

The Common Futures of India and Pakistan: A New Approach

Gautam Wahi
Independent Futurist
India

Abstract

India and Pakistan have been the most uneasy neighbors with their relationship being entangled in troubled common histories, an unresolved territory dispute, competitive posturing on terrorism and a perceived sense of being wronged by the other. The paper looks to build on the shared history and culture of the region and build a positive futures by means of Causal Layered Analysis. The CLA method has been used to shatter the age old myths and craft a new idiom for the neighbors by giving up on fratricidal animosity and crafting a unified futures as joint stakeholders for the region's development. The paper seeks to unravel the layers of popular thinking and to inquire deeper into its many Levels, from Systemic Understanding to those of Discourses and Worldviews finally leading us into Myth and Metaphor. The paper then reconstructs the desirable futures by building upwards from newly crafted metaphors, positive Discourses, rational Worldviews onto a rechristened shared litany.

Keywords: Causal Layered Analysis, India Pakistan relations, Terrorism, Kashmir, Pakistani Army, Muslim Identity

Introduction

The animosity and hostility in India and Pakistan relations have confounded social scientists ever since these nations were born out of their tumultuous births in 1947. The conflict between the two is one of the most costly and enduring one and has pulled the region back from making strides in the field of development; this has made large proportion of the respective populations confined to utter poverty (Paul, 2005). Notwithstanding the common colonial legacy, the two nations have charted different and at most times, confrontational ideological paths. The countries' similarities in most social indices (which languish at levels of Sub-Saharan Africa) only match the similarity of their strategic discourse towards each other. This discourse has been mired with hostility and mistrust which feeds iteratively into itself to create a never ending

vicious cycle.

Ironically even as the two countries grapple with their internal issues of sectarian conflict, secessionist movements and high levels of governmental corruption, they continue to spend a very high proportion of their assets in maintaining a huge security infrastructure which pits one against the other. In addition, the two nations are now declared nuclear powers. The specter of a nuclear holocaust through the doctrine of “MAD” or Mutual Assured Destruction remains a clear and present danger in view of the forces of the two nations being pitted against each other in an ‘eyeball to eyeball confrontation’¹ across the volatile border. This has been described by many authors as the most dangerous place on earth (Clinton, 2004). Even a conventional war is something that the region cannot afford in view of its immediate impact on the lives of the poorest of the poor. Such a war is just not an option since it would only harden the attitudes towards each other, further feeding the cycle of hatred.

The most common Idiom one reads on the popular understanding of relations between India and Pakistan belabors on the conflict between the two nations. The entries of some of the books in any library are usually on the following lines, “The Great Divide”, “India and Pakistan in War and Peace”, “India-Pakistan, History of unsolved conflicts”, “Uneasy Neighbors”, “India and Pakistan, Friends, Rivals or Enemies” etc. The popular literature even when it seeks to find the way forward from the conflict, by its very past orientation, condemns it to finality. At a superficial level there seems to be permanence embedded in the conflict.

This paper seeks to look at the past and the present of these relationships. These throw light on the key basis of the prevailing psycho- social thought and the popular conventional wisdom which further assist in looking at their shared futures. This paper seeks “opening up the present and past to create alternative futures,” (Inayatullah, 1998) which is in line with the vertical dimension of the Causal Layered Analysis technique. The paper strives to pan out “constitutive discourses, which can then be shaped as scenarios” (Inayatullah, 1998).

Method

The paper relies heavily on the CLA method based on the work of Jeanne Hoffman in her article “Unpacking Images of China Using Causal Layered Analysis” (Hoffman, 2012). The CLA method, which was developed by Sohail Inayatullah in 2004, has been chosen as the method to map the most common images of the India-Pakistan conflict as seen from the eyes of the key actors. This allows an opening of the present and past to create alternative futures instead of predicting a particular future based on a narrow empiricist or anecdotal viewpoint. The framing of the problem provides the answers, thus framings are not neutral, but the analysis themselves. The technique is able to get to the bottom of the nested arrangements of the various stakeholders and their key assumptions.

This method seeks to unravel the layers of popular thinking and to inquire deeper into its many Levels, from Systemic Understanding to those of Discourses and Worldviews finally leading us into Myth and Metaphor.

Litany is popular imagination and is often undifferentiated and monolithic. It is often an impervious understanding of a contrary viewpoint which psychologists call a ‘self fulfilling prophecy’ feeding into itself to become stronger and more unchangeable.

Below this layer is the layer of Systemic Causes where the inter-linkages between the political, cultural, societal and historical factors of an issue along with some empirical evidence are examined. At this Level, all that can be questioned is the data but not the paradigms.

The Level of Litany and Systemic Cause narratives can be viewed as shallow empiricist and anecdotal expositions of the deeper worldviews. The worldviews legitimize the two layers of Litany and Systemic Causations. As Hoffman states in her article, the inclusion or exclusion of a particular discourse can eventually privilege the issue and the consequent scenarios that may emerge. This allows other perspectives or epistemologies to place claims on how the scenarios are framed: so regardless of the worldview that is taken, it will have consequences for how scenarios are constituted (Inayatullah, 2010).

The Level that follows Worldview is that of Unconscious and Subconscious Myths and Metaphors. Myths create a sacrosanct image of the future which structures and presupposes the perceptions and worldviews and hence a person's experience of the world. This Level is dependent on specific civilizational and cultural underpinnings about the nature of time, rationality and agency (Hoffman, 2012).

The CLA technique is based on the deconstruction of the underlying four layers of assumptions, narratives, worldviews (zeitgeist) and metaphors/myths so that the future may not just be perceived but also be molded.

This paper seeks to deconstruct the Pakistani and Indian view on the issue of conflict between the countries and then tries to chart out common alternative futures. The CLA is applied to both the Pakistani and Indian scenarios to arrive at the defining myths and metaphors and the alternative futures for the "Common futures of India and Pakistan".

Pakistani CLA

Litany

The most enduring image of the rhetoric of India and Pakistan that they are sworn enemies, out to devour each other in a war of attrition is witnessed at the Wagah border, which is the border between India and Pakistan on the road that leads from Amritsar to Lahore. This has been described in one of New York Times blog in the following words: "The world's most spectacular border ceremony takes place every day before dusk at Wagah", symbolizing the enduring conflict between the two neighbors (Jacobs, 2012). A news report in the Friday Times reads: "India is the enemy, emerging religious alliance tells Karachi" (Chishti, 2012). Even in the understanding of the sober press in Pakistan, India continues to remain one of "Pakistan's Internal and External Challenges" (Mahmood, 2012).

