

A Case Study of Operation Gibraltar and Indo-Pak War of 1965: An Application of Decision-Making Models

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ABSTRACT

This paper focused on the real reasons and objectives behind the launch of Operation Gibraltar and Grand Slam. It also throws light on the trigger points of Indo-Pak war of 1965. The primary objective of this paper is to apply the various decision-making models on the case study of Operation Gibraltar and 1965 war. What were the real issues that forced Pakistan to choose the alternative of secret mission to infiltrate into Indian Occupied Kashmir? In this article, the authors tried to give different explanations of Operation Gibraltar. These explanations include: rational choice explanation, cybernetic explanation, prospect theory explanation, poliheuristic explanation, bureaucratic explanation, and organizational explanation from the best alternatives for conducting Operation Gibraltar.

Key Words: Indian Occupied Kashmir, Operation Gibraltar, Rann of Kutch, Akhnur

Introduction

India-Pakistan rivalry is one of the most enduring rivalries of the post war era. It started shortly after partition of sub-continent, and had seen wars and a number of other crises. The reasons behind this rivalry is a list of unresolved issues, like unsettled territorial issues, different national identities, political incompatibility, distribution of water, Kashmir, religion, and absence of economic and trade relations between both neighboring states (Paul, 2010). India and Pakistan got independence from British in 1947 due to distinguishing identities. India emerged as a secular state with Hindu majority and called itself as a biggest democracy of the world, whereas Pakistan opted Islamic model for its nation building and securitized the Hindu enemy. The same happened with India, as both states used securitization process to securitize the religious issues. Millions of people have been killed from both sides during migration. In 1948, both the countries went to war over Kashmir issue (Hussain, 2019).

Kashmir is considered as a longest unresolved dispute between India and Pakistan. It was a Muslim state with majority Muslim population ruled by a Hindu Raja Maharaja Hari Singh. The British government announced a principle for

princely state in partition plan, which stated that all the princely states must join Pakistan or India according to the wishes of their people. The Muslim majority population of Kashmir wanted to be part of Pakistan. However, the Maharaja joined the India and ignored the sentiments of its Muslim population (Hussain, 2000). Pakistan also rejected this move of Hindu Raja and called this accession illegal, due to majority of Muslim population. The local Kashmiri people revolted against this succession, and started a war with the help of Pakistani army and tribesmen in May 1948. After the war, a part of Kashmir was in Pakistan's control called as Azad Kashmir or Pakistan Administrated Kashmir (Kronstadt, 2019). UN passed resolutions on Kashmir in 1948, in which it was decided that a plebiscite will be held and the fate of Kashmir will be decided by its own people. UN intervened and stopped the war. UN passed resolutions in favor of Kashmiri people and called for plebiscite under the supervision of UN. India refused to hold UN resolutions for a plebiscite to decide the future of Kashmir (Malik, 2019). This conflict between India and Pakistan is considered as a major hurdle in the peace of South Asia. Analyst argues that if this problem is resolved peacefully, the scope of cooperation between both neighbors will increase and this region will prosper. The "Kashmir problem" was the main reason behind the conduct of Operation Gibraltar (Ahmed & Chakma, 2012).

In 1963, a civil unrest and political disturbance were started in Kashmir against the Indian army occupation. General Ayub Khan, president of Pakistan, called this disturbance as an indirect referendum of Kashmiri population against the Indian control there. The situation worsens when in 1964, India decided to extend article 356 and 357 of Indian Constitution to Kashmir, and this bold step faced severe opposition and criticism by Pakistan (S.M, 1973). General Ayub Khan asked military to form a plan that will bring India to negotiating table without any direct major war. Pakistan formed an operation named as "Operation Gibraltar". Pakistan called this operation as the liberation war of Kashmir.

Operation Gibraltar

Code-named as Operation Gibraltar, a plan was devised by the Pakistani army to provide assistance to start a rebellion in Indian Occupied Kashmir (IOK) against Indian rule. It was based on the assumptions that Kashmiri people are ready for change and looking for aid from Pakistan and India won't be able to launch any major offensive against Pakistan because of its defeat from China (Sattar, 2007).

