

Defence JOURNAL

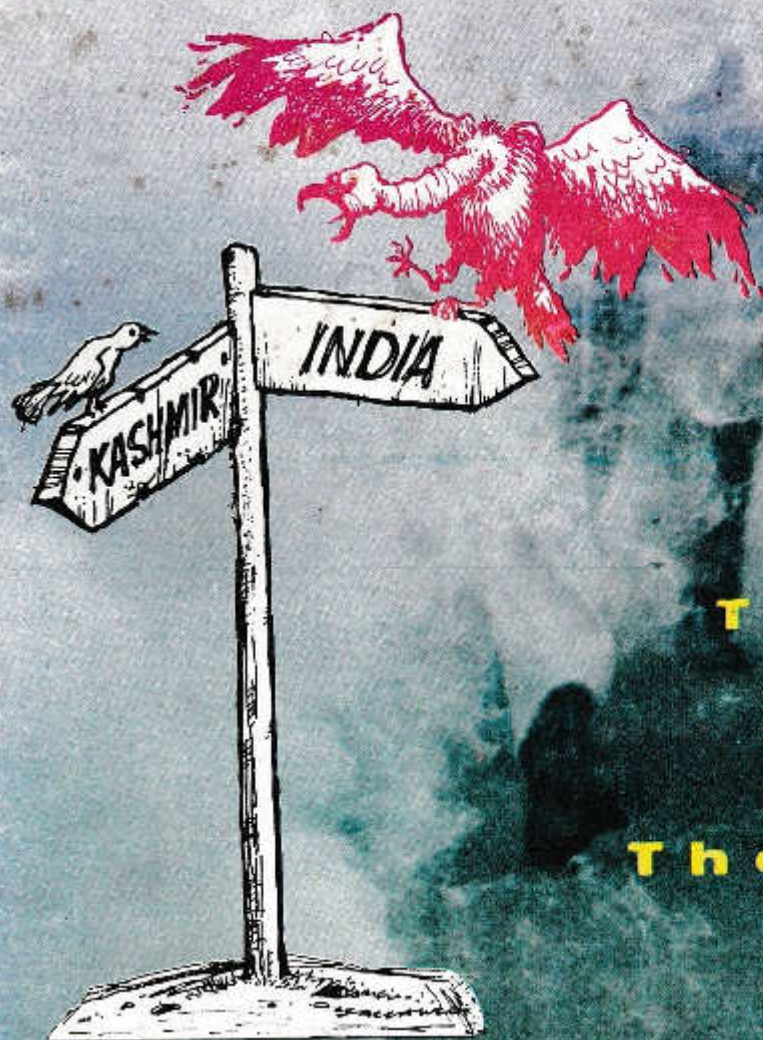
MIND IS THE ULTIMATE WEAPON

A MONTHLY MIRROR & DIGEST OF GEO-STRATEGIC AFFAIRS

KASHMIR

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THE KASHMIR RESISTANCE

BY

The People

OF

The People

FOR

The People

Defence JOURNAL

A MONTHLY MIRROR & DIGEST OF GEO-STRATEGIC AFFAIRS

Editor-in-Chief

Brig. Abdul Rahman Siddiqi (Retd.)

Editorial Adviser

Dr. Hasan Askari Rizvi

REPRESENTATIVES:

United Kingdom:

Colonel Edgar O'Ballance.

Wakebridge Cottage, Wakebridge,

Matlock, Derbyshire D4 5HD

Tele: Dethick 627, Code (062-984)

U. S. A.

Mr. Barry D. Hoffman

404-Grove Street,

Westwood, Mass. 0209

Tele: (617) 267-5555

Canada

Mr. Osman Siddiqui

76, Charing Road,

Nepean, Ontario, K2G 409

Tele: (613) 723-2460

Saudi Arabia

Brig. Mohammad Nawaz

Pakistan Army (Retd.)

P. O. Box No. 10155 Riyadh

Tele: 464-2457 478-5900 X 3335

Punjab

Capt. M. Arshad (Retd.)

146-C, T.E.C.H. Society, New Campus,

Lahore Phones: 430451-443767

N.W.F.P.

Mr. Azmat Hayat Khan

Peshawar. Phone: 72870

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The Kashmir Resistance: An Analysis

The endlessness of the Kashmir dispute runs too deeply into our history to be out of it in the foreseeable future. The present phase of fierce militancy inside Kashmir, if sustained, could, however, turn out to be the final milestone on the long and bloody road to the ultimate destination, that is, freedom from the military-backed rule of India. Regardless of what India might say, the uprising in Kashmir is by the Kashmiris, of the Kashmiris and for the Kashmiris. It is 90 per cent indigenous; and the fractional 10 per cent can be traced back to the natural and wholly unavoidable fraternal involvement of their kinsfolk in Azad Kashmir. Like the Berlin Wall which failed to make strangers out of the East and West Berliners, the J&K ceasefire line would not alienate the Azad Kashmiris from their Indian-held compatriots and co-religionists (and vice versa).

The fires of Chinar ablaze in the overwhelmingly Muslim Valley and elsewhere in the State, a national phenomenon, is the only one of its kind ever to flare up in this beautiful land of the down-trodden through well-nigh a century and a half of oppressive rule. The Kashmiri Muslims, unlike their neighbouring Pathan and Punjabi cousins, are, by and large, a peace-loving docile, and inward-looking people. Endowed with a land known for its superb beauty throughout the world, they do not have to look farther afield for pastures new. The urge to conquer in an average Kashmiri is expressed more in the readiness to stoop to conquer than to stand up and fight. Their history has been one of love and romance — of Lala Rookh — rather than of the Golden Horde.

The young Kashmiris today are turning over a new leaf to depart from their age-old inertia and resignation and venture into the domain of armed struggle and sacrifice: of fire and steel. How long this phase lasts, how far it goes to delivering the Kashmiris from the clutches of an unwanted alien, remains to be seen. We in Pakistan, cannot be too cautious and realistic in our appreciation of the situation. Even if a "quantum jump" we would rather keep the Kashmir insurgency under very close and critical watch than beguile ourselves into overoptimistic assumptions. Whether it is the "chance of the century" or of a life-time, time alone would show; and we do not have to rush things faster than objective reality would permit us to. Some of the hard facts to be reckoned with to arrive at a tenable conclusion are: (a) our own relative indifference towards the Kashmir dispute through the last ten years, mainly due to our preoccupation with Afghanistan (b) the emergence of the Indian occupation as a sinister *fait accompli* with the sheer passage of time (c) Pakistan's own ability to survive without Kashmir through the past over four decades and (d) our own acute and chronic internal instability.

After our three wars with India, our attitude towards Kashmir has been, by and large, episodic or contingent upon certain sudden developments rather than an unremitting, constant factor regardless of the situational variations. Since the start of the dispute in 1947, right upto the outbreak of the 1965 war, Kashmir had stayed as the focal point in our politico-strategic thought and action. Between 1965 and 1971, it rankled like a half-drawn thorn in our side to make us yearn for complete

release by removing it once and for all. In 1965, we undertook such daring but inadequately planned and erratically conducted operations as *Gibraltar* and *Grand Slam*. Predicated on the startlingly naive assumption that India would react to our moves exactly according to our own tailor-made hypotheses we provided it the excuse and the occasion to impose a general war on us. Action, along and across the ceasefire line spilled over into the international regime to jeopardize our security in its entirety.

In 1971 Kashmir, in spite of the shooting pain of the half-removed thorn and our mounting desire to get rid of it, would not appear to be as much a matter of life and death as it did six years ago. We had perhaps learned to live with the pain of the thorn as a part of our national existence. Without the Kashmir thorn in our side, there would perhaps be an emptiness even more unbearable than its pain. Like pain beyond endurance, in poetic terms, Kashmir had become medicine itself.

The traumatic year of 1971 saw India and Pakistan, once again, to engage violently in Kashmir without making any meaningful gains. Pakistan lost the war in the eastern theatre and accepted an unspectacular ceasefire in the west. The major post-war problem facing Pakistan was to have over 90,000 of its civil and military personnel in Indian PoW camps, back home as speedily as possible. Territories, lost and gained on either side across the international borders and the CFL in Jammu and Kashmir, except for their military and symbolical value, did not mean much in physical and demographic terms. There too India had a certain edge over Pakistan inasmuch as it held larger vital areas inside Pakistan than Pakistan had on the Indian side. In J&K India would not agree to an exchange of territories at all, seeking an end to the dispute on the basis of the actual line of control. Bilateral negotiations finally brought the prime ministers of the two countries (the late Mrs. Indira Gandhi and the late Mr. Z.A. Bhutto) to Simla to conclude what came to be known as the Simla Agreement.

The Simla Agreement among other things, transformed the ceasefire line (CFL) into the Line of Control (LoC). The renaming of the ceasefire line as the Line of Control was interpreted by India, for all practical purposes, as the end of hostilities (ceasefire) in the disputed territory and a *fait accompli* on the basis of what either side had in actual physical possession regardless of other considerations or factors.

The LoC was defined as "the line of actual control resulting from the ceasefire of December 17, 1971, (that) shall be respected by both sides without prejudice to the recognized position of either side. Neither side shall seek to alter it unilaterally irrespective of mutual differences and legal interpretations. Both sides further undertake to refrain from threat or use of force in violation of this line."

The above, easily the most substantive part of the Simla Agreement, is candidly expressive of the compelling circumstance and the duress under which the weaker side, that is, Pakistan signed and sealed the Simla Agreement. With Pakistan placed more advantageously than it has apparently been ever since, the Simla Agreement could have met the much the same fate as the Algiers Treaty of 1975 between Iraq and Iran. Only four years later, in September 1979, Saddam Hussein abrogated the treaty which, he proclaimed, had been signed under duress. He tore the document to pieces in full view of his TV viewers.

Pakistan's President Ziaul Haq, short of tearing the Simla Agreement apart, looked at it as an abominable legacy of the Bhutto (ZA) era and sought to replace with his no-war pact. Whereas, Zia's animus against the Simla Accord may have originated more in his deep-seated fear of a revival of the Bhutto legend, nonetheless, the circumstances of duress attaching to it, could be hardly denied. Diplomatic and legal nuances apart, the renaming of the line

signifies more than a nominal change. Firstly, it tampers with the internationally recognized and accepted description (CFL) under a bilateral arrangement (with unavoidable implications); secondly it accords LoC a sanctity generally not associated with ceasefire or truce lines and thirdly it enjoins upon the high contracting parties to refrain from altering the LoC "unilaterally irrespective of mutual differences and legal interpretations". In practical terms, this would amount to accepting the LoC as a *fait accompli* "without prejudice to the recognized positions of either side".

Now what are the "recognized" positions of either side? While Pakistan insists on the settlement of the dispute in accordance with the wishes of the people as provided in Security Council resolutions, India would not hear of it. Legally India treats the whole of Jammu and Kashmir (including Azad Kashmir) as an integral part of India. In a recent interview, the Indian High Commissioner in Islamabad Mr. J.N. Dixit categorically stated: "It (J & K) is an integral part of India...in fact so is the part on your side of the line of control...this is the position, political reality may be different". He would even unashamedly talk of going to war, if they had to as in the past.

"We will react in each forum according to our own interest. We may have to go to war if, you raise the momentum..." While there is nothing to stop either party from going to war in its own interest, Pakistan will be twice as much handicapped to invoke the ultimate option as it had in 1965. Unlike India, beaten by China in November 1962, Pakistan had, until then, not known defeat in war and was, to that extent, more confident besides enjoying a moral edge over India which had unashamedly reneged on its own solemn pledge to let the Kashmiris decide their own future through an impartial plebiscite in accordance with the UN Security Council resolution. Furthermore, mediatory documents like the Tashkent Declaration and the Simla Agreement did not exist to make their violation a moral and diplomatic offence.

In its adherence to the Security Council resolutions, as against India's flagrant disregard of the same Pakistan had acquired the status of the aggrieved party to the dispute and along with that, more room for strategic manoeuvre than it now appears to have. A replication of *Gibraltar*-like commando action or a full-scale military operation like *Grand Slam* could be thought of only at a cost not likely to be commensurate with the expected results. India, as threatened by its envoy in Islamabad, would react with full vigour, militarily to contain Pakistan and diplomatically to have it branded as the aggressor. In 1965 *Gibraltar* and *Grand Slam*, regardless of their magnitude, still fell well within the category of ceasefire violations which was not the same thing as crossing the LoC would be.

In a major future flare-up in Kashmir, India need not look southward for a general war but would rather concentrate on Kashmir itself to liquidate the Azad Kashmir 'salient' and clinch the issue once and for all. It may prefer to limit its military operations in the plains of Punjab to restrictive holding actions to pin down the bulk of Pakistan's field forces and, depending on the course of war, retain the option of massively deploying its armour and infantry, under full air cover, through Rajasthan along Pakistan's soft under-belly. Hypothetically, India should concentrate all its military resource and power in Kashmir to leave the rest of Pakistan alone in order to achieve the maximum strategic advantage at minimum cost. Threats from the Indian side, both political and military, have been galore. Prime Minister V.P. Singh has spoken of a "fitting reply" to any armed intervention in Kashmir from across the "borders" (mark the word "borders" gradually replacing even the line of control in the Indian diplomatic and political parlance).

India's Chief of the Army Staff, General D.N. Sharma, the interior minister Mufti Mohammad Saeed have administered similar warnings to Pakistan. While it would be hardly either necessary or wise to read too much in these statements, meant largely for public consumption, it would be equally unwise to shrug them off. Verbal exchanges, together with the mounting uprising in Kashmir has, according to Gen. Mirza Aslam Beg, "added new dimensions" to the security along the line of control. What has made the situation all the more "ominous" are the "blatant warnings being sounded by very responsible persons from across the border." The Pak Army Chief stressed the need to "preparing ourselves to the best of our ability to defeat aggression and crush adventures coming in its wake..."

There is little doubt that a similar situation existing in '65 or '71, could have already led to general mobilization on both sides. To that extent, the leadership on both sides has shown a remarkably larger degree of maturity and responsibility than ever before. The one tormenting question, still begging for a positive response, however, remains: whither Kashmir; on which side it should, and will be eventually: Pakistan's or India's or on its own. The Kashmiris, by and large, have been a self-centred, inward-looking people wedded to their state of splendid isolation in their earthly paradise. Left to themselves they may sooner opt for stand-still agreements with Pakistan and India than throw in their lot with either at the cost of their own splendid isolation — call it independence, if you will.

Highly charged public demonstrations apart, the Pakistan government, for its part, has taken good care to let the question of Kashmir's accession or independence wait and insist only on the Kashmiris right of self-determination as envisaged in the charter of the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP). It is noteworthy that the commission set up within the framework of the UN Security Council resolutions of August 13, 1948 and January 5, 1949, was named after the two main contenders, India and Pakistan, without mentioning Kashmir at all. Much as the Indian leaders and political commentators try to project the Simla Agreement as an *ipso facto* supersession of the UN resolutions, they continue to stand and serve as a testimony to the existence of the Kashmir dispute and the joint commitment of India and Pakistan to its peaceful resolution.

As for the Simla Agreement, it has served India more than Pakistan as an alibi for a re-interpretation of the Kashmir dispute from its own standpoint, practically to the exclusion of the world view. The uprising in Kashmir has reopened the issue more virulently and militantly than ever before. It is easily the most positive denunciation, so far, by the Kashmiris themselves, of India's much-vaunted claim to have governed them democratically according to their wishes. It is also a rude snub to India's secularism as a system above religious prejudice.

Today's is admittedly a highly charged situation which Pakistan can or should do little to defuse and push it back into the relative oblivion of the past. On the contrary, Pakistan should spare no effort to bring the dispute back into the limelight and within range of a final settlement. This is easily the penultimate phase of the crisis which, if allowed to peter out, could leave Kashmir, for a long time to come, in the shadow of India's military occupation. Pakistan can allow such a situation to arise and persist only at the cost of resiling from its principled stand on the Kashmiris' right of self-determination and risking its own security into the bargain.

Pakistan has, in fact, no option other than continuing to persevere in efforts towards a just and fair settlement of the issue in accordance with the wishes of the people. It should do so without compromising its own credibility and allowing the Kashmiris to fight their own battles as far as possible without any direct interference. The *Gibraltar* episode must

never be repeated to help a people not appreciative or supportive of such measures. Even such impulsive acts as the recent crossing of the lines in Sialkot and Chakoti areas by several Azad Kashmiris and Pakistanis need to be strictly avoided. Besides being counterproductive, such unrestrained demonstration of bravado would not but compromise Pakistan's diplomatic efforts to project the Kashmir case as a challenge to the world conscience. It is also to be noted that the jihad theme is being played in a relatively low key in occupied Kashmir. The mainstream Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (J&KLF) stands more for an independent secular Kashmir. It confines its struggle mainly to the Valley under the directives of its exiled, Pakistan-based president Amanullah Khan. Its pro-Pakistan orientation (to the extent of eventually deciding to accede to Pakistan) also is questionable, if not wholly out of the question.

