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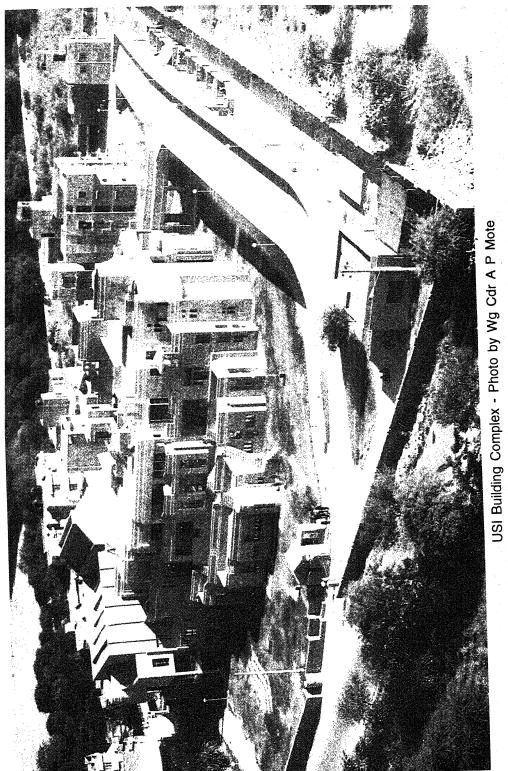
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^{*} From January 1, 1997.



EDITORIAL

The Present, and the Past Perceptions

The twentieth century, about to come to a close at the end of the second millennium, has been a "century of violence". More people were killed or maimed during the last one hundred years than during the entire preceding thousand years of medieval and modern history. The nineteenth century, on the other hand, was one of comparative peace which followed the renaissance and reformation of the earlier period, and the eighteenth century's "age of reason".

There now appears to be, in the history of our civilization, a political cycle of conflict and peace, similar to the economic cycle of boom and depression; periods of bloody wars have been followed by strong movements for peace. After the frightful carnage of the Great War of 1914-1918, an attempt was made to build a global community of states under the League of Nations; and the United Nations was conceived towards the end of the Second World War. Both organisations were devoted to the maintenance of international peace and stability.

Later, during the Cold War which followed, each super power had amassed close to 30,000 nuclear warheads. But the Cold War ended with the signing of several disarmament treaties like the INF, the CFE, the CWC, START I, and START II; the last one with a promise to reduce nuclear stockpiles to about 3,000 warheads.

These disarmament measures indicate the desire of the world community to make peace more durable and secure. As the twentieth century comes to a close we may expect the mass movement towards peace to continue, hoping that the terrible killings of the First and the Second World Wars ending with the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki will not be forgotten.

Can we assume then that our civilization is transcending towards a higher and noble purpose? Perhaps, yes. But while there will be changes in form, in moving towards a higher level of civilized behaviour, there will also be a continuity in the content of international relations, as also in human relations; because the basic and opposite instincts of self-preservation and self-destruction continue to guide the behaviour pattern in society.

A synthesis of these opposites, if possible in the long term, may engender a new philosophy leading to a higher stage of truth based on the present demands of society guided by wise perceptions of the past and a reasoned vision of the future, and may provide the props for a peaceful twenty-first century, hopefully.

With that hope for a peaceful transformation of a turbulent society, a very happy New Year to all our readers from the staff of the USI.

President's Report for the Year 1996

AIR MARSHAL TRJ OSMAN, AVSM
VICE CHIEF OF THE AIR STAFF AND PRESIDENT USI COUNCIL

Gentlemen, it gives me great pleasure to welcome you to this year's Council Meeting, more so as we are meeting for the first time in our own premises. I am sure that our out-station members are finding their stay in USI accommodation comfortable and pleasant.

NEW BUILDING PROJECT

The most important activity of the year has been the move of the USI from Kashmir House to the present premises. We started functioning at the new location from June 17, 1996, having closed at Kashmir House on the previous working day after a stay of 43 years there. I am happy to report that the move was carried out smoothly, and there were no damages or losses. The building was inaugurated by the three Chiefs: Admiral V.S. Shekhawat, PVSM, AVSM, VrC, ADC, Chairman Chiefs of Staff Committee and the CNS, General S. Roychowdhury, PVSM, ADC, Chief of the Army Staff, and Air Chief Marshal S.K. Sareen, PVSM, AVSM, VM, ADC, Chief of the Air Staff on September 20, 1996.

As you would notice from the budget estimates, the new building is going to cost quite a package to run and maintain. We have gone into contracts for providing security, housekeeping, gardening, electricity/AC operation and hostel and restaurant management. Consequently, there has been a very small increase in our own staff. If the occupancy of the hostel/apartments reaches two-thirds on the average, we will be able to run the Institution viably, in the sense that we will not have to dip into our corpus.

The cost of construction of the building was assessed as Rs. 5.34 Crores in the last financial review of August 1995. The USI had catered to meet this in full, and other essential expenditure approved in equipping and furnishing the building. However, in August 1996 we received a letter from AWHO informing us of an escalation of Rs. 65 Lakhs, taking the cost to Rs. 5.98 crores. The USI has approached the Chiefs of Staff Committee to arrange funds from the Service Headquarters to meet the shortfall of Rs. 65 Lakhs. Details are given in the Agenda.

Text of the report presented to the Council of the United Service Institution of India during its Annual Meeting at New Delhi on December 13, 1996.