In August 1965, seven thousand Pakistani guerilla forces along with volunteer tribesmen entered into valley of Jammu and Kashmir and started the operation to liberate the Kashmir from Indian occupation. This operation was failed miserably due to poor execution. The real motive behind this whole operation was to liberate Kashmir from Indian occupation (Khan, 2015). The factors that motivated the Pakistan to undertake such a dangerous gamble are: first, after the humiliating defeat from China in 1962, India had seemed as a defeated country with low morale of its armed forces and General Ayub Khan wanted to cash this

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opportunity. Secondly, Indian premier Shastri was considered as a weak leader who cannot afford a major offense against Pakistan. Thirdly, India's reputation in military terms was much diminished after its defeat from China and a power showoff in Rann of Kutch. Moreover, this boosted the morale of Pakistani forces and they thought that India is not prepared to defend any attack in Kashmir from Pakistan. Fourthly, there was this perception among Pakistani leaders and its population that people of Kashmir valley will support any intrusion from Pakistani side. Considering these factors and assumptions, Pakistan embarked on, what is called, Operation Gibraltar (Ganguly, 2002).

The Gibraltar forces began the Operation on 5th August 1965, these forces infiltrated the Jammu Kashmir from Poonch and the Uri in the west, Titwal in the North West, to Kargil and from various points along the cease fire line. Pakistan said that this rebellion is started from the people of Kashmir and Pakistan's forces have nothing to do with it. India blamed Pakistan for starting aggression against Indian forces by sending infiltrators. The UN Chief Military observer in Kashmir found sufficient evidence of Pakistani involvement. To quote Russel Brines, "the evidence is convincing that Pakistan prepared and launched the guerrilla attack and carefully deployed her mechanized army to give it maximum support" (Jain, 1965).

There was no major response by local Kashmiri people. After the failure of Operation Gibraltar, Pakistan raised the stakes by initiating 'Operation Grand Slam'. The goal was to capture the town of Akhnur, because it was considered as a road that connects Kashmir with India. It was aggressive in start. Pakistani infantry troops with the help of 90 Patton tanks demolished the Indian outpost in Chamb and headed toward Akhnur town. At the mid of Operation, General Muhammad Musa decided to change the commands and this delay India to regroup their forces. The immense pressure on Kashmir by Pakistani army resulted in Indian attack on Lahore on the 6th of September 1965 (Bangash, 2015).

1965 War

The war of 1965 was initiated on the night of 6th September when Indian forces crossed the international border between India and Pakistan, and attacked Lahore. This war was started due to two factors: firstly, the border conflict in the border area of Rann of Kutch and secondly, the Operation Gibraltar and Grand Slam which were launched by Pakistan army to support the liberation of local Kashmiri people from Indian occupation. Instead of focusing on the limited war in Kashmir area, India attacked Lahore and Sialkot and started a full-scale war on international borders (Iqbal & Hussain, 2018). In return, Pakistani forces took Khem Karan from Indian forces. Pakistani forces uphold the bridges and blew the rest to slow down the movement of Indian infantry and tank divisions. On 9th September, Indian 1st armored division initiated an offensive attack on Sialkot border but it was pushed back by the Pakistani division at the place of Chawinda and India lost

more than 100 tanks in the front of Sialkot. This battlefield is considered as a largest tank fight after the WW11. The Rajasthan front started after 8th September when Pakistani desert forced along with local militia forces inflicted large number of casualties of Indian forces and captured Indian villages inside Rajasthan.

During the war, the world saw an immense aggressive air combat between the Indian Air Force (IAF) and Pakistani Air Force (PAF). The PAF possessed the American fighter jets, while IAF had the British and Soviet made planes. Pakistan had superiority in the air warfare and they destroyed the Indian air force. This war ended with cease fire and an agreement signed by both states called as Tashkent Declaration.

In this article we apply six models of decision making to the Pakistani decision of Operation Gibraltar:

A Rational Actor Explanation

The word rational means that the best available choice, a man is considered to be rational if he makes decisions after considering cost and benefit analysis of the alternatives available for problem. The Pakistan's army had many alternatives for the problem of Kashmir, like going to UN for plebiscite or conducting an operation to liberate Kashmir from Indian occupation. The decision maker in this operation was General Ayub Khan, he and his team calculated the cost and benefits of all available option, and then chose the one with the best percentage of being successful and achieving the goals. There are many factors that influence the decision-making process, which includes diplomatic, military, political, economic and strategic factors. The goal of operation Gibraltar was limited, to start a revolution in Indian Kashmir and help local people to stand against Indian army (Riza, 1977).