Among the other so-called fundamentalist groups are the *Hizbul Mujahideen* and its several off-shoots — *Hizbullah*, *Al Amar Mujahideen*, *Muslim Student Federation* etc. Regardless of its natural and recognized sympathies with the fundamentalist, pro-Pakistan groups, Pakistan must ensure against any such acts as might lend weight to India's calculated disinformation campaign to project an intensely patriotic, anti-Indian movement in the highly distorted image of a Islamic crusade. India is using much the same tactics as did the West in its world-wide disinformation campaign against Iran's Islamic revolution and Afghanistan's Islamic resistance against a Godless ideology. The young militants spearheading the Kashmiri *intifada* lack the maturity and experience of the old guard — now completely sidelined. Said Mirwaiz Maulvi Farooq, the Awami Action Committee chief: "Everybody has become irrelevant". Notwithstanding their great spirit and absolute dedication to the cause, the young insurgents have been associated with such desperate acts as the abduction of Dr. Rubaiya Saeed, daughter of Mufti Saeed, India's interior minister. Regardless of the galvanizing virulence of the Kashmir uprising, it would be sometime before the freedom-fighters are able clearly to define their own identity and credibility as a cohesive, activist force and make the world accept it too. Until then Pakistan, would do well to keep the Kashmir situation under close and critical watch without abdicating its commitment, role and status, in terms of the UN resolutions as India's coequal in the Kashmir case.

India has always hedged its bets in the case of Kashmir. Even while accepting the accession of the state to India, the governor-general (Mountbatten) in his letter addressed to Hari Singh stated: "Consistently with their policy that in the case of any state where the issue of accession has been subject to dispute, the question of accession be decided in accordance with the wishes of the people of the state. It's my government's wish that as soon as law and order have been restored in Kashmir and her soil cleared of the invaders the question of the state accession should be decided by a reference to the people etc."

The above testifies to the wide gap between the professed innocence and calculated ambivalence of India in the Kashmir issue. To pay India in the same coin, Pakistan will have to marshal all its diplomatic and political resource to the full and exploit it almost with a diabolical single-mindedness without any let-up and such prolonged interruptions as seen through the critical phases of the Afghanistan crisis.

For the time being, let the Kashmiris fight their own battles and let their resistance blossom further into a fight-to-a-finish by the Kashmiris of the Kashmiris and for the Kashmiris.

—Brigadier Abdul Rahman Siddiqi (Retd.)

—Zain Noorani
Formerly Minister of State for Foreign Affairs

Kashmir and the Security Council

The statement of UN Secretary-General stating that the possibility of his playing a role in the Kashmir dispute was impeded by India's stand that it was New Delhi's internal matter is surprising. It reveals that either Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar is not fully versed with the various stages through which the Kashmir dispute has passed, or he is trying to shirk his responsibilities, for he cannot be so gullible as to believe the Indian propaganda that Kashmir is an integral part of India.

India too in its diplomatic efforts throughout is busy trying to convince the world of this falsehood. It has, therefore, become essential to examine the Kashmir issue from the very beginning so as to reveal the hollowness of India's claim.

Soon after the creation of two independent and sovereign states of Pakistan and India, the Maharaja of Kashmir entered into a standstill agreement with Pakistan. Then suddenly and without informing Pakistan on being cajoled by Mountbatten, Nehru and Patel he sought accession of Kashmir to India.

In his reply to the Maharaja's letter seeking accession, Lord Mountbatten, Governor General of India writes:

"Consistently with their policy that in the case of any state where the issue of accession has been the subject of dispute, the question of accession should be decided in accordance with the wishes of the people of the state, it is my government's wish that as soon as law and order have been restored in Kashmir and her soil cleared of the invader, the question of the State's accession should be settled by a conference (! !) of the people."

Lord Mountbatten even at this critical juncture could not free himself of his

anti-Pakistan feelings and cleverly tried to introduce the concept of a "conference" without specifying the details of the type of conference he contemplated holding.

In the meantime Pakistan had reacted sharply to this illegal and unfair accession of the Maharaja's to India. The British Government too was perturbed at the way India was flouting the letter and spirit of the partition agreement, which they had piloted.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru the Prime Minister of India, being a seasoned politician realised that the way this clarification was worded would not satisfy either Pakistan or the British Government nor would anyone interested in the Kashmir dispute give it any credence. He, therefore, immediately sent a telegram to the British Prime Minister, Mr. Clement Attlee in which he said:

"I would like to make it clear that question of aiding Kashmir in this emergency is not designed in any way to

influence the State to accede to India. Our view which we have repeatedly made public is that the question of accession in any disputed territory or state must be decided in accordance with the wishes of the people and we adhere to this view."

This was followed by a number of telegrams which Nehru dashed off to Liaquat Ali Khan, Prime Minister of Pakistan. The first of these was sent the day following his telegram to Attlee. It said:

"I wish to assure you that the action Government of India has taken has been forced upon them by circumstances and imminent grave danger to Srinagar. They have no desire to intervene in affairs of Kashmir State after raiders have been driven away and law and order established.

In regard to accession also it has been made clear that this is subject to reference to the people of State and their decision. Government of India have no desire to impose any decision and will abide by people's wishes but those cannot be ascertained till peace and law and order prevail.

Nehru's Pledge

On 31st October 1947, Mr. Nehru sent a telegram to the Prime Minister of Pakistan in which he said: "Kashmir's accession to India was accepted by us at the request of the Maharaja's Government and the most numerously representative popular organisation in the State which is predominantly Muslim. Even then it was accepted on condition that as soon as the invader has been driven from Kashmir and law and order restored the people of Kashmir would decide the question of accession. It is open to them to accede to either Dominion then.

"Our assurance that we shall withdraw our troops from Kashmir as soon as peace and order are restored and leave the future of this State to the people of the State is

not merely a pledge to your government but also to the people of Kashmir and to the world."

Throughout 1947 India kept assuring Pakistan of its good intentions and convincing the world that it would soon vacate Kashmir.

Kashmir at U.N.

On 1st January 1948, India took the Kashmir issue to the Security Council, as a complainant and amongst other things sought to declare Pakistan an "aggressor". The hearing of the Kashmir issue started in the Security Council on 15th January 1948. Sir Mohammad Zafrullah Khan, Pakistan's Foreign Minister very ably represented Pakistan.

Mr. P.P. Pillai, the Indian Representative submitted India's complaint to the President of the Security Council. It was essentially in the form of a complaint against Pakistan and relied on Article 35 of the UN Charter. It requested the Security Council to prevent Pakistan from interfering in Kashmir. The Indian case was based on the validity of the Maharaja's accession to India. Mr. Gopalswami Ayengar, one-time Prime Minister of Kashmir and a Minister in the Indian Government who was assisted by a team which included Shaikh Abdullah developed the case on this single legal point. India stubbornly refused to consider the Kashmir issue and its accession in the wider context of the partition of the sub-continent and the Partition Agreement.

Sir Zafrullah, Foreign Minister of Pakistan on the other hand argued the case in a completely different way. First he denied the Indian charge of illegal action in regard to tribesmen. He said that the revolt in Kashmir was due to the oppressive regime of the Maharaja. Next he challenged the validity of the Maharaja's accession to India. He then raised the most important and basic issue. He

charged that Indian policy on Kashmir was a part of a wider Indian attempt to suppress Pakistan itself. The question of Kashmir's accession to India was compared to Junagadh's accession to Pakistan which India had refused to accept and had forcibly occupied. In both the cases it was brought out that the ruler belonged to a different religion to the majority of his people. Kashmir had a Hindu ruler while the people were predominantly Muslims while in Junagadh it was just the opposite. Pakistan accused India of fraud, oppression even genocide in a deliberate attempt to allow Kashmir to accede to India and was thus involved in sabotaging and trying to undo the very concept of the partition scheme for the whole sub-continent.

Pakistan requested that the Security Council set up a Commission which would arrange for a ceasefire in Kashmir, followed by the withdrawal of all outside troops, whether coming from India or Pakistan, as a prelude to the establishment of a fully impartial administration in Kashmir and the holding of a plebiscite so as to ascertain the wishes of the people of Kashmir.

It is worth mentioning here that these proposals were very similar to those made by Quaid-e-Azam to Lord Mountbatten on 2nd November 1947. The hearing in the Security Council started very well. The Kashmir issue being one of the very early disputes of this nature referred to it, the members were keenly interested that a speedy solution to the dispute should be found on lines which both Pakistan and India appeared to be agreeable to, namely the holding of a plebiscite under UN supervision. They thought that it would be fairly easy to work out the modalities and details for implementing this.

Zafrullah Exposes India

Writing about the behind the scene happenings at the first session of the

Security Council on Kashmir, Sir Mohammad Zafrullah Khan says in his *Reminiscences of Sir Mohammad Zafrullah Khan*. (Oral History Research Office of Columbia University).

"The Right Honourable Philip Noel Baker, who was then Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations and had come over himself to represent the United Kingdom in the Security Council discussions on Kashmir, worked extremely hard to build an agreement in the Security Council itself on what needed to be done before we would separate. He has on several occasions since then told me quite plainly how distressed he was that right in the middle of his efforts. When he had every hope that at his instance Sir Gopalswami Ayenger and Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai would succeed in persuading Prime Minister Nehru to go along with the proposals laid before the Security Council, Mr. Attlee intervened and upset the whole business..." "Thus the failure of the Security Council to secure an early solution of the Kashmir dispute is attributed largely to the unfortunate intervention of Mr. Attlee from London. This took place probably at the instance of Lord Mountbatten who must have been moved by Nehru to intercede with the Prime Minister."

It can be seen from the above that the foundations of a fair and final settlement of the Kashmir issue was in the grasp of the Security Council in 1948 itself, but it was brought to nought by the joint intrigue of Nehru and Mountbatten who used Mr. Attlee to be a tool to achieve their evil design.

A little further Sir Zafrullah describes the difference in India's proclamations and public assurances and its ulterior motives, he writes:

"India's attitude has been that whereas they made repeated professions, we shall

withdraw our armies as soon as law and order is restored and the raiders have gone out of Kashmir and the decision made by the people of Kashmir, there was an undercurrent of persistence that the Security Council should not go beyond ordering Pakistan to do whatever it could to get the raiders of the tribal areas out of Kashmir and it should be left to India to ascertain the wishes of the people on the question of Kashmir. The Security Council repeatedly rejected this idea. What the Security Council desired was not only a cessation of fighting and restoration of law and order but also that the plebiscite should take place under conditions which would ensure beyond doubt that it was fair and impartial. That was the crux of the matter."

A draft resolution sponsored by six members of the Security Council was about to be voted upon, when the Indian delegation withdrew from the Security Council to go back to New Delhi for consultations and instructions. By the time they came back, a lot of strings had been pulled and Mr. Attlee had intervened so that Mr. Noel Baker the leading spirit in drafting the resolution was neutralised and the resolution itself was abandoned, and a much watered-down resolution was proposed and finally adopted on the 21st of April.

A Sordid Tale: 1948-65

As a result of this watered down resolution a Commission was set up which travelled back and forth between Karachi and New Delhi and finally obtained the agreement of both Pakistan and India to two resolutions which were adopted one on 15th August 1948 and the other on 5th January 1949. Both these resolutions fairly and squarely proposed a plebiscite for the purpose of ascertaining the wishes of the people of Kashmir and laid down conditions

under which its fairness and impartiality should be insured.

The Security Council debated the Kashmir issue once again in the first half of 1951 and on 30th March resolved that the course of action on which Shaikh Abdullah appeared to be embarked in considering the setting up of a Constituent Assembly was in conflict with the principles behind the various proposals for a Kashmir plebiscite which the Security Council had indicated were the best means for deciding the State's future.

Between 1951 and 1957 a number of Un Representatives and Plebiscite Administrators submitted their reports but no avail as none was accepted by India.

Despite the Security Council's resolution expressing in clear terms its disapproval concerning the setting up of the Constituent Assembly, India and Shaikh Abdullah went ahead with it and held elections which were clearly rigged. This handpicked Constituent Assembly in November 1957, resolved that "the State of Jammu and Kashmir is and shall be an integral part of the Union of India." This was a direct challenge to the United Nations and the Security Council, for on March 30, 1951, it had passed a resolution stating "that the convening of the Constituent Assembly recommended by the General Council of the All Jammu and Kashmir Council, and any action that the Assembly might attempt to take to determine the future shape and affiliations of the entire State or part thereof, *would not constitute a disposition of the State in accordance with the above principle.*" However when Pakistan once again raised the issue in the Security Council in January 1957 to draw its attention to the resolution of the so-called Constituent Assembly, the Security Council once again did not rise to the occasion and take any firm action immediately. *Instead on 24th January 1957 it merely resolved that this development was in clear conflict with the principles of a*

plebiscite which had said that "any action that the Assembly might attempt to take to determine the future shape and affiliations of the entire State or part thereof, would not constitute a disposition of the State."

On 14th February UN Security Council proposed that its President, Gunnar Jarring of Sweden be sent to the sub-continent to investigate and to attempt, yet again, to mediate between India and Pakistan. During the debate on Jarring's report which began in late September 1957, Malik Feroze Khan Noon, Foreign Minister of Pakistan, declared that his country was prepared to withdraw every soldier from Kashmir, including by implication Azad troops, if their place was immediately taken by United Nations troops. For the next four years the matter remained static and the Security Council did not bring it on its agenda till in February 1962, the Pakistan delegate Sir Zafrullah Khan, again brought it to their attention in a protest against certain bellicose speeches of Indian politicians and ministers calling for liberation of Azad Kashmir. On this occasion, the Soviet Union vetoed the

resolution which was about to be moved. 1964 saw an uprising in Indian held Kashmir due to the disappearance of the sacred hair of the Holy Prophet (Peace be on him) from the Hazratbal Shrine near Srinagar. Then in 1965 war broke out between India and Pakistan followed by another one in 1971.

From the above it is clear that the Security Council has repeatedly stressed the principle of *plebiscite* and has most categorically stated that any decision arrived at as a result of any resolution of the so-called constituent assembly of Kashmir is not valid. The UN Security General should have thus realised that the unilateral and arbitrary inclusion of Jammu and Kashmir in the Indian Constitution, despite the Security Council resolution forbidding change in the status of Kashmir, without a *plebiscite*, in nothing short of a slap in the face of the Security Council and the UN system itself. Similarly it is a deliberate attempt on the part of the Indian Government in objecting to Sahibzada's statement and calling it interference in India's internal affairs. Kashmir has never been legally a part of India and it shall never be.

—Colonel Muhammad Yahya Effendi (Retd)
Pak Army

Doctrinal Conceptions and the Strategic Realities

The development of mechanised forces in the Third World is following predictably tangential paths from their respective socio-political and strategic realities. Each one of the armies, if taken individually, will be based on some European or American model. Countries that were once colonies and have been liberated within the last 40 years are still under the psychological thrall of their erstwhile European masters, and their state of mechanisation is discordant with the existing social milieu. In most cases it has been literally a condition where the cart was placed before the horse.

Those countries who did not undergo the colonial experience, borrowed an organisational model from some European power or the USA who stepped forward to act as their benefactors once the cold war was underway after the world war. Many of the Arab countries benefited from the military aid provided by the USSR and blindly followed Soviet patterns to ludicrous extents. The Arab-Israeli wars of 1956, 1967 and 1973 are examples which need no elaboration to show the results of such mindless imitation — the performance in most cases was parodies of the original.

In the pre-partition Indian Army the British mechanised the Indian cavalry regiments as late as 1938. The Indian cavalymen were first given trucks and light machine guns. In the initial stages they did not even have a section of 2 pounder anti-tank guns in the entire unit. The majority of these units went to North Africa to face the Afrika Korps in this ridiculous state of combat readiness. The result was tragi-comic in most cases. A case in point is that of the PAVO cavalry. The 11th Prince Albert Victor's Own Cavalry (Frontier Force) was rounded up like a herd of sheep at Mechili (1941) —

the Indian troops were allowed to return to the British lines by the sympathetic and amused Germans and their officers were marched into captivity. The unit was re-raised with slightly better equipment, little Carden-Loyd carriers, and formed a part of the 3rd Indian Motor Brigade at Bir Hakim (1942). The Italian Ariete Armoured Division, which was equipped with the worst tanks in the entire African Theatre overran the Indian Brigade and the unfortunate PAVO cavalry had to be re-raised again within a short span of one year. Some Indian cavalry regiments were more fortunate, but, by and large, their

war experience was quite similar to that of the PAVOs. At the time of partition the PAVO Cavalry had Humber armoured cars. Although the performance of the Indian cavalry was great and the troops selflessly devoted themselves to the British cause, yet the type of experience exemplified by the PAVO case history does not lend itself to the formation of first rate mechanised units like the German panzer regiments or the British Royal Tank Regiment professionals.

Two Major Areas

In this cursory study the emphasis has been on two major areas:

- * The selection of the right kind of equipment should be compatible with the level of intelligence of the manpower. Sophisticated equipment is a hindrance for troops who are illiterate or with poor educational background. In any case, simple equipment in large numbers has a more telling effect in the long run than expensive quality equipment in limited quantities. The logistic replacement and maintenance of sophisticated weapons systems make the tail ponderous and the teeth small.
- * It is the leaders who make men fight. And leaders are those who have the strength of character to rise above the common crowd. The officer must be men of character and integrity. It is easier said than done. Character qualities are honed and shaped under crisis situations. Men with combat experience have a totally different mien and approach to those martinets who have never heard a shot fired in anger. Or whose entire experience has been restricted to safe headquarters tucked away from combat hazards. When an army has no opportunity to see combat, or a lengthy period of peace has thinned out combat experi-

enced leadership, the superlative training and scientific study of military history is the answer. The German Army at the outbreak of the three great European wars, namely the Franco-Russian war 1870, the Great War 1914-18 and the World War 1939-45 entered the conflicts with lesser combat experience in its lower ranks than all its European adversaries who had vast opportunities to indulge in serious fighting in their colonies against native freedom fighters. Yet the quality of the German soldier ranks and file was superior to that of their British, French or Russian counterparts.