Systemic Causes

Historical Cause: The rootedness in its religious identity and its intertwining with a checkered history has been central to the understanding of the conflict in the Pakistani psyche. The centrality of 'differentness' or rather 'opposition' of this identity to that of India has been the pivot in the sociological understanding of this narrative. The foundational article of faith for the Pakistani state has been its uniqueness and non-*Hinduness*²

which found its expression in the “two nation theory” even before independence from the British. The theory is based on the premise that the Muslims and Hindus are two different nations and they cannot coexist in the same political entity (Rizvi, 1986). Pakistani analysts have seen the pre-partition co-existence as nothing more than two rivers “which meandered close to each other here and there, but on the whole the two have flowed their separate courses” (Sayeed, 1968). The ultimate partition of India was the culminating event of this political movement based on religious identities. It was the wheel coming a full circle which started spinning following the birth of Islam, with the first Muslim invasion of India by Muhammad-bin-Qasim in the early 700’s, and resulting in the birth of a ‘land of the pure’ for Muslims i.e. Pakistan. In the thought process of most Pakistani analysts, a ‘Hindu India’ was thus based on the polar opposite of the Muslim Pakistani identity.

Political-Ideological Causes: The Kashmir issue is the other major irritant which is an outflow of the previous argument: “Pakistan holds the view that partition of the sub-continent is still incomplete and Pakistan’s Islamic identity will not be complete until the territory is unified with that country” (Paul, 2005). Kashmir has been central to the Pakistani identity and its ‘occupation’ by India is deemed as a dream unfulfilled in the Pakistani psyche. Pakistan treats the Kashmir issue as the “core” issue which is a symbol of India’s duplicity and intransigence and must be wrested from India. To Pakistan, Kashmir is still the “unfinished task of partition” (Yasmee, 2002). And at the ideological level, there is an existential fear that India has still not reconciled with the partition and shall seek to undo it once Pakistan is unable to defend itself (Feldman, 1972). So hostility against India becomes a very reason for existence.

Economic/ Material Causes: There is also a ‘material’ narrative for the conflict. Water scarcity, cited as the future cause of conflict is a pillar in this analysis: it is contended that the Kashmir territory is critical for Pakistan in view of the fact that the western rivers of the Indus Valley originate in the troubled state of Kashmir. It is feared, in some quarters within Pakistan that in the years to come India may threaten to use the source of irrigation as a bargaining chip vis-a-vis other contentious issues (Davies, 2003). In some other quarters it is also feared that India may use the dammed waters to inundate the Pakistani plains in the event of a war and thus use water as a strategic weapon (Roomi, 2008).

Worldview/ Discourse

The “Territory-Centric” Worldview: The theoretical framework gives an explanation to the Pakistani “steps to war” worldview. It states that as regions adopt certain goals and engage in certain behaviors and then take action to support those behaviors, they engage in behaviors that have the effect of increasing hostility and threat perception. This view emphasizes territory as the underlying cause of war (Vasquez, 1993). Kashmir being the territory in question will remain a cause for conflict until it is amicably resolved to the satisfaction of the two states or when one of the states has a decisive military victory over the other. Any solution acceptable to both states seems an impossibility since this would mean a compromise on the long standing position- to which there has been a considerable escalation of commitment. The nuclear balance in the subcontinent rules out a decisive victory from either side. This viewpoint thus seems to condemn the subcontinent to a never ending spiral of attrition.

Territorial disputes remain intractable because the pieces of land become infused with symbolic or even “transcendental” qualities which make them intangible, perceived as a zero-sum-game and thus difficult to divide. Symbolic stakes involve the idea that a given stake is important not for its intrinsic value but because it stands for a number of other stakes (Vasquez, 1981).

The Realist “Balance of Power” Worldview: The understanding of the world in the Realist Worldview is based on the distribution of power in the international system. This is done in the limited military sense and discounts other socio-cultural forces. According to this worldview there always must be a balance of power in any setting. And the imbalance of power impels the actors to act in the direction of restoring balance.

Building on the realist tradition of the zero-sum-game and the ‘Balance of Power’, this worldview suggests that Pakistan is in mortal fear of India and must seek to neutralize the threat from the western border. This worldview states that “India-Pakistan relationship is one of enduring rivalry, enemy imagining and zero sum calculations”. In that sense, disputed geography and divergent ideology have proved to be far more powerful than sociological kinship and economic similarity in shaping their divided history” (Sahni, 2001). Further, this worldview states that the balancing of the asymmetries in the powers between India and Pakistan can be done by Pakistan engaging in low intensity conflict in India by means of fueling ethnic dissensions and fissiparous tendencies within India so that India collapses from within. Prominent amongst these views, was the support for an independent state of Khalistan in the 1980s wherein the Sikh dissidents in Pakistan obtained ‘refuge, training, arms and money from their hosts’ (Bajpai, 1998). It seems that given Pakistan’s smaller size and its difficult geographical position in relation to India, Pakistan feels more vulnerable with regards to its own philosophical position and justification (Smith, 1957).

The Realist Worldview symbolizes the Lockean paradigm of rivalry at its best and the Hobbesian paradigm of conflict at its worst. This implies that the options for the states can at best be protection at one end, emphasizing survival and the consequent dilemma of kill or be killed at the other end. According to this worldview the structure of anarchy between India and Pakistan is such that ideas and identity prevail over structures (McLeod, 2008). The corollary that follows from this rivalry/ conflict worldview is that this rivalry fueled by the close proximity of military forces on both sides, the nuclear dimension and the continuing tensions over the violence in Kashmir, makes another war with India impending and inevitable (Sathasivam, 2005).

The Institutional Turf Preservation Worldview: The key stakeholder in the Pakistani scheme of things is the Pakistani army and the ISI (Inter Services Intelligence³). The Pakistani army draws its sustenance by perpetuating the threat from India. The tumultuous years after the partition and the four wars fought necessitate the Pakistani army to proclaim itself as the defender of Pakistan. India’s role in the creation of Bangladesh remains the biggest example of India’s duplicity which has pushed the Pakistani state towards a perpetual state of hostility with India as elucidated in the Humoodur Rehman Commission of Inquiry into the 1971 War. The rallying point of the Pakistani army has been to garner cult status and support from the Pakistani citizenry. A Pakistani General, Mirza Aslam Baig has described the Pakistan army as the defender of the ideological and geographical