Pakistan did not want to prolong the Kashmir issue, as the Kashmiri people were suffering already from many years. Also, Pakistan knew that India suffered a huge loss from Chinese military during 1962 war and the morale of Indian army was low. Their economy was also in worst condition due to war. Pakistan wanted to exploit this time in its favor. Putting this case in UN would have taken years and India could have recovered from loses in these years. The best rational decision was to engage a force of volunteer informal soldiers to infiltrate in Indian Occupied Kashmir. The main goal of Operation Gibraltar was to start a liberation war against Indian forces, so that Kashmiri people stand against and free themselves from Indian rule with the little help from Pakistan. Pakistan's rivers are flowing from Kashmir to Pakistan. Pakistan wanted to secure its water by securing the Kashmir. The main goal was to have a whole Pakistani administrated Kashmir, where a separate government can work will the help and under influence of Pakistan.

A cybernetic explanation

The cybernetic, bounded-rationality model of decision making is based on the principle that decision makers will not essentially pursue the best available option but rather one that is good enough – that is, satisfactory. While designing the best available alternatives for problem of Kashmir, Pakistan choose the only option that was good enough to bring India on table, to resolve this conflict. The best alternative was to take India into UN and to solve this issue peacefully. War is never a best option to resolve conflicts. Also, Pakistan wasn't wanted to behave as an aggressive state in the international relations. Thus, Pakistan called this rebellion as unrest from local Kashmiri people and rejected the concept of Pakistani involvement in it. However, the peaceful method would have been taken years and India will get benefit from this method as she already refused to adhere and accept the UN resolutions to hold plebiscite in the past. There were other options available, with better percentage of being affected but they would have been taken years. Pakistan wanted to bend India as soon as possible, because India was in bad condition due to its war with China (Amin, 1999).

A prospect theory explanation

A decision maker only chooses alternative which is best for him. Leaders tend to make decisions which are less risky and have great benefits in term of results. They choose alternatives, which they can justify later to increase their popularity and their political career. They won't choose anything that can against them in the future. General Ayub Khan was famous because of its international connections but at home his popularity was reducing day by day.

The same happened in the case of Operation Gibraltar. Decision makers chose the alternative of small-scale operation against Indian army, because they thought that it is less risky and it will achieve great results. They thought that nobody will know about their involvement in this operation. But tables were turned when India knew about it already and they invaded international border of Pakistan, and it was followed by a full-fledged war between both neighbors. Leaders justified it later with saying that it was necessary operation to solve the issue of Kashmir. Pakistan said that Kashmir is the jugular vein of Pakistan and it is a part of Pakistan. Pakistan will do anything to end Indian occupation and to make it part of Pakistan. A prospect theory explanation will be in favor of Operation Gibraltar because of many reasons. These reasons include the assumptions that, Kashmiri people will stand with Pakistani volunteers and start revolt against Indian army. India will not invade on international border of Pakistan, and in international community, Pakistan will reject its involvement in any such operation by justifying it with regarding this operation as an involvement by tribesmen and volunteers from Azad Kashmir (Gauhar, 1996).

A Poliheuristic Explanation

Political leaders and decision makers are explicitly and implicitly are taken into account for their political wrong decisions. Thus, a political leader will not allow himself to choose a decision that will hurt him later in his career and politics. A necessary aspect of choosing alternatives by leaders, is that they will not choose decisions that will have a negative effect on them politically. Moreover, at that time, the popularity of Ayub Khan was diminishing, because of his role in elections and his campaign against Fatima Jinnah. The whole nation and international community were having a bad time in digesting that, sister of Quaid e Azam, the founder of Pakistan lost the election from an army dictator in a rigged election.