Regional Peculiarities

Doctrines and organisations must be realistically conceived and evolved to meet the requirements of the obtainable operation environments. Every region has its own peculiarities and every adversary has a certain ethos. Ethnocentric views of the adversary and unimaginative acceptance of foreign doctrines create serious imbalances in tactical and strategic concepts. Organisations and doctrines must be subjected to constant scrutiny and test. The cycle of conception, research and development and physical testing of options on the ground, and the critical evaluation of the results in the light of experience and history must go on continuously in a healthy and professionally dedicated military system. There is no place for complacency in accepting doctrines and organisations at face value or on the whims of an influential lobby. A minority who can criticise and have the character and courage to express their views must be valued and respected. Blind obedience is not discipline. All great Muslim military leaders listened to the council of their subordinates and sometimes the entire plan of operation underwent a change. There is no scope for personal

prestige in operational commitments. It is a matter of good team work with all members striving to win.

The tank heavy armoured formations as we see them today are anachronisms. Each nation must restructure its mechanised forces and enhance the level of mechanisation of its infantry according to its own operational needs and environmental compulsions. The MBT as we know it today is becoming too complex and unwieldy from the Third World logistic resources point of view. There is a new AFV philosophy and it is something on the lines of "small is beautiful". Apart from its aesthetic value a small AFV is a small target and will be difficult to acquire in the electronic sensor ridden battlefield of the future. Besides the weapons that can be mounted on these small vehicles are as lethal as those on the MBT. Ground provides the best protection to an AFV and vehicles with low silhouettes can be concealed more easily and can find protected fire positions in otherwise insignificant folds and depressions in the terrain. Besides, a small fast moving target is difficult for PGMs to acquire and track. For a heavy price a few MBTs can be acquired, and for the same cost four to five times the number of light AFVs can be procured. And here Lanchester's Law becomes operative. Quantity intelligently applied converts itself into quality. Besides, these light AFVs belong to a standardised family. On the same chassis you can have any number of specialised functions:—

- * Reconnaissance.
- * Fire Support.
- * Direct fire support.
- * Armoured transport for infantry and infantry heavy weapons.
- * Anti-tank.
- * Artillery and air defence weapons platforms.
- * Command post.
- * Electronic Warfare Platforms.
- * Communications.

* Logistics including ambulances and mobile operation theatres, workshops, recovery vehicles etc.

* Engineer specialist vehicles.

These vehicles are logistically easy to maintain, replace and locally manufacture. The problem is to choose the system which will be able to operate effectively in the required operational and ecological environments.

Need for Retrofitting

The equipment which is already held cannot be discarded. No Third World country can afford to scrap its armoured vehicle fleet as obsolescent. The answer to the problem lies in retrofitting these vehicles through indigenous efforts. The Brazilians have developed a viable AFV manufacturing industry by first retrofitting their Stuart light tanks. The Stuart first saw service in North Africa in 1942. These thirty years old vehicles were retrofitted into effective modern light tanks. Today Brazil can export two types of MBTs and is challenging the European and American manufacturers in Third World Markets. Retrofitting is a technological experience which educates and matures the indigenous engineering talent to understand the complexities of the AFV. They learn to modify and subsequently design new systems which meet the requirements of the local conditions. The AFV in any case is a complete system and is a combination of so many different technologies crammed on one platform.

Historical Factors

One of the major reasons for the decline of the military institutions of the Muslims was the overall decadence which had set in, in the political and economic organs of the Islamic empires. The rot which sets in the body of a society destroys the fabric of the military institutions, because the organisation and structure of the military edifice is very fragile, and it rests

heavily on the sumtotal of the character qualities of the leadership hierarchy; thus making the symptoms of societal degeneration assume the proportions of galloping consumption for the armed forces. And even before the rest of the society reaches the nadir, the military will have outraced it in its descent.

The disuse of the overland trade routes reduced the social communication between the Islamic polities and the rest of the world. The world commerce was being carried under European flags and even the trade of the Muslim countries came to depend on the merchant navies of Europe. The world of the Muslim had shrunk into small parochial interests by the end of the 19th century. As the Europe advanced to dominate the world, the Muslims retreated into defensive perimeters defended by ignorance, conceit and intolerance. Obviously, the military also lost touch with the technical realities of the new techniques of warfare and the development in weapons technology. Worse was the degeneration of the standards of leadership. Ignorance and conceit have never been conducive for the development and growth of any kind of institution. We see tiny European armies, disciplined and superbly led, breaking up hosts of Asiatics and Africans. One by one, we see the Muslim heroes of modern times fall. Anver Pasha died fighting the Red Army in Turkistan. Amir Abdul Karim, the great Riff, finally became a prisoner of the French. Amanullah Khan was driven off his throne and sent into exile by his ungrateful people in Afghanistan. Gamal Abdul Nassr died a bitter and defeated man. King Faisal was killed by an assassin programmed for the job. With the departure of leaders who had God given talents and exceptional capabilities, the work they wished to start and institutionalise is left unfinished with their removal from the scene, because the majority of their followers lack any stature or

the perception to continue in the direction chosen by these men. Institutions are created by nations committed to a goal and who aspire to excel. Wherever the institutions are healthy and growing, the leadership factor is institutionalised. Personality cults are only temporary arrangements. The "after me the deluge" syndrome in a leader is the bane of institutionalisation of social, economic and political values of a nation, and this is where the greatest weakness of the Muslim world lies today.

The philosophy of accepting the simple and the cost effective equipment for mechanised formations will fall on deaf ears in the professional military circles. Whatever has been voiced herein is a cry in the wilderness. It suits no one — least of all the suppliers of the prestige equipment. But then, if it is in the interest of the equipment supplier to defend their own global interests, it becomes morally binding on them to give such equipment to their clients which will be effective and within the absorption level of the users. The problem with the two superpowers has been a complex one. The USA has been supplying equipment which has been too sophisticated for the armies of their allies in the Third World. In most of the conflicts the Third World users have not been effectively employing the American equipment. On the other hand, the Soviet Union has provided very basic and simple equipment which could not stand the test against an adversary who had technically superior equipment. The Arab states who have been dependent on the Soviet Union clamoured for better equipment after the 1973 Arab-Israeli War. The Lebanon conflict has further underlined their strident complaints, with result that today the Soviet Union has equipped Syria with the state of the art material. Whether this is going to improve Syria's fighting potential remains to be seen.

Iran's Superior Show

On the other hand, Iraq has an edge over Iran in terms of equipment. It had in its hands the Russian, French, Brazilian and other European weapons systems and yet remained on the defensive for most of the time, while the Iranian forces maintained a steady pressure. The Iranian offensives, despite the paucity of equipment, had been successful on a number of occasions. The human wave tactics have been replaced by more subtle techniques, in which weapon craft combined with a judicious sense of timing and selection of objectives have been amply demonstrated. The Iranians had not been dependent on the stockpiles accumulated by the Shah, because the prestige equipment bought by him had to be maintained by American and Israeli technicians. With their departure on the eve of the revolution, the Iranian equipment began to deteriorate. The Iranians had to make do by improvising and salvaging whatever was within their capability. It is doubtful if they still retain the bulk of their original inventory. The North Koreans, Libyans, Syrians and the Chinese have been helping Iran, and obviously it implies that the weapons of the Iranian Army will be of Soviet or Chinese origin. In the hands of the motivated Iranian soldier these very weapons proved more effective than what had been in the case of the Arab soldier against the Israeli.

Here we again come into the realm of psychology. Motivation, the will to win and the element of leadership become very positive factors in the calculus of military power. Military history is replete with examples where spirit and psyche have triumphed over material power. But then the psychological advantage was combined with material strength. The balance between man and weapon was precise and effective. The trouble actually begins when the weapon assumes more

importance than man, where the user is hamstrung with the complexity of the equipment he is supposed to effectively operate in combat. This delicate relationship between man and his weapon will remain elusive. Neither the soldier nor the politician will see the pitfalls of acquiring prestigious weapons systems. It will only be in retrospect when the scholar and the analyst will highlight the dichotomies arising from a faulty induction policy which led to disaster. The reasons for falling into the trap of foreign salesmen can be many, but the foremost will always be ignorance in the field of weapons technology and the sheer irresponsibility which grows out of inflated egos.

The Answer

The only answer for the Third World countries is to bolster their democratic institutions. In the autocratic institutions selection and induction of equipment is the sole preserve of the military. It is only when democratic institutions are strong that the military becomes answerable to the government and the tax paying citizens. As things are, so many disciplines are involved in finding solutions to modern defence requirements, and this kind of specialist expertise cannot be found in uniform. The scientist, psychologist, sociologist, technologist and the soldier all have to work together to find the right answers. This is also the Islamic spirit. In early Islam every Muslim citizen of the state had to contribute to the defence of the commonwealth. It was compulsory for every Muslim to understand weapon craft. Archery practice was regularly practised once or twice a week on a competitive basis. Every Muslim had a right to counsel the highest authority in the land. This may not be possible today, but there are large numbers of talented and highly qualified civilian specialists who could deliberate and take part in the decision making processes in defence

matters alongwith the men in uniform. Unless this is done, the military in the Third World, especially in the Islamic World, will continue along the present path where they will remain the clients of some developed industrial countries who will unload all the sophisticated gimmickery they can find on the quallible soldiers — and the Third World user as usual will find the sheer complexity of these weapons systems a mill-stone round their necks.

The only danger lies in the formation of military industrial collusion as is the case in the USA. Such groupings pandering to each other's requirements are the higher echelons of the civilian-military and industrial hierarchy which leaves the user that is the proverbial "man behind the gun", out in the cold. He is the most important element in the chain and he must be safeguarded and made effective for combat. This will simplify logistics and tactical doctrines. The leadership will automatically become more creative and potent.

For the successful defence of a nation

the participation of the masses is an inescapable reality. For the raising of mass citizen armies, a very effective and efficient nucleus is required. And today for the Third World mass mechanised armies are essential, provided the material is available — such material which will be easy for the citizen soldier to operate effectively with the minimum of training. For the price of one modern MBT, we could purchase 4 or 5 wheeled AFVs and light track layers mounting high velocity guns, missiles etc. Instead of having a force of 1000 MBTs, a Third World army could field a swarm of 4000-5000 armoured vehicles carrying weapons as lethal and effective as a tank gun. A small force of heavy armour supported by a swarm of light armoured vehicles can be a formidable adversary for any modern mechanised army. There is however a rider: the leadership factor will remain decisive. The will to fight and the moral qualities which create the capabilities that are essential to generate manoeuvres, are imperatives for the mechanised battle-field of tomorrow.

Maritime Threat and Effective Defence

"Recently a very impressive large scale-army exercise under the name of Zarb-e-Momin has been carried out in the central and northern parts of the country which has been well publicized. The debate on defence provoked by this exercise in the media has among other things brought out the important point that, for defence to be effective, it has to be strong and coordinated not only on land, but at sea and in the air also, and that we also need to review our long-held assumption of needing and planning to wage war for a short period only, if we are to defend ourselves effectively and to avoid defeat.

"It is also an unfortunate fact of life that most people in Pakistan are not sufficiently aware about the seriousness of the potential maritime threat posed by India's massive naval build up, and its ramifications, not only for our EEZ, essential trade and other maritime interests, but for our overall national defence.

"This relative indifference to the importance of sea power has a historical perspective. Unlike the Arabs and the Turks the Mughals who come to India from Central Asia had no tradition of seafaring. Consequently they failed to understand the influence of sea power on land and having no navy of their own were unable to stand up against the sea power of the British. Tippu Sultan tried to build a navy but it was too late".

It is very unfortunate that even today the navy continues to be the most neglected service out of the three armed services, indicative of the lack of importance attached to it by most successive governments over the last four decades. Enough is not being done to maintain the basic minimum qualitative, quantitative ratio of relative naval strength with Indian naval forces, which would maintain a credible defensive, antidotal and retaliatory offensive capability against their expanding armada at sea.

This is inspite of the defeat of 1971, when *inter alia* Karachi was blockaded, a war ship sunk and our port and oil storage tanks at Keamari set ablaze by sea launched missile attack.

The Pakistan Navy unfortunately has not been getting its due share in the defence budget all these years with the result that whereas the ratio between the army and the airforce *vis-a-vis* their counterparts in India is said to be approximately 1:2.5 and 1:3 respectively in favour of India, but in the case of the Pakistan Navy, it is reported to be effectively around 1:5 to 1:7 depending on how it is calculated, favouring India.

No doubt the navy in Pakistan has made considerable progress over the years by the addition of submarines and naval air arms as well as recent acquisition of 10 frigates from USA and UK, but the Indian navy has by far outstripped the Pakistan Navy.

On the other hand the Indians have realised the importance of the navy and, its influence on overall defence, and the achievement of their broader strategic, diplomatic, and economic objectives. The Indian leadership learnt their lessons after the 65 war when our naval strength *vis-a-vis* India was more favourable and have been feverishly building up their navy since. Among other acquisitions they have added 2 aircraft carriers, 16 conventional submarines, a nuclear powered submarine, and they are continually expanding their navy including their amphibious landing capability. Although motivated with the apparent desire to become the regional superpower, with a view to dominating the entire Indian Ocean, Arabian Sea and Gulf areas, this impressive naval force, including their carrier groups, can be deployed against us in the Arabian Sea, at short notice, in the event of tension or the outbreak of hostilities, as they have no threat at sea from any other quarter.

Democracy and Balanced Forces

Our experience over the last 42 years has shown that without effective civilian democratic government it is very difficult to maintain the requisite balance in allocation of resources between the three armed forces which is essential for effective overall defence as well as to obtain the support of the people for the armed forces during any conflict. This has been my personal experience during my tenure as the first Pakistani C-in-C of our navy from 1953 to 1959. It would never have been possible to build up the navy as we did in that period had we not had a civilian government at the time who could be convinced about genuine naval requirements. It may be of interest to mention some points from that early period in our history.

In 1947 the Indian navy was partitioned in the ratio of 1/3 to 2/3rds in favour of India as was the case in the Army and the Air Force. I had the honour and good

luck of being the first Indian to be commissioned in the executive branch of the Indian Navy in 1933 after about two years training in the British Royal Navy. During partition the Quaid e-Azam showed much interest in the navy even on questions of detail and sent for me and Commodore (retd) I.K. Muntaz, who constituted the two members from Pakistan's side on the naval partition committee, in Delhi and, among other things enquired about the fate of the only cruiser "Delhi" in the Indian navy. I told the Quaid-e-Azam that as the cruiser naturally could not be cut into two she therefore had to go to India, who had the larger share, and that we would soon acquire another cruiser for the Pakistan Navy, which we did in 1956, along with four destroyers from the Royal Navy. Unfortunately the Quaid was not there to see these developments, nor could he captain the establishment of strong, clean, democratic government in the country.

The ratio between the Indian Navy and the Pakistan Navy was thus maintained at about 1:2 during this period inspite of opposition from a part of the army leadership at the time.

As a result of the above acquisitions and the subsequent addition of a submarine, in the 1965 war the navy was free to move about the seas around us and even carried out the unchallenged symbolic bombardment of the Indian coastal town of Dwarka about 170 miles from Karachi.

With the restoration of civilian party based democratic government it is hoped that it will become possible to allocate greater resources to the navy, than in the past, so that with their judicious and cost effective use, the dangerous, growing imbalance in naval forces can be reduced, before it is too late.

The concept of overall defence can be more effectively worked out if it is debated

and evolved by the civilian government in consultation with the armed forces. A strong, able, popular elected government, with the cooperation of the armed forces, can evolve a more effective overall defence strategy and mobilise the support of the people. Given the requisite internal cohesion, unity, and will to fight for the country's survival, if war is thrust on us, among leaders and people alike, we may even be able to move towards more active participation of the people, along with the armed forces, in the defence of the country. Shooting war is resorted to as an instrument of overall national policy only when diplomacy and peaceful methods fail and civilian power, honestly and responsibly exercised should be supreme in a healthy, democratic dispensation.

Maritime Threat

In view of the rapidly widening gap between the naval forces of India and Pakistan it does not require much imagination to realise the maritime threat to Pakistan posed by India. The Indian naval build up is designed to dominate the entire Indian Ocean and Arabian sea areas and unless Pakistan has an effective capability to deal with this threat, and go into the offensive in some sectors, blockade of Karachi harbour and disruption of sea trade routes would be possible and this would in a short period paralyze the war effort of Pakistan mainly because the bulk of our fuel oil and other essential commodities is imported by sea into Karachi. It is not appreciated that although the Indian naval build up is not designed to be deployed against Pakistan alone, their huge naval force, being highly mobile as naval concentrations inherently are unlike land and air forces, can move their entire theatre of action and operations, to the seas around us when it suits them to do so in peace time and in war time. The economic life of the nation including factories, land and air transport, important

export of goods can soon come to a grinding halt if the oil supplies are intercepted, making the self-reliant financial and material sustenance of the war effort difficult. The Indian Navy also has the capacity to land a brigade by sea in addition to its formidable capability to put pressure on land and in the air and even cut off our land communications between Karachi and the rest of the country. Land routes important as they are have their own limitations and are dependent on the goodwill of other nations. God has blessed us with access to the sea, which is the most viable means of bulk transportation of essential items, and it would be foolish to foreclose our ability to use the sea route in times of crisis.