frontiers of the country (Pakistan Today, 2012). The Pakistani army is the key beneficiary if the battle lines with India continue to remain drawn. Ironically, the heavy military loss in the 1971 war with India over Bangladesh only ended up consolidating Pakistani military assets on the western front. The societal dominance of the Pakistani army is built around the acquisition of Kashmir and balancing the power of its larger neighbor (Paul, 2005). “Reducing the significance of the Kashmir issue could diminish the value of the army in the Pakistani society and the extensive corporate interests built around it” (Jones, 2002). The existence of the Pakistani army perpetuates its centrality in the Pakistani political canvas since it supports the economic interests of the serving and retired army personnel. It is estimated that “the Pakistani military’s private business empire could be worth as much as £10bn. Retired and serving officers run secretive industrial conglomerates, manufacture everything from cement to cornflakes, and own 12m acres [4.8m hectares] of public land” (Siddiqi, 2007). This view is corroborated by Hamza Alvi who states that “The landlords as the members of the bureaucracy and the army are the most powerful indigenous class in Pakistan which is directly entrenched in the structure of state power”. The ‘autonomous’ role of the military-bureaucratic oligarchy ‘is subject to the structural imperative of peripheral capitalism in which it is located’. Hence the state has to satisfy the requirements of a peripheral capitalism and ensure the smooth functioning of the economy as a whole” (Udayakumar, 1997).

Myth/ Metaphor

The defining metaphor for Pakistan’s identity is that of ‘un-Indian-ness’ and ‘anti-Indian-ness’. There is an urge to chart a separate course and seek the leadership of the Islamic *umma* or the pan-Islamic brotherhood. This is typified by the great pride that Pakistan takes in possessing the Islamic bomb, which on one hand has been a great equalizer against her stronger nuclear neighbor and on the other hand is a potential weapon that could be used in the strategic equations of the Middle East.

Table 1. *Pakistani CLA*

Pakistani CLA	
●	Litany: India is the enemy no. 1 and must be destroyed
●	Systemic Causes:
○	Historical Causes: India represents an opposing world view and is a continuing threat to Pakistan's existence.
○	Political-ideological causes: India's position on Kashmir is illegal and India is unlawfully holding on to Kashmir.
○	Economic/ Resource Control: Conflict with India is essentially a battle over water
●	World view/ Discourse:
○	Geopolitics/ Realist discourse: Pakistan can survive only once India is enervated. There is also a fear of being annihilated by the larger and much stronger neighbor. Use of China to counter balance the regional bully/ Cause "death by a thousand cuts" by fueling internal secessionism/ use of terror as an instrument of war (Trehan, 2002).
○	Territory discourse: Kashmir is the centerpiece of the conflict and the relations are viewed in terms of territory alone.
○	Material/ Institutional turf preservation: Pakistani army remains the defender of the Pakistani state and dictates a policy of perpetual hostility towards India for its own survival.
●	Myth/ Metaphor: The Muslim identity and global Muslim power to quell the Indian challenge. The Pakistani state to take a center stage in the <i>ummah</i> and use the leadership to limit India's outreach.

Contradictions and Limitations in the Pakistani Construction of Reality

The view held by the Pakistani establishment have come back to haunt the state by inflicting damage on the country itself. The idiom of exclusivity and power balance are increasingly under question. Religion alone can no longer be treated as the sole basis of nationhood. Pakistan finds itself fighting with the enemy not on the western borders but within itself. The cost is increasingly being paid by the hungry millions. With the state facing increasing challenges from the fringe Islamic elements, the aspiration for dominance and leadership in the Islamic world is increasingly in question. With part of the existing Pakistani territory bleeding the country in Khyber Pukhtoon Khwa (KPK), there may be a need to reassess the centrality of territory to identity linkage. The swelling numbers of the middle class now ask questions about the rationale of the military-dominated discourse and are looking for the enemy within rather than the one across the border. "Pakistan's politics and social analysis could move forward from endless discussions and debates on partition to discussions about what type of Pakistan is desired tomorrow, and what can be done today to realize that vision. Otherwise, 1947 and the trends of today-poverty, malnutrition, economic inequity, gender dominance-will become the reality of tomorrow" (Inayatullah, 1992). The futures lie in questioning the sacrosanct assumptions held so far.

Indian CLA

Litany

For the popular press in India, Pakistan is a basket case teetering to its fall. The Hindu daily in its report on the Mehran Naval Base attack in Pakistan, featured a report titled “Pakistan: shakier than ever before” (The Hindu, 2011). There is also a propensity to see Pakistan as a monolithic entity and there is a common cause made with the rest of the world that Pakistan is a source of the terrorism and global chaos. A news article in the Indian Express regarding the terror threat emanating from Pakistan reads “An enemy that may mutate and even grow” (The Indian Express, 2010). The popular press continues to portray the fact that Pakistan in general and its army in particular, is set to target India. The popular Indian magazine “India Today” in its cover-feature titled “Target India” dated November 16, 2009, showed the photograph of the chief of the Pakistani Army (The India Today Magazine, 2009). Even in the instances where sports and arts are covered, the Indian press brings out the element of rivalry and hostility between the two countries (The Outlook Magazine, 2005).

Systemic Causation

Historical Causes: The creation of Pakistan is viewed as an unfortunate accident in parts of the Indian psyche. There was a lack of reconciliation to the creation of Pakistan at the time of its creation and that continues to this day.

India had never accepted Jinnah’s two-nation theory and only went along with this ‘absurdity in order to keep the British happy and expedite their departure’ (Lamb, 1991). “Pakistan’s relations with India are influenced by a great extent by the pre-partition struggle of Ideas between the Muslim League and the Indian National Congress”⁴ (Gupta, 2005). Many authors have called the division of India on the basis of the two-nation theory as an “Anglo-Muslim conspiracy” wherein the Muslim League played ball with the British and fulfilled its agenda of ‘Divide and Rule’ (Singh, 2012). The first Indian Prime Minister J.L. Nehru said in a speech at Madras in 1957, even 10 years after partition, that “We have never accepted it [Pakistan] and we do not propose to accept the two-nation theory on which Pakistan was founded” (Gopal, 2003).

Years later, the 1971 war with Pakistan, in which India supported the *Mukti Bahini*⁵ in its struggle against the Pakistani establishment for the creation of Bangladesh, was seen as a strategic move and, as a repudiation of the ‘two-nation theory’ by native East Pakistanis. The creation of Bangladesh was akin to an attack on the very ideological foundation of Pakistan (Ganguly, 1994).