FINANCES

The audited balance sheet for 1995-96, alongwith audit report, the Revised Estimates for 1996-97, and Budget Estimates for 1997-98, are already with you as part of the Agenda papers. The Chartered Accountant has been invited to clarify any points that you may have. The finances continue to be healthy and growing. Salient figures for the last three years are as under:-

Income		Expenditure		Sur	Surplus	
(a)	1993-94 Rs.	23,20,525.22	Rs.	10,52,367.27	Rs.	12,58,157.95
(b)	1994-95 Rs	30,13,582.65	Rs.	11,61,219.86	Rs.	18,52,362.79
(c)	1995-96 Rs	29,61,670.73	Rs.	14,50,071.07	Rs.	15,11,599.66

The above income figures exclude the amount from interest transferred to various funds, as under:-

- (a) 1993-94 Rs. 11,72,634.05
- (b) 1994-95 Rs. 13,16,588.00
- (c) 1995-96 Rs. 14,78,259.00

MEMBERSHIP

Membership state as on November 15, 1996 was as under:-

(a)	Life Members	-	3742
(b)	Ordinary Members	-	1157
(c)	Associate Members	-	17
(d)	Subscriber Members		215

USI JOURNAL

The circulation of the Journal has gone up from 6000 last year to 6600 this year (quarter ending September 1996). The cost had been increased from Rs. 30 per copy to Rs. 45 per copy from issue of quarter ending March 1996. Advertising response has also improved. During 1995-96 we received Rs. 24,250/- on this account as compared to Rs. 11,500/= in the previous year. Large number of books continue to be received free for book review; till November 15, 1996 we had received over 150 books worth Rs. 1.55 Lakhs, mostly foreign books. In addition, nearly 500 books, new and old, were presented to the Library.

CORRESPONDENCE COURSES

Total number of students in 1995-96 was 2350 as compared to 1797 in 1994-95. This has given us more net income from the courses. The results of all courses continued to be satisfactory, and better as compared to those who did not subscribe to our courses. In the DSSC (Army) 1996 entrance examination results, USI students obtained 13 competitive vacancies out of 21 and 67 percent vacancies in the nominated category.

GOLD MEDAL ESSAY COMPETITION

The response this year has been more than four times better as compared to last year, with 41 entries in Group A and 27 in Group B being received.

SEMINARS AND LECTURES

The annual seminar on the subject of 'Impact of Decreased Defence Spending on the Indian Armed Forces' was held on November 28-29, 1996, and has gone off well. During 1997 an additional seminar is being held jointly with RUSI on January 23-24, 1997 on "Security concerns in Asia in the 21st Century, Global Disarmament, and the Indian Ocean Rim'. Lectures and group discussions continued to be held regularly as in previous years. Some of the important ones out of a total of 14 during the year were as under:-

- (a) January 23, 1996 By Lt Gen Ervine J Rokke, President National Defence University, Washington on "National Security in the Information Age".
- (b) February 9, 1996 By Sir Nicholas Fenn, British High Commissioner on "India UK Relations".
- (c) March 22, 1996 By General John Lorber, C-in-C US Pacific Air Forces on "Modern Warfare in the Information Age".
- (d) November 27, 1996 By HE Thomas Simons Jr, US Ambassador to Pakistan on "Regional Stability in South Asia An American View".
- (e) December 12, 1996 By Dr APJ Abdul Kalam, Scientific Advisor to Raksha Mantri on "Combating the Technology Control Regime".

With our own auditorium and seminar rooms we now have more flexibility to organise our events more conveniently. Our facilities have been much appreciated by others also; till end November we have earned Rs. 38,000/from these facilities. We need to further upgrade these facilities by having computerised projection and LCD panel display. However, this is awaiting funds sought from the Service HQ.

USI CENTRE FOR RESEARCH

The Board of Management of the USI Centre for Research has awarded the following research fellowships:-

- (a) Field Marshal KM Cariappa Fellowship to Lt Gen VK Nayyar; subject "Emerging low intensity conflict scenario in India" with effect from December 1, 1996.
- (b) Admiral RD Katari Fellowship to Vice Adm RB Suri; subject "Shape and size of the Indian Navy in the early 21st Century;" with effect from March 1, 1996.
- (c) Air Marshal Subroto Mukherjee Fellowship to Air Marshal Vir Narain; subject "Sustainable defence: harmonising long and short term goals"; with effect from July 1, 1996.

The research projects are to be completed in one year. Research Fellows are being paid Rs. 6,000/- per month and a contingency grant of Rs. 6000/- A Research Assistant (PhD) has been employed as a part of the USI staff. The Naval Headquarter has detailed an officer on full time basis to assist in the research project undertaken by Vice Adm RB Suri.

Before I close, I would like to place on record our deep appreciation of the services rendered by Maj Gen SC Sinha as Director USI for nine years.

Combating the Technology Control Regime

DR APJ ABDUL KALAM

INTRODUCTION

I am indeed delighted to be with the United Service Institution of India. I thank the President and Members of the USI Council for giving me the opportunity to deliver the USI National Security Lecture-1996. I have selected my topic of lecture as 'Combating the Technology Control Regime' for the reason the nation's ability to provide its own security and to conduct an independent foreign policy is dependent on the degree to which the nation is able to underpin self-reliance in defence and defence systems. Hence, I am presenting the theme in six parts. In the first part, I will discuss weapons and politics and the type of environment we live in. The second part reviews the nuclear weapon countries and the manoeuvre of the proliferation by them. The next part analyses weapon delivery system and the doctrine of the Missile Control Technology Regime (MTCR). Proliferation in the weaponry has resulted in the regional threats to India and the resultant questions we have to ponder over. The importance of technological strength for the national security and economic prosperity is stressed in the next part. Finally, as an example India's self-reliance mission in defence is focused and also the ingredients for technology leadership is highlighted with reference to national infrastructure and partnership with multiple institutions.