The main reason for neglect of the navy to my mind is the concept of defence of relying on fighting a quick short war only from stockpiles. No one wants a long war but it is a dangerous philosophy not to prepare for a long struggle if this is thrust on us. India has much more depth and much greater staying power and a short lightning war can only result to our disadvantage as past experience has shown. In 1971 the quick war ended in losing half the country and a humiliating defeat to Pakistan. Superpower intervention could not save us from dismemberment. We cannot and should not pin all our hopes on international intervention to stop a war quickly in the future also.

Maritime Threat: Countermeasures

Owing to India's vastly superior economic strength and resources Pakistan cannot afford to compete with India, ship for ship, tank for tank and aircraft for aircraft, the defence budget of Pakistan should be apportioned between the three services so as to provide a more balanced and effective defence force. Within the present resource constraints of the nation and the present defence budget and policies and concept of defence, it

is not possible to maintain 1:2 ratio with the Indian navy but the situation is not hopeless and urgent measures can be taken to strengthen our navy. Given spirit and morale our navy will not doubt give its best in times of crisis. Our naval staff is fully capable of working out the more urgent requirements of the navy and details of how to deal with the threat against external aggression in consultation with the government so as to strengthen overall defence of the country, lest the navy becomes the proverbial Achille's heel of our national defence.

Among other measures, in the short term, the Pakistan Navy can improve the situation by substantially augmenting their existing submarine force, adding an effective air strike capability for naval targets and maritime defence, improving maritime aerial and even satellite recon-

naissance, and within our overall foreign policy of promoting naval cooperation with friendly neighbouring countries, and establishing a naval marine force.

There is also an urgent need for building alternative secondary ports in Baluchistan and establishing large and essential industries and requisite infrastructure in Baluchistan to apart from spurring dispersed, balanced development in the country and Baluchistan in particular, sustain and justify these ports and link roads with the rest of the country.

These measures will help to more effectively deal with the maritime threat and deter their sea forces from attacking and successfully blockading, or imposing a selective quarantine, of Karachi and other harbours and disrupting our sea routes and even landing troops from the sea on our coast or at Karachi.

N. B.: Effective defence, in our view, is the maximum, skilful exploitation of the available resource placed at the disposal of the high command rather than perpetual additions of men and hardware to a fighting force, above and beyond the economic industrial and technological base of a country.

—ED., D.J.

Defence Production in the Third World

"Technology respects technology, and strength respects respects".

**—Dr. A. Kalam
The Indian Missile Wizard.**

Defence production is an important facet of national activity. In developed countries it can have highly beneficial economic spin-offs. Highly developed defence production units provide jobs and thus brake unemployment in a big way. Defence production however is a complex activity and may be a reflection of the state of prevalent S&T (Science and Technology), R&D — and to a large extent of the threat perception and the requirements of the armed forces. In developed economies the export factor is more important especially where the domestic need is not so much.

In the typical environments of colonial rule, lack of infrastructure and a sound technological base it is only fair that Pakistan defence production as at present is a creditable performance. Besides self-sufficiency in small arms, small arms ammunitions, gun ammunition and certain weapons like mortars and anti tank rifles, Pakistan has entered the space age with the fabrication of ballistic missiles like the Hataf-I and -II and the SAM (surface to air missile) Anza and such state-of-the-art force multipliers as the 786-P and AR-3 Laser range finders. A more powerful ballistic missile may be produced very soon with a range of some 600 km.

All the same — the defence production in Pakistan is eclectic and is based on derived technologies as both the R&D and S&T in Pakistan is comparatively primitive. So, for all the heavier types of weapon systems — the only answer is importation—lock, stock and barrel. Pakistan is doing well in the rebuild of the equipment. One such example is the Chinese T-59 tank at the HRF. It is heartening to know that a refurbished T-69 tank is likely to roll out soon as the new MBT (Main Battle Tank) for the Armoured Corps. The exact manner of the production of this MBT has not yet been disclosed. Some foreign writers like Dr. Matthews have indicated that the gun, engine and probably the transmission systems are to be updated with the collaboration of some Western countries/USA in which the Chinese export firm NORINCO is playing a very significant part.

It is to be noticed that although Third World countries—some of which are now dubbed as NIC (Newly Industrialised Countries)—and claim to have fabricated

heavier equipment like MBT/APCs etc. indigenously — the local content is really not enough to earn this adjective; as major assemblies like engines, transmissions

et al in the so-called indigenous equipment are all imported. Some of the more advanced countries in this respect are Brazil, Israel, and India — just to name a few.

There is no doubt that of late the countries outside the Nato and Warsaw Pact Alliances have accounted for some 17 per cent of the world arms market and 20 per cent of the Third World share. This is a significant performance by any standard. Some of its more outstanding features are as follows:

- Most of the exporters were able to increase their exports in the period 1982-84 through worldwide arms transfers were levelling off and starting to decrease.
- Despite increased exports in recent years most countries did not dramatically improve their relative position vis-a-vis other exporters. For example, South Korea ranked twelfth in 1979 and thirteenth in 1984— despite a doubling in exports. Brazil was seventeenth in 1979 and fourteenth in 1984 even though her exports had tripled in this period.
- Apart from China (see Table III) all other countries may be considered as suppliers of a lower rank.

Producers and Products

Argentina — TAM medium tank...IA-58 Pucara counterinsurgency aircraft...IA-63 Pampa trainer/attack aircraft...Hughes 500/300 helicopters...utility aircraft including Piper and Cessna...105mm rocket launchers.

Brazil — EE-T1 (Osorio) and MB-3 (Tamoyo) tanks...Urutu and Cascavel armoured personnel carriers...Astros-II multiple rocket launcher...EMB-312 Tucano trainer aircraft...EMB 110 Bandeirante and EMB 120 Brasília transport aircraft...Gaviao and Esquilo helicopters.

China — Type 69 tank...various artillery including 152mm self-propelled howitzers...multiple rocket launchers (107mm-103mm)...F-7 and F-8 fighters...B-6 bomber...range of naval vessels.

Egypt — artillery including 122mm howitzers and 130mm gun...Swingfire anti-tank guided missile...ZSU-23 air defence gun...Alpha Jet trainer/attack aircraft...Gazelle helicopter...Hawkeye man-portable surface-to-air missile.

India — Vijayanta and Arjun tanks...Vijayanta 130mm self-propelled gun...Godavari-class frigate...MIG 21/23/27 fighter...S-315 Cheetah helicopter...Atoll air-to-air missile.

Israel — Merkava tank...Mar 290mm rocket launcher ... Kfir fighter ... Arava transport ... Gabriel anti-ship missile ... Shafrir and Python air-to-air missile.

North Korea — T-62 tank...Type 303 armoured personnel carrier ... artillery including 122mm/130mm/152mm self-propelled weapons ... various classes of coastal patrol boats ... MI-2 Hoplite helicopter ... SA-7 surface-to-air missile and AT-3 anti-tank guided missiles.

South Korea — Daewoo infantry fighting vehicle ... 105mm/155mm howitzers ... Vulcan air defense gun ... coastal patrol boats ... F-5E fighter ... Hughes 500 helicopter.

Pakistan — 120mm mortar ... Mushak trainer aircraft...various infantry weapons and munitions including RPG-7 anti-tank rocket launcher and 106mm recoilless rifle.

Singapore — 120mm mortar ... coastal patrol boats...various infantry weapons including Ultimax 100 light machine gun and SAR-80 rifle.

Yugoslavia — T-72 tank ... various infantry combat vehicles ... field and air defence artillery guns ... Galeb and Utva trainer aircraft ... Gazelle helicopter...AT-3 anti-tank guided missile.

- Market competition is intense and quite susceptible to larger year to year fluctuations.
- Some very interesting patterns emerge within regions, i.e. South Asia/South America. Brazil maintains a clear lead over Argentina the only other exporter in the region. Pakistan's edge over India is perhaps somewhat surprising considering the size and diversity of Indian mammoth defence industry and Pakistan's infant defence industry.
- Most of these countries depend heavily on the Middle Eastern markets. This is understandable as a greater proportion of the world arms transfers goes to this region (i.e. nearly 49 per cent in recent years). In fact the dependence of the Third world suppliers on Middle East has increased over the last five years time.
- Most of the countries do not have a regionally balanced arms transfer pattern.

Licensed Production

A broad range of the weapons produced by the Third World countries indicated in box are systems of low to medium technology at the best based on licensed production or copies of older weapons and have not been exported in large numbers. Except perhaps for the Israeli Merkava tank — other producer's tanks do not have the sophisticated fire control and optic system of modern tanks that are being built by advanced countries presently....To quote from "World Military Expenditures & Arms Transfers — 1986 (WMEAT)." As per ACDA data "Third world suppliers to date have not exported a significant portion of tanks, artillery, warships, or aircraft involved in the worlds arms trade—probably deriving more business from the supply of infantry support weapons and munitions of various typesIn reality, however, few Third World suppliers will be able to compete the high end of the market."

We might at this stage study detailed performance of a selected countries defence production. Brazil, India and Israel are perhaps the most important ones.

Arms production has hitherto been a near monopoly of superpowers and other industrialised countries. Of late however a new breed of armament technologists have come into the field — though not specialising in sophisticated systems and heavier weapons — all the same producing defence hardware — from the Third World countries. Some of these are rightly called the NICs (Newly Industrialised Countries).

In 1945 — amongst the developing nations, Argentina, Brazil, India and South Africa possessed domestic industries which produced no other weapon systems than small arms and ammunition. Their present range of defence production is considerable including missiles, MBT and aircraft and naval ships.

The real boom apparently started in the 1960s and by the end of the decade 27 Third World countries produced some equipment for their armed forces starting from infantry weapons and ammunition. According to SIPRI — (Sweden), 9 countries out of these have indigenous ship-building — and 6 have produced missiles (Pakistan may be added to the missile fabricators now). Presently the arms production in the Third World is a bimodel system activity. Argentina, Brazil, India, Israel and South Africa possess the most advanced and diversified defence industries and produce a range of aircraft, armoured vehicles, missiles, and warships. An emerging and competitive group comprises of Egypt, Indonesia, Mexico, North Korea, the Philippines, South Korea, Taiwan and Pakistan.

Brazil

The two leading arms producers amongst the NICs are Brazil and Israel (Israel though strictly speaking is not a Third World country and way). The Brazilian firm *Engesa* is a private firm (as opposed

to production units in India and Pakistan which are in the Public Sector mainly) — and its products are presently used by more than 35 countries. Its outlet and agents in Pakistan are Techman International — with their head office in Islamabad — and its wide range of military hardware includes military vehicles (tracked and wheeled) — guns, communication equipment, electronic aiming equipment (optronics) for day and night use, laser and thermal vision, mobile cranes, trucks, jeeps etc.

I understand that *Engesa* has offered to produce their versatile EE-12 jeep for the armed forces/para military establishments of Pakistan. This vehicle could even be used profitably for riot control operations — like the one which are being carried out in Sind these days. This vehicle is a light, agile reconnaissance vehicle with good mobility over all types of terrain. It is four wheel drive jeep with exceptional road clearance. The vehicle has a platform for carriage of a variety of armament such as recoilless, rifles, and machine guns etc.

The company also produces their popular EE T-I Osario's light tank which has been sold in large numbers in Middle East and Africa. Its price tag is around US\$ 1.5-2 million and about 1000 units have been produced by *Engesa* with the hope of replacing old tanks like the regions holding of T-44, T-45, and T-62 tanks. Orders for supply have already been received from Libya and Saudi Arabia for this tank.

The philosophy for arms production in almost all the Third World countries is that they must follow a *step by step* process to develop indigenous defence industries which in fact often is a continuation of direct arms imports. Domestic production then begins with the assembly under license of knocked down weapons. According to Signé Landgern — Backstrom, the process could consist of the following three sets of technologies:

- Import of a 'license' along with entire production line,
- Investment by an established producer company of specific new weapon project and finally,
- Reverse Engineering.

In the particular case of Brazil — the country has not embroiled in global East-West conflict and geostrategically is only vulnerable to attack from sea. One could therefore expect her first to invest in the Naval sector rather than as it is doing in aircraft and armoured vehicles industry. All the same, their threat perception is such that they can afford to do this.

Embraer is the Brazilian aircraft manufacturing outfit. Its outstanding product the EMB-312 Tucano is being manufactured under license in UK and Egypt. The military trainer aircraft is designed around turbo-prop power plant and its airframe is ideally matched to simulate a fast jet. The Brazilian firm Avibras Aeroespacial SA is a pioneer in space operations in Brazil and specialises in the production of systems in the field of defence, space chemistry, electronics, and communications.

South Africa is yet another interesting model from the defence production point of view which is fast moving towards independent defence production. South Africa is generally reluctant to provide any data about its armed forces and their equipment. However some details have come out. Some of the indigenous equipment held by South African armed forces include — the Olifant MBT, the G-5 155/5 towed Howitzer, the Ratel 6×6 IFV — with a turret mounted 60mm Mortar/Gun, 2 12.7mm and one 7.62 MG. and Samil family of cross country trucks (which are mine resistant). Besides this they also produce what they call the Samil 20 Bulldog personnel carrier. The South Africans — due mainly to embargo — produce their own R-4 5.56mm assault rifle which is in fact a modified version of the Israeli Galil.

The South African air force uses the new Cheetah configuration aircraft which most experts believe is a 'by product' of the Israeli Kfir. The Kukri V3 IR-guided air-to-air missile is used and is carried under the wings of the aircraft.

Interestingly, the Olifant MBT of which some 250 exist was procured from India (as a junk of Centurians) and it now carries an indigenous 105mm gun. The South Africans also employ a 127mm Rocket Launcher which has a longer range than the Soviet BM-21. Their 155mm Howitzer which has also been developed in South Africa compares favourably with any such internationally accepted equipment. It has a 45 calibre length barrel.

The Indo-Pakistan defence production scenario makes an interesting study. There appears to be a total mismatch and asymmetry in the number of production units and technological prowess — with India having a clear edge but somehow most of the Indian prestigious high tech and heavier weapon projects like their Vijayanta tank, LCA (Light Combat Aircraft) which is yet to be produced, ALH (Advanced Light Helicopter — and others have almost spelled disaster. A very brief account of the Indian performance can be termed as a mixed performance. An account of their defence production will be found in the paragraphs that follow.

INDIA

The Indian defence production base is really wide. India has 36 Ordnance factories, and 9 defence public sector undertakings, i.e. the Hindustan Aeronautics Ltd., Bharat Electronics Ltd., Bharat Earth-movers Ltd., Mazagaon Docks, Garden Reach Ship Builders and Engineers Ltd., Goa Shipyard Ltd., Bharat Dynamics,

Mishra Datu Nigam and Praga Machine Tools Ltd. The Indians have opted both for licensed and the so-called indigenous production. Although Indian have a massive Soviet Military collusion and an impressive production base they have not been able to export enough military hardware.

The dual path Indian effort — and the first such experience was their Folland Knat (1956) under which project only 169 trainers were produced came to a grinding halt in 1958. Later HAL (Hindustan Aeronautics Ltd.) — one of the DSPUs (Defence Public Sector Units) was assigned the task of designing and producing a Mach-2 speed aircraft HF-24 Marut. The HAL did not have the necessary experience to do it. Although assistance was sought from Dr. Kurt Tank the famous German designer for this project — the project failed. Some 145 such planes were made but these could not achieve the supersonic speed...Here is an assessment of this tragic project culled from "Arms Production in Developing Countries — by Thomas Graham and James Evert Katz, *ed.*" "... Marut relied heavily on imported parts and material and was more expensive to produce in India than it would have been to import a complete plane. The plane was technically obsolete by the time it was first delivered in 1964." This project perhaps best shows as to what went wrong with the Indian arms industry.

India's three new projects are the ALH, LCA and the new MBT. The ALH project was started by K. Subramanyam Committee in 1969 with a 10 years collaboration with the French Aerospatiale with the purpose of designing a *single* engined helicopter. The first prototype was to fly in 1982. But then the requirement of the IAF changed to a *two* engined machine and

the collaboration/contract with the French firm soured. The Indians signed a new 7-year contract with the German MBB firm — and the work on the helicopter started from the scratch in 1984. Already disputes have arisen between the HAL and MBB engineers about the technical specifications of the helicopter. The trend appears that even if the helicopters are made under collaboration — perhaps a token will be manufactured — because by then the Indians would be able to get the Soviet Mi-28 Havoc which is perhaps the most versatile helicopter in the world anywhere now.

The Main Battle Tank fared no better. The MBT which was to be in service with the Indian army by mid-1980s is still at the development stage. It was to be powered by an indigenous 1300-1500 hp diesel. The indigenous engine fell woefully short of the planned hp even with a turbocharge which led the CVRDE (Combat Vehicle Research and Development Establishment) to fit an MTU engine with ZF transmission as an interim measure. It is unlikely that an indigenous power plant will ever be produced—so the German engine will have to be used. In the meantime the Soviet T-72 is being produced under license at Avadi in South India.

The LCA is a total hotch potch with a myriad collaborations. It was to be fitted with MBB RB-199 engine. The Govt. however on a second thought sought collaboration with Dassault — and MBB was eased out. The Indian even are trying to seek help of a Swedish Firm Ericsson for the development of a doppler pulse radar. Here is a very interesting remark on this project: "Thus with the avionics, the engine radar coming from abroad cynics say that the only thing Indian on the LCA will be the coconut which, in accordance with the Indian tradition is broken over the prototype."

Some 200 LCA planes are to be manufactured at what cost one is not sure—as the manufacturing costs are fast going up — to almost prohibitive levels.

