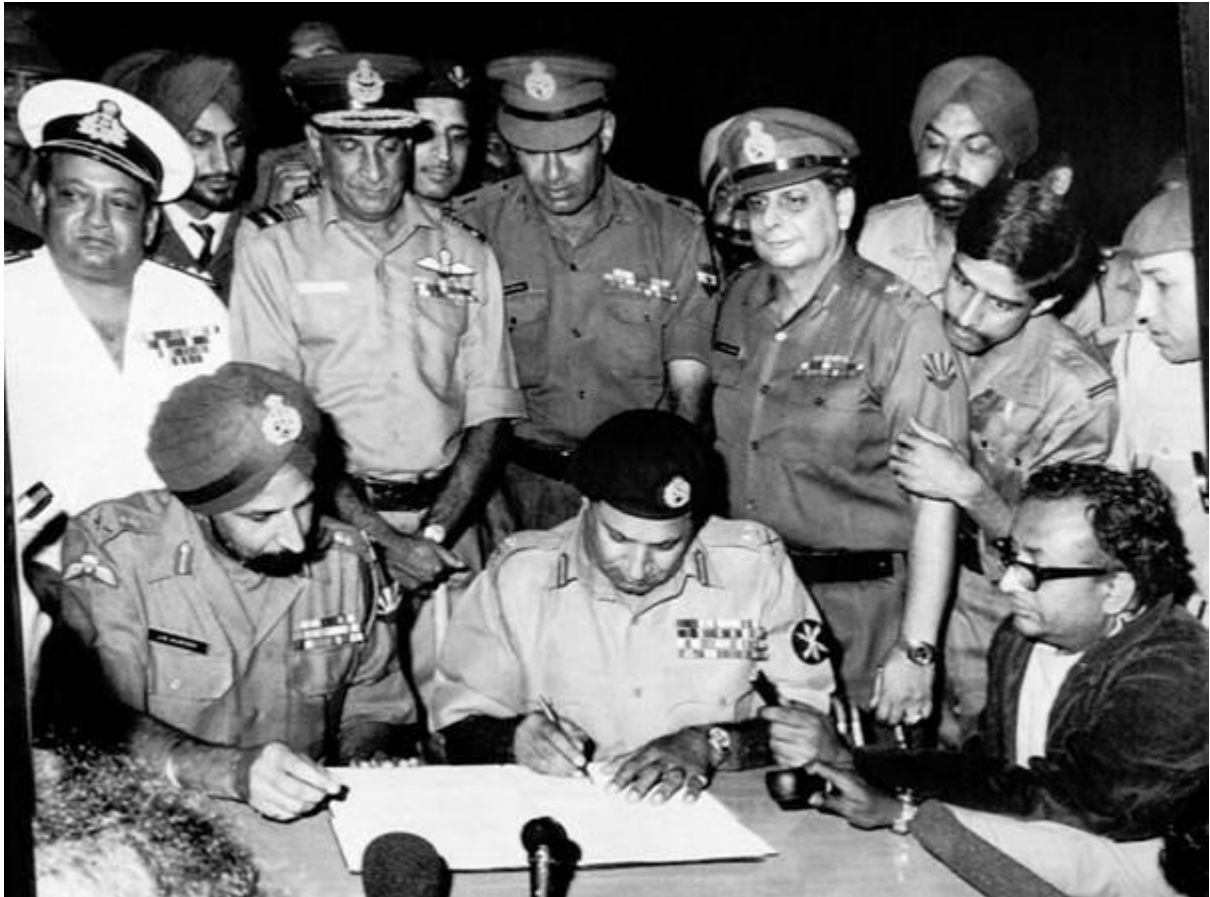


Theme III 1b: Indo-Pakistani Conflict (1947-1972)



¹“Not forever does the bulbul sing
In balmy shades of bowers,
Not forever lasts the spring
Nor ever blossom the flowers.
Not forever reigneth joy,
Sets the sun on days of bliss,
Friendships not forever last,
They know not life, who know not this.”

