security	FATA	9
11/21/2008	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	10
11/22/2008	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	6
11/28/2008	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	6
11/28/2008	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	13
12/1/2008	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	11
12/5/2008	Non-Security	FATA	7
12/5/2008	Non-Security	FATA	10
12/5/2008	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	27
12/6/2008	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	6
12/28/2008	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	43
1/4/2009	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	10
1/10/2009	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	26
1/26/2009	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	6
2/5/2009	Non-Security	Punjab	32
2/7/2009	Security	Punjab	8
2/17/2009	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	5
2/20/2009	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	30
3/2/2009	Non-Security	Balochistan	6
3/3/2009	Non-Security	Punjab	6
3/4/2009	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	10
3/7/2009	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	9

<b>Date</b>	<b>Type of Target</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Deaths</b>
3/11/2009	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	6
3/16/2009	Non-Security	Rawalpindi	14
3/16/2009	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	14
3/18/2009	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	5
3/19/2009	Security	FATA	15
3/26/2009	Non-Security	FATA	12
3/27/2009	Non-Security	FATA	82
3/30/2009	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	7
3/30/2009	Security	Punjab	12
4/1/2009	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	5
4/4/2009	Security	Islamabad	9
4/5/2009	Non-Security	FATA	18
4/5/2009	Security	Balochistan	6
4/5/2009	Non-Security	Punjab	24
4/10/2009	Non-Security	Balochistan	6
4/15/2009	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	19
4/18/2009	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	22
4/25/2009	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	27
4/26/2009	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	12
5/1/2009	Non-Security	FATA	6
5/5/2009	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	7
5/9/2009	Non-Security	FATA	5
5/11/2009	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	10
5/16/2009	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	13
5/21/2009	Security	FATA	8
5/22/2009	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	10
5/27/2009	Non-Security	Punjab	29
5/28/2009	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	8
5/28/2009	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	13
6/1/2009	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	6
6/5/2009	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	49
6/9/2009	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	23
6/12/2009	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	7
6/12/2009	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	5
6/14/2009	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	9
6/20/2009	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	5
7/11/2009	Security	Punjab	6
7/13/2009	Non-Security	Punjab	12

Date	Type of Target	Location	Deaths
7/30/2009	Security	Balochistan	18
8/9/2009	Non-Security	FATA	6
8/13/2009	Security	Punjab	10
8/15/2009	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	5
8/17/2009	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	7
8/20/2009	Security	Rawalpindi	7
8/23/2009	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	15
8/27/2009	Security	FATA	22
8/30/2009	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	16
9/18/2009	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	40
9/19/2009	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	5
9/24/2009	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	9
9/26/2009	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	11
9/26/2009	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	13
10/5/2009	Non-Security	Islamabad	5
10/9/2009	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	54
10/9/2009	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	55
10/10/2009	Security	Rawalpindi	22
10/12/2009	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	45
10/15/2009	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	11
10/15/2009	Security	Punjab	21
10/16/2009	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	15
10/20/2009	Non-Security	Islamabad	6
10/23/2009	Security	Punjab	8
10/28/2009	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	118
10/31/2009	Security	FATA	7
11/2/2009	Security	Rawalpindi	38
11/8/2009	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	15
11/10/2009	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	34
11/13/2009	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	15
11/14/2009	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	12
11/19/2009	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	20
11/23/2009	Security	FATA	6
12/4/2009	Security	Rawalpindi	40
12/7/2009	Non-Security	Punjab	70
12/7/2009	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	11
12/8/2009	Security	Punjab	12
12/15/2009	Non-Security	Punjab	33

Date	Type of Target	Location	Deaths
12/18/2009	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	12
12/26/2009	Security	Sindh	5
12/27/2009	Non-Security	Azad Kashmir	15
12/27/2009	Non-Security	FATA	8
12/27/2009	Non-Security	Sindh	5
12/28/2009	Non-Security	Sindh	43
1/1/2010	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	105
1/8/2010	Non-Security	Sindh	7
1/11/2010	Non-Security	Sindh	5
1/23/2010	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	5
1/24/2010	Non-Security	FATA	7
1/30/2010	Security	FATA	17
2/1/2010	Non-Security	Sindh	26
2/3/2010	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	10
2/5/2010	Non-Security	Sindh	33
2/10/2010	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	18
2/10/2010	Security	FATA	22
2/11/2010	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	16
2/11/2010	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	12
2/18/2010	Non-Security	FATA	15
2/22/2010	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	13
3/5/2010	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	12
3/8/2010	Security	Punjab	15
3/10/2010	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	6
3/11/2010	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	5
3/12/2010	Security	Punjab	57
3/13/2010	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	17
3/17/2010	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	5
3/25/2010	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	6
3/26/2010	Security	FATA	5
3/31/2010	Security	FATA	6
4/5/2010	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	57
4/5/2010	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	7
4/7/2010	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	6
4/16/2010	Non-Security	Balochistan	12
4/16/2010	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	10
4/17/2010	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	44
4/18/2010	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	7