It is interesting that key parts of some of the production aircraft like the after burner of the MiG-27 and some important parts of the MiG-21 are still being imported by India. Vijayanta tank is yet another example. This is a Vickers licensed produced tank and now it requires a more powerful engine and the Indians are thinking of fitting a Rolls-Royce or a Cummins Powerplant in this tank.

The sordid details of the Indian efforts to produce a nuclear propulsion for their submarines has been graphically told in a write up in the *Illustrated Weekly of India* — Bombay. It has been brought out that the Indians tried to fabricate a nuclear propulsion system soon after their nuclear detonation in 1974 but they met the same fate as in their other major state of the art projects. And then to save face they acquired the Soviet submarine now called 'Chakra' — obviously to study the methodology of producing a power plant for submarines. The Indians apparently have acquired yet another Soviet nuclear powered submarine recently. So all these high sounding and high spending projects are neither indigenous nor profitable — and in some cases no more than a disaster.

Sometimes there may be even some political underpinnings which influence defence production. In the particular case of the Indian LCA project the suggestion of the use of an F-404 US engine is a political move. As is clear the Indian defence minister Mr. Pant had been recently to USA with a view to improve Indo-American relations — and this move may well be a part of this. Another example though much scandalous is the introduction of the Swedish 155mm Howitzers worth some 1600 crores of rupees and out of

this sale some 60 crores plus a Swedish credit is alleged to have been pocketed by the Indian Congress to fill its coffers for the coming elections. Politicians may therefore have a vested interest in a deal like this—although it has come to light that a better gun in fact was available for introduction in the service from performance point of view — and one stage the Indian COAS had advised cancellation of Bofor deal.

We could possibly conclude from the above and crystallise our thoughts about defence production in the developing countries as a result of Indian and other experience:

- It is profitable to shift from the state of the art and high tech defence productions to low tech and take in hand those projects which are viable and are really indigenous.
- More emphasis should be laid on export functions for earning of foreign exchange which can be ploughed into induction of newer equipments.
- Perhaps a better policy could be the rebuild philosophy which Pakistan is presently adopting both at the HRF and Kamra for tanks and aircraft.

We have just studied some models of defence production — Pakistan is no variant from and bringing with the same handicaps as the other Third World countries, i.e. lack of appropriate technology and proper industrial base. The funding of R&D/S&T is also inadequate. It is surprising that whereas the universities and the academics are the fountain-head of research (even defence research) this is not so in the Third World countries in general where most of the defence production is carried out in the Public Sectors.

There is no doubt that the Third World countries contribution in the arms transfers worldwide have increased considerably but there are certain cardinal constraints which hamper their optimum performance as producers of arms. These are financial,

political, technical and economic constraints — which have been brought out in the models discussed above. The financial issues boils down to this: whether in a world of substantial debt servicing burdens and falling commodity prices and shrinking foreign exchange reserves these countries in fact can afford technology to produce modern weapon systems. Take for example (even) the case of Israel where US has under written the one billion dollar development programme cost of the much trumpeted Israeli Lavi programme. Few countries however could even ever think of making a plane that costs a £22 million a copy.

Technical constraints are closely related in a sense that technological transfer is also a developmental necessity which is not guaranteed. For example taking the Lavi model — there are more than 100 US companies involved in the provision of components for this so-called 'indigenous' aircraft. A similar range of foreign technology will be required for the Indian LCA. Again taking the Brazilian model, the inputs needed for their EE-TI (Osorio) light tank are also instructive in this regard. The tank incorporates a West German engine, transmission, and tracks, a British suspension system and British/or French main gun and fire control system and the Brazilians call it an indigenous product.

"In a broader sense, the financial and technical constraints discussed above can be wielded as aspects of the political limitations facing the Third World arms suppliers. Financial assistance and technology transfer are political decisions by major arms producers, which are based on dynamic calculus of strategic, political and economic self interest..."

In the South Asian scenario — the procurement paradigms are almost identical and both India and Pakistan wish to modernise their armed forces. A statement in the Indian 1986-87 Annual Report which

encapsulates the rationale/philosophy, style and goals of Indian procurement programmes is worth quoting in full:

"Modernisation of arms and equipment and a maximum degree of self-reliance and self-sufficiency in the shortest possible time have been the major objectives in our defence production efforts. India is committed to a policy of peace and international co-operation. No free nation, however, can afford to ignore the imperative need to maintain constant preparedness to defend any threat to its borders much less in our case with experience of past conflicts. The implementation of this policy calls for a strong base of defence production coordinated with indigenous development."

It is well said and well conceived — but on the ground it is not so easy. In this very context Dr. Ron Matthews of Cranfield Institute of Technology — and who has recently studied the Indian defence production "in situ" and in details writes thus in the *RUSI Journal* of Spring 1988. "...A characteristic of India's defence industry (as in other developing economies) is that it is technologically isolated from the civilian industrial sector — the effect of that is that economic and technical spin offs from the military industrial complex do not carry into the industrial economy as a whole but rather remain quarantined not only within the public sector but within the individual unit... Although India is the world's tenth largest industrial power in terms of asset value much of the private industrial sector is characterised by rudimentary technological processes."

Giving specific examples — the learned writer continues "...For example Shaktiman 3 tonne and Nissan one tonne trucks have been in production at Jabalpur factory for two decades or more and are supposed to be fully indigenous. Yet, after

25 years of collaboration with MANN of West Germany the engine block and steering gear of Shaktiman continue to be imported; similarly the engine block of the Nissan vehicles". This typifies the tardiness of the indigenous production.

Under these circumstances as K. Subramanyam asserts it is "difficult to expect a very high sustained performance across the board in highly sophisticated (defence) technologies when the industrial milieu of the country taken as a whole is nurtured on technological dependency."

By and large there has been some increase in R&D allocations in India and Pakistan — more so in India — the funding is not enough any way. In 1960 — in India only 1 per cent of the defence budget was allotted to R&D. It did not rise above 2 per cent at the beginning of 1980s. The 1987-88 figures are 5.22 per cent (out of which some 600 crores is for the LCA). The figures for Pakistan are not readily available which in any case must be terribly meagre. I met the ex-Vice Chancellor of the Punjab University — who told me that he hardly gets enough to cover the day to day expenses and pay of staff — what to talk of basic research/or any defence project research in the universities.

Just for the sake of interest I am producing some figures of the industrial countries as indicators of their S&T and R&D effort. In the USA the defence R&D even now stands at 67 per cent of the federal R&D — with basic research area declining to only 2 per cent.

The prospects for the Third World countries are not all too dismal, and whatever the restraints — the Third World producers will keep on playing their part in the world arms production and arms transfers in the world market. Perhaps one aspect of the arms market — as already brought out before — that could provide the necessary momentum for the Third

World producers is the potential for refurbishment and upgrade of the existing equipments. To quote from ACDA publication 'WMEAT-1986':

"If (as seems possible) the near-term global economic situation tends to restrict the purchase of expensive new weapons, many countries may turn to upgrade to prolong the life of the equipment already in service." Some countries like Singapore, Brazil, Israel, Egypt, Pakistan and India has already starting doing this.

Israel for instance has developed reactive armour which provides a simple and relatively inexpensive way to enhance armour protection for tanks and APCs. This type of upgrade may be attractive for some Third World producers and the cash strapped armed forces in many countries.

Another favourable development for the Third World countries is the foreign assistance which they are presently getting. US is providing assistance to Israel especially for their Lavi project, Brazil and Italy are collaborating on the AMX fighter, and the Argentinian have an agreement with Italians to co-produce an RPV (Remotely Piloted Vehicle). The Indians have a massive military alliance with the Soviet Union and T-72 MBT and certain MiG aircraft are being locally fabricated under license. Yet another prospect which provides promise is the pooling of resources such as the Arab Organisation for Industries or the creation of a defence industry through the pooling of the resources of the GCC — which are already in the offing.

Conclusion

All the same in the final analysis even after pooling resources none of the Third World countries would appear to have the capability to escape the position of secondary suppliers at the best. However

four of these countries have a real potential for and are actively pursuing policies geared towards expanding indigenous arms production. These countries are Egypt, India, Saudi Arabia and Israel.

Finally whether science drives technology — or it is the other way round is a moot point. All the same science and technology and their byproduct R&D are an essential parameter for defence production especially the indigenous products.

Why and how USA has achieved such a preeminence in the field of technology is not difficult to understand. If we look back some 50 years — the Americans produced some poets of technology who were really visionaries and almost prophets. Two names are almost immortals as far as technology is concerned. These are Lewis Mumford — who authored 'Technics and Civilisation' and R. Buckminster Fuller. Their passion was technology and they advocated nothing less than "to promote the total use of total technology for the total population" at the maximum feasible rate of acceleration.

It was these people who laid the foundation of a very rapid industrialisation. Some of the later workers produced a methodology for enhancement of production and other techniques like the Time and Motion study — or I should say the 'Motion and Time Study' — as motion precedes time. Those were efficiency enhancing techniques.

In the end I will just quote what Fuller thought of a Man. He describes "What is Man" — perhaps tongue in cheek — "Man!

A self balancing, 28 Jointed adapter-base biped; and electro-chemical reduction plant, integral with segregated stowage of special energy extracts in storage batteries, for subsequent actuation of thousands of hydraulic and pneumatic pumps, with motors attaches;

62,000 miles of capillaries, millions of warning signal, rail-road and conveyor systems; crushers and cranes...and a universally distributed telephone system needing no service for 70 years if well managed; the whole, extraordinary complex mechanism guided with ex-

quisite or precision from a turret in which is located telescopic and microscopical self-registering and recording range finders, spectroscopes etc...."

Our concept of technology in Pakistan, must change — the sooner the better.

Table — I

Brazilian Arms Industry

Brazil is a giant arms exporter among the Third World Newly Industrialised Countries (NICs). Two other competitors in the field are Israel and Egypt. During 1980-84 (as per SIPRI), the NICs share of arms exports to Third World was around 3.6 per cent of total world figures (USSR 37.1%, USA 29.1, France 11.1, UK 4.8, others 6.7, Italy 4.4 and F.R. Germany 3.1 per cent. Of the 3.6 per cent, Brazil, Israel and Egypt accounted for nearly 60 per cent with Brazil heading the list.

"Brazil's development of an indigenous arms industry, can be explained in terms of the perceived economic incentives accruing from the substantial export capacity." Between 1965-75, the Brazilian GDP grew at an average rate of 8.2 per cent — a miracle, indeed. Except some sort of a threat from the sea, Brazil is not geostrategically vulnerable — but somehow most of the Brazilian technology is military-biased and is coordinated by military controlled institutions like *Industries de Material Belico SA* (Imbel SA). This miracle is partly due to the Brazilian appreciation of an import substitution — an idea as old as 1930s.

During the past five years, the country's defence sector has grown from a small base which allowed it to produce weapons under licence from the US, Belgium and Italy. At present, nearly 80 per cent of Brazilian arms are indigenous, much of them using the local design. The defence sector comprises 350 privately-owned enterprises employing around 100,000 workers producing export hardware like tanks — both light and medium mostly manufactured by Engesa.

Engesa was founded in 1950 and it originally produced oil prospecting and tapping equipment besides dabbling in R & D. Now, it is one of the largest manufacturers of armed vehicles outside the Soviet Bloc and produces a half of the world's armoured fighting vehicles. The CASCABEL and URUTU are the company's best sellers. It also manufactures JARARACA, a reconnaissance vehicle, and OSORIO, a medium tank.

Another firm Bernodini SA produces the X-1A2 light tank and MB-3 TAMOYO Main Battle Tank and is even credited with modernising US-built M 41 tank.

The aircraft industry — its backbone being *Empresa Brasileira de Aeronautica* (Embraer) — produces XAVANTE jet trainer/counter insurgency (COIN) and versatile KINGO turbo prop/COIN. Even more impressive is their BANDEIRANE, a light turbo prop used both commercially and by the military. Its successor, the 30-seat BRASILIA, made its debut in 1984. The EMB-12 TUCANO has only recently been produced for export (120 planes for Egypt — out of this 80 are for Iraq). Finally, their product, the AM-X is a subsonic jet reconnaissance and tactical support plane.

The Avibras and DF Vasconcelos are private Brazilian firms producing both highly efficient rockets and precision — guided warhead. They are currently engaged in manufacturing SBAT missile which is similar to the dreaded French EXOCET and multi-rocket launcher ASTROS II. Vasconcelos also markets the highly acclaimed MAA-1 PIRANHA air-to-air missile.

Thus, it was no wonder that in 1983, the Brazilian arms industry had overtaken coffee as the main export earner with sales worth US \$2.2 billion. If this be correct, Brazil's arms exports exceeded its defence budget (US\$ 1.4 billion) in 1982. In this period, the country clearly surpassed its closest rival, Israel, and took 46.1 per cent of Third World arms sales.

Table — II

Israeli Arms Production

The October 1973 War — the Arabs prefer to call it the Ramadan War and the Israelis Yom Kippur — and the other five Arab-Israeli wars have invariably brought into focus the Arab military preparedness vis-a-vis the Israelis. Of course, the massive US aid turned the tables against the Arabs in October, 1973.

The point to be stressed is that the Arabs, with the exception of Egypt, are essentially importers of arms whereas Israel staunchly believes in total import substitution and indigenisation. Its arms development policy is based on this strategy. It is for them a geostrategical pre-requisite which they have learned during the six confrontations with the Arabs. A brief story of Israeli defence production is as follows:

The Israeli programme is one of the biggest and most diversified amongst the Third World countries. It is to meet the very extensive needs of its defence forces as well as facilitate the exports of hardware to over 60 countries. The production comprises small arms, tanks, a variety of missiles, advanced aircraft, patrol boats, computers and electronic equipment of sorts.

There is no doubt that the Israeli military strength and defence industry depend on massive US assistance. Since late 1950s, the combined US economic and military aid has mounted to over 20 billion dollars.

It was during the anti-Jewish riots in Palestine in 1929 that the Israelis developed a clandestine defence industry known as 'TA' AS'. In 1945, this industry produced small arms, ammunition and assembled refurbished aircraft, tanks/armoured cars (supplied from abroad). Thus, a gradual and phased indigenous defence production/export started. It had three clear-cut phases.

Phase I: It started after cease-fire and armistice in 1949. It was in 1952 that the renowned 'UZI' sub-machine gun was designed and produced. A year later, Bedeck Aviation Company, a forerunner of the state-owned Israel Aircraft Industries, was established. It initially repaired and upgraded used aircraft for Israeli Air Force.

Phase II: This lasted from 1956 (Suez War) to 1967 (Six-Day War). During this period, the Israelis relied heavily on French arms, especially aircraft in 1960, Bedeck Aviation manufactured and tested its licensed production of the French Fouga 'Magister' jet trainer — a landmark in Israeli avionics.

Phase III: It was ushered in by the 1967 Six-Day War in which indigenously developed sub-systems and major components of aircraft were produced and the development of the famous 'KFIR' fighter-bomber took place. This was a product of reverse engineering technology.

During 1967-72, according to the International Institute of Strategic Studies, Israeli defence expenditure, as a percentage of GDP (local currency millions), increased from 11.77 per cent to 17.43 per cent. Israel now exports a wide range of military hardware, i.e. sophisticated aircraft, electronics, 'RESHEF' patrol boats, air-to-air (SHAFRIR) and sea-to-sea (GABRIEL) missiles, remotely piloted vehicles and ammunition.

The defence industry mainly consists of four major firms, partially/totally Government-owned. These have just introduced 'PYTHON III' missile and 'BLAZER' reactive armour (extensively used during 1982 Israeli attack on Lebanon). The Israeli Ordnance Corps have produced 'MERKAVA' tanks.

Table — III

Chinese Arms Exports

China joined the arms trade rather late. It was mainly due to its traditional adherence to the doctrine of defence and to the Soviet pattern of its technology. It is now fast catching up with the developed countries and its total arms sales last year touched US \$2 billion which gives it the 6th place in the trade after USSR, USA, France, Britain and West Germany.

Arms specialist Giovanni de Brigenti says: "The Chinese arms are available; they are inexpensive and they are better than nothing." That is why the weapons are finding a ready market in developing countries and the Gulf.

In the recent Farnborough Air Show (UK), the Chinese displayed their J-7s (a version of MIG-21) which they have supplied to one or two Middle East countries. They also seem to have sold heavy/artillery and T-59 tanks and their own version of SCUD (Soviet) surface-to-surface missiles which played havoc with the Israelis in the October 1973 War. The recently produced items include comparatively sophisticated night vision scopes and versatile HQ-61 ship and air-to-air missiles.

The Chinese are somewhat hesitant to display their hardware in the world market. The most recent display, perhaps, was in October, 1984, during the celebrations of the 35th National Day when they exhibited a number of new and modified systems. This included ballistic missile systems, i.e. CSS-4 (ICBM); its components were carried on three trucks, CSS-NX-4 (SLBM) to be used on Xia Class submarine. Other missiles included Hong Tian-73 ATM (anti-tank missile) — an upgraded version of Soviet AT-3 and the Hong Ying-5 which is a copy of S-7 (SAM) portable Soviet surface-to-air missile.

During the parade, 400 vehicles, including T-59 MBT (main battle tank) and T-77 armoured personnel carrier, self-propelled artillery and anti-aircraft guns, were displayed.

The new aircraft are J-8 fighter which is a stretched twin-engine derivative of J-7 and J-12 — a new combat aircraft (under development). The J-12 is often described as "a large twin-engined multi-role fighter."