-Train to Pakistan

1

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/India%E2%80%93Pakistan_wars_and_conflicts#/media/File:1971_Instrument_of_Surrender_WaPo.jpg

Those in red indicate things that may be problematic

Key Concepts

1. Peace
 - a. Absence of War
 - b. Interests of different parties catered to without the need to resort to war
2. Cooperation
 - a. State and non-state actors adjust their behaviour to the anticipated or actual preferences of others through policy coordination
 - b. Exhibited by
 - i. Participating in peace negotiations
 - ii. A few actors allying themselves against a greater common enemy
3. Conflict
 - a. Incompatible or competitive interests, hence countries strive to reduce the gains available to other states or impede their achievements
 - b. Attributed to divergence in political security, economic or ideological interests
4. Conflict development
 - a. Start, development/protraction, resolution

Causes (Outbreak of Conflict)

1. Decolonisation
 - a. Poorly planned plans failed to account for the complex rivalrous religious situation in India, setting the basis for tensions along religious lines
 - i. 1947 Partition plan stipulated that Muslim majority Bengal and Punjab not be awarded to Pakistan but split due to the substantial non-muslim populations. This provoked reactions like that of Tara Singh, a Sikh activist to brandish a sword in a rally and tear apart a Muslim League flag.
 - ii. Withdrawal of the British meant that there was no external arbiter like the British Indian Army to keep internal divisions in check. Tensions along ideological lines were able to boil over and manifest into conflict
 - b. Post war economic interests as well as the desire to rid itself of colonialism led to hastily plans that lacked adequate time for the partition of India to be carefully considered, it also meant inadequate preparation to ensure smooth execution
 - i. Mountbatten, due to his desire to return to the navy swiftly, sped the timetable by 10 months. Leaving only 72 days to divide an India that housed a complex ethnic and religious demographic. This left the future of over 656 princely states inadequately deliberated over. This resulted in tensions between India and Pakistan over the ownership of Junagadh, Hyderabad and Kashmir.
 - ii. The partition plan forced millions to be uprooted to immigrate, however, few or no arrangements were made to police the immigration routes. The Punjab Boundary Force had to maintain order over an area with 15 million with only 50000. Crime flourished with about a million deaths. **Violence and disorder that accompanied partition → embittered both India and Pakistan to such**

a high degree that the possibility of misunderstanding increased significantly + remained crippled by the narratives built around memories of the crimes of partition

2. Nationalism

- a. Political battle between competing nationalisms and visions of state building made possession of Kashmir central to the legitimacy of India and Pakistan's national ideology. Nationalistic claims rendered fighting a corollary due to their unreconcilable nature.
 - i. Muslim majority Kashmir belonging to India boosted its secular nationalist ideology. Belonging to Pakistan would boost Jinnah's 2 nation theory. Furthermore, as Pakistan is said to be a consequence of the conviction that a separate Muslim homeland must be created, Kashmir's inclusion justifies and completes Pakistan's statehood. **(1st and 2nd IP War can be attributed partly to an opportunity for Pakistan to absorb Kashmir)**
 - ii. The secular Awami League's pressure for autonomy in East Pakistan undermined Pakistan's irredentist claims on Kashmir and Islam as a binding force over Pakistan. India leveraged on this to exploit its own interests of advancing its secular nationalist ideology by fuelling rebellion and forcing Pakistan into the **3rd IP War**.

3. Religion

- a. Religion was an important distinction between Indian and Pakistani identities and a source of identity for each group to rally around. Governments forced to stand up for their religious interests in order to maintain their ideological based legitimacy at the expense of each other, contributing to tensions.
 - i. Congress party relied on communal minded support that emphasised Hinduism. Near partition, they became aggressively insensitive towards the Muslim community, allowing Hindus to join its supposed secular paramilitary and played active roles in religious riots. **Strengthened Pakistan's resolve to acquire Kashmir to protect Muslims.**
 - ii. Discontent towards India's harsh and corrupt rule exploded in 1963 when a hair from Muhammad's beard was stolen from Kashmir. This provoked widespread protests by Muslims until they were brutally suppressed by Indian forces. Consequently, Pakistan's foreign minister, Ali Bhutto and other militants egged Ayub to war with India. **(2nd IP conflict)**
- b. Kashmir was significant in respective ethnic/religious identities. Due to the religious importance, Kashmir was sought after and disputed with so much fervour while concessions were undoubtedly off the table. The importance of Kashmir also hardened both parties against any resolution and eased them towards aggression.
 - i. Brahmins, apex of the caste system in India trace their lineage to the Aryan Hindus of Kashmir esteemed for fine features, fair skin and aristocratic positions. To Hindus, Kashmir was the purest source of their culture and was unwilling to share Kashmir with Pakistan. **Tashkent Declaration of 1966 mediated by the**