Geo-political Causes: The recurring wars in the region and the mutually reinforcing mistrust with Pakistan have made the militarily superior India distrustful of Pakistan. It is consistent with the hypothesis around “*Realpolitik* experiential learning” which states that the nations which find themselves in recurring crises with the same adversary are likely to continue strategies that have been successful in the previous crises, and to turn to more coercive strategies when they have been unsuccessful. The volatile circumstances in Kashmir have reinforced Indian distrust of Pakistan’s intentions and to overestimate the hostile intentions of Pakistan (Leng, 2000). Fearing any external influence on Kashmir, the Indian strategic thought seeks to deal with Kashmir only unilaterally. Coupled with this, is the doctrine of

“offense is the best defense”. By seeking to embroil Pakistan in the internal conflict in Balochistan, India seeks to put increasing pressure on the Pakistani security apparatus and hopes to orchestrate another “Bangladesh” in Pakistan. This also explains the Indian endeavors to install a friendly government in Kabul to “outflank Pakistan by exploiting the Pustoonistan issue” (Hussain, 2003).

Worldview

Indian Strategic Worldview: A Realist’s Worldview of complete hegemony and containment of Pakistan: India seeks to have complete hegemony based on the Indian notion of the sub-continent being deemed as a single entity notwithstanding the newly crafted borders following the partition. India deems it hegemony in the sub-continent as both natural and desirable (Rose, 1987). By corollary, the primary objective of India’s security policy is the isolation of the sub-continent from all external powers and influences with the potential of primacy and freedom of action within the region (Manning, 2000). India seeks to contain Pakistan militarily and isolate Pakistan from its major external protector i.e. China (Tellis, 1991).

An Isolationist’s Worldview of Pakistan: India now seeks to embarrass and isolate Pakistan in the international community for its role in spawning global terrorism (Khan, 2003). This appears to be a worldview which speaks of lack of any well thought strategy on Pakistan following the escalation of the Pakistan’s internal troubles.

Myth/ Metaphor

India has sought to ‘De-hyphenate’ and leave behind the ‘irritant neighbor’. India looks at itself as a victim of Pakistani depredations and conclusively seeks to win the battle for mind-space, money and military against Pakistan on the world stage. India seeks to wish Pakistan away.

Table 2. *Indian CLA*

Indian CLA	
●	Litany: Troublesome neighbor collapsing under its own contradictions
●	Systemic Causes: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Historical cause leading to contemporary cause: Creation of Pakistan a historic wrong and the Pakistani state is unsustainable because it is conceived on false concept of two-nation theory, its exclusivist vision of the state is pushing Pakistan to its fall. ○ Geopolitical: It is a military threat on the western borders of India; if it cannot be reclaimed through the idea of complete hegemony in the entire subcontinent, then it needs to be destroyed by making it unviable.
●	Discourse: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Geopolitical: It is a military threat on the western borders of India and needs to be contained. India also seeks complete hegemony in the entire subcontinent. ○ Ideological: Accelerate the decay in Pakistan and push it over the precipice, isolate and embarrass Pakistan for involvement in terror.
●	Myth: De-hyphenate, leave behind the irritant and conclusively win the battle for mindspace, money and military against Pakistan even possibly wish Pakistan away.

Contradictions and Limitations of the India Construction of Reality

India's claim to the powerful nations club has to be looked at from the perspective of the highest number of poor people (in absolute terms) within a political unit. The discourse on macho nationalism must marry the stark realities of under development. On the 'idea of India' there is a need of sobriety since there is immense ground to cover in terms of making India truly secular. The repudiation of exclusiveness would ring hollow unless India actually translates its Constitution to Constitutionalism. An unstable Pakistan cannot be left behind; it is here to stay and the more India wishes it away or seeks its demise, more India will get mired with an unstable neighbor. A weak, impoverished or even a Pakistan burning in secessionist's flames, is the worst thing that can happen to India. By virtue of the common borders a Pakistan in flames would spill over into India and make the region unstable. Engagement alone can strengthen the democratic institutions in Pakistan and create a better environment (Wahi, 2012). Also with the national sovereignties slowly becoming less important, the dominance or complete hegemony in the sub-continent seems to be neither desirable, not possible. If there is any scope for dominance, it could only be through economics which is a win-win scenario for the region. Ashish Nandy a leading Indian political psychologist has also supported the view that nation-states in South Asia are fictitious entities, and Indian and Pakistani nationalisms are artefacts (Udayakumar, 1996).

Common India-Pakistan Futures

Litany

The emerging trend that is seen and could be the Litany of the future is captured in a featured article in one Pakistani newspaper which speaks about “Pakistan’s non-‘anti-India’ generation” (Jawaid, 2011). The change in the popular idiom (even if yet only sporadic) speaks of the change in the mindsets at the popular level as witnessed by the blog of ‘Pakdefence’ (a Pakistani defence related website) which stated that “India no longer No.1 Enemy of Pakistan” (Khattab, 2011). Other news sources have also voiced their opinion stating that “For Pakistan, [it is] time to try India as a friend” (Rehmat, 2011).

Systemic Causation

Historical Causes: The Indian subcontinent has been host to waves of settlers and invaders who may have started as victors on a conquest but eventually got amalgamated into the broad Indian identity. The first wave of Muslim settlers came to India from the southernmost state of Kerala in India in 632 AD a few years after the demise of Prophet Muhammad (Spear, 1990). This wave was accompanied by the peaceful adoption of Islam. What is often missed in the analysis in this layer is that Islam spread first not by the sword but voluntarily. The subsequent influx happened through conquest but even then there was no forced conversion to Islam and conversion was by insinuation rather than by introduction or invasion (McLeod, 2008). Indian cultural symbol like culinary habits, way of living, languages and architecture which is the surviving relic of this amalgamation, chronicles the blending of these disparate identities into a common one (Varma, 1987). This “glorious instances of synthesis of two civilizations is exemplified by the TajMahal, Hindustani dance, music and painting, architecture and even cuisine” (Subramanyam, 1999).

Before the advent of the British there was no chasm in the identities. The mobilization of peoples into the silos of Hindus and Muslims happened only following the British rule (Robinson, 1975). At one level the British rule gave a political canvas to the Indian principalities and brought a degree of political unification. At the same time it suited the British to pursue its policy of divide and rule and consequently there was a framing of a Muslim identity and that of a Hindu identity. In effect their common legacy and cultural motifs could be the future of unison in culture even while the political boundaries remain intact.

Political Causes: Notwithstanding the two and a half year hiatus in democracy in the late 1970s in India, there has been a complete acceptance of democracy by the Indian people and the institutions of the state. This has been orchestrated by the steadfast “commitment of India’s key institutions, such as the judiciary, parliament, media, the army, and the national and regional leaders to democracy and secularism” (Mitra, 2011). Similarly, in Pakistan there appears to be a strong movement towards democracy, as seen by the recent public discourse in Pakistan. The Pakistani state is in a stage of turmoil and now it is becoming increasingly clear that a military coup may no longer be possible in view of the international pressure as well as internal opposition to it. There are questions in the Pakistani civil society about how the Pakistani army, which is termed as an ‘army with a country’ by the Pakistani media, and how it needs to be reined in (Pakistan Defence, 2007).

