

Looking at the "Security Dilemma" between India and Pakistan from Structural Realism

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Abstract. After the partition of India, India and Pakistan sowed the seeds of ethnic hatred. Recently, conflicts in Kashmir recurred, and suicide attack happened in India, which causes the Indian Foreign Ministry to censure this attack related to Pakistan. The Pakistani Foreign Ministry immediately protested India's censure, the relationship between the two sides was suddenly tense, and air and ground conflicts occurred in Kashmir. The constant conflicts and structural contradictions on the border between the two countries have made relationship between the two countries changed badly. This paper will apply (Structural Realism) of (Kenneth Neal Waltz) to analyze the roots of lingering "security dilemma" between India and Pakistan.

Keywords: India-Pakistan relations; security dilemma; structural realism.

1. Introduction

At present, the power structure in South Asia is basically established; it shows the "supremacy" characteristics of India. There are nine countries in the world that are believed to have nuclear weapons, and two of them which happen to be neighbors have just a flare-up in their rivalry. We are talking about the South Asian countries of India and Pakistan. Since the partition of India, two sides have shown great political wisdom and strive to promote the peace process between the two countries. However, constrained by various factors of history and reality, the relationship between the two countries changed badly.

2. The Historical Origin and Connotation of the "Security Dilemma" between India and Pakistan

The core concept of "security dilemma" is fear and suspicion among countries. In the process of international political game, there may be a "security dilemma" problem in all behavior subjects who lack trust. The security dilemma is both a reality and a mentality of country from structure, based on historical enmity formed subjective perceptions of security and past conflicts, in addition to the general lack of national leadership and the public's security, thus a game dilemma generated. There are still many security dilemmas in the international community today (for example, between India and Pakistan, between North Korea and South Korea).

Through the strength change and power struggle between the two sides after the partition of India, we define the "security dilemma" between India and Pakistan as: under the anarchy of South Asia, India and Pakistan are worried about being suppressed, ruled and annexed by the opposite side, strive to strengthen their own strength and influence, and strive to establish their national security in the "national guiding security dilemma" of other countries' insecurity.

3. The Main Reason Why the Current "Security Dilemma" between India and Pakistan is Difficult to Get Rid of

In order to promote economic development and obtain a stable surrounding environment, India has created a strong demand for cooperation with Pakistan in order to seek a stable environment. The cost of Pakistan against India is too high; therefore, the two sides reached a certain consensus, which make India-Pakistan relations, but the core factors that constrain the relationship between the two countries have not been eradicated.

(1) The constant arms race between the two countries

With the rejuvenation of India, India's self-positioning has changed. Especially since the Modi government came into power, India not only wants to be the leader of the South Asian subcontinent, but also wants to become a world power. Modi came to power, who proposed the idea of "make the 21st century to be the century of India". Driven by the "Great Power Dream", India's military strength has made great progress. According to data released by Global Firepower in 2019, now India GFP Rank 4, Pakistan 17. The comparison of military might between the two countries is detailed in the table below.

Table.1 military might comparison between India and Pakistan in 2019

| Subjects | India | Pakistan |
|--------------------------|---------------|------------|
| Total Military Personnel | 3462500 | 654000 |
| Defense Budget (USD) | 55.2 billions | 7 billions |
| Total Aircraft | 2085 | 1342 |
| Total Tank and Armor | 6999 | 5865 |
| Total Naval Assets | 295 | 197 |
| Roadway Coverage(km) | 3320410 | 260760 |
| Railway Coverage (km) | 63974 | 7791 |

It can be clearly seen from the data in the table that India has a clear advantage in the military game between India and Pakistan. After the Modi government came into office, it attached great importance to the construction of India's military strength and continuously increased military spending. As far as weaker Pakistan is concerned, it does not only worried about India's ambition to dominate South Asia, but now worries about the overwhelming advantage of India's military strength. According to data from the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, Pakistan is increasing the development and manufacturing speed of nuclear weapons, today, it has 110-130 nuclear warheads, and the scale of its nuclear arsenal even exceeds India. India has noticed the nuclear expansion of Pakistan and will maintain India's national interests at all costs. And because India has always pursued its dominance in South Asia, which has caused Pakistan to continuously strengthen its military equipment to achieve self-protection. For a long time in the future, such a situation will not be improved.