Date	Type of Target	Location	Deaths
4/19/2010	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	25
4/23/2010	Security	FATA	7
4/28/2010	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	6
5/1/2010	Security	Balochistan	6
5/10/2010	Security	FATA	9
5/18/2010	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	13
5/20/2010	Non-Security	Sindh	23
5/28/2010	Non-Security	Punjab	95
5/31/2010	Non-Security	Punjab	12
6/8/2010	Non-Security	Islamabad	7
6/12/2010	Non-Security	Sindh	5
6/14/2010	Security	FATA	7
6/27/2010	Non-Security	Rawalpindi	5
6/28/2010	Non-Security	Sindh	17
6/28/2010	Non-Security	Sindh	5
7/1/2010	Non-Security	Punjab	45
7/3/2010	Non-Security	Sindh	5
7/9/2010	Non-Security	FATA	106
7/15/2010	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	6
7/15/2010	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	6
7/16/2010	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	10
7/17/2010	Non-Security	FATA	18
7/17/2010	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	16
7/23/2010	Non-Security	Sindh	23
7/26/2010	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	8
8/2/2010	Non-Security	Sindh	13
8/3/2010	Non-Security	Sindh	35
8/4/2010	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	5
8/14/2010	Non-Security	Balochistan	6
8/14/2010	Non-Security	Balochistan	10
8/19/2010	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	16
8/21/2010	Non-Security	FATA	6
8/23/2010	Non-Security	FATA	30
8/23/2010	Non-Security	FATA	7
9/1/2010	Non-Security	Punjab	40
9/3/2010	Non-Security	Balochistan	67
9/6/2010	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	19
9/7/2010	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	20

<b>Date</b>	<b>Type of Target</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Deaths</b>
9/10/2010	Non-Security	FATA	12
9/10/2010	Non-Security	Balochistan	5
9/12/2010	Non-Security	FATA	6
10/3/2010	Non-Security	Islamabad	6
10/7/2010	Non-Security	Sindh	10
10/15/2010	Security	FATA	5
10/17/2010	Non-Security	Sindh	22
10/20/2010	Non-Security	Sindh	16
10/22/2010	Security	FATA	6
10/22/2010	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	5
10/25/2010	Non-Security	Punjab	7
11/5/2010	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	72
11/6/2010	Non-Security	FATA	5
11/11/2010	Security	Sindh	22
11/21/2010	Non-Security	Balochistan	5
11/30/2010	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	6
12/6/2010	Non-Security	FATA	51
12/8/2010	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	19
12/10/2010	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	20
12/12/2010	Non-Security	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	5
12/25/2010	Non-Security	FATA	47
1/12/2011	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	20
1/14/2011	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	6
1/17/2011	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	18
1/20/2011	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	7
1/25/2011	Non-Security	Punjab	11
2/2/2011	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	10
2/2/2011	Security	Balochistan	5
2/10/2011	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	21
2/11/2011	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	5
2/22/2011	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	6
2/24/2011	Security	FATA	5
2/25/2011	Non-Security	Punjab	13
3/3/2011	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	9
3/4/2011	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	10
3/5/2011	Security	Sindh	5
3/7/2011	Non-Security	Sindh	9
3/8/2011	Security	Punjab	32