There is a higher probability of peace between any two democracies based on a theoretical concept called “democratic peace”. There is now an emerging consensus that “two democratic states will not fight each other in a war” (Russett, 2001). Democratic peace has a significant impact on rivalries, not merely on the outbreak of war. In relation to India and Pakistan it has been observed that their rivalry was less dispute-prone under respective reign of democracy than during other periods. Thus, joint democracy may be associated with rivalry termination after a period of time (Diehl, 2005).

Secondly, a “Political Shock” has been described as one of the possibilities for the termination of rivalries. It has been hypothesized that a civil war in one or both of the parties involved might lead to an end to rivalry as the affected states might direct their attention inwards to deal with the threat of civil war (Goertz, 2000).

Following 9/11 and the changed dynamics in the international arena, Pakistan’s military role in fomenting global terrorism is in scrutiny. With Pakistan facing increasing terrorist violence, there is an increasing internal debate about the role of the military apparatus in Pakistan’s politics. This situation can be likened to political shock.

Similarly in India, even while there may not be political shock related to an internal security issue, there is ferment in the public discourse against corruption; which is nothing short of a revolution against the entire political class which is increasingly losing its legitimacy. Anna Hazare, a Gandhian anti-graft activist and the rallying point of the anti corruption movement in India, has famously said that “Corruption [is] a bigger threat to India than Pakistan” (Bhatt, 2011). This too can be called a political shock which is changing public attitudes about what is being considered as important to the public interest.⁶

Post Colonial/South-South Cooperation Causes: In the years to come there is a possibility for common interest in the issues like convergence on per-capita-emission norms with regards to green house gases for the developing world. India and Pakistan find themselves on the same side of the table on the issue of climate change. The then Pakistani PM, Yousaf Raza Gilani, in a statement said that “[Climate change] is quite visible in my country. We have suffered both drought and heavy rains in the past year. It was horrible, not just by our estimates but also as per the estimates of World Bank and Asian Development Bank” (RTCC, 2012). Also there is a possibility of cooperation in the WTO regime in the case of patents in agriculture and livelihood issues. The type IV “movement of natural persons” is something that also holds great promise for cooperation between these two countries in a united front against the “North” countries.

Worldview: *Realpolitik* or Real Idiocy?

The traditional worldviews of both Pakistan and India have degrees of fatalism and finality in them. These worldviews inextricably link the opposite as the enemy responsible for hurting the conception of nationhood itself. Counter balance and aggressive vendetta based on this worldview is the leitmotif of all India-Pakistan calculus. The changing dynamics in the world and the realization that the world is moving forward breaks the mould of this traditional mindset. The India-Pakistani leadership seems to have drawn no lessons from the futility of pursuing the extremely expensive and their inconsequential animosity; they have been likened to the “eighteenth-century Bourbons as learning nothing and forgetting nothing over

the course of the rivalry” (Chari, 2003).

Coercive bargaining and strategies have created only self fulfilling prophecies. More harmonious past relations between Hindus and Muslims, either before the partition, or within India after Independence have been forgotten or presumed to be exceptional. The competitive relationship presumed by this *Realpolitik* approach accentuates Hindu-Muslim differences and masks the cultural and historical commonalities in the identities of Indians and Pakistanis.

A critical step towards the stability of India-Pakistani relations would be to have the leaders of the two sides move away from sabre-rattling and into a public recognition that a general war creates the possibility of an escalating and catastrophic war (Leng, 2000). This has to be accompanied by giving up on hostile goals on both sides. India would give up its strategic objective of complete hegemony or pushing Pakistan over the precipice and Pakistan would give up its claim to a forced ‘liberation’ of Kashmir. The new worldview has to be based on a Kantian system of anarchy like the one between the US and Canada where political, economic, or even territorial disputes do occur but are settled by ways of other kinds of strategies, such as discussions via international arrangement; these strategies would change the meaning of military power from rivalry to shared knowledge, which constitutes a secured community. In disputes among rivals, military capabilities have an impact on the outcomes because the parties know that these strategies might be used against them by the rival. However among friends, this is not the case. Under Kantian anarchy, the meaning of military power moves away from a neo-realist balance of power; the knowledge of what constitutes military power has a different meaning because it is derived subjectively from shared cultural ideas constructed between states (McLeod, 2008).

To paraphrase Zia Sardar “we must destroy the pervasiveness of modernist ideology and recreate autonomous traditional communities. Moving forward then means returning to the historic past and unfettering ourselves from the domination of our illusionary national identities” (Inayatullah, 1992).

Table 3. *Alternative Futures CLA*

<u>Alternative Futures: Mutual Peaceful and Cooperative Coexistence</u>	
● Litany: Transformed idiom of not seeing the other as the enemy. The enemy lies within	
● Systemic Cause:	
○ Historical Cause: Build on the symbolic similarities, common cultural motifs and the common legacy	
○ Political Cause: The possibility of “democratic peace”, and political shock: Pakistan’s increasing involvement in Afghanistan and Indian middle class campaign against corruption	
○ Post colonial/ resource sharing dimension: Build a common front on the basis of south-south cooperation in the battleground of the future i.e. energy, climate change, global poverty reduction, battle for UN and WTO democratization, unified approach to press for a global convergence of per capita energy consumption and per capita production of green house gases	
● Discourse	
○ Symbolic: Common cosmopolitan, modernist and ‘inclusivist’ orientation	
○ Geopolitical: secure and self assured nationalism without threat from either side	
● Metaphor: (<i>AmankiAsha</i>) hope for peace.	

The New Metaphor:

On January 1, 2010, a peace initiative called “*Aman ki Asha*” (hope for peace) was launched by both, the Jang Group of publications and newspapers in Pakistan and the Times of India Group. The project is aimed at creating an enabling environment and contributing towards peace building between Pakistan and India. This could thus be the defining metaphor for the future of the subcontinent.

Conclusion

This deconstruction of the existing paradigms and the reconstruction of the new ones could be the starting point of a unified futures wherein the sub-continent identity at the political level may remain intact and yet friendships may be built on the common bonds of culture and history and the hopes for a brighter future for its people, benefiting from acting in unison at the international level.