WAR WEAPONRY, POLITICS & THE ENVIRONMENT

Recently I have made a study on different phases of global life and the effect of war through ages. I am highlighting this point for the reason that in less than a century we could see the shape of technology progress and its effect on the society. War was essentially the means for establishing or enlarging kingdoms by annexing multiple territories with wealth or for proliferating ideologies. Upto the year 1920, it was mostly direct human warfare. The means used were primitive weapons (swords) and animal platforms. And the tool used by Kings and Emperors was religion. The dominating nations in this period of warfare were Romans, Crusaders and the Arabs. The next phase, that

Text of the USI National Security Lecture 1996 delivered by Dr APJ Abdul Kalam, Scientific Advisor to Raksha Mantri and Secretary, Deptt. of Defence Research and Development, to the members of the USI on December 12, 1996 at the USI Complex auditorium, New Delhi. Air Marshal TRJ Osman, Vice Chief of the Air Staff and President USI Council was in the Chair.

is 1920-1990, the warfare was, weapon driven. The weapons for the warfare were guns, tanks, aircraft, ships, submarines including nuclear weapons deployment and also reconnaissance spacecraft in the orbit. These weapons were used mostly by two blocks of nations - the USA and the erstwhile Soviet Union. They were propagating certain ideologies and enlisting a number of nations, giving benefits commercially and militarily to attract them. Proliferation of conventional, nuclear and biological weapons was at peak by the growth of competition between these two Nations or two blocks as super powers. The next phase has just started from 1990 onwards. The world has graduated into Economic Warfare. The means used is control of market forces through high technology. The participating nations are Japan, Germany, some South Asian countries and few others. The driving force is the wealth generation with certain type of economic doctrine.

ENVIRONMENT

During the days of the Cold War, a predictable state of bi-polar world order was getting established with the UN forum providing the necessary platform for maintaining a sense of balance between the nations of the world. The discriminatory or restrictive laws of the western block of developed nations seemed justified on the basis of denial of technology to the enemy. However, after the collapse of the Soviet Union this east-west axis has taken a north-south orientation and the export controls and technology denial regimes now are directed mainly to the developing nations including India, to maintain the techno-economic superiority of the advanced countries.

Today we encounter twin problems. On one side there is a large scale strengthening of our neighbours through supply of arms and clandestine support to their nuclear and missile programmes and on the other side all efforts are being made to weaken our indigenous technology growth through control regimes and dumping of low tech systems, accompanied with high commercial pitch in critical areas. Growth of indigenous technology and self reliance are the only answer to the problem.

I always wonder at the logic of technology control regimes and how the world can silently witness and accept such a logic. They can develop, stockpile and even proliferate, but we should not develop anything even for our defence. They can have weapons and carriers because they already have and we cannot have them because we did not have!

NUCLEAR WEAPON COUNTRIES - THE PROLIFERATORS

During my tenure in Delhi, I made a special study of the proliferation

doctrine initiated by Western nations. The USA for the last four decades upto 1990 accumulated about 10,000 warheads and an equal number was accumulated by the erstwhile Soviet Union. These two nations used nuclear weapons as a tool to subordinate or influence many national politics by giving so called nuclear technology for peaceful application or nuclear power stations. For China, nuclear weapon technology was given by the developed countries and we have witnessed recently, the same developed countries have ensured Pakistan to have certain number of nuclear weapons directly or indirectly as reported by a former Prime Minister of Pakistan. The five nuclear weapon countries proclaimed themselves that they are the sole nations of nuclear weapon countries and they evolved certain international policies. The total number of warheads was so much, it created safety and security problems at tremendous cost. These two nations, driven by the people, negotiated START-II and signed reducing the warheads to 3,000 including the delivery system in a decade. When I asked Dr. William Perry, former US Secretary for Defence, when he visited India, why 3,000 and why not zero as Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru putforth in 1960s on complete nuclear disarmament. Dr. Perry answered: "zero nuclear weapon is a dream". We can assume that at no time the 5 nations will come to zero level nuclear weapon. Nuclear weapon, a strong component as they visualize it, is deterrent and a weapon of political strength and the same nations are propagating non proliferation doctrine. In strategic or military technology areas, discriminatory controls have existed since the COCOM export control regime operative from the early 1950s and the establishment of NPT in 1968, the US and other Nuclear Weapon States (NWS) pushed the indefinite extension of the NPT, thereby perpetuating the nuclear apartheid.

We thus have a situation where the national interests of the nuclear nations have come to dictate the international norms and behaviour. The present CTBT signed at UN Headquarters is a glaring example how the powerful developed western groups can steam-roll the agenda of an international treaty of far reaching consequence. When India first proposed CTBT in the 1950s as a step towards total nuclear disarmament, US was totally against it. Now the same CTBT is being blatantly used to serve the non-proliferation agenda of the NWS with total disregard to either the original nuclear disarmament goals or to the legitimate security compulsions of India. The double standards of international equations are fast becoming an accepted way of life even though they invariably compromise the interests of the developing countries. Chemical weapons such as mustard gas or sarin driven warhead have been accumulated in thousands of tonnes by both group of nations and this may endanger and disfigure a part of humanity.

When they reached the point of no return, fear and cost drove them again to go through Chemical Weapons Convention. CWC Treaty comes into effect

if 65 countries ratify. The interesting part of the two nations who have maximum chemical weapons, is that they have not ratified and are out of CWC. India, an innocent in the game, has ratified. We are in CWC. If the world body is powerful and not partisan, it would force both USA and Russia not only to ratify CWC but also encourage Biological Weapon Convention. If the two countries are out, proliferation will be a continuous process.

WEAPON DELIVERY SYSTEM AND MTCR

In the missile area, due to political competitions, ICBMs and IRBMs emanated in large scale from the two groups of nations and spread to multiple nations. Finally the same developed countries are asking other countries to adhere to non-proliferation. In 1987, seven advanced nations formed the MTCR and a number of countries have joined as MTCR adherents. But in reality most of the adherents do not make any kind of missiles, while on the other hand, only few of those who are actually developing the missiles joined MTCR. The MTCR which was initially started with restrictions on systems and technologies for missiles of capability of more than 300 km range and 500 kg payload has been enlarged to include any kind of missiles and to the related technologies under the Enhanced Control Proliferation Initiative. Currently efforts are on to include the civilian technologies also in the name of Dual Use Technologies. The Wessenaar arrangement launched in December 1995 is targeting many civilian technologies as well as to bring conventional arms into the purview of these controls.