<b>Date</b>	<b>Type of Target</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Deaths</b>
3/9/2011	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	43
3/9/2011	Non-Security	Sindh	5
3/9/2011	Non-Security	Balochistan	6
3/13/2011	Non-Security	FATA	10
3/13/2011	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	11
3/13/2011	Non-Security	Sindh	9
3/14/2011	Non-Security	Sindh	8
3/15/2011	Non-Security	Sindh	6
3/18/2011	Non-Security	FATA	41
3/20/2011	Non-Security	Sindh	15
3/21/2011	Security	Balochistan	11
3/21/2011	Non-Security	Balochistan	11
3/21/2011	Security	FATA	6
3/22/2011	Security	FATA	6
3/24/2011	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	8
3/24/2011	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	8
3/25/2011	Non-Security	FATA	13
3/25/2011	Non-Security	FATA	8
3/25/2011	Non-Security	FATA	13
3/25/2011	Non-Security	Sindh	5
3/26/2011	Non-Security	Balochistan	6
3/28/2011	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	14
3/30/2011	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	13
3/31/2011	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	14
3/31/2011	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	13
3/31/2011	Non-Security	Balochistan	5
4/3/2011	Non-Security	Punjab	50
4/5/2011	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	7
4/13/2011	Non-Security	Sindh	7
4/14/2011	Non-Security	Sindh	6
4/21/2011	Non-Security	Sindh	18
4/22/2011	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	16
4/25/2011	Non-Security	Balochistan	15
4/28/2011	Security	Sindh	5
4/28/2011	Security	Sindh	5
5/6/2011	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	8
5/13/2011	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	90
5/14/2011	Non-Security	Punjab	6



<b>Date</b>	<b>Type of Target</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Deaths</b>
5/14/2011	Security	FATA	5
5/18/2011	Non-Security	Balochistan	7
5/20/2011	Non-Security	FATA	16
5/22/2011	Security	Sindh	14
5/25/2011	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	9
5/26/2011	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	32
5/28/2011	Non-Security	FATA	8
6/2/2011	Security	FATA	27
6/3/2011	Security	Sindh	6
6/5/2011	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	19
6/11/2011	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	18
6/11/2011	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	39
6/12/2011	Non-Security	Islamabad	6
6/20/2011	Non-Security	FATA	6
6/25/2011	Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	10
7/5/2011	Security	Balochistan	5
7/6/2011	Non-Security	Sindh	11
7/7/2011	Non-Security	Sindh	10
7/9/2011	Non-Security	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	5
7/11/2011	Non-Security	Sindh	7
7/16/2011	Non-Security	FATA	10
7/22/2011	Non-Security	Sindh	13
7/23/2011	Non-Security	Balochistan	5

# Appendix V:

## Chinese Involvement in South Asian Crises

William Shimer

### 1990 Crisis

February 15, 1990	During a meeting with Iqbal Akhund, the Special Envoy for Pakistan's Prime Minister, Chinese Premier Li Peng calls on Pakistan and India to settle their disputes through friendly negotiation. <sup>1</sup>
February 20, 1990	Chinese Defense Minister Qin Jiwei visits Islamabad and talks to Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto. He also meets with the Pakistani Joint Chiefs of Staff and the Chief of the Navy: <sup>2</sup>
April 3, 1990	Wan Li, Chairman of China's NPC Standing Committee, met with Pakistani President Ghulam Ishaq Khan. <sup>3</sup>
March 23, 1990	Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen and Indian External Affairs Minister I.K. Gujral met to discuss Sino-Indian border disputes. Afterwards, Qichen expressed hope that India and Pakistan would resolve their Kashmir dispute peacefully, but he said China would not mediate said negotiations. <sup>4</sup>
May 2, 1990	Wan Li, arrives in Lahore for a 5-day visit. <sup>5</sup>
May 4, 1990	At a banquet for Wan Li, Chairman of China's NPC Standing Committee, Malik Meraj Khalid, the Speaker of the Pakistani National Assembly, discusses the close Sino-Pakistani relationship. Li urges peaceful negotiation to resolve the Kashmir dispute. <sup>6</sup>
May 7, 1990	Begum Nusrat Bhutto and a PPP delegation meets with Qiao Shi, member of the CCP Political bureau Standing Committee, and Jiang Zemin, General Secretary of the CCP Central Committee on May 7. She suggests that China could facilitate a peace process to resolve Kashmir dispute. <sup>7</sup>

---

1 "China Pays Tribute to Pakistan's Position on Kashmir," *BBC*, February 16, 1990, LexisNexis.

2 "Chinese Defence Minister in Pakistan," *BBC*, February 20, 1990, LexisNexis.

3 "Chinese NPC Chairman in Pakistan," *BBC*, May 5, 1990, LexisNexis.