(2) Impeded by domestic political struggles

A country's diplomacy is a continuation of its internal affairs. If India and Pakistan want to maintain bilateral relations, they must avoid the problem of domestic political chaos. At present, the internal affairs and external diplomacy of India and Pakistan is mainly formulated to cater to the domestic political situation, and the relationship between the two countries faces uncertainty. In July 2018, the results of the Pakistani general election were released, and Imran Khan became the new prime minister, how to ensure the stability of the domestic political situation in the early in the ruling will become the "cardinal task" of new prime minister. When the bilateral relations between India and Pakistan are tense, the Pakistan side is more inclined to resolve disputes through diplomatic channels. Affected by the upcoming general election in India in May, on the one hand, Modi bears a lot of domestic pressure due to the recent suicide attacks in India, he has to take a tough position and military action against the Pakistan side; on the other hand, Modi has already saved face, the next step is to concentrate on the elections, and worries that the elections are affected by the situation out of control. At present, it seems unlikely that large-scale conflicts between India and Pakistan occur, but rivalry between India and Pakistan are not yet over, the two countries are constrained by domestic political struggles, which makes bilateral relations clear until after the Indian elections are completed.

(3) "Cross-border terrorism" seriously hinders the building of mutual trust between the two countries

Waltz proposes that under anarchic conditions, the assumption of state motivation is to protect own survival. Survival is a prerequisite for achieving other goals and is the basis of action as well. In the confrontation with India, Pakistan has been at a disadvantage. In order to bridge the huge gap with India, Pakistan seeks the support of Islamic extremist organizations and even "in person" support extremist terrorist organizations. Pakistani military and intelligence department have close relationship with Lashkar-e-Taiba, Jaish-e-Mohammad Mujahideen, Jamait-ul-Mujahideen, Harkat-ul-Jihad-al-Islami, Muttahida Jihad Council, Al Umar Mujahideen, Hizb-ul-Mujahideen, and other regional extremist organizations, which have become handles for India censuring Pakistan. In recent years, the threat of terrorism faced by India has often taken Pakistan as a springboard to sneak into India.

Although Pakistan's domestic terrorism has eased with the joint efforts of Pakistan and the international community, "agent wars" become a conscious act because of long-term support for terrorism and extremists. The Indian side insists on attacking "cross-border terrorism" in the Kashmir region and will not discuss the Kashmir problem peacefully with Pakistan. The "cross-border terrorism" problem cannot be resolved, and the peace process between India and Pakistan can only be superficial.

(4) Intervention of external great power

Due to the asymmetrical power structure in South Asia, the power of India and Pakistan is inevitably unbalanced. Under unbalanced conditions, Pakistan will seek external help to check and balance India, and foreign policy that attempts to maintain good relationship with India and Pakistan is often not trusted by either side. Therefore, after the intervention of external powers, it is difficult to meet both sides. In order to realize their own regional interests, they have to "take side" and objectively promote the intensity of the situation.

After the war in Afghanistan, the United States intervened in the affairs of South Asia in the name of counter-terrorism, tried to reshape the geopolitical landscape in South Asia, and artificially tore South Asia from the security strategy, which made the contest between India and Pakistan more intense. Although the United States provides a large amount of assistance to fight terrorism with Pakistan, its assistance is based on its own hegemony. With the introduction of Trump's "Indo-Pacific Strategy", the United States will expand cooperation with India's defense and security, supports India's growing foreign relations in the whole region, and deepens the strategic partnership between the United States and India, and supports India's leadership in the security of the Indian Ocean and the wider region. Its "prop up India and suppress Pakistani" policy has made the contrast of the original asymmetrical India and Pakistan power more unbalanced.

After the "cooling down" of the US-Pakistan relationship, Russia has continued to show kindness to Pakistan. In the 2016 Kashmir conflict, the United States expressed its support for India and condemned Pakistan for creating chaos in Kashmir. At the same time, Russia expressed its willingness to sell weapons to Pakistan and conduct joint drill with it. In August 2017, when Trump issued a South Asian policy speech, he censured Pakistan for providing asylum to domestic terrorists and will stop counter-terrorism assistance; Russia expressed support for Pakistan's counter-terrorism work and wants to fight terrorism together with Pakistan. However, Russia maintains its traditional allies with India and still sells weapons to India. Russia mediates between India and Pakistan; it only regards India and Pakistan as another battleground against the United States, and it does not care whether the dilemma between India and Pakistan can be resolved smoothly.