REGIONAL THREATS - RESULTANT OF PROLIFERATION

Developments over the past few years, across both our borders, in the field of nuclear weapons and missile technologies, are of grave threat to our national security. It is reported that Pakistan has the Chinese 'M-11' missile, that can carry 800 kg payload to 290 kms range, confirming Pakistan's completion of nuclear warhead development for Chinese supplied M-11 missiles. The M-11s can also be modified to carry 400 kg warhead to a distance of 400 kms, thus bringing some of the important cities within the reach. The US hard line against Indian space agency for the cryogenic technology contract from Russia should be contrasted with their soft line on the transfer of "M-11" missiles from China to Pakistan. The world has silently witnessed the discriminatory use of MTCR against developing nations like India, that are not subservient to the superpower-power block. US inability to take any action against the clandestine nuclear technology cooperation between China and Pakistan is an example of how 'non-proliferation' concerns are subjectively oriented to the proliferating the state's power status.

WHO ARE THE REAL PROLIFERATORS

Let us ponder over the question of who is the proliferator of nuclear weapons, who is the proliferator of biological and chemical weapons and who is the proliferator of missile system? The answer is in front of us. There is a Pandora's box. If you open it, you will see one is USA and the other is Russia. The nuclear weapon terrorism, the chemical weapon terrorism, the biological weapon terrorism is all output of ideological competitions fed by fear. If the world is smart, atleast few countries are smart, the inducted fear and terrorism and cost inflicted by developed nations, by developed countries, should be challenged. If there is a World Court derived from free Nations it can force these two nations to compensate to the countries which have not entered into this weapon race and facing nuclear or chemical weapon terrorism. How we come out of this inflicted situation? First we must realise the problems in front of us and also national strength i.e. corecompetence.

TECHNOLOGICAL STRENGTH

Technological self-reliance contributes to our national prosperity, but reduces other countries' export to India. Thus our increased strength in this direction has an adverse impact on the sale of their goods and products as we are the big buyers especially in Defence systems. Hence, the developed countries have invented these technology control regimes with an objective of ensuring a deliberate technology gap and to preempt our attempts to become a competitor for them. Many times, intentionally, misinformation is spread through various channels that self-reliance drive will ultimately lead to lower technological levels and less efficient weapon & system. But the real game plan behind these control regimes is to perpetuate our dependence on them for low performance Technology and Systems. Developed nations and even some CIS countries keep us in the vicious circle of imports and thus keep their industries healthy at our cost. How long we can continue to be in this vicious circle? The solution is the indigenous technological strength. Technology strength is prime to both economic and military strength. Hence the need of the hour is to arm India with Technology. We have the talented manpower, natural resources and high technology base created through our various programmes. We must build around our strength and combat the control regimes through innovation, partnership and above all national will.

[A] TECHNOLOGICAL PERFORMANCE

We studied the technological development of India, from the 1960s upto next three decades and also where we will be heading upto 2000. India had green revolution in the 1960s, followed by Operation Flood, launch of our own ROHINI satellite in the low orbit using our rocket system, Indian Remote Sensing Satellite was launched in the 1980s and in late 1980s and 1990s AGNI was launched. INSAT was put into orbit and satellite communication was ushered. This year, the Polar Satellite Launch Vehicle (PSLV) placed our own IRS in Sun-synchronous orbit. Advanced Light Helicopter (ALH) and Main Battle Tank (MBT) are on the way to the Users, super computer has also emerged. By 2000, India will have a super computer of 20 Gega Flops and power generation of 100,000 MW. The digital exchange will have 20 million lines. Of course our dream will be strengthened by launching of Hyperplane with the capability of putting 15 tonnes payload in LEO. This Hyperplane can have 100 take-off and 100 landings. With the above focus, we saw in India, integrated technology strength emerging. If we harness this strength, it will lead to a self-supporting and prospering society. The integrated technological strength has ingredients of talented manpower and infrastructure for industrial growth. There is certain level of availability of natural resources. Above all, we have certain Indian traditional value system. What does it mean? Indians, compared to our other colleagues elsewhere have advantage to generate integrated concepts, ideas, work hard and with spiritualism embedded for which the developed countries are hungry. I would like to share with you that our R & D development cost vary from 1/10th to 1/3rd of the advanced nations depending on the type of programme. With this advantage to India, technology is the only tool to push India to prosperity with good life assured for her people.

[B] DESIGN & SOFTWARE STRENGTH

During the last four decades, we have come a long way in building our indigenous technology base. Today we have got many world class systems and technologies. Indian IRS-1C giving 6 meter resolution has given a challenge to the so called developed countries and the satellite pictures have reached USA commercially. Through our PSLV, we have already attained competitive launch capabilities for low earth and polar orbit payloads, and in few years we will be having the Geostationary launch capability for INSAT class.

Today, we are on par with developed countries in realizing certain high performance missiles such as Prithvi, Trishul, Akash, Nag & Agni the Technology Demonstrator. Our third generation Anti Tank Missile Nag will be the first of its kind in the world with fire and forget capability. Arjun MBT is one of the "state of art" class tanks. The ship/submarine based sonars are contemporary in their design and signal processing. All this shows India has established capability to design and build world class systems. LCA once operational, will have large export potential, in view of its performance and cost. We are one of the leading forces in the world for the Software development

which is going to play a very curcial role both in the economic as well as the military domains. Certain software packages developed for the LCA such as Autolay and Gita have entered into foreign aircraft industries. Information Technology is emerging as a strong generator of wealth. By careful harnessing of our strengths in this area, we can compete in the world.