4 "Chinese Foreign Minister Holds Talks with Indian Leaders, Ends Visit," *BBC*, March 26, 1990, LexisNexis.

5 *Ibid.*

6 "Chinese NPC Chairman in Pakistan," *BBC*, May 7, 1990, LexisNexis.

7 "Bebum Nusrat Bhutto Suggests China Helps Negotiate Kashmir Talks," *BBC*, May 9, 1990, LexisNexis.

May 13, 1990	Pakistani naval commander arrives in China for a 10 day trip. <sup>8</sup>
June 9, 1990	Pakistan and China agree to a long-term deal for sharing tank technology. <sup>9</sup>
September 25, 1990	President Khan, speaking to Chinese leaders, “rules out” war against India and says both Islamabad and Beijing want a peaceful end to the crisis through negotiations. <sup>10</sup>

## 1999 Kargil Crisis

May 24, 1999	Pakistani General Pervez Musharraf travels to Beijing, and Chinese leaders urge him to end the crisis. During this visit, Indian intelligence records a phone conversation between Musharraf and Lt. General Momammad Aziz and leaks it to the press. The ensuing fallout severely damages the Pakistani position. <sup>11</sup>
June 11, 1999	A day before visiting New Delhi, Pakistani Foreign Minister Sartaz Aziz travels to Beijing to discuss the Kargil crisis with Li Peng, Chairman of the National People’s Congress Standing Committee. China tells Aziz to negotiate peacefully with India. <sup>12</sup>
June 11, 1999	Military officials from China visit General Musharraf to discuss the military situation in Kargil. <sup>13</sup>
June 14-16 1999	Indian External Affairs Minister Jaswant Singh visits Beijing in an effort to repair Sino-Indian relations after the 1998 nuclear tests. He barely discusses Kargil with Chinese Foreign Minister Tang Jiaxuan since China clearly wants to remain neutral. <sup>14</sup>
June 28 – July 3, 1999	Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif travels to Beijing, but he cannot not convince Chinese leaders (Prime Minister Zhu Rongji and Chairman Li Peng) to budge from their neutrality. <sup>15</sup>

8 “Pakistan navy commander leaves for China visit,” BBC, May 15, 1990, LexisNexis.

9 “Pakistan-China agreement on tank manufacture,” BBC, June 11, 1990, LexisNexis.

10 “Pakistan President Ends China Visit; Rules out War with India,” BBC, September 25, 1990, LexisNexis.

11 “Senior Pakistani officer Musharraf arrives in Beijing,” BBC, May 25, 1999, LexisNexis; Saddique Farooque, “Kargil White Paper,” Balawaristan National Front. <<http://www.balawaristan.net/index.php/Kargil-White-Paper/kargil-white-paper-by-saddique-ul-farooque.html>>.

12 Deutsche Presse-Agentur, “Li Peng Meets Pakistan Foreign Minister,” *Xinhua News Agency*, June 11, 1999, LexisNexis; “China tells Pakistan to keep cool,” June 11, 1999, LexisNexis.

13 “China hoping to broker peace in India,” *The Gazette*, June 11, 1999, LexisNexis.

14 Bhartendu K. Singh, “Chinese Views on the Kargil Conflict,” Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies <[http://www.ipcs.org/article\\_details.php?articleNo=211](http://www.ipcs.org/article_details.php?articleNo=211)>; Swaran Singh, “The Kargil Conflict: Why and How of China’s Neutrality,” Institute for Defense Studies and Analysis <<http://www.idsa-india.org/an-oct9-3.html>>.

15 Ibid.

July 4, 1999                      Chinese sources confirm that Beijing supports India's Line of Control position and wants Pakistan to withdraw its troops.<sup>16</sup>

## 2001-2002 Twin Peaks Crisis

December 20-24, 2001      Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf visits Beijing and Xian. China and Pakistan sign a "futuristic arms development cooperation" agreement.<sup>17</sup>

January 3, 2002              President Musharraf meets with Chinese Premier Zhu Rongji to discuss the ongoing crisis with India. Zhu urged Musharraf to look for a peaceful solution which would restore stability to the region.<sup>18</sup>

January 11, 2002              Pakistan receives 10 advanced jets from China. Beijing downplays this deal saying negotiations concluded before the current crisis.<sup>19</sup>

January 12, 2002              General Musharraf announces Pakistan would crack down on extremists. China takes credit for "mediating" the conflict.<sup>20</sup>