Soviets only acknowledged the dispute but saw no progress towards resolution. (Protracted conflict)

- ii. Kashmir's shining lakes, snow-capped mountains have been a repository of high Islamic culture for centuries and they had features that embodied the Quran's description of Jannah. This made the Pakistanis unwilling to relinquish the Quran's heaven on earth to the Indian Hindus. **This prompted them to leverage on Muslim uprisings in Western Kashmir to force accession by using Pathan tribes to invade Kashmir (1st IP War)**
- c. However, religion was sidelined as a foreign policy consideration as the conflict developed, resulting in religion playing a diminished role.
 - i. 1950 India-Pakistan Minority Agreement declared that the government of each state should ensure complete equality of citizenship and security to minorities. **The minority population could be satisfied that the government would treat them fairly and their safety within a wider prior antagonistic population was secured. Decreasing religion as a source of tensions.**
 - ii. India began to interfere in Pakistan's domestic politics after a revolt for independence in East Pakistan against harsh west Pakistani rule by sending infiltrators in to provide arms and training. Secular India's support for east Pakistani Muslims showed that opportunism was the driving factor to India's actions instead of religion.

4. Security

- a. Kashmir is vulnerable to subversive attempts of both sides to fulfil their national interests. Imperative for both parties to assume control of Kashmir to ensure that neither can instigate or undermine the stability of each other.
 - i. Pakistan used the Muslim uprising in Western Kashmir as an opportunity to force Kashmir to accede to Pakistan. By using the Pathan tribesmen to plan an invasion into Kashmir, they forced India to respond with reinforcements to defend their share of Kashmir, escalating into full scale hostilities.
 - ii. India leveraged on a revolt in East Pakistan against harsh West Pakistan rule to escalate the uprising by sending infiltrators to provide arms and training. Pakistan perceived Indian-backed subversion as a strategic plan to weaken Pakistan. **Forcing a preventive reaction militarily that resulted in the 3rd IP War.**
- b. Kashmir's strategic value is so enormous that it is lost to the other cannot be contemplated by the politicians and generals of both sides as it acted not only as a buffer between India and Pakistan but against other powers as well.
 - i. Pakistan's military doctrine was guided by the thought that India did not want Pakistan to survive. Hence Indian control over Kashmir allowed it to completely encircle Pakistan's military and pressure her north eastern border. Kashmir's ascension to India is an existential crisis to Pakistan **(1st IP War)**

- ii. During 1965 Ayub Khan's state visit to China, the Chinese foreign minister implied Chinese military support for Pakistan. This emboldened Pakistan's to use force and alarmed India due to the possibility of a 2 front war.²
- 5. Territorial Sovereignty
 - a. Both India and Pakistan were concerned that the other country would embark on actions that challenged their territorial sovereignty, creating an environment of tension and distrust.
 - i. After partition, Jinnah and the League's leaders feared that Indian leaders were not willing to accept the creation of Pakistan and were willing to use force to undo it. **This bred an environment of paranoia within Pakistan which made Pakistan less hesitant to resort to violence during the 1st and 3rd IP War when Indian troops amassed**
 - ii. Several Princely states such as Junagadh chose to join Pakistan due to a Muslim ruler despite being a predominantly Hindu population and its close proximity to India. This created a territorial enclave (Pakistani state surrounded by Indian states) and a risk that Hyderabad and Kashmir would follow Junagadh's footsteps, hardening India's political stance against Pakistan. (Resulting in the 1st IP War)
 - b. Both India and Pakistan deemed possession of Kashmir as instrumental to their own territorial sovereignty due to its symbolic significance as a "glue" that binds the nation against separatist sentiments within and without.
 - i. During the 1st Indo-Pakistani war, Hari Singh signed the Instrument of Accession to India, allowing India to legally intervene in Kashmirian affairs. **Significant as it symbolises commitment to territorial integrity against separatist movements. Indian involvement only protracted the war as India had the manpower and resources to fuel a prolonged war.**
 - ii. Pakistanis opposed Kashmir's accession to India and embarked on irredentism by claiming that accession was the result of fraud and violence + Due to Kashmir's majority-muslim population, Pakistan wanted to reclaim "lost territory" with a Muslim majority population. + Justified Pakistan's existence. **(Resulted in 1st, 2nd IP War)**