[C] DRDO CORE COMPETENCE

During the last two decades DRDO attained core competence in many critical areas of armaments, combat vehicles, electronics and communications, aeronautics, missiles, life supporting system and computing systems. Prithvi is contemporary in performance to the US ATMS and NAG will be the first of its kind in the world.

[D] PACE + SUPER COMPUTER

Let me narrate to you an event that took place in 1986. Our scientists in Defence Research and Development Organization (DRDO) needed a super computer for fast design of missiles and aircraft. Defence needed a CRAY class super computer. At that time, CRAY-XMP super computer had 55 Mega Flops capability (equivalent to 195 M-TOPS). The then Scientific Adviser to the Raksha Mantri and myself visited Pentagon in the USA to get clearance for sale of CRAY-XMP computer. After a few days of the visit, Pentagon refused sale of this computer to DRDO. Similar refusal took place in case of CRAY super computer needed by Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore. These refusals triggered the minds of Indian scientists to meet this challenge. DRDO established an exclusive facility for development of fast processing computer. In three years time, we developed a super computer of a class better than the CRAY-XMP. Thanks for their refusals, we have already developed and installed indigenous super computer of 1800 Mega Flop capability (as compared to 55 mega FLOPs capability of CRAY-XMP). There are multiple agencies for development and production of this class of super computer in India. Today the same super computer company, at its low ebb, is trying to establish a company in India. We cannot allow our country to be used as backyard for developed countries' unwanted collapsing industries.

TECHNOLOGY EMPOWERING

In 1984, anticipating technology controls, we took steps to indigenously develop critical missile technologies. I would like to mention one important area where we have developed a critical technology of Phase Shifter for the Phased Array Radar through our indigenous efforts. When we started the development only two countries in the world knew this technology and it was

fully guarded. No expertise was available in the country either for the design and development or for production. We have adopted the route of technology empowering for the nucleation and growth of new technology areas. We have identified an academic institution where limited work was going on in this area and systematically built them up to realize the technology. The Centre for Advanced Research in Electronics of IIT, Delhi, had been entrusted with the task of design, and support had been provided by the DRDO labs and production agencies in the form of infrastructure, materials, prototype fabrication, lab testing, field testing and evaluation in the actual application. Today we are in a position to produce to meet our requirements as well as to export them to those developed countries. A number of such critical technologies required for the missile programme have been realized though the combined efforts of R&D, academy and Industry.

DIMENSIONS OF TECHNOLOGY AND INDUSTRIAL STRENGTH

If we follow the route of technology transfer and know-how for production, we will always remain as a fabricator and our progress in our technology will be very low. But know-how development through indigenous R&D enables us to progress towards world standards. Our industry has to graduate from a mere manufacturer to a strategic partner to R&D with capability to design and build high technology systems. There are symptoms already towards this drection. This situation changes in certain areas through the mutual trust built between users, R&D and Industry over last two decades.

POSITIVE AMBIENT

We are fortunate today to have right ambience for development of cost effective products. Self Reliance Plan (1995-2005) from DRDO, Space Plan (1977-2002) by ISRO, Vision 2001 from CSIR, Technology Vision 2020 a national plan from TIFAC have emerged in the last two years. I am sure some proposals will find the way to the 9th Plan of the nation.

SELF RELIANCE PLAN FOR DEFENCE SYSTEMS

The goal of self reliance plan is to enhance indigenous content in the defence inventory from the present 30 percent to a possible 70 percent by the year 2005. For this, we need to support existing systems by indigenisation of critical spares, upgrade existing systems for stretched life and capability and induct indigenous systems progressively thereby minimising the import of major systems. By the year 2005, many indigenous missiles, aircraft, tanks, armament, naval systems, EW systems, radars and other systems will be inducted in our services. Already critical technologies and certain infrastructure development are progressing.

Through the investment in these critical technologies, we will be able to overcome the technology gap and realise our dream of freedom from foreign technologies. Only this will give us the protection against control regimes. For this, partnership is essential. In the area of defence technology, partnership between the DRDO, the Services, academy, other R&D establishments and the Industry will enable the development of new technologies and cost effective systems, that will empower our Armed Forces and at the same time combat the technology control regimes.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

A nation is made great by its people. People in turn become important citizens of that great nation. By importing non-strategic systems for defence (strategic systems will not be available) a nation will not be able to defend the economic freedom and nation's security as the dependence on other nations will be a chain reaction. As I said, the country's strength to protect its security and evolve an independent foreign policy is dependent on the degree to which the nation is able to underpin self-reliance in defence and defence systems. India's core competence in certain technological areas and scientific technological manpower have to be harnessed. Through our sustained efforts for growth of core competence and self reliance in critical technologies, we can transform our nation from a developing country into a developed country. We have to recognise that technology is the tool that brings faster economic growth and needed inputs for national security. Successful experience of certain technological leaders, reveal that we have to demand from our institutions the impossible, the possible will emerge.

Indian Army Before and After Independence and its Role in Nation Building

LT GENERAL (RETD) S K SINHA, PVSM

INTRODUCTION

I feel overwhelmed at the immense honour done to me by inviting me to deliver this year's Field Marshal Cariappa lecture on the occasion of Infantry Day, to such a distinguished audience. The person in whose memory this lecture is being delivered was an all time great of the Indian Army, the date on which this lecture is being delivered is historic and the subject of the lecture is profound.

A memorial lecture should begin with an eulogy to the person whose memory is sought to be perpetuated. Field Marshal Cariappa was a great General, a great patriot and a great human being. Ours is an ancient nation with a glorious history of several millennia, yet we refer to Mahatma Gandhi as the Father of the Nation in recognition for what he did for us. In the same manner, though the Indian Army had been in existence for two centuries before Field Marshal Cariappa took over as its first Indian Chief, for the great service he rendered to the Army, he can rightly be called the Father of the Indian Army.