January 13, 2002              Premier Rongji travels to New Delhi for a six day visit.<sup>21</sup>

Mid-January 2002              General Zhang Wannian, Vice-Chairman of China's Central Military Commission, meets with Pakistan's Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of the Staff Committee: General Muhammad Aziz Khan and makes a veiled nuclear threat towards India.<sup>22</sup>

January 16, 2002              Chinese President Jiang Zemin discusses Afghanistan and the South Asian crisis with General Khan, Pakistani Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.<sup>23</sup>

March 7, 2002                  PLA Deputy Chief and military intelligence boss General Xiong Guangkai visits Islamabad.<sup>24</sup>

---

16 "Chinese support for Indian position on Kashmir seen as major policy shift," *BBC*, July 6, 1999. LexisNexis.

17 "Pakistani president leaves Beijing for Xian," *Xinhua News Agency*, December 22, 2001, LexisNexis. Malik, Mohan; "The China Factor in the India-Pakistan Conflict," *Parameters* (Spring 200): 35-50. <<http://www.carlisle.army.mil/usawc/parameters/Articles/03spring/malik.pdf>>.

18 "Chinese premier, Pakistani president discuss South Asian crisis," *Xinhua News Agency*, January 3, 2002, LexisNexis.

19 "Pakistan's new China jets 'not related to tension,'" *The Straits Times*, January 11, 2002, LexisNexis.

20 Malik, "The China Factor in the India-Pakistan Conflict," p. 38.

21 Jim Teeple, "China's Zhu Rongji Begins India Visit," *World News Site*, January 13, 2002 <<http://worldnewssite.com/News/2002/January/2002-01-13-6-China-s.html>>.

22 Malik, "The China Factor in the India-Pakistan Conflict," p. 37.

23 "China's Jiang Zemin discusses ties, Afghan issue with Pakistan military official," *Xinhua News Agency*, January 16, 2002, LexisNexis.

24 "Pakistan: Xinhua reports Chinese army delegation's meeting with president," *Xinhua News Agency*, March 7, 2002, LexisNexis.

After May 14, 2002	(Jammu Bombing) Chinese Defense Minister Chi Haotian urges both countries to stop threatening nuclear war. <sup>25</sup>
May 15, 2002	Chinese Foreign Minister Tang Jiaxuan meets with President Musharraf in Islamabad. China also pressures India to do more to reduce military tension. <sup>26</sup>
May 31, 2002	Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman denies that President Zemin had told visiting US diplomats that China would not favor Pakistan in existing hostilities. <sup>27</sup>
June 4, 2002	President Musharraf and President Zemin discuss further negotiations and cooperation between Islamabad and Delhi on the sidelines of the Conference on Interaction and Confidence-Building Measures in Asia (CICA). <sup>28</sup>
June 4, 2002	President Zemin and Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee also discuss the simmering South Asian crisis at CICA. <sup>29</sup>
June 11, 2002	Foreign Ministry Spokesman Liu Jianchao praises Islamabad and Delhi for reducing tensions, but he continues to push for direct bilateral negotiations. <sup>30</sup>
June 29, 2002	Chinese Foreign Minister Jiaxuan urges peaceful negotiations to resolve the Kashmir dispute while meeting Inamul Haq, Pakistan's Minister of State for Foreign Affairs. <sup>31</sup>
July 31, 2002	Chinese Foreign Minister Jiaxuan discusses the ongoing South Asian tensions with new Indian Foreign Minister Yashwant Singh at the ASEAN Regional Forum. <sup>32</sup>
August 2, 2002	President Musharraf meets Chinese President Jiang Zemin. The two leaders discussed the ongoing standoff in South Asia as well as the Afghanistan situation. <sup>33</sup>

---

25 Malik, "The China Factor in the India-Pakistan Conflict," p. 37.

26 Malik, "The China Factor in the India-Pakistan Conflict," p. 39; "Pakistani president, Chinese minister affirm ties, stance on South Asia peace," *Xinhua News Agency*, May 15, 2002, LexisNexis.

27 Ibid.

28 "Chinese president, Pakistani counterpart discuss Indo-Pakistani relations," *Xinhua News Agency*, June 4, 2002, LexisNexis.

29 "Chinese president meets Indian prime minister; promotes peace, dialogue," *Xinhua News Agency*, June 5, 2002, LexisNexis.