A campaign was started against Fatima Jinnah in which she was regarded as a traitor of Pakistan. General Ayub knew that, if he solved the Kashmir issue, he will be considered and hailed as a savior of Pakistan. Field Marshal Ayub Khan won his presidential election by rigging against Fatima Jinnah. These elections were not accepted by the opposition parties (Akhter, 2019). Researchers argued that the Ayub Khan was unpopular at that time because of his unpopular campaign against Fatima Jinnah. To change it, he started the Operation Gibraltar, which was followed by Operation Grand Slam and then changed into a full-fledged war between both countries. Leaders often demonstrate the poliheuristic bias to stay away from the alternative course of actions that could hurt their political and personal careers. The population of Pakistan is very close to Kashmiri people and will even support war to liberate Kashmir. Ayub Khan knew this fact and he made decisions demonstrating the Poliheuristic bias.

Moreover, nobody can and will challenge his rule in Pakistan. Given the history of Pakistanis and their love for Kashmir, this would have been the greatest victory in the history of Pakistan. Ayub Khan was considered as a puppet of United States by some fraction of Pakistan, if he would have chosen other alternative of included US in this matter, he will face criticism from population of Pakistan. This alternative would have been affected him negatively in his political career. Thus, he eliminated this option and focused on the alternative, which will help him in near future and his rule in Pakistan. Although, the decision of involving a third party will bring peace and stability in the Pakistan and the South Asia but he chose a military operation that later led to a full-scale war between India and Pakistan. This shows that public opinions are important and played an important role in Islamabad's selection of best alternative to solve Kashmir issue.

A bureaucratic politics model

A bureaucratic politics model is partially applied to Operation Gibraltar. It means that what and how bureaucracy justified the alternative of going to conduct Operation Gibraltar. This operation was a top-secret operation. Pakistan showed the world that he is not involved in this operation, rather a group of volunteers are

*A Case Study of Operation Gibraltar and Indo-Pak War of 1965: An Application of
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involved in this, who are decided to work on their own. Pakistan has nothing to do with these volunteers. Nobody in the country except few people were known about this operation. Later, even the air chief said that he was not taken into confidence regarding Operation Gibraltar. Pakistan's air force was unknown about any such move by Pakistan (Qadir, 2005).

General Ayub ordered to plan an infiltration attack on Kashmir. Within the decision makers, initially the chief of army staff, General Musa and some other army officers opposed the Operation Gibraltar, that this operation can draw India and Pakistan into a full-scale war. The other chiefs were ill informed about this operation (Chakravorty & Kanwal, 2015). Many within Ayub Khan's own forces were against this operation because of the great risk connected to it. This created a groupthink bias within his forces. Why we think that bureaucratic politics model is partially applied to Operation Gibraltar? The answer of this question is simple. The people who at first were reluctant towards this alternative, they agreed to this decision later. That is how this bias was eliminated later in decision making process.

An organizational politics explanation

An organizational politics, means that information is generated through many organizations and departments. If these organizations are less inclined towards that particular decision, they will manipulate that information in such a way that the alternative looks undesirable and unachievable to the decision maker. This cause biases in decision making process. This explanation is partially applied to Operation Gibraltar because of many reasons. This was a top-level secret operation and not many organizations/institutions were informed about it. Even the Pakistani air force was kept in dark about it. Only few generals in army and foreign minister of Pakistan, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto knew about this. So, it can be said that this approach is not applicable on the present study.

Conclusion

In many aspects, Operation Gibraltar and Indo-Pak war of 1965 was an important landmark in the history of India relations with Pakistan. Kashmir is the long-standing dispute between both countries and there were wars fought because of this issue between both countries. The affiliation of Pakistani people with Kashmiri people is growing since and Pakistani policies haven't changed about it. Also, Pakistani rivers flow from Kashmir to Pakistan, which is also a major factor that pushed Pakistan to have a strong stance over Kashmir. Pakistan and India both consider it integral part of their country and no state want to be pushed back by other. The Kashmiri people are suffering from this tug of war between neighbors. Pakistan always supports the UN resolutions and many times raised its voice for the Kashmiri people on international forums. Like Kashmiri people, Pakistan also wants to solve this issue through the peaceful means that is suggested in the UN resolutions, which states that neither India nor Pakistan will decide its future but the Kashmiri people.

In this article, different decision-making models of foreign policy analysis have been applied on the event of Operation Gibraltar. The authors tried to explain the decision of Operation Gibraltar through different explanations like rational

Azeem Tariq & Muhammad Owais

actor explanation, cybernetic explanation, prospect theory explanation, poliheuristic explanation, bureaucratic explanation, and organizational explanation.

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