I wish to pay my tribute to this great man, who always scrupulously practised what he preached, by recalling my personal and humble association with him. Free India was born on August 15, 1947 and on that very day Brigadier Cariappa had been promoted to the rank of Major General. This was yet another first in his Army career. He became the first Indian to become a General officer in the Army. I was then serving in Military Operations Directorate at Army Headquarters. Our Headquarters was shifted from South Block to Red Fort and in some six weeks we were back in South Block. This reminded us of Muhammad-bin-Tughlak shifting his capital from Delhi to Daulatabad and soon getting it back to Delhi. On the fateful day of our Independence, Jawaharlal Nehru came to unfurl our new national flag from the

Text of the Field Marshal Cariappa Memorial Lecture 1996, delivered by Lt. General S.K. Sinha, former Vice Chief of the Army Staff, at the Air Force Auditorium, Subroto Park, New Delhi on October 26, 1996.

ramparts of the Red Fort. General Cariappa was present at that function. This was the first time I saw an Indian in a General's uniform. It was an unforgetable experience and made me feel the glow of freedom. Little did I then know that only in a few months, I will have the great good fortune of working for him as his operations staff officer.

In January 1948 General Cariappa succeeded Lt Gen Sir Dudley Russell as Army Commander of the newly formed Delhi and East Punjab Command which still had a skeleton Headquarters. I had been GSO-2 (Operations) on the staff of General Russell and I continued to hold that appointment under General Cariappa. Soon after taking over as Army Commander, General Cariappa had the command redesignated Western Command. Our Headquarters then located in Delhi was conducting operations in the Kashmir Theatre. The General used to spend fifteen days in a month touring the forward areas in Kashmir and I used to invariably accompany him on those tours. I knew that the General was a man for details and no detail was too small for him. His ADC used to be left behind to look after his household in Delhi and his two children. As a staff officer, I also had to function as his ADC on these tours. On my first tour with him. I checked that everything was alright in the room where he was to stay. I found his orderly had laid out a beautiful pair of silver hair brushes on the dressing table for him. I wondered what use those hair brushes were for the General as he was bald. I found the answer to that a couple of decades later, when I became bald.

Functioning as a staff officer to General Cariappa on these tours was not easy. He had indefatigable energy. After strenuous travelling by Jeep on mountain tracks, he would climb hill tops and then in the evening burn the midnight oil disposing off paper work. Sometimes he would draft letters which would be typed and put up by his PA to me for my signature. This was something most unusual as it is the job of the staff officer to draft letters for his commander. Of course I used to have my hands full dealing with the numerous points for action given by him every day with which my notebook used to get fully cluttered.

Two instances of his disregard for personal danger come to my mind. On one occasion we were travelling in a Jeep from Srinagar to Uri. Brigadier L P Sen, called Bogey by his friends, was at the wheel. As we approached the Heman Buniyar bend, the Brigadier suggested that we have the flag removed from the Jeep as we were approaching an area which was prone to enemy sniping. The General ruled out that suggestion saying that it will have an adverse effect on the morale of the Jawan to see that the General was travelling without a flag on his vehicle because of fear of enemy sniping. We proceeded with the flag flying on the Jeep and soon we came under enemy sniper fire.

The General turned round to the Brigadier and said, "Bogey, these are not genuine tribesmen. I knew them on the North West Frontier. They used to be deadly marksmen." On another occasion we climbed a hill top which was under observation of an enemy artillery observation post, and where the enemy frequently brought down artillery fire. Despite the pleadings of the local commanders, the General remained completely unconcerned and stood in the open wearing his red tabs and reb band for some time to survey the area. We had to stand there behind him. After some time we started coming down the hill and had gone only 30 to 40 yards when a shell landed at the spot where we had been standing. Some of us who were in the rear got covered with dust but the General being ahead of us was not affected. He told us with a smile that the enemy shell respected a General. On the lighter side and without in any manner being disrespectful, I may mention that the General while talking in Hindi had a tendency to translate English words too literally. He was visiting 50 Para Brigade at Naushera whose Commander, Brigadier Usman was wanting to be given an opportunity to recapture Jhangar. Addressing the troops the General wanted to refer to India having become free and wanted to put the soldiers in the picture. Operations to capture Jhangar could be undertaken only after administrative arrangements could be completed. He spoke, "50 Para Brigade ke Afsaran, Sardaran aur Jawanan. Is waqt hum muft, ap muft, mulk sab kuchh muft hai. Ap ka Brigade Commander saheb ne bola kih ap age gana mangta magar ham pahile apko tasveer ke andar dalna mangta. Ap abhi age jana sakta nahin kionkih hamara bandobast ka dum bahut pichhe hai."

He was a strict disciplinarian and a hard taskmaster who never compromised with excellence on any point, no matter how small that might be. With all his stern exterior, he had a rare quality of compassion and he cared for his subordinates. He would always carry salt and toffee with him on his tours in Kashmir. Salt was in very short supply in Kashmir those days. He would distribute salt in the villages and give toffees to the children. As for his kindness to his staff I was a recipient of his generosity on many an occasion. He wrote a very encouraging foreword to my book on Kashmir operations which I had given the title of Operation Rescue. When I became Army Commander Western Command, the most treasured letter of congratulations that I received was from him. He said how happy he was to find his old GSO-2 in Western Command 32 years earlier, when he was the Army Commander, had become the Army Commander of the same Command. The next occasion was when I was the Vice Chief of the Army Staff. I immediately resigned on my supersession for appointment as Army Chief to uphold a principle. This led to controversy brewing up in Parliament and the Press. The Director Public Relations of Ministry of Defence came to me to urge that I meet the Press and help in dousing the controversy. I stated to the Press Correspondents that I did not question the decision of the Government. As a disciplined soldier I have accepted it and have chosen to fade away from the Army. The officer selected to be the new Army Chief is a dear friend of mine and a competent General. The Indian Army will prosper under his able leadership. My statement was in the front page of all newspapers next day. General Cariappa rang me up that morning to say, "Well done my boy. I am proud of you." Those kind words of his were a great morale booster for me. They still ring in my ears when I have to face a difficult situation.