1st Indo-Pakistani Conflict (1947-1948)

Outbreak of Conflict

1. India

- a. India, by opportunism, leveraged the conflict for national interest, invoking Pakistan's ire and protracting the conflict.
 - i. 1947 Instrument of Accession was signed by Hari Singh, allowing India to legally intervene in Kashmirian affairs. India leveraged on the desperation of Western Kashmir as Pathan forces closed in the border. Pakistan contended that this Instrument of Accession was illegal. **India was able to capitalise on Singh's**

² Use the fact that India lost the 1962 Sino-Indian War. Border clashes between China and India ended with China retaining 4000 km square of territory in the Lakdah region (that was once owned by India). This made India extra cautious of China.

desperation to defend his territory by creating a backdoor that justified its entry into the war.

- ii. India, now legal, was granted a vital time to mount an airbridge, sending in Sikhs, Pathan blood enemies and thousands of eventual reinforcements that tilted the battle in India's favour. (Nothing about opportunism here)

2. Pakistan

- a. Pakistan's role, initially opportunistic, evolved to be highly confrontational as it escalated the proxy war to direct confrontation
 - i. Pakistan saw the rebel Azad Muslim government in West Kashmir as an opportunity to force Kashmir's ascension by using Pathan tribesmen to invade in 1947 under the guise of an expression of sympathy to liberate oppressed Muslims.
 - ii. Pakistan viewed Kashmir's accession as a product of fraud and violence, making Indian intervention illegal. An infuriated Jinnah dispatched regular Pakistani troops to protect Pakistan from Indian troops and stop Indian from taking total control. **India viewed this as an invasion of Kashmir**

Conflict Management (United Nations)

1. **(Diplomacy: UN)** UN mediated a consensus between both India and Pakistan by providing a platform to negotiate an armistice as well as deploying mechanisms to ensure lasting peace by preventing any flaring up of hostilities.
 - a. October 1949 UN-mediated ceasefire as a product of the UNSC Resolution's Karachi agreement signed between Indian and Pakistani representatives. The resolution assigned a de-facto border, ending hostility by enabling armed forces to retain their territory through freezing any movement
 - b. 1951 United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP) had 50 military observers supervising the ceasefire by facilitated communications. **As the UNMOGIP was considered a neutral 3rd party, their reports were trusted by both sides such that they were able to offer reassurance on each other's behaviour by regular inspection, preventing minor clashes from escalating into conflict.**
2. **(Diplomacy: UN)** UN mediated ceasefire was unable to contain constant military activity that only heightened distrust between both sides. Furthermore, attempts to resolve root causes were met with opposition, proving that UN diplomatic efforts were ineffective to achieving peace, protracting the conflict.
 - a. Albeit hostilities have ceased, both armies held apart only by the ceasefire line. Continued fortification and militarisation such as large troop and artillery deployments along the borders resulted in constant skirmishes, **leaving the subcontinent to be in a continual state of tension.**
 - b. 1947-1957: India rejected 3 UN attempted plebiscites and demilitarisation by both Dixon and Graham. Reflecting her refusal to seek a compromise built upon the opinion of Kashmiri locals (Patrician-Plebiscite plan) and its perceived unacceptable intrusion into domestic affairs (Graham's whistle stop diplomacy), protracted the conflict. (Up play the factor of sovereignty).