Diagram 1, below, provides a succinct summary of the shared narrative and policy development process and vision. This would entail a transition from mistrust to trust, from a vision of exclusiveness to inclusiveness, from animosity to friendship. This unified future would be built on the shared pasts at the same time eliminating the troubled histories. The existing myths of suspicion and hatred would be replaced by trying the other party as a friend. This unified futures aims at addressing the global challenges of poverty reduction, climate change, and equity in the global order, holds the solution for pulling these nations out of the cycle of hatred.

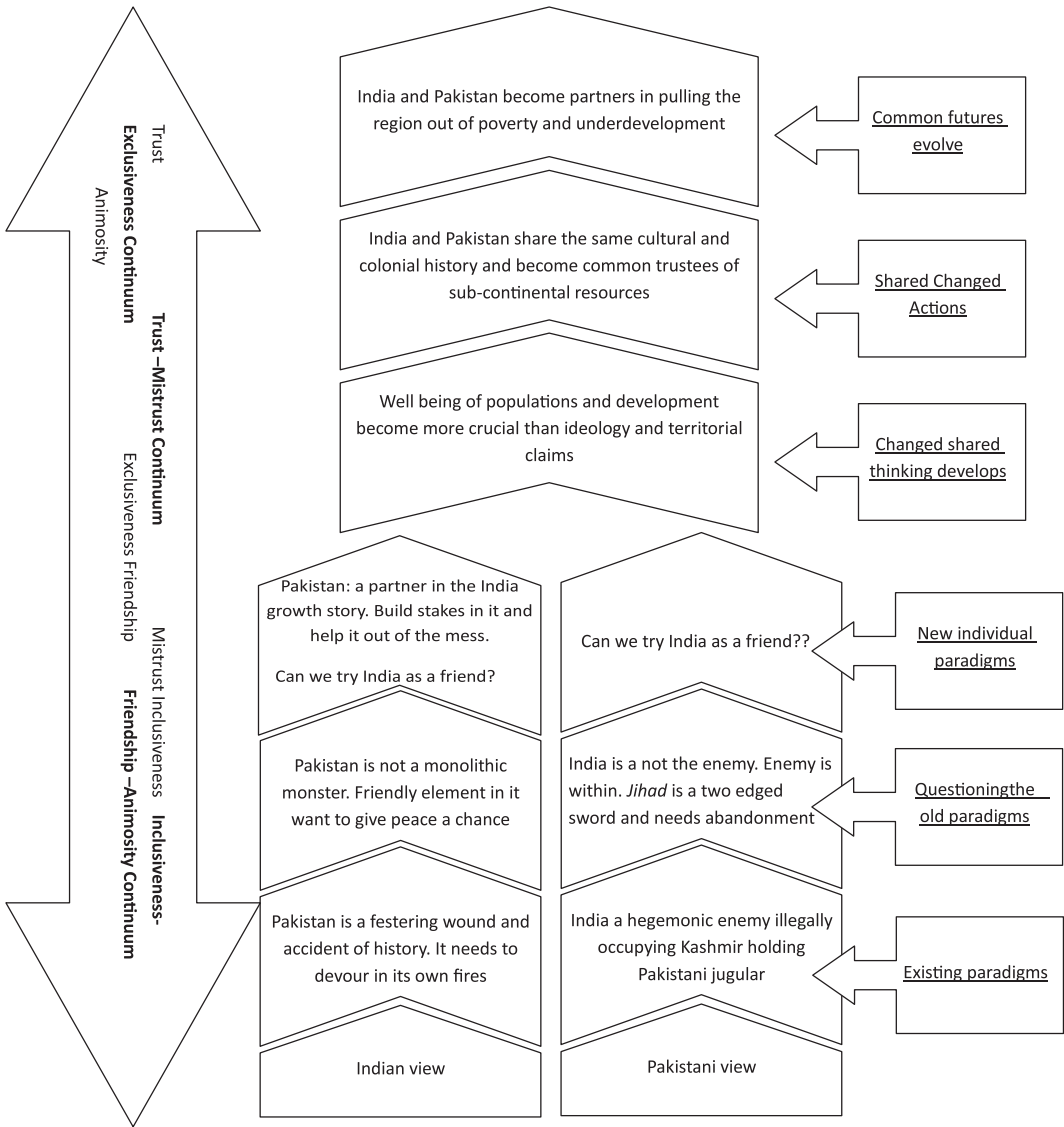
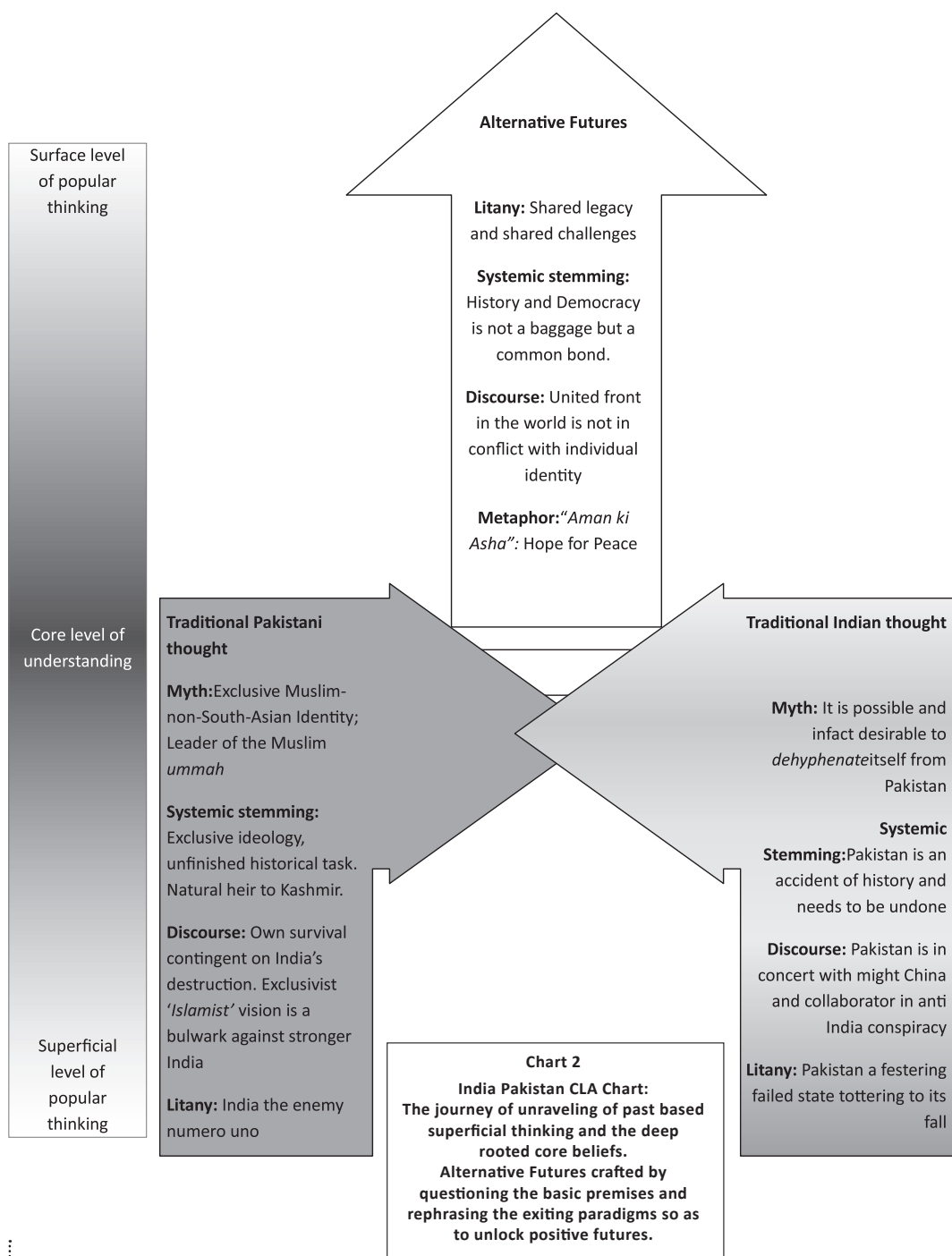