BEFORE INDEPENDENCE

I now turn to the topic of my lecture - the Indian Army before and after Independence and its role in nation building. There are several books written both by foreign and Indian authors on the history of the Indian Army. They give details of various operations in which the Army took part on different continents and also cover organisational and administrative matters. As far as I know, none has examined the Army's role in nation building. Stephen Cohen, an American expert on South Asia has written a well researced and good book on the history of the Indian Army. He has stated in that book, "Conventional political history especially in India, has virtually ignored the military as a factor in the process of nation building. This is surprising, for the military had a profound effect on the course of nationalist politics and also upon politics after 1947." Despite making this very valid observation, Cohen had himself not touched upon this aspect in his book. In submitting my views on this I will have to attempt breaking fresh ground.

The eighteenth century was an era of decay and disintegration in India. The mighty Mughal Empire had collapsed and the third battle of Panipat had put paid to the ambition of the Marathas to become the successors of Mughal power. The country had got divided into several small kingdoms each asserting its independence. It was at this stage that the East India Company started expanding from the toeholds that it held in the three port towns of Calcutta. Madras and Bombay. And in that process they established the British Empire in India. The Indian Sepoy serving the Company Bahadur played a major role in this process. The Sepoy system was pioneered by the French but greatly improved upon by the British. Noting the gallantry of the Indian soldier in battle, the British started recruiting them in large numbers. They were organised into combat units with a sprinkling of British officers and NCOs. These units were dressed, equipped and trained on the lines of the British Army. The officer cadre of these units was entirely British but a class of sub-officers was introduced for Indians in these units. They were initially known as Indian Officers and later as Viceroy's Commissioned officers. After Independence, they were redesignated as Junior Commissioned Officers. For most part of British rule, the officer rank was not open to Indians.

The Sepoy Armies of the East India Company had their origin in three separate nuclei - an ensign and 30 men in Bengal, a detachment to garrison Bombay acquired as dowry by Charles II and converting peons into guards in Madras. The three port towns of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras became the nerve centres for spreading British imperial power in India. Each had its own Army, the Begal Army, the Bombay Army and the Madras Army. Besides these three Sepoy Armies there were the Company's European troops and the King's Army. In overall command of all troops in the country was the Commander-in-Chief in India. It needs to be noted that there was no Commander-in-Chief of Indian Army as such throughout British rule but commander-in-Chief in India. Upto 1947, the latter commanded both the British Army and the Indian Army in India. The three Sepoy Armies got merged into one Indian Army after the 1857 Revolt.

Before discussing the role of the Indian Army in nation building we must pause to consider whether the concept of nationhood existed in India in the eighteenth century. Most British writers and quite a few Indians feel that the concept of nationalism was a gift to India by the British. It is said that for the first time they had provided political unity to the country which was joined together by an efficient communication system. A common language was provided for the intelligentsia who got an exposure to Western nationalist ideas. They also became the target against which nationalist aspirations got mobilised. Winston Churchill was on record saying, "India is a geographical term; it is no more a nation then the Equator." I disagree with this view. Nation States may have originated from Europe in the sixteenth century but the concept of nation existed in India from time immemorial. It is reflected in our literature and culture and reinforced by our geography. Our multi-ethnic, multi-lingual and multi-religious differences were forged into a mosaic of unity in diversity. It is relevant that the four places of pilgrimage were established by our ancestors in four different ends of the country - Badrinath in the North, Jagannath puri in the East, Rameshvaram in the South and Dwarika in the West. This underlines the sense of national unity that has existed in our country. Political unity also got established from time to time under the Mauryas, the Guptas, the Delhi Sultans and the Mughals. Yet there is no gainsaying that India had not become a Nation State in the modern sense but it had always been a civilisation State. However, even if we had been a nation from ancient times, the fact remains that nationalist feelings had become non-existent in the eighteenth century. This is best illustrated by the fact that none of the several rulers in India could combine to face the common enemy. The British one by one defeated the Nawab of Arcot, the Nawab of Bengal, the Mysore rulers, the Marathas, the Jats, the Gorkhas, the Sikhs and finally the Amirs of Sindh. When the then intelligentsia could not display a sense of national awareness the illiterate Sepoy recruited from the villages could hardly be expected to do so. He saw nothing wrong in serving under the British and fighting his own countrymen to establish foreign rule. The Sepoy fighting under the British was not a mercenary. Money and plunder were not the motives that inspired him. He fought because fighting was his chosen profession and he fought for his honour, for the honour of his family, his community and his Regiment. He remained loyal to his Nam (name), Namak(salt or employer) and Nishan(flag).

The Sepoy fought gallantly in numerous battles under the British flag on three continents. His gallantry and discipline earned worldwide acclaim. The East India Company found raising Sepoy units much cheaper than bearing the cost for maintaining British units. The British Private cost the Exchequer ten times more than the Indian sepoy. Even in 1947 the pay of a British Private in India was Rs 80 per month as against the pay of the Sepoy of Rs 16 per month. Besides pay difference, ration scales, accommodation scales, travel expenses and so on were more expensive for the British Private. General Upton wrote in 1876, "The value and economy of having native troops were early discovered and nowhere in history has the wisdom of a Government been so signally rewarded as in the organisation of the Indian Army." By 1857 the combined strength of the three Sepoy Armies was over 3 lakhs as against only 40,000 British soldiers in India. The Bengal Army constituted two thirds of the strength of the Sepov Armies and the remaining one third were the Bombay and Madras Armies. Apart from quantitative difference, the ethos of the Bengal Army was different from that of the other two Armies. The class composition of the Bengal Army was based more on high caste Hindus and Upper class Muslims. Madras and Bombay Armies were more hetrogenous in their composition. This led General John Jacob to write that in Madras and Bombay the troops became half European and in Bengal the officers became half-Hindus.