30 "China welcomes "easing" of India-Pakistan tensions," *Xinhua News Agency*, June 11, 2002, LexisNexis.

31 "Chinese foreign minister, Pakistani counterpart hold talks on ties, Kashmir," *Xinhua News Agency*, June 29, 2002, LexisNexis.

32 "China urges India-Pakistan talks on border tensions," *Xinhua News Agency*, July 31, 2002, LexisNexis.

33 "Chinese, Pakistani leaders discuss India-Pakistan tension," *Xinhua News Agency*, August 2, 2002, LexisNexis; "Jiang hopes for peaceful settlement of India-Pakistani dispute," *Xinhua News Agency*, August 2, 2002, LexisNexis.

- September 23, 2002 Lt. General Zou Gengren, a top Chinese Liberation Army commander, meets with Indian Federal Defense Secretary Subir Dutta to discuss various ongoing Sino-Indian military issues.<sup>34</sup>
- October 18, 2002 Foreign Ministry spokeswoman Zhang Qiyue applauds the joint Indo-Pakistani military reductions along the Line of Control border regions.<sup>35</sup>
- October 2002 Upset that China is still selling military equipment to Pakistan, Delhi delays two planned trips to Beijing by Army Chief Padmanabhan and Prime Minister Vajpayee.<sup>36</sup>

## 2008 Mumbai Bombings

- November 30, 2008 Chinese Foreign Minister Yang Jiechi talks to Pakistani Foreign Minister Shah Mehmood Qureshi on the phone, and they jointly condemn the Mumbai attacks and pledge to strengthen their bilateral ties.<sup>37</sup>
- December 2, 2008 China pressures Islamabad to investigate the links between Mumbai and terrorist groups based on Pakistan. Also, Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman Liu Jianchao says China would join India to hunt down terrorist groups connected to the Mumbai attacks.<sup>38</sup>
- December 3, 2008 Indian official travels to Beijing after an earlier “secret” visit by a Pakistani official.<sup>39</sup>
- December 4, 2008 Chinese Foreign Ministry Spokesman urges India and Pakistan “to strengthen dialogue and bilateral cooperation.”<sup>40</sup>
- December 4-14, 2008 India and China carry out a joint training exercise with a focus on Counterterrorism, observed by Indian Lt. General Nobel Thamburaj and Chinese Lt. General Ma Xiaotian.<sup>41</sup>

34 “Indian federal defence secretary holds talks with visiting Chinese general,” *PTI News Agency*, September 23, 2002, LexisNexis.

35 “China welcomes partial troop withdrawal by India, Pakistan,” *Xinhua News Agency*, October 18, 2002, LexisNexis.

36 Malik, “The China Factor in the India-Pakistan Conflict,” p. 40.

37 “Chinese, Pakistani FMs vow to advance bilateral ties, condemn Mumbai terrorist attack,” *Xinhua English* <<http://english.sina.com/china/2008/1130/201494.html>>.

38 Saibal Dasgupta, “China quizzes Pakistan over Mumbai attack,” *The Times of India* <[http://articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/2008-12-02/china/27925868\\_1\\_mumbai-attack-china-pakistan-terrorists](http://articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/2008-12-02/china/27925868_1_mumbai-attack-china-pakistan-terrorists)>.

39 D S Rajan, “China’s Reaction to Mumbai Terror Strikes: Pro-Pakistan Bias?” South Asia Analysis Group <<http://www.southasiaanalysis.org/%5Cpapers30%5Cpaper2972.html>>.

40 Ibid.

41 Embassy of India, Beijing. “India-China Bileteral Defense Cooperation 2008-2009” <<http://www.indianembassy.org.cn/DynamicContent.aspx?MenuId=5&SubMenuId=0>>.

December 6, 2008	Chinese Ambassador to Pakistan Liu Jian says war after the Mumbai attacks is not possible. <sup>42</sup>
December 15, 2008	2 <sup>nd</sup> Annual Sino-Indian Defense Dialogue. The top members are Defense Secretary Shri Vijay Singh (India) and Lt. General Xiaotian (China). <sup>43</sup>
December 26, 2008	Chinese Foreign Minister Tang Jiaxuan calls his counterparts in Islamabad and New Delhi to discuss China's support for security and stability in the region. <sup>44</sup>
December 28, 2008	Chinese Special Envoy He Yafei arrives in Islamabad to meet with President Asif Ali Zardari, Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gilani, and Foreign Minister Qureshi. <sup>45</sup>
January 5, 2009	Chinese Vice Foreign Minister and Special Envoy He Yafei meets with Indian leaders in an effort to ease tensions in the region. Indian Foreign Secretary Shivshankar Menon presents Yafei with evidence linking the Mumbai attackers to Pakistan. <sup>46</sup>
January 15, 2009	Chinese President Hu Jintao reaffirms China's commitment to preserving peace and security in South Asia in a speech at the People's Great Hall. <sup>47</sup>
February 20-24, 2009	President Zardari Visits Hubei and Shanghai and meets with Chinese State Councillor Dai Bingguo. <sup>48</sup>