Chart 1
Deconstruction- Reconstruction Process in
CLA



Acknowledgements

The author is grateful to Jose Ramos for foray into the exciting world of Futures. The author also wishes to thank Prof. Kanti Bajpai whose many thought provoking discourses on India Pakistan relations, both inside the class and outside it, made me conceive this paper. The author is also grateful to dear friend Saqib Manan from Pakistan without whose insights of Pakistani psyche, society and politics, this paper would not have been possible. The views expressed by the author are his personal views and have not been made in any official capacity.

Correspondence

Gautam Wahi

1543, Sector-15, Sonipat, Haryana, India, Pin Code 131001

Email: gautam_wahi@yahoo.com

Notes

- 1 “Eyeball to Eyeball confrontation” is a term used in the strategic community in South Asia which represents the close proximity of combatants across international borders. This close proximity has often led to tensions between combatants. Such tensions have further lead to sector and location specific skirmishes resulting in frequent loss of lives of combatants on both sides of border.
- 2 Hinduness is a term which represents the Hindu identity. It is opposed to Hinduism which is a religious faith. The former broader term than Hinduism and encompasses the religious dimension and the socio-cultural motifs in its sweep. Hinduness is thus a way of life and is not merely limited to the religious doctrine of Hinduism.
- 3 ISI or the Inter Services Intelligence is the Espionage arm of the Pakistani Government. It has been notorious for its fiercely autonomous ways and is often been described as a “State within a State”.
- 4 During India’s freedom struggle against the British, the Muslim League proclaimed itself to be the sole representative of the sub-continental Muslims and was instrumental in carving out a Pakistan from India under the leadership of Muhammad Ali Jinnah. This was seen as a betrayal of the principals of unity and secularism that had been accorded great importance by the Indian National Congress under Mahatma Gandhi; he called the partition of India on religious lines a vivisection of the country. The Indian National Congress which was at the forefront of the freedom struggle and which sought to be the face of a unified struggle against the British, was dubbed as a Hindu party by the Muslim League.
- 5 MuktiBahani (vehicle for independence in Bengali) was a resistance force of the native Bengalis of East Pakistan who took up arms against the Pakistani Army.
- 6 Diehl and Goertz were less sanguine on the reduction of rivalries between India and Pakistan on account of ‘political shock’. However it bears noting that the article was written in 2005 when the involvement of Pakistan on the war on terror on its western borders had not escalated to an internal security threat as it has become in 2012-13. Similarly, the very recent “India Against Corruption” campaign directed at the domestic government in India has increased internal campaign against the entire political class to an unprecedented level.

Reference

- Bajpai, K. (1998). India modifies structuralism. In M. Algappa, *Asian Security Practice: Material and Ideational influences* (pp. 157-197). Stanford University Press: Stanford.
- Bhatt, S. (2011). *Rediff News*. Retrieved 11 10, 2012, from <http://www.rediff.com/news/slide-show/slide-show-1-corruption-a-bigger-threat-to-india-than-pakistan-says-anna-hazare/20110406.htm>
- Russet, J. O. B. (2001). *Triangulating Peace: Democracy, Interdependence and International Organisations*. New York: W W Norton.
- Chari, P. R. (2003). *Nuclear Crises, Escalation Control and Deterrence in South Asia H.L. Stimson Working Paper*. Washington D C: H.L. Stimson Center.
- Chishti, A. K. (2012). *www.thefridaytimes.com*. Retrieved 11 8, 2012, from <http://www.thefridaytimes.com/beta2/tft/article.php?issue=20120217&page=2.2>
- Clinton, W.(2004). Retrieved from www.cnn.com:edition.cnn.com/2004/ALLPOLITICS/07/09/amanpour.Clinton.transcript/index.html on 15.11.2012
- Davies, C. A. (2003). Trends Shaping the Future: Economic, Societal, and Environmental Trends. *The Futurist*, 37(1), 27-42.
- Defence.pk(2007). *Pakistan Defence website*. Retrieved 11 9, 2012, from <http://www.defence.pk/forums/pakistan-defence-industry/6220-every-country-has-army-pakistan-army-has-country.html> accessed on 13.10.2012
- Feldman, H. (1972). *From Crises to Crises: 1962-1969*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Ganguly, S. (1994). *The origin of war in South Asia: India Pakistani Conflicts since 1947*. Oxford: Westview Press.
- Goertz, P. F. (2000). *War and Peace in International Rivalry*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Gopal, S. (2003). *The Essential Writings of JwahaarLal Nehru, Vol II*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Gupta, A. (2005). *India and Pakistan: The Conflict Peace Syndrome*. Delhi: Kalinga Publications.
- Hoffman, J. (2012). Unpacking Images of China Using Causal Layered Analysis. *Journal of Futures Studies*, 16(3), 1-24.
- Hussain, B. (2003). Indo-Afghan Relations: Pre and Post Taliban Developments. *Regional studies*, 22(3), 34.
- Inayatullah, S. (1998). Causal Layered Analysis. *Futures*, 30 (8), 815-829.
- Inayatullah, S. (1992). Images of Pakistan's Future. *Futures*, 24(9), 867-878.
- Inayatullah, S. (1992). Introducing the Futures of South Asia. *Futures*, 24 (9), pp.851-857.
- Inayatullah, S. (2010). Multiple narratives of the future of the global financial crisis. *Journal of Future Studies*, 109-128.
- IndianExpress.(2010). *An enemy that may mutate and even grow*. Retrieved 11. 9. 2012, from <http://www.indianexpress.com/news/an-enemy-that-may-mutate-and-even-grow/616053/0>
- Jacobs, F. (2012). *Nytimes blog*. Retrieved 11 8, 2012, from <http://opinionator.blogs>.