China has at present a very wide range of ground force combat systems from rifles to tanks. In artillery production, the emphasis on Multiple Rocket Launchers (MRL) continues. The Chinese have signed cooperative agreements with foreign firms such as Sulzer of Switzerland, Pielstick of France and MAN of West Germany.

The military modernisation is, however, likely to remain slow. The main problem is that of incorporating the new Western designing and manufacturing facilities into the pre-existing industrial infrastructure which is still based on the Soviet model. Now Chairman Deng Xiaoping is making radical managerial, institutional and economic changes for fostering innovations.

Table — IV

MBT Production: India and Pakistan

Gen. Mirza Aslam Beg, Chief of Army Staff, has announced that a new MBT will be rolling off its production line very soon. The initial announcement about this tank was made in February during his National Defence College (NDC) address in which he also disclosed the fabrication of the SS (Surface-to-Surface) Missiles Hataf-I and II, the SAM (Surface-to-Air Missile) 'Anza' and the Laser Range Finder AR-3.

At present Pakistan MBT assets include a total of some 1,600 tanks (As per IISS as on 30 June 1989)—the breakdown of this being 1,100 T-59 (Chinese), 450 M-47/48 (US) and 51 T-54/55. Hence the current mainstay is the T-59. According to available information T-59 is to be updated and the new version would be the T-69-2 tank. The new tank will carry a 105mm gun as opposed to the present 100mm gun, and the engine horse power is to be increased to 600 HP. Certain fire control innovations are also to be incorporated in the new tank. I am not sure whether this new machine will have reactive armour.

The Indian line up again as per IISS — includes a total of some 3,150 MBTs, not including 500 reserve tanks. The breakdown is — there are some 800 T-55, 650 T-72 and 1,700 Vijayanta tanks. The T-72 which the most versatile (after T-80 and a new tank yet not operational) are assembled at Avadi in South India and the Indians have a licenced production arrangement for this too.

The T-72, the total number of which might have now increased with the Indian armoured units considerably is a show of the art tank and possesses much greater mobility than the T-62. The V-12 diesel engine of this tank has an output of 780 HP. The engine appears to be remarkably smoke-free and smooth-running (giving no signatures and vibrations) as compared to T-62 which causes high crew fatigue. Although the engine is larger and heavier — the T-72 is believed to have approximately the same road speed as the T-64. Two 200-litre auxiliary fuel drums can be fitted on the rear of the hull of T-72. It has better armour protection than the T-62, due to the use of layered armour. It also has the PAZ detection system and an anti-radiation liner as a collective NBC filtration and over-pressure system. The T-72 has the same smoke generating facility as T-62, and it employs the same armament as the T-64 (with integrated fire control system), i.e. 125mm gun which is a smooth bore tank gun along with one co-axial machine-gun.

The T-72 was first introduced in the Soviet Army in early 1970s and is not a further development of the T-64, but rather a parallel design chosen as a high production tank complementing the T-64 and has been deployed within the USSR and exported to several non-WTO countries. The current standard version of this tank is designated T-72M, and its variant, designated M1981/3, may be the next Soviet series production tank, the M-80. (This may be in the Indian pipeline too).

While the Pakistani planners are toying with their MBT 2000 which will have the same calibre gun,

i.e. the 125mm and which is being claimed as superior to the T-72, we cannot ignore the possibility of an expeditious supply of the latest Soviet tank T-80. Along with this and the indigenous 'Arjun' tank, the Indians will leave Pakistan far behind again in the MBT race.

The T-80 is a little heavier i.e. 42 tons as against 40 of the T-72, it incorporates the common features of both the T-64 and T-72. However it has enhanced frontal armour and has a larger engine with an estimated 900 HP performance. It has a laser range finder. This tank was first seen by the West in 1981.

Now a few words about 'Arjun'. The Indian Government has already given a go-ahead for a Rs. 4,000 million (\$207 million), production of MBT-80 'Arjun'. About 1500 of these are to be inservice by the year 2000. The rate of production per year will be 150 tanks. Uptil now ten (10) prototypes have been built at the Combat Vehicle and Research Development Establishment (CVRDE) at Madras, and six of these have been handed over to the Army for trials.

According to a reliable source, work is to start on a pre-production batch of about 24 tanks which will enter service with a squadron of the Armoured Corps. The first production 'Arjun' will roll out at the CVRDE in the early 1990s. Orders have already been placed with companies like the BMEL and BHEL for equipment which will go into production.

So there is a wide gap, both quantitative and qualitative, in the MBT assets of India and Pakistan. And at present the balance tilts very clearly in favour of the Indian side. This has been made possible by the massive military collaboration with the Soviets in the early 80s when military hardware worth some 4.2 million dollars was transferred to India by the Soviet Union.

It is time our defence planners assessed the imbalance and took remedial measures. It is heartening that action has already been taken to bridge the gap, although it may take a long time before we can catch up with India.

Armies in Low-Intensity Conflict

David Charters and Maurice Tugwell, (Editors), "Armies in Low-Intensity Conflict". Pergamon Press, Inc, Maxwell House, Fairview Park, Elmsford, New York 10523, USA, 1989, 272 Pages, Price \$45.00.

An effective military capability for low-intensity conflict integrates two issues: first, an understanding of the nature and characteristics of low-intensity conflicts, and second, organisational strategies, that reflect that understanding. Low-intensity conflicts include show of force but stop short of limited conventional wars such as Korea and the Falkland Islands. However, low-intensity conflicts are viewed as conflicts that are less deadly or violent than conventional wars.

The five case studies in the book "*Armies in Low-Intensity Conflict*" illustrate many of the challenges which Western armies have had to meet since World War II. They vary from the major operations mounted by the French and later the Americans in Indo-China, the prolonged withdrawal-from-empire campaigns of Britain and France, short and sharp cross-border raids and anti-terrorist operations conducted by Israel, operations in Northern Ireland, and the ubiquitous peace-keeping operations performed by Canada's Armed Forces. All five armies are today expected to perform at all levels of intensity, from full scale war between the major powers to providing "aid to the civil power" or breaking a terrorist siege.

These case studies suggest some general criteria for effective adaptation. The first of these is *flexibility*. An army which is open to change or accustomed to making *ad hoc* adjustments to its tactics and methods is more likely to adapt effectively than the one which is doctrinaire or inclined to operate only according to operating procedures. The army must be able to learn from on-the-job experience. Political sensitivity is the second criterion. It is also characteristic that can be instilled by proper training but, as a rule, requires, a degree of guidance and direction from the relevant political authorities. It follows, as well, that political sensitivity requires high standards of discipline, both in terms of behaviour and with respect to the use of force. This points to two or more important criteria: good junior leadership at the officer and NCO levels; and high standards of training in basic military skills. Together, these can instil adequate and excellent — standards of performance, even from a conscript army. They are also essential for unit cohesion, an important factor in the prolonged, stressful and debilitating operational conditions that characterise low-intensity conflicts. The regimental system, whether of the French or the British pattern, appears to offer genuine benefits in this regard. Next, the army requires an effective intelligence capability. It should be flexible enough to operate either in conjunction with police or other intelligence agencies, or on its own in a hostile

environment. The intelligence personnel moreover, must have a clear understanding of the nature of threat, and must be able to communicate relevant information to the commanders who need it most. Only in this way, will the army and the rest of the security forces, be able to locate, anticipate and pre-empt the enemy by exploiting the principle of surprise to his disadvantage. Finally, the army requires mobility; again, flexibility is the operative consideration. The army must be capable of deploying over short distances and long,

by a variety of means. That said, mobility must not be over-emphasized.

In sum, three lessons stand out for these studies: the importance of allotting the right amount of emphasis on low-intensity conflict in the doctrine and training of an army as a whole; the need to retain small specialist cadres for the most challenging roles; and the danger of imagining that either can act as a substitute for the other.

Col. (Ghulam Sarwar) (Retd)

The Kashmir Crisis Point Counter-point

Simla Agreement

Following is the text of Simla Agreement reached between Pakistan and India on July 2, 1972.

"The Government of Pakistan and the Government of India are resolved that the two countries put an end to the conflict and confrontation that have hitherto marred their relations and work for the promotion of a friendly and harmonious relationship and the establishment of durable peace in the subcontinent, so that both countries may henceforth devote their resources and energies to the pressing task of advancing the welfare of their peoples.

"In order to achieve this objective, the Government of Pakistan and the Government of India have agreed as follows:

- (i) That the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations shall govern the relations between the two countries;
- (ii) That the two countries are resolved to settle their differences by peaceful means through bilateral negotiations or by any other peaceful means mutually agreed upon between them. Pending the final settlement of any of the problems between the two countries, neither side shall unilaterally alter the situation and both

shall prevent the organisation, assistance and encouragement of any acts detrimental to the maintenance of peaceful and harmonious relations;

- (iii) That the prerequisite for reconciliation, good neighbourliness and durable peace between them is a commitment by both the countries to peaceful co-existence, respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, on the basis of equality and mutual benefit;
- (iv) That the basic issues and causes of conflict which have bedevilled the relations between the two countries for the last 25 years shall be resolved by peaceful means;
- (v) That they shall always respect each other's national unity, territorial integrity, political independence and sovereign equality;
- (vi) That in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations they will refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of each other.

"Both Governments will take all steps within their power to prevent hostile propaganda directed against each other.

Both countries will encourage the dissemination of such information as would promote the development of friendly relations between them.

"In order progressively to restore and normalise relations between the two countries step by step, it was agreed that:

- (i) Steps shall be taken to resume communications, postal, telegraphic, sea, land including border posts, and air links including overflights.
- (ii) Appropriate steps shall be taken to promote travel facilities for the nationals of the other country.
- (iii) Trade and cooperation in economic and other agreed fields will be resumed as far as possible.
- (iv) Exchange in the fields of science and culture will be promoted.

"In this connection delegations from the two countries will meet from time to time to work out the necessary details.

"In order to initiate the process of the establishment of durable peace, both the Governments agree that:

- (i) Pakistani and Indian forces shall be withdrawn to their side of the international border.
- (ii) In Jammu and Kashmir, the Line of Control resulting from the ceasefire of December 17, 1971, shall be respected by both sides without prejudice to the recognised position of either side. Neither side shall seek to alter it unilaterally irrespective of mutual differences and legal interpretations. Both sides further undertake to refrain from threat or the use of force in violation of this Line.
- (iii) The withdrawals shall commence upon entry into force of this agreement and shall be completed within a period of 30 days thereof.

"This agreement will be subject to ratification by both countries in accordance

with their respective constitutional procedures, and will come into force with effect from the date on which the instruments of ratification are exchanged.

"Both Governments agree that their respective Heads will meet again at a mutually convenient time in the future and that, in the meanwhile, the representatives of the two sides will meet to discuss further the modalities and arrangements for the establishment of durable peace and normalisation of relations, including the question of repatriation of prisoners of war and civilian internees, a final settlement of Jammu and Kashmir and the resumption of diplomatic relations."

ZULFIKAR ALI BHUTTO,
President, ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF
PAKISTAN,
Simla, the 2nd July, 1972.
INDIRA GANDHI,
Prime Minister, REPUBLIC OF INDIA.

Fahd voices concern over Kashmir

King Fahd bin Abdul Aziz of Saudi Arabia has expressed utmost concern over the death of a large number of Muslims in the Indian occupied Kashmir.

The Saudi Foreign Ministry in an official statement issued on Thursday said that King Fahd, who was the custodian of the two holy mosques, has been following, with the utmost attention and concern, the events in Indian held Kashmir which have led to the deterioration of the situation.

The 46-nation Organisation of the Islamic Conference (OIC) has extended full support for the Kashmiri Muslims who are waging a struggle against India for their right to self-determination.

Singh Warns Pakistan of 'Fitting Reply'

Indian Prime Minister V.P. Singh warned Pakistan to stop backing Muslim freedom fighters in the Indian held state of Jammu and Kashmir or face the consequences, the Bangalore-based Radio Network reported.

Addressing a public meeting in Calcutta, the Indian leader said, his country's desire to build friendly relations with its neighbours did not mean that it would allow any attempt against India's territorial integrity.

In one of the most blunt references to Pakistan, Mr. Singh said, India would give "a fitting reply" to any armed intervention in Kashmir from across the borders.

"The Indian army was strong and capable enough to protect the country and the people were solidly behind it, the news agency reported him as telling gathering outside the Calcutta airport.

New Delhi has accused Islamabad of backing Muslim freedom fighters campaigning for secession in Indian held Jammu and Kashmir state. Islamabad has repeatedly denied the charge.

V.P. Singh, who reached Calcutta for a day's visits, reiterated that Kashmir was a part of the Indian union and we would not tolerate anyone who tried to confuse the people of the Muslim majority state.

The statement came three days after Islamabad called for a plebiscite to determine the future of Kashmir, which Pakistan disputes and over which the two south Asian neighbours have fought two of their three wars.

(Muslim, Islamabad, 2-2-90)

"No Adventurism," Pakistan told

The external affairs minister, Mr. I. K. Gujral, warned Pakistan not to indulge in any sort of "adventurism" on

its borders with India which could harm bilateral relations.

Addressing a function organised by the Rotary Club here, he said India's initiative for peace in the Indian sub-continent should not be interpreted as a "sign of weakness."

"We have strength and confidence of meeting any challenge that threatens the unity and integrity of the nation," he said adding "India was for building treaties and not tanks."

"India firmly believes in the principles of panchsheel and peaceful co-existence and has always worked for creating an environment of peace and friendship with our neighbours," the minister added.

"Hawkish" Policy

Describing Pakistan's policy of aiding and arming extremists and separatists in Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir as "hawkish", Mr. Gujral said Pakistan should "adopt a statesman-like approach and not that of a politician."

Pakistan, too had internal problems but would it tolerate interference by any external power, he asked.

"They (Pakistan) mistook the protests, agitations and demonstrations in the Kashmir Valley as an upheaval and started interfering. Protests are a part of any democratic society," he said.

Pak Misconceptions

On his recent talks with the Pakistan foreign minister, Sahabzada Yakub Khan, Mr. Gujral said Mr. Khan had brought an "unhappy message" based on "misconceptions and misreading."

He had told his Pakistani counterpart that India was in favour of improving relations with Pakistan on all fronts and had made it clear that India would not tolerate any interference in her internal affairs, Mr. Gujral said.

He said peace had taken over the world and the "adversaries of yesterday were the friends of today."

(Times of India, 5-2-90)

"Pakistan Preparing for War"

Mr. Mohit Sen, general secretary of the United Communist Party of India, said that Pakistan was preparing for war and appealed to all "patriotic forces" to work for strengthening the unity and integrity of the country.

Addressing a press conference, Mr. Sen said: "Pakistan has been waging an undeclared war against us in Punjab and Kashmir which threatens to assume the form of a full-fledged invasion."

Urging the National Front Government to shed all illusions about "good neighbourly relations" with Pakistan, Mr. Sen wanted the Congress(I), "as the largest political party in the country," to take the lead in mobilizing all patriotic parties and forces.

Mr. Sen said there could be no improvement in the Kashmir situation without the active role of the National Conference headed by Dr. Farooq Abdullah. "It was wrong on the part of the National Front, Government to have dismissed him by the backdoor through the provocative appointment of Mr. Jagmohan as Governor," he added.

Dr. Subramaniam Swamy, working president of the Janata Party, went a step further and demanded India send its Army to free "Azad" Kashmir from Pakistani occupation to settle the problem once and for all.

In a separate press conference, Dr. Swamy said a war with Pakistan seemed inevitable and wanted Mr. V.P. Singh to recall the Indian Ambassador, Mr. J. N. Dixit.

Dr. Swamy joined Mr. Sen in advocating recall of Mr. Jagmohan and reinstallation of Dr. Abdullah as Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir.

(The Statesman, 1-2-90)

India against war with Pak over Kashmir

India is strongly against going to war with Pakistan over a Muslim militant movement in occupied Kashmir Indian External Affairs Minister Inder Gujral.

The two countries have angrily blamed each other for the movement in which many people have died since Jan. 21.

'We in India are strongly against any military conflict. It is not only part of our policy but our commitment,' Gujral told Visnews Television in an interview.

Asked if the situation in occupied Kashmir could lead to a military conflict, Gujral said 'I hope not', Pakistan backs a United Nations call for a referendum in Kashmir.

Pakistan Not a Silent Spectator —Benazir

Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto declared that Pakistan could not remain silent spectator to the happenings in held Kashmir, but said Pakistan did not want war nor was it creating war psychosis in the country.

Addressing the joint session of the Parliament, convened to discuss the Kashmir situation, Prime Minister Bhutto said Pakistan wanted a peaceful, political and negotiated settlement, but it would not be intimidated by the threats being hurled from across the border.

"Our armed forces are ready and vigilant to defend the motherland, but we do not war or to create a war psychosis. Under

no circumstances, we shall put the security and independence of Pakistan in jeopardy," the Prime Minister told the parliamentarians in both English and Urdu.

The joint session speech was described by both government and opposition circles as a "hard hitting, plainspeaking" address by Ms. Bhutto who was making her first public appearance after her caesarian operation.

Pakistan, she said, would not compromise on the right of self-determination of the Kashmiri people. "It is a struggle of Kashmiris who are fighting with bare hands. We assure them of our full moral and political support" she said.

She called upon all those who support the right of self-determination to raise their voice for the people of Kashmir.

She said the situation in Kashmir was wholly indigenous, but India was trying to divert the issue and blame Pakistan as it was feeling helpless before the Kashmiris' struggle.