Conflict Management (India, Pakistan)

1. **(India, Pakistan)** Both had divergent positions over demilitarisation and future governments of Kashmir. Irreconcilable differences made it impossible for decisive resolutions to pass. With the lack of agreements, no bilateral actions could be agreed upon and the unilateral actions that ensued ensured continued tensions.
 - a. Pakistan supported demilitarisation as it forced Indian troops to withdraw from Kashmir. As Kashmir orbits Pakistan closer geographically, this proximity ensured greater control. India did not support demilitarisation as it resulted in limited military access and this limited reaction capacity as well as distrust due to Pakistani guerilla. **Without demilitarisation, the region was still armed, making both countries unwilling to back down out of security concerns.**
 - b. In 1953, India furthered integration of Kashmir by giving its Supreme Court Jurisdiction of the State. In 1960, Pakistan constructed the Mangala Dam in Azad Kashmir to integrate its economy into Pakistan. **Attempts made by both countries to further integrate Kashmir into their own systems that isolate it further from each other, also making it increasingly difficult for Kashmir to remain independent due to the dependency on India/Pakistani institutions.**
2. **(Diplomacy: India, Pakistan)** Both countries embarked on intense bilateral diplomatic efforts, with both governments repeatedly engaging with each other to attempt to find spaces of engagement and compromise
 - a. 1950 India-Pakistan Minority Agreement declared that the government of each state should ensure complete equality of citizenship and security to minorities. **The minority population could be satisfied that the government would treat them fairly and their safety within a wider prior antagonistic population was secured. Decreasing religion as a source of tensions.**
 - b. 1950 Nehru's proposed "No War Agreement" resulted in year-long correspondence with Ali Khan. Although the proposal did not fructify, it revealed that neither government was predisposed to assume a belligerent position. **Increasing trust as both governments now know that neither intends to use force to achieve their ideals.**

Conflict Management (Superpowers)

1. **(USA, USSR)** Emboldened and hardened the attitudes of warring states towards each other by giving them political and military leverage towards each other, protracting the conflict.
 - a. Links to the US in the form of the SEATO and Baghdad pact (military coalitions) was a clear signal of US treatment of Pakistan as an ally and providing Pakistan with a security guarantee. **This made it such that India would be less likely to attack, prompting Pakistan to reject Nehru's proposal of a no-war pact and reintroduce the Kashmir question before the UNSC in 1957. (Downplay security factor, up-play nationalism)**
 - b. India and USSR forged close ties. In 1995, Khrushchev extended support for the Indian position on Kashmir by vetoing INSC resolutions that included proposals for a UN temporary peacekeeping force. **Having an ally at the high table to block neutral party involvement gave India greater freedom to pursue its own goals instead of being forced to adhere to any binding UN litigation.**

2. (China, USA, UK)

- a. 1963 saw an unproductive 6 rounds of prolonged talks as Pakistan and China signed an agreement under which Pakistan ceded over 10000 km square of Kashmir, including Indian-claimed territory. **India viewed this gesture as an insult to injury, hardening its position against Pakistan and flushing whatever progress down the drain.**
- b. Following India's defeat in the 1962 Sino-Indian War, a humiliated Nehru wanted weapons. US, U agreed in return for India to reach an agreement with Pakistan over Kashmir favourable to Pakistan. (Find evidence to link this to protracting the conflict)

Water Conflicts (1947-1972)

Outbreak of Conflict

1. Water rights emerged as another source of bilateral conflict as both countries prioritised their own water needs and were alarmed that any threats posed by the adversary could severely threaten the water supply to their own territories.
 - a. Bilateral standstill agreement mandated retention of pre-partition levels of water allocation. However, after the expiry, India cut off water flows from the Ravi and Sutlej to Pakistan. **Although the water supply was eventually restored, it antagonised Pakistan as well as demonstrated that India was able to endanger the livelihoods of Pakistani, heightening tensions.**
 - b. Bengal, creation of a new international boundary along the Ganges River led to conflict over water resources between India and East Pakistan.
2. Despite the intransigence of Kashmir, there was still some cooperation over some outstanding issues over sharing of Indus water.
 - a. The Indus Water Treaty brokered after persistent World Bank efforts. India and Pakistan were assigned rivers and Pakistan built a network of link canals to transfer water from the western rivers for irrigation while India contributed to the cost of building these canals. (Indus Basin Replacement Works)

2nd Indo-Pakistani War (1965)