As the "China-Pakistan Economic Corridor" continues to advance in Pakistan, India has shown strong unease and opposition to cooperation between Pakistan and its strategic competitor China. The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor has been explicitly opposed by India since its beginning, for India, the opening of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor and its joint demonstration effect in the whole South Asian Indian Ocean region mean that China's strategic influence in the region is rapidly promoted, this is what the Modi government does not want to see. Therefore, the Modi government

has maintained a tough attitude toward Pakistan, which has made the relationship between the two countries increasingly tense.

The interventions of external powers do not help solve the problem, on the contrary, under the unbalanced structure, differentiate and restructure in order to achieve their respective interests; which further stimulate the sensitive nerves of India and Pakistan and aggravate the security dilemma. In addition, India's strategic miscalculation for China has also had a huge negative impact on the resolution of the problem.

4. Improvement Approaches of the Security Dilemma in South Asia

The security dilemma is an inherent feature of the anarchic international system, as Jervis said; the security dilemma cannot be eliminated, but can only be improved. Therefore, the complex security dilemma between India and Pakistan should start from reality and adopt pragmatic and effective measures to alleviate regional tensions, and weaken the negative impact of security dilemma on India, Pakistan and even South Asia as far as possible.

(1) Jump out of traditional geopolitical game thinking and establish a new security concept

For India, India, surrounded by sea on three sides, has a unique geographical advantage. It faces the Bay of Bengal on the east, the Arabian Sea in the west, and the Indian Ocean in the south; it is also a strategically important area connecting the Middle East and Southeast Asia. If India starts from the traditional geopolitical thinking, it will not only miss the opportunity to improve relations with Pakistan, but also lose the period of national development opportunities. Today, in the development of globalization, in order to realize its "great power dream", India should transcend the geopolitical game setup, handle differences and disputes in a peaceful way through dialogue and consultation, and strive to establish a sound security mechanism in South Asia. Historical experience shows that excessive emphasis on the use of violence will ultimately be caught in own trap, and the national strength will be greatly weakened and it will be difficult to go to the world.

(2) Rebuild Trust Mechanism with Multilateral Occasions

Because of the complexity of India-Pakistan security dilemma, it is difficult to effectively alleviate it only by means of traditional dialogue and trade. For regional development, the most important is the concept of regional identity and sharing regional security interests. If India and Pakistan cannot make use of various regional and sub-regional platforms to build a common understanding of their regional identity to achieve common development, then the security dilemma will be difficult to eliminate. At present, there is little possibility of direct dialogue between Indian and Pakistani leaders, and SAARC is basically stagnated, however, India and Pakistani join the SCO, which provides a platform for dialogue between the two countries. At the Astana Summit in June 2017, India and Pakistan achieved the first enlargement of the SCO since its establishment. Within the framework of the SCO, the two countries have strengthened political mutual trust through dialogue and cooperation, and coordinated and cooperated in international affairs to achieve win-win results.

The United States and Russia should attach great importance to the seriousness of terrorism in South Asia and achieve information sharing to a certain extent, they should also take substantive measures to resolve cross-border terrorist acts in South Asia, and this is a key trigger factor for the military escalation between India and Pakistan. Moreover, the India Government should also abandon the policy of the isolation of Pakistan in the international community, reduces the strategic miscalculation for China, and actively seeks the possibility of cooperating with countries under the background of "The Belt and Road" strategy. In sum, countries should take active actions to create a good start for India and Pakistan to restart negotiations and achieve political reconciliation between the two countries.

5. Conclusion

Due to the international anarchy, the imbalance of power structure between India and Pakistan has caused Pakistan to be extremely worried about its survival and development. India is in the rising

period, its strategic goals of "South Asian hegemon" and "world power" and Pakistan's security idea form a "security dilemma" of zero-sum game. The contest between India and Pakistan not only affects the development of the two countries themselves, but also influences the security environment in South Asia, which cause cooperation of the SAARC to be stagnant. India's "great power dream" cannot bypass Pakistan, and the security environment pursued by Pakistan cannot avoid the existence of India. In the future, the two countries need to pay attention to the convergence of common interests and establish an effective regional security mechanism to achieve peace.

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