"They have provided not a single proof of Pakistan's involvement in Kashmir so far. It is a freedom struggle and India cannot deny it. The revolution taking place in Kashmir is the result of 42 years of grievances and has not been imported", she said.

The Prime Minister called for a united strategy in the country to tackle the Kashmir issue.

Pakistan and Kashmir, she said, shared common culture, heritage, religion and aspirations. "We are one and the entire nation is united," she said.

Voicing her utter sense of shock and grief over the unfortunate killing of Kashmiri Muslims in Held Kashmir by Indian troops, the Prime Minister, Ms. Benazir Bhutto, said the situation has reached a stage where Pakistan just can't shut her eyes to the human massacre there.

Pakistan, she said, must voice against the despotism, repression and atrocities by Indians in Held Kashmir who have trampled all the honesty, justice and moral values.

Threat of total extermination hangs over those wishing for peace and freedom, she said.

She spoke of the sordid accusations by India, which said: Pakistan is helping Kashmiri freedom fighters against India. It would be unwise to think so, she said. "Injustices" and "inhuman acts" which Kashmiris suffered in the past 42 years have welled up now.

The Prime Minister specifically spoke of the shrill cries from Held Kashmir, saying those being tormented by Indians await help from Muslims. Muslim world, she said, must come to their aid by putting economic and diplomatic pressure on India to stop her ugly acts of tyranny.

Analysing the cause which led to the current uprising in Held Kashmir, she said such a change was world over. The crushed and battered ones had stood up against the despotic and dictators. The people are obsessed with single dream—getting out of the wrath of the killers.

Pakistan, she said, was capable enough to defend its people against any possible aggression. Demand of the people in Kashmir was rational and genuine, she said, adding all they wanted is to be left in peace and freedom. She assured Kashmiri Muslims Pakistan's full moral and spiritual support, saying no way Islamabad will give up its years old stand on the Kashmir issue.

She denied Pakistan's clandestine military assistance to Kashmiri freedom fighters, terming Indian allegation an ugly way to divert world's attention from Kashmir issue. Pakistan, she said, never accepted Indian stand on Kashmir which has no moral, human or legal justification. Ex-

cutioners failed to break the freedom fighters who survived the foulest torture and inhuman acts, she said.

The Prime Minister said that Pakistan stands for peace, justice and harmony to flourish in the region. "We don't want war with India, but at the same time we will not let India or any other country to do any aggression. Moreover there would be no compromise on the Kashmir issue, she said firmly.

Pakistan, she said, is proud of her role it played in past by giving fullest moral support to Afghan freedom fighters, PLO, and all those fighting for their freedom. Kashmiris are among us and we must not shut out eyes to the unfortunate happening in Held Kashmir, she promised to herself and the nation.

(*Dawn and Frontier Post*,
Peshawar, 11-2-90)

Yaqub Khan

Foreign Minister Sahabzada Yaqub Khan briefed Government and Opposition members of the Senate and National Assembly on the objective realities and Government policies towards the Kashmir issue.

It was a follow-up of the Feb 3 meeting on the issue, aimed at taking the members of the Parliament into confidence to help evolve greater consensus for a joint stand on the Kashmir issue, which was of major national importance.

During the meeting, which lasted over two hours, Sahabzada Yaqub Khan accompanied by Director General of the Inter Services Intelligence (ISI) and Director (Military Operations), elaborated the conditions prevailing in occupied Kashmir and efforts initiated at the diplomatic levels in the matter and high-level Indo-Pak contacts.

The Foreign Minister said Pakistan could not remain forgetful of its defence prepared-

ness, while it firmly believed in the peaceful solution of the Kashmir issue.

He also gave the details of the talks he had with his Indian counterpart during his recent visit to New Delhi. During the visit, he said, he had conveyed the concern of Pakistan to the Indian authorities with regard to the Kashmir issue. He said India was a signatory to the specific UN and Security Council resolutions on Kashmir, which call for holding of a plebiscite.

He said these UN resolutions clearly state that Kashmir was a disputed territory and India and Pakistan were parties to it.

He said the Simla Agreement did not obstruct taking of the Kashmir issue to any appropriate international forum.

Presence of collective thinking and national consensus on the Kashmir issue was a healthy sign, he said.

He also apprised the participants of Government endeavours in the matter.

Those attending the meeting included Begum Nusrat Bhutto, Senior Federal Minister, Federal Ministers, Senators and members of the National Assembly.

From the Opposition, Mr. Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, chief of the Combined Opposition Parties (COP), Maulana Abdul Sattar Khan Niazi, Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain, Mr. Ghulam Haider Wyne and Syeda Abida Hussain attended the meeting.

Resolutions

The following is the text of the unified resolutions moved by Foreign Minister Sahabzada Yaqub Khan, in the joint session of the Parliament to initiate debate on Kashmir issue:

"The Majlis-i-Shoora (parliament) in joint sitting expresses solidarity with the people of Jammu and Kashmir in their struggle for self-determination,

—calls upon India to desist from ruthless attempts to suppress the demand of the

- people of the state of Jammu and Kashmir for self-determination,
- calls for a final settlement of the Jammu and Kashmir dispute, through a fair and impartial plebiscite under UN auspices, in accordance with the resolutions of the Security Council, and UNCIP,
 - demands that the Federal Government intensify its efforts to approach the international community, especially the Islamic countries, by sending delegations including parliamentarians to selected countries to persuade them to exert pressure on the Indian Government to solve the Kashmir issue on the basis of UN resolutions and in the spirit of the Simla agreement".
 - proposes that a joint national council comprising representatives of the Government and Opposition be created to support and pursue the cause of the people of Jammu and Kashmir at national and international levels through all possible peaceful means."

Benazir Rules Out war on Kashmir

WELCOMES MEDIATION

Pakistan would welcome third country mediation in defusing border tensions with India over disputed Kashmir, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto said.

"I think whoever wishes to work for peace should be welcomed", she said in an exclusive interview with Agence France-Presse.

"If there are countries that are friendly and want to defuse the tension, there would be no hesitation on the part of Pakistan", Benazir Bhutto said. Asked if Britain had shown interest in mediating on the Kashmir issue. She said, "I am not aware of the report".

"The Government of Pakistan's point of view is that this problem is one which is

internationally recognised and will never be permanently resolved until plebiscite is held under the United Nations auspices", she added.

"But we are ready for a dialogue with India, not only on our other disputes but also on Kashmir", she said. "We could always sit down and talk to India" about the UN resolution of January 5, 1949 calling for a plebiscite in Kashmir, she said. India has rejected a plebiscite, saying Kashmir freely acceded to India.

"I am afraid the Government of India believes that it can crush the movement", she said. "But worldwide trends have shown that when the people want their freedom it is very difficult to crush".

The independence campaign recently launched in the Indian occupied part of Kashmir, split between the two neighbours since the 1948 war, has left more than 100 people dead since the beginning of the year.

People in Pakistan and on this side of the Line of Control separating the two portions of Kashmir have expressed complete solidarity with the Kashmiris' struggle for self-determination.

India has accused Pakistan of extending support to the Muslim militants in Occupied Kashmir, a charge which Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto strongly denies. "We are simply endorsing the UN resolution", she said.

On the situation in Kashmir, she said, "it is not the first time that force has been used (by India) in Kashmir, but the will of the people of Kashmir has never been suppressed".

Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto said the "people of Kashmir are inspired today when the world itself is welcoming freedom across the globe and are themselves demanding their fundamental rights recognised by the world".

She stressed that "Kashmir is an outstanding dispute", but hoped the two neighbours could reach a peaceful settlement: "why should there be a war?" "we don't want a war. We will take whatever steps we can do to avoid a conflict", she said.

She said Pakistan has "very clearly and categorically stated that war is not its objective".

"We do feel that there is historic responsibility both on the Government of India and the Government of Pakistan to work for the resolution of problems and disputes between them on the basis of equality and sovereignty", she said.

She added that the Kashmir dispute could "be solved through a peaceful settlement, in accordance with the United Nation's resolution and in the spirit of the Simla Agreement" of 1972, which denounced the use of force to settle bilateral disputes.

(*Frontier Post*, Peshawar, 14-2-90)

NO COMPROMISE!

—Yaqub

Foreign Minister Sahabzada Yaqub Khan on Tuesday (30 Jan) strongly refuted the Indian accusations of Pakistan's involvement in the current Kashmir valley situation and said New Delhi was trying to evade and hide the real causes of the popular uprising in Indian-held Kashmir by putting the blame on Islamabad.

The Foreign Minister, in a special broadcast over radio and television networks, assured the people that Pakistan Government remained firmly committed to uphold the Kashmiris' right to self-determination and was equally keen to avoid pitfalls which might jeopardise the Kashmir's cause and the regional peace.

The Foreign Minister condemned the Indian "violent action" to put down the

popular Kashmiri movement by force. He said it was most regrettable that this wanton Indian action had claimed the lives of hundreds of innocent people in the valley.

He reminded the Indian Government that the only way the peace in Kashmir could be achieved was by implementing the United Nations resolutions which gave the Kashmiris the right to determine their destiny by political means. Sahabzada Yaqub Khan said this basic position was also reiterated by the late Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto when he signed the Simla accord with the late Indian Premier, Indira Gandhi, in 1972.

The Foreign Minister said the Kashmir situation had remained under constant review at high-level meetings with the President and Prime Minister and other senior government leaders and officials, and assured that the Government remained fully vigilant so far as the national security interests were concerned.

Sahabzada Yaqub Khan reiterated that Jammu and Kashmir is disputed. It is an outstanding issue which is to be resolved through plebiscite under the supervision of the UN and in accordance with the resolutions of the Security Council.

He refuted the allegations levelled by the Indian Government and its media about involvement of Pakistan in the internal affairs of India by helping the Kashmiris.

He said they have been asked to categorically refute the baseless allegation being levelled by India.

Sahabzada Yaqub Khan said the recent developments in the occupied Kashmir have aroused a wave of deep resentment and anguish all over Pakistan. He said the struggle of the Kashmiri people has assumed a new direction with a fundamental change.

He said the freedom fighters have offered

sacrifice of their lives by staging civil disobedience and strikes, to prove to India and the rest of the world that the Kashmiri people could not be deprived of their basic right to self-determination, by resort to subjugation and perpetration of repressive policies.

The Foreign Minister pointed out that the Indian Government has tried to suppress the movement through atrocities which, he said, resulted in deaths of hundreds of Kashmiris and injuries to much more. Besides this, thousands are being detained and put behind bars. But, he added, resort to these repressive measures has resulted in increase in the intensity and spirit of the Kashmiris to continue their struggle for plebiscite. He said the situation reached such a stage that Farooq Abdullah was forced to resign and Governor rule was necessitated in the held Jammu and Kashmir.

He said that to quell the popular freedom movement, the Indian armed forces were called in. For the last many days, curfew remains imposed in many areas, he added.

Sahabzada Yaqub Khan said India in an effort to distract the world's attention from its armed action in the held Kashmir had started a campaign of baseless allegations against Pakistan through its diplomatic channels.

He said in the same context, the world is being given the impression that the held Jammu and Kashmir is an integral part of India and that Pakistan is interfering in its internal affairs. The Indian newspapers, radio and television have unleashed the same propaganda, he said.

The Foreign Minister said the Indian attitude in this regard and accusations against Pakistan are in conflict with the obtaining realities. This peculiar situation, he said, warranted that Pakistan once again elaborate its clear-cut policy on the issue.

The Minister said that during his recent visit to India and at meetings with the Indian personalities, he had made it clear that Jammu and Kashmir was a disputed area and a resolution of the problem was possible only through holding of plebiscite under the United Nations supervision in the light of the resolutions adopted by the UN Security Council. He said he had very clearly stated that the freedom movement in Kashmir portrayed the natural urge of the people there and it had erupted out of the domestic circumstances.

Sahabzada Yaqub Khan said that by levelling wild accusations against Pakistan the facts could neither be changed nor a befitting solution could be found to the Kashmir problem. He said the only solution of the issue was to accept the Kashmiris basic right to self-determination and grant them the opportunity to determine their own fate.

He said that while in Delhi he had stressed the point that Pakistan was a party to the Kashmir dispute and this was also supported by the on-record United Nations resolutions.

He said it was universally known that the Pakistanis and Kashmiri people had deep spiritual and cultural affinities and relationship. For these reasons, "it was impossible for us not to raise voice against the repression being perpetuated against the Kashmiris."

He said he had assured the Indian Prime Minister and Foreign Minister that Pakistan was committed to the Simla agreement. He said he had reaffirmed Pakistan's stand for resolution of the Kashmir dispute through peaceful means.

He said it was the need of the hour that the course of bilateral negotiation should continue so that no wrong decisions were taken merely on the basis of any misconception or apprehensions.

Sahabzada Yaqub Khan said Pakistan was a peace loving country. It did not want confrontation with any country. Pakistan's foreign policy had always been based on principles.

Pakistan could not forego its principles. Pakistan would never bargain over the basic rights of the Kashmiri people, including their right to self-determination, he said.

He said Pakistan would pursue its principled stand and could not be deterred by any pressure tactics or threats, and would continue to support plebiscite for the Kashmiri people.

He said the Pakistan Government was fully aware of the sensitivity of the situation. He said the problems confronting the country were very complicated and "we have to take decisions very carefully and after a lot of thinking." He said: "we would not take any step which could endanger peace in the region. However, it was not only our right, but duty to befittingly rebut the baseless accusations and incorrect stand of the Indian Government."

Sahabzada Yaqub Khan said the people of Pakistan had one stand in respect of the Kashmir issue. They unitedly supported the rights of the people of Jammu and Kashmir. It was a matter of principle transcending political considerations.

He said it was necessary to not only maintain but consolidate this unity.

The Foreign Minister said: "We would have to exercise restraint, sobriety, farsightedness and dignity in our conduct while performing our duty." The present difficulties are short lived, he said and expressed the confidence that the nation would come out successfully, because "our stand is based on principles and we are following a sagacious policy."

(Dawn, 31-1-90)

India's Raw Reaction to Yaqub's Statement

We have noted with deep regret and concern the distorted assertions made by the Foreign Minister of Pakistan in his broadcast over Pakistan TV and Radio on 30th January. The description of recent events in Kashmir given by him is deliberately fallacious.

The statement of Pakistan Foreign Minister indicates that his Government persists in its efforts to involve itself in our internal affairs. Such interferences have been claimed by the Pakistan Foreign Minister to be part of official government policy. This policy is not conducive to promoting amicable and cooperative relations between two neighbouring countries. Indeed, some of rhetoric used in broadcast amounts to direct incitement to subversion, violence and terrorist activities in a part of India. The effort by the Pakistan Foreign Minister to justify these policies can only cause tension in the region. This is also in clear violation of the letter and spirit of the Simla Agreement.

We are concerned that Pakistan is deliberately intervening in our internal affairs. We would like to firmly reiterate that Kashmir is and will continue to be an integral part of India. The only issue that remains to be resolved in Kashmir is the vacuation by Pakistan of territory illegally occupied by it.

As is well known, India has all along desired greater cooperation and closer relations with all her neighbours particularly since the new Government has assumed office.

The Government and people of India desire nothing but friendship with the people of Pakistan. We will continue to work with determination for good neighbourly relations, since we believe that peace and tranquillity in the region is in the wider interest of both the countries.

India has no proof of Pak involvement—Khushwant

A prominent Indian journalist Khushwant Singh has questioned New Delhi's approach to blame Pakistan for the crisis in Held Kashmir.

"The border is so wide and open but it is not correct to say that what has been happening in Kashmir has been fomented by Pakistan," Khushwant Singh told the BBC.

Replying to a question about Indian accusations that Pakistan was supplying arms to Kashmiris and imparting training to freedom-fighters, Khushwant Singh said: "We don't have concrete proofs in this regard. The government has no doubt levelled such allegation against Pakistan, but you will have to admit that the general opinion of the Kashmiri Muslims is against India."

The Kashmir crisis, he said, has grown to an "enormous extent" and added, "I can't say whether our government will succeed in resolving this."

Asked why India has not implemented the UN resolutions for plebiscite in Kashmir, Khushwant Singh said: "I do admit that we pledged to hold plebiscite but do not hold that. I also admit that if plebiscite is held we will lose that." But, he added, his personal opinion was that now plebiscite should not be held.

By way of a justification for his opinion, Khushwant Singh referred to what he called rapidly increasing Hindu fundamentalism and argued that a plebiscite in Kashmir could endanger the future of Indian Muslims.

(*The Nation*, 2-2-90)

OPS. TOPAC? INDIAN DISCLOSURE

General Zia-ul-Haq conceived of 'Op Topac' in April 1988. Outlining his plan for Kashmir in an address to his commanders he said:

"We plant our chosen men in all the key positions; they will subvert the police force, financial institutions, the communication network and other important organisations.

We whip up anti-Indian feelings amongst the students and peasants preferably on some religious issues, so that we can enlist their active support for rioting and anti-government demonstrations.

Organise and train subversive elements and armed groups with capabilities, initially, to deal with paramilitary forces located in the valley.

Adopt and develop the means to cut off lines of communication between Jammu and Kashmir and within Kashmir and Ladakh by stealth, without recourse to force.

In collaboration with Sikh extremists, create chaos and terror in Jammu to divert attention from the valley at a critical juncture and discredit the regime even in the Hindu mind." (Indian Defence Review, July 1989, pp. 39-40).