Outbreak of Conflict

1. **(India)** Embarked on unilateral military political actions that raised Pakistani alarm as India demonstrates an increasing ability to claim Kashmir by force.
 - a. Due to the threat of an aggressive Chinese army as well as US/UK pressure, Nehru bolstered its military strength by doubling its defence budget and army size from 500,000 to 825,000 along with the creation of 9 new mountain divisions. **Pakistan is threatened by India's militarisation as well as its newfound specialisation to deal with Kashmir.**
 - b. Further integrated Kashmir into the Indian Union by amending the Indian constitution to enable the President of India to take over administration of the state in the case of collapse of constitutional arrangement. **Essentially giving India the green card to take control of Kashmir in times of conflict, antagonising Pakistan who viewed this arrangement as unjust.**
2. **(Pakistan)** Indignant by developments in Kashmir and emboldened by Chinese support, they were confident that any endeavours of Kashmir would end in success.

- a. During 1965 Ayub Khan's state visit to China, the Chinese foreign minister implied Chinese military support for Pakistan. This emboldened Pakistanis to use force and alarmed India due to the possibility of a 2 front war.
- b. The 1965 Kutch Episode convinced Pakistan that despite Indian arms acquisition, India was still weak, demoralised and lacking in leadership. **Facing what they perceived as a weakened India, Pakistan naturally had a boost in confidence as this incident convinced that attacks by Pakistan would not be met by a formidable but incompetent Indian army.**
- c. Ali Bhutto egged on Ayub to go to war due to the Hazaratbal incident as they wanted to exploit an explosion of anti-indian sentiments. **Leveraging this opportunity, they pushed Operation Gibraltar and Operation Grand Slam to trigger an uprising by Muslim majority population, followed by a full scale invasion.**

Conflict Management (United Nations)

1. **(Diplomacy: UN)** UN mediated a consensus between both India and Pakistan by providing a platform to negotiate an armistice as well as deploying mechanisms to ensure lasting peace by preventing any escalation of hostilities.
 - a. 1965 UNSC resolution demanded India and Pakistan to call a ceasefire. Both sides agreed to withdraw to the 1949 Kashmir ceasefire-line.
 - b. Increased UNMOGIP membership and introduced the UN India-Pakistan Observation Mission (UNIPOM) to ensure supervision of ceasefire and that troops withdrew from the conflict. UNIPOM's success was significant so much so that it was not needed any was subsequently terminated.

Conflict Management (Superpowers)

1. **(USA,USSR)**Limited as lackluster and limited efforts due to pre-existing geopolitical external and internal obstacles that prioritised the attention of superpowers and dominated the agenda.
 - a. Although the US imposed an armed embargo on the subcontinent, it was pre-occupied with the Arab-Israeli conflict and involvement in Vietnam. **Both Vietnam and the Arab-Israeli conflict were viewed as attempts to curb the spread of communism, making them more significant in the cold war context as compared to a mere conflict between 2 states.**
 - b. Although the USSR mediated to produce the Tashkent Declaration, it merely acknowledged the existence of the Kashmiri dispute due to irreconcilable divergence between India and Pakistan. **Proving that the USSR played no role in ensuring that the interest of both parties could be satisfactorily met (second criterion of peace).** Although the ceasefire-line was upheld, there was no progress over Kashmir.

Conflict Management (India, Pakistan).

1. **(India, Pakistan)** Agreed to diplomacy due to the lack of desire to continue the war due to domestic concerns. Prioritising their domestic concerns as much more urgent, they naturally softened their stance to divert more resources and attention, poised for peace.
 - a. India feared a 3rd front along the Himalayan border by China after a 3 day Chinese ultimatum for India to dismantle its fortification between Sikkim and Tibet. India unwilling to fight.

- b. Ayub Khan was demoralised by the poor performance of armoured divisions, losing the political will to continue the war.