42 Rajan, "China's Reaction to Mumbai Terror Strikes: Pro-Pakistan Bias?"

43 Embassy of India, "India-China Bileteral Defense Cooperation 2008-2009."

44 "China mediating between India and Pakistan," *Rediff: India Abroad*, January 5, 2009 <<http://www.rediff.com/news/2009/jan/05mumattacks-china-mediating-between-india-and-pakistan.htm>>.

45 The Consulate General of PRC in Kolkata, "Chinese Vice Foreign Minister He Yafei, also Special Envoy of the Chinese Government, Visits Pakistan" <<http://kolkata.china-consulate.org/eng/zgbd/t529728.htm>>.

46 Ibid. and Caroline Graham, "India presents evidence that 'links Pakistan with Mumbai attacks,'" *Daily Mail* <<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1105447/India-presents-evidence-links-Pakistan-Mumbai-attacks.html>>.

47 "Chinese president appreciates Pakistan's commitment to fight terrorism jointly," BBC, January 16, 2009, LexisNexis

48 Economic and Commercial Counsellor's Office of the PRC in Pakistan, "Pakistani President Zardari Visit China 20-23 February,"[sic]

<<http://pk2.mofcom.gov.cn/aarticle/bilateralvisits/200904/20090406174652.html>>.



## Appendix VI: Ten Countries Most Afflicted By Mass-Casualty Terrorism Since July 2007

Nathan Cohn

**E**ditor's Note: Many states are tormented by severe internal violence, disease and starvation. This appendix focuses on a narrower indicator of distress – acts of violence that result in five or more fatalities. The data are drawn from the Worldwide Incidents Tracking System of the National Counter-Terrorism Center (NCTC), which catalogs incidents of terrorism globally.<sup>1</sup> According to these data, Pakistan ranks second in victimization from mass-casualty assaults, behind Iraq. India ranks sixth globally. The timeline for this appendix begins in July 2007, when Pakistani military units forcibly removed militants from the Red Mosque in Islamabad. The timeline ends in April 2011, the most recent data published by the NCTC.

Country	Deaths	Attacks
Iraq	9,087	556
Pakistan	4,825	256
Afghanistan	3,882	394
Somalia	3,092	206
Congo, Democratic Republic	2,781	91
India	1,281	77
Sudan	887	40
Sri Lanka	385	27
Russia	274	19
Iran	271	12



## Contributing Authors

**Michael Krepon** is the co-founder of the Stimson Center and director of Stimson's programming on South Asia, which focuses on promoting confidence-building, nuclear risk-reduction, deterrence stability measures, Kashmir and crisis management. He has written or edited thirteen books, including *Crisis Prevention, Confidence Building, and Reconciliation in South Asia* (1995); *Global Confidence Building: New Tools for Troubled Regions* (1999); *Nuclear Risk Reduction in South Asia* (2004); *Escalation Control and the Nuclear Option in South Asia* (2004); and *Better Safe than Sorry: The Ironies of Living with the Bomb* (2009).

**Nathan Cohn** is a Research Assistant and former Herbert Scoville Jr. Peace Fellow for the Stimson Center's South Asia and Space Security Projects. He holds a B.A. in Politics from Whitman College.

**Samuel Black** was a Research Associate at the Stimson Center from 2008 to 2010, where he worked in the Space Security and South Asia programs. Prior to joining the Stimson Center, he served as a Research Assistant at the Center for Defense Information, where he focused on Space Security and Missile Defense issues. He holds a Master's degree in Public Policy and a B.A. in Government and Politics, both from the University of Maryland, College Park.

**William Shimer** is a former intern for the Stimson Center's South Asia and Space Security Projects. He is an undergraduate student at the College of William and Mary.