(*Times of India*, 2-2-90)

CALL FOR DIALOGUE ON KASHMIR

US asks India not to use force against unarmed people

The United States on Friday told India to "restrain its security forces from using deadly force against unarmed people" in Occupied Kashmir and called for a dialogue to settle the dispute.

"We deplore the loss of life in Kashmir", State Department spokeswoman Margaret

tried to satisfy the members of the Lower House, they need everybody's support to find a solution.

(*The Nation*, 26-2-90)

Indian Army Chief Warns Pakistan

The Indian Army Chief of Staff Gen. D.N. Sharma Tuesday (30 Jan) warned Pakistan against any armed infiltration across the control line into the northern state of Kashmir, the Bangalore-based Radio Network reported.

Gen. Sharma who was talking to newsmen in New Delhi said the Indian Army was prepared for "all eventualities." He said the Indian Army was capable of repulsing any armed aggression against India.

He was commenting on a reported statement by former President of the Azad Jammu and Kashmir Sardar Mohammad Ibrahim to the effect that he was planning to raise a commando force for action in the Indian occupied Kashmir if the Indian Government did not halt atrocities on the Muslims.

The Indian Army Chief of Staff bluntly told the Kashmir leader that he should not embark upon what he called "foolhardy" plan. Gen. Sharma, according to the Radio Network, told Pakistan that no violation of the Indian land or airspace would be tolerated and that Indian forces were fully in control of the situation not only in the disputed state of Kashmir but all along the Indo-Pak borders.

Meanwhile, the broadcast said Pakistani officials seem to be fully aware of the serious situation existing on their border with India. A few days ago, the broadcast said, Pakistani Information Minister Ahmed Saeed Awan expressed apprehension over the possibility of adventurism on the part of India.

(*Muslim*, Islamabad, 31-1-90)

India doesn't want any confrontation — V.P.

New Delhi—Indian Prime Minister V.P. Singh has reiterated that India does not want any confrontation with the neighbouring countries, particularly with Pakistan.

In an interview to the Saudi Arabian daily, *Al Riyadh*, Mr. V.P. Singh regretted statements of some Pakistani leaders which he said were obstructing normalisation between the two countries.

Commenting on the Jammu and Kashmir situation, the Prime Minister said despite recent incidents, India would continue efforts to promote relations with the neighbouring countries.

Mr. V.P. Singh described Indo-Saudi relations as best and said the two countries were co-operating in different fields, particularly in economic field.

Indian threats will be taken seriously — Beg

Gen. Mirza Aslam Beg, Chief of the Army Staff, has said that the changing political situation in Kashmir has added new dimensions to the security along the Line of Control as the fact has become all the more ominous with blatant warning being sounded by very responsible people from across the border.

The Army chief said "such threats have to be taken seriously and we will have to be fully prepared and vigilant to safeguard the frontiers of motherland."

He was talking to officers and men during his visit to different formations and units in Azad Kashmir. Accompanied by Corp Commander Lt.-Gen. Imranullah Khan, he visited various formations and units in Kotli, Bagh, Kel and Muzaffarabad sectors and saw the state of preparedness to meet the threat. The respective General Officers Commanding and Brigade Commanders briefed the army chief on their defence

preparation and professional commitment.

Gen. Beg. referred to the freedom movement launched by the Kashmiri people and deteriorating situation in the valley. He emphatically stated that it called for preparing ourselves to the best of our ability to defeat aggression and crush adventures coming in its wake.

He said the Pakistan Army by the grace of Allah was capable of discharging its responsibility and was adequately equipped to meet the demands of national defence.

Gen. Beg. said "the changing scenario in Kashmir has posed new challenges and

assigned new tasks and new mission to us. We will, *Inshallah*, rise to the occasion and accomplish all such tasks and goals successfully with the total professional dedication and commitment."

He also reminded the troops of the importance of February 5 when the whole nation is expressing its solidarity with the people of Kashmir in ascertaining their right to self-determination. He said that such a unity of the nation was the greatest asset for the armed forces as it provided impetus and gave support to them to fight back the aggression.

(*The Nation*, 6-2-90)



Newsletter

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French Mirages Fly High in Gulf

A \$2.3 billion deal for fighter-bombers between the French Dassault company and the United Arab Emirates (UAE) has dashed British and American hopes of breaking into a major new market.

The French had to fight hard to tie up the deal after protracted wrangling over specifications and costs. British Aerospace (BAe) and several other international companies had put in rival bids to supply the UAE, which has the second largest air force in the Middle East.

By the end of 1990 the UAE will have three squadrons of Mirage 2000s — 36 aircraft — as well as squadrons of other Mirage jets.

Saudi Arabia, which is supplied predominantly by Britain, has the largest air force and had been pressurising the UAE and other Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) states to buy the Tornado, built by an Anglo-German-Italian conglomerate, and join an integrated air defence network based on the Saudis' American-built

AWACS airborne early warning radar system.

The deal between the UAE and the French was signed in principle in 1984, but then ran into difficulties.

The UAE insisted on modifications to the Mirage 2000 fighter-bomber, including altering its missile holders to accommodate a wider range of weapons, including Side-winders.

It also wanted night-flight capabilities and midair refuelling facilities and long-range fuel tanks which would double the aircraft's maximum range of 460 miles (750 kms) at a speed of Mach 2.3.

The deal turned into a five-year dispute when Thomsons, the company carrying out the missile modifications, advised Dassault that the UAE requirements were too expensive, and would enable the Emirates in future to use American and British as well as French missiles.

Other Arab Gulf states who hold joint manoeuvres with the Emirates are armed

with American or British missiles, rather than French.

The modification costs amounted to nearly 25 per cent of the value of the deal, and the UAE said it would pay the extra only in oil exports.

The dispute prompted other arms producers to put in rival bids. The United States put forward its F-18 Hornet and the Soviets offered the MiG 29 at half the cost of the Mirage 2000.

BAe's hopes also were rising. By March 1988 half a dozen UAE pilots had flown the Tornado and were comparing its performance with the French, American and Soviet planes.

But Britain suffered setbacks in the region. Bad press reports about the Tornado's Fox Hunter radar system coincided with Britain's decision to make Kuwait sell 55 per cent of its holdings in British Petroleum. This led the Kuwaitis to buy 60 F-18 Hornets from the United States, rather than taking Tornados.

There were problems also with Jordan, which bought 20 Mirage 2000s in 1988. British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher disagreed with the German government about the financing of a Jordanian deal to buy 48 Tornados, and King Hussein cancelled the order in May 1989.

The Saudis were unhappy about Britain's "unclear intentions" regarding an offset agreement under which British companies would invest 25 per cent of the value of the deal in hightech projects in Saudi Arabia.

"But losing the chance to sell the Tornado to the UAE was BAe's own fault," said a source in the Gulf, who added that BAe failed on at least three occasions to put on a convincing display for the Emirate of the Tornado's capabilities.

This was in contrast to an impressive

display by Dassault and the French air force at the Dabai air show in January 1989. Two Mirage 2000 jets flew 6,000 miles (9,650 kms) to the UAE with only one stop, in Egypt, and several midair refuellings.

In addition, the French Ministry of Defence promised Thomsons subsidies to cover any losses on the Mirage deal.

When UAE air force chief Sheikh Mohammed Bin Zayed visited Britain in May 1989, a carefully arranged news leak about BAe's last-ditch attempts to sell the Tornado reached Paris; within 48 hours, the French agreed to all the UAE demands and the deal was signed in the summer.

That was not the only bad news for Britain.

UAE defence strategists are convinced by military studies that depending on ground forces is absurd, given the UAE's population of only 1.6 million in an area of 32,300 square miles (83,657 sq kms), and that naval forces are ineffective without submarines, which cannot operate in the shallow waters of the Gulf.

Such an analysis would leave the air force as the main defence. If the UAE adopts this as its policy, it is likely to be satisfied with the nine British-built Ardhana inshore patrol boats it already has, and be unlikely to invest in new U.K.-built Vosper-Thornycroft Class 42 frigates.

The backbone of the UAE navy is its six German-built FRG Lurssen TNC-45 missile boats equipped with French Exocet missiles. It bought Dutch-made Goal Keeper anti-missile systems for the navy in a \$110 million deal.

Worse still for Britain, French Defence Minister Jean-Pierre Chevenement, while in Abu Dhabi to see the Mirage 2000 star in an air show marking the UAE's 18th anniversary, announced moves to develop cooperation between France and Oman,

a close friend of Britain for more than 150 years and a valued military customer.

INDIA

Armed Forces being Undermined

Air Vice Marshal Surenji Goyal (Retd)
I.A.F.

According to their constitution and oath, uniformed members of the Defence Services and police cannot owe allegiance to any other than the Motherland whose honour comes first on all counts. It is for that reason, they must remain apolitical, secular and non-aligned to any party or "ism". Hence it was that the commander-in-chief in India until independence, was a member of the cabinet. Nehru's Cabinet decided to divest the first Indian army chief, General now Field-Marshal, Cariappa of this honour for some reason. Nehru took possession of the C-in-C's residence at Teen Murti House and ye-olde-faithful "Kippers" reportedly did not even bother about the whole episode. Later, however, there have been several interesting confrontations between the chiefs of army staff and their counterparts, topped by the controversial personality of Krishna Menon who was mostly to blame for creating prejudice and a sort of military phobia in Nehru and the political sphere at large. It was the same questionable dignitary who was largely responsible for undermining the morale of the army by the unworthy parliamentary insult to the late General Thimmayya, followed by the unforgiveable debacle and destruction on the Chinese front in the autumn of 1962. History has yet to speak up more about it all.

What is more, the political elders had after the 70s tended to look upon the armed service's uniform as they looked upon the policeman's as a type of gendamerie, an escort, and not an

honourable and proud national organization to be accorded the highest consideration and respect. After all, the services chiefs do hold their own right of protocol like ministers and judges. Krishna Menon had evolved new modes of confronting the senior defence officials of pressurizing them into sycophantic yes-men, which introduced for the first time in Commonwealth history, divide-and-rule loyalty and groupism based on political interests. Not only high posts, but even junior ranks were motivated to befriend some MP, MLA if not a Minister, for small gains. Thus non-sycophants like Field-Marshal Cariappa had to wait long for small dues and proper recognition.

For ceremonial duties and purposes besides defence of the nation, special regimental groups and units like the President's Bodyguard and the VIP Communications Squadron have been established. Any summary diversion of regular units at political fancy or favour can only serve as a bad precedent and a demoralizing factor, if often repeated. Such unfortunate repetitions seem to have become almost a habit of the political bosses who are still ignorant of the Defence Services' prestige and honour. Awareness of the reality of the Armed Forces is as much a necessity for a naive Minister as it is for the grassroot administrator.

These critical lines are not to advocate any cause or personality but to highlight the need for a hearty handshake between the civil and defence counterparts at all levels, beginning with the District Magistrate whose opposite number is a Major, Lt. Commander or a Squadron Leader. Presently, even a Colonel has to wait uncomfortably outside the celebrity's door in spite of a prior appointment. The discomfort is multiplied if the caller were a retired officer. It is for this reason that many a retired senior officer take to

private assignments and secluded clubs more readily than getting involved in social service, or other public services.

The clear national image which defence personnel cultivate, more often than not gets blurred by political ignorance and ego. There are many great "considerations" in various countries, relating to rehabilitation, re-employment, children's education, travel and medicare concessions which are yet to be made available to the retired ranks in India even on a lesser scale.

The political hierarchy and the bureaucracy are requested not to forget that they are dealing with not mere professionals, but men of prodigious physical and mental capacities used to great discomforts and sacrifices. They develop these qualities as well as patriotism and initiative after long and varied training, followed almost annually by checks and refreshers. And unlike any other civilian cadre, the defence officer periodically stakes his life in live exercises while the airman takes his life in his own hands everyday as he takes off on a sortie.

Some may view these factual but critical comments as harsh. But with due regard to experience, I request that they consider the lot of our Armed Forces in comparison with their compatriots in any part from Egypt and West Europe to the USA and the Commonwealth. Upon the integrated morale and motivation of the forces to a very large extent, would depend their readiness and morale in emergencies. With respect let political and vested interests keep off the uniform, with honourable respect.

These views correspond with the Services' thought and the ex-servicemen's appeal that it is time for the Government to show impartiality towards the protectors of the frontiers, sea and airspace in all pending matters. The rehabilitation of able men after retirement and the equal

rank-equal pension formula are some of the issues. It is most gratifying to see a ray of hope in the offing for the Defence Services emerging with the change.

The defence services uniform is still the epitome of national honour, prestige, strength and morale on a scale which few other societies or groups can boast of. A reversal of the politicization of the "uniform" among other things, is both appealed for, and expected.

(*The Sunday Statesman*, 21-1-90)

'Caste System' Sunders Army Brass

Lt. Gen. R.K. Gaur was decorated with the highest peace time award — Param Vashisht Seva Medal (PVSM) for "distinguished service of the most exceptional order," but he will have to leave the Army in five days, a year before he would normally be due to retire. Another PVSM winner this year, Lt. Gen. J. S. Rawat, will be retired this June at the age of 57 instead of the usual 58 for that rank.

This anomalous situation has arisen from a three year-old scheme which has divided the generals of the Indian Army into two streams: *staff* and *command*. Messrs Gaur and Rawat were put in the staff stream which has been conceived and treated as inferior to the other. The *command* stream officers monopolise the fighting field formations, while the *staff* stream officers share the remaining positions with them.

That is not all. The *command* stream officers of a batch are considered en block senior to their staff stream counterparts. Besides, a staff stream officer is denied any further promotion. What is more demeaning to him is that he is retired one year earlier than a command stream officer of the same rank.

Demoralising Concept

Not surprisingly, this *two-stream* concept has played havoc with the morale of many generals. As a disgruntled general put it, there is a new caste system now wherein the "kshatriya generals" are given the pride of command while the "sudra generals" are condemned for ever as "staff types". The disparity was introduced into the system despite the fact that all the generals, irrespective of the stream, hold vital responsibilities.

For instance, Lt. Gen. Gaur is the director general of infantry and is thereby in-charge of the prestigious Infantry School, Counter-insurgency and Warfare School, High Altitude and Warfare School, and 22 Infantry Regimental Centres around the country.

The "streaming" policy was introduced in 1986 in the time of Gen K. Sundarji. The ostensible rationale was to ensure longer and more stable command tenures by reducing the number of generals eligible for those posts. But the repercussions of this policy became evident in Gen. Sundarji's own tenure and the Army, since then, has been trying to get it revoked.

The stand of the defence ministry under two successive regimes has, however seemed to be to try out the policy for some more time. Under the Congress, the then defence minister, Mr. K.C. Pant, was reluctant to revoke the policy because it had been introduced when Mr. Rajiv Gandhi himself was handling that portfolio. The National Front government has also remained apathetic to this urgent problem of the Army, one obvious reason being that there was no separate minister till the other day to give enough attention to it.

No Ministerial Response

The last time the army heard from the ministry was when the defence secretary,

Mr. Naresh Chandra, wrote on September 26, 1989 that the proposal to scrap the policy was under consideration and as soon as a decision was taken the same would be communicated. But no decision one way or the other has been communicated so far.

As resentment among the officers increased in the meanwhile with every retirement, the army, in a desperate bid to evoke a response from the ministry, has scaled down its demand from scrapping the policy to merely "rationalising" it by removing the disparity in the retirement ages between the two streams.

The military secretary, Lt. Gen. Y. N. Sharma, himself a staff stream officer, wrote to the ministry on December 24, 1989 (by which date the government had changed) that "the Chief of Army Staff had recommended that *inter alia* this disparity should be removed and the government may take a decision on the aspect of common retirement ages, delinking it from the other issues recommended in our (earlier) letter".

The letter further listed out the problems caused by the delay in taking a decision:

"(a) Many retired senior officers have gone to the press and caused adverse publicity, which is not desirable.

"(b) The retiring officers have started putting up statutory complaints (addressed to the government) requesting the scrapping of the streaming concept as well as the differential in retirement ages.

"(c) Failing to secure a decision on the above, these officers have started filing suits in courts of law, i.e. Maj Gen. A.S. Chopra at the Delhi high court. Another officer belonging to the "Staff only" stream, viz. Maj. Gen. Prakash Singh has already obtained a stay on his retirement from the Guwahati high court."

Disturbing Pattern

"A discernible pattern is, therefore, emerging and it can be anticipated that most of the general officers belonging to the "Staff only" stream, who are on the verge of retirement, will adopt the same line of action, as mentioned above. This would create problems for the management besides embarrassment to the Army HQ and Ministry of Defence".

The military secretary's letter also mentioned that at the army commanders' conferences in two consecutive years there was a "general consensus of opinion that the aberration in the ages of retirement should be removed."

It goes on to bolster the army's case by saying that during the September '89 conference, "an indepth analysis of the organisational implications of streaming was carried out based on past experience and computerised simulations. This has revealed that streaming has not only

achieved the primary aim for which it was introduced, viz. stable tenures, but also resulted in rigidity in turnover management. The futuristic simulations also show deterioration in stability of tenures, if streaming is continued.

"This analysis also showed that removal of disparity in ages is not likely to affect the vacancy arisings (sic) substantially. The decrease is marginal and would be acceptable. This review has thus raised substantial reservations and doubts about the benefits of continuing with the streaming concept".

"In view of these facts, the dissatisfaction arising out of the differential in the ages of retirement, should not be allowed to spread any further in the senior ranks. You will agree that it is necessary to stem the increasing number of complaints and court cases urgently. I, therefore, request your personal intervention in this case for an early decision in view of the above circumstances".