3rd Indo-Pakistani War (1971)

Outbreak of Conflict

1. **(India)** Developments presented India an opportunity to exploit alongside with a larger stake that forced its hand to resort to confrontation in order to resolve.
 - a. Recognised Pakistan's ideological integrity was questioned due to the civil war between the secular Awami league and Islamic government, weakening Pakistan's irredentist claims on Kashmir. **This gave India an opportunity to support a more politically aligned Awami league (enemy of my enemy is my friend)** via providing arms and training for rebels. **(Downplays religion as well)**
 - b. Civil war between the Awami League and Pakistan destroyed infrastructure that forced out a refugee population. **Supporting over 10 million refugees was extremely costly for India as it did not have adequate infrastructure and support systems to host the refugees.** Seeing it cheaper to go to war instead than absorb the refugees.
2. **(Pakistan)** The domestic crisis in East Pakistan constituted an ideological crisis that threatened its existence that hinged on the basis of religious solidarity within its territory, thus its refusal to grant independence or autonomy to East Pakistan. Incurred India's response, war.
 - a. **Awami League's pressure for autonomy undermined Pakistan's irredentist claims to Kashmir by religion and Jinnah's 2-nation theory. This led to a civil war that spilled over in the form of a refugee crisis that caused friction between India and Pakistan. (Elaboration on this might be similar to the eg under India)**
 - b. Pakistan strongly believed that India committed an act of aggression when it provided enormous support to the Bengali Insurgency inside East Pakistan. **Pakistan felt the need to respond to this provocation but more pressing, it had to stop India from supporting them** This Pakistan responded by striking
3. **(USA)** Emboldened and hardened the attitudes of Pakistan due to a confidence of non intervention and continued supply of weapons and cash
 - a. When the Padma sailed from New York to Pakistan carrying American arms, the US did not stop it. It also did not stop Pakistan use of US aircraft to shift troops from West to East Pakistan. **Pakistan received this as a signal that the US would not intervene, emboldening it to increase the ferocity of its attack and escalation without fear of consequence.**
 - b. Nixon protested against the Gallagher amendment for the stoppage of assistance to Pakistan, ensuring that economic aid continued to flow into Pakistan. **Pakistan felt that it secured the support of a powerful ally, thus as long as the president remained on their side, it need not worry of any actions that may lose smaller political allies, undeterred to scale its offensive to keep them favourable in the eyes of smaller allies.**
4. **(USSR)** **With political support, India felt that it could safely intervene in East Pakistan. (Lack explanation)**

- a. The 1971 Indo-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation did not promise any all-out defence from hostile forces but served as a deterrent to both China and Pakistan. **India especially did not have to worry about China attacking as China was being kept ahead of the line by the USSR unlike the previous 2 wars where it had to consider the China factor.**
- b. Although the USSR avoided endorsing the independence of Bangladesh from Pakistan, it supported India as it saw India as a conducive channel for Soviet communication to Asia and Africa non-communist states. **(Remember that India was one of the leaders of the Non-Aligned Movement)**

Conflict Management (USSR, USA)

1. Protracted the conflict through military aid and imposing a political stalemate on the international stage, buying time for India to carry out its goals as well as fuelling India with weapons needed for success.
 - a. USSR's supply of PT-76 amphibious tanks and Mi-4 Transport helicopters **further heightened the strength disparity against less equipped Pakistani troops, enabling Indian troops to easily best their opponents in combat.**
 - b. Diplomatically, twice vetoing UNSC resolutions that called for prompt ceasefire and withdrawal of troops. Gave India enough time to gear up for triumph in the denouement of the conflict
2. However, it was limited as it did not produce much tangible results, **(Can be used to downplay the role of USSR or up-play the role of the US)**
 - a. USA voted for a draft UNGA resolution calling for a ceasefire and withdrawal of forces, which was passed by 104 votes to 11 . It used the "Uniting for Peace" resolution after the USSR vetoed a similar UNSC proposal.
 - b. TF76 of the 7th Fleet, including the carrier Enterprise, sailed into the Bay of Bengal. Though too late to make any difference, strong US pressure forced the Indians to unilaterally declare a ceasefire on 17 December. Pakistan agreed to this ceasefire, which brought hostilities to an end.

Conflict Management (UN)

1. Forced immediate peace between both India and Pakistan by providing a platform to negotiate an armistice as well as deploying mechanisms to ensure lasting peace by creating a platform for both countries to reconcile divergent views.
 - a. 21 December 1971, UNSC passed a resolution for both countries to observe a ceasefire and withdraw to earlier positions in Kashmir.
 - b. 1972 Simla Agreement: No aggressive endeavours + Ceasefire line became Line of Control and acted as an official international border, indicative of willingness to accept a divided Kashmir.