- nytimes.com: <http://opinionator.blogs.nytimes.com/2012/07/03/peacocks-at-sunset/#ftn4>
- Jawaid, A. (2011). *Pakistan's non-'anti-India' generation*. Retrieved from <http://tribune.com.pk/story/278219/pakistans-non-anti-india-generation/>
- Jones, O. B. (2002). *Pakistan: Eye of the storm*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Khan, F. H. (2003). Challenges to Nuclear Stability in South Asia. *The NonProliferation Review*, 10(1), 59-74
- Khattab, F. (2011). *India no longer No.1 Enemy of Pakistan*. Retrieved 11 11, 2012, from <http://www.defence.pk/forums/pakistans-war/116730-india-no-longer-no-1-enemy-pakistan.html>
- Lamb, A. (1991). *Kashmir: A Disputed Legacy 1846-1990*. Hertfordshire: Roxford Books.
- Lead editorial article, H. (2011). *www.thehindu.com*. Retrieved 11 8, 2012, from <http://www.thehindu.com/opinion/lead/pakistan-shakier-than-ever-before/article2082408.ece?css=print>
- Leng, R. J. (2000). *Bargaining and Learning in Recurring Crises: The Soviet American, Egyptian-Israeli, Indo-Pakistani Rivalries*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Mahmood, S. (2012). <http://paktribune.com>. Retrieved 11 8, 2012, from <http://paktribune.com/articles/Pakistans-Internal-and-External-Challenges-242989.html>
- Manning, R. A. (2000). *The Asian Energy Factor: Myths and Dilemmas of Energy, Security and Pacific Future*. New York: Palgrave.
- McLeod, D. (2008). *India and Pakistan, Friends, Rivals or Enemies*. Hampshire: Ashgate.
- Mitra, S. K. (2011). Democracy's Resilience: Tradition, Modernity, and Hybridity in India. *Harvard international Review*, 32(4), 46-52.
- Pakistan Today. (2012). <http://www.pakistantoday.com.pk>. Retrieved 11 9, 2012, from <http://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/2012/11/07/news/national/army-defenders-of-ideological-geographical-frontiers-baig/>
- Paul F Diehl, G. G. (2005). Theoretical Specifications to Enduring Rivalries: applications to India-Pakistan case. In T. V. Paul, *India Pakistan Conflict: An Enduring Rivalry* (pp. 46-50). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Paul, T. V. (2005). *The India-Pakistan Conflict, An Enduring Rivalry*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Poorie, A. (2009). *India Today (from the editor's desk)*. Retrieved 11 9, 2012, from <http://indiatoday.intoday.in/story/From+the+editor-in-chief/1/69514.html>
- Rehmat, A. (2011). *For Pakistan, time to try India as a friend*. Retrieved 11 11, 2012, from <http://dawn.com/2011/06/20/for-pakistan-time-to-try-india-as-a-friend/>
- Rizvi, G. (1986). Pakistan: Domestic Dimension of Security. In *South Asian Insecurity and Great Powers*. New York: St. Martin's.
- Robinson, F. (1975). *Separatism Among Indian Muslims: Politics of the United Provinces Muslims 1860-1923*. Delhi: Viking.
- Roomi, S. M. (2008). *4th GW, Indian Cold Start & Future Pak-India Conflict*. Re-

- trieved 11 9, 2012, from <http://pakdefenceunit.files.wordpress.com/2011/09/cold-start.pdf>
- Rose, L. E. (1987). India's Regional Policy: Non Military Dimensions. In S. P. Cohen, *security in South Asia: American and Asian Perspectives*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- RTCC. (2012). *Pakistan hints at climate change cooperation with India*. Retrieved 11 10, 2012, from Responding to Climate Change: <http://www.rtcc.org/policy/pakistan-hints-at-climate-change-cooperation-with-india/>
- Sahni, V. (2001). Preventing another Kargi, Avoiding another Siachin: Technical monitoring of the LOC in Kashmir. In K. Bajpai, *Kargil and After: Challenges for Indian Policy* (pp. 147-163). New Delhi: Har Anand Publications.
- Sathasivam, K. (2005). *Uneasy Neighbours*. Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Limited.
- Sayeed, K. B. (1968). *Pakistan: The Formative Phase 1857-1948*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Siddiq, D. A. (2007). *Military Inc: Inside Pakistan's Military Economy*. Pluto press.
- Singh, U. V. (2012). *India-Pak Relations: Glamour, Drama or Diplomacy*. New Delhi: Pentagon Press.
- Sinha, S. S. (2005). "Pitched Battles". *Outlook*, 11(9), 7-14.
- Smith, W. C. (1957). *Islam in modern History*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Spear, P. (1990). *A History of India: from Sixteenth Century to the Twentieth century*. London: Penguin.
- Subramanyam, K. (1999). Introduction. In J. Singh, *Defending India*. Basingstoke: Macmillian.
- Tellis, A. (1991). *India: Assessing strategy and Military Capabilities in Year 2000*. Santa Monica: RAND.
- Trehan, J. (2002). Terrorism and the funding of terrorism in Kashmir. *Journal of Financial Crime*, 9(3), 201-210.
- Udayakumar, S. P. (1996). Rethinking South Asia. *Futures* (pp. 889-890). London: Elsevier Science Ltd.
- Udayakumar, S. P. (1997). South Asia: Before and After. *Futures*, 29(10), pp. 919-935.
- Varma, R. D. (1987). *Delhi and its monuments*. New Delhi: Spantech Publishers.
- Vasquez, J. a. (1993). *The War Puzzle*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Vasquez, R. M. (1981). *In Search of Theory: A new paradigm for Global Politics*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Wahi, G. Personal interview with Sajjad Ashraf, (Pakistan Foreign Service) ex High Commissioner of Pakistan to Singapore on 5.11.2012
- Wink, A. *Al-Hind, the Making of the Indo-Islamic World*. 2002: Brill Academic Publishers.
- Yasmee, S. (2002). Kashmir: The Discourse in Pakistan. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 37(7), 611-613.