The uprising of 1857 is called the Mutiny by the British and the First War of Independence by many Indian writers. If one takes a legalistic view, the Sepoy rebelling against the East India Company, a vassal of the Mughal Emperor and declaring his loyalty to the Suezrain cannot be called a mutineer. If anything, it was the East India company that had mutinied against its Suezrain, who still was the de jure Head even though the Mughal Emperor had long been reduced to the position of a pensioner with no de facto authority. The Governor General paid Nazar to the Emperor and in official correspondence used the titles conferred upon him by the Emperor. Benjamin Disraeli, the Leader of the Opposition spoke on July 27, 1857 in the House of Commons, "The question is whether it is a mere military mutiny or a national revolt. The decline and fall of Empires are not affairs of greased cartridges. Such results are occasioned by adequate causes and by the accumulation of adequate causes." As regards it being a national revolt qualifying to be called

a war of Independence, facts are contra-indicative. The mutiny was confined to the Bengal Army and the other two Armies remained virtually unaffected. Even in the Bengal Army 30,000 Sepoys remained loyal to the British, 70,000 fought against them and the remainder deserted and went away to their villages. Except in West Bihar and East U.P., the people did not participate in the revolt. Most of the rulers and the intelligentsia in the three port towns sided with the British. Be that as it may, the 1857 Uprising lit the first spark of nationalism in the country. It provided a source of inspiration to succeeding generations of Indians in their struggle for freedom.

The British managed to emerge victorious in 1857-58 but the foundations of the Empire had got shaken. They developed a mutiny syndrome which coloured their thinking throughout the period that their rule lasted in this country. To guard against another mutiny, they adopted the policy of counterpoise. The ratio of British soldiers to Indian Sepoys was increased substantially from what had obtained prior to 1857, and earlier. British units were made an integral part of Indian field formations. Field artillery was now made exclusively British. The Indian Army was allowed to have only a battery or two of mountain guns for operations in North West Frontier. The counterpoise policy was also applied to the organisation of the Indian Army in a big way. The old Bengal Army was mostly disbanded. The classes that had mutinied were declared non-martial and their recruitment to the Army stopped. Except for Gorkhas and Garhwalis, there were now no one class regiments. Sub-units of different communities formed part of a unit to keep each other in check. The Sikh Regiment had Pathan companies, the Frontier Force Regiment and Rifles had Sikh companies, the Baluch Regiment had Dogra companies, the Jat Regiment had Punjabi Musalman company and so on. Recruitment of Indians to the officer cadre was resisted till as late as possible. Although Indians started being recruited into the ICS from 1862, no Indian was allowed to become an officer in the Army for another more than half a century. The first batch of Indians to be commissioned as officers in the Army was in 1919 and Field Marshal Cariappa belonged to this batch. Till the Second World War the intake of Indians to the officer cadre of the Army was a small trickle. Thus while on the civil side, Indians had attained top positions having become Governor, Chief Justice, Secretary in Government of India and so on, in the Army no Indian had risen to the rank of General officer during British rule. At the time of Independence, the majority of officers in the Army was still British, despite the large intake of Indian officers during the Second World War.

Our freedom struggle launched by Mahatma Gandhi was a non-violent movement. The British tried to contain it primarily with the police and the Army's involvement was minimal. There were however two extreme instances of opposite character that need mention. First, under the orders of maniac, Brigadier General Dyer, Indian and Gorkha Troops opened unjustified and far too excessive fire on an unarmed crowd hemmed in from all sides in Jalianwalabagh. Several hundred people were killed & wounded. This dastardly act had the most adverse repercussion on Indo-British relations. The second incident was of an entirely different type. In 1930 the Garhwalis refused to open fire on the Khudai Khidmatgars at Peshawar.

The Second World war brought about a sea change. The Indian Army expanded from a force of less than 1,50,000 in 1939 to over 2 millions by 1945. Churchill referred to this in glowing terms, describing it as the largest volunteer army known to history. In this process of tremendous expansion of the Army, the recruitment base was greatly widened and a very large number of the non-traditional classes were taken into the Army who did not have the tradition of lovalty towards the British. Some ten thousand Indian youth fresh from schools and colleges were commissioned as officers in the Army. The newcomers into the Army, whether officers or sepoys, had been exposed to the influence of the freedom movement under the leadership of Mahatama Gandhi. Their attitude and outlook was inevitably very different from their predecessors. On top of this, the bulk of the Indian Army during the Second World War had served in South East Asia where in the initial stages an Asian power had humbled several white colonial powers - the British in Burma and Malaya, the French in Indo-China, the Dutch in Indonesia and even the Americans in the Philippines. After the war, they had seen Asian nationalism rising from the ashes of European colonialism. This, inevitably had a profound effect on the outlook of the Indian soldier. Thus, the Indian Army of 1945 was very different from what it had been in 1939.

It is against this background that one needs to view the emergence of the Indian National Army under Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. Less than half the Indian prisoners of war with the Japanese, some 25,000, joined the INA. The remainder did not do so. The military impact of the INA was negligible but its psychological and political impact was tremendous. The INA trials at Delhi generated a tidal surge of patriotism throughout the country. The Indian Army could not remain unaffected by this development. The Viceroy, Lord Wavell, in his letter to the Secretary of State for India of 20 August 1945 wrote, "This is the first occasion in which an anti-British politician had acquired a hold over a substantial number of men in the Indian Army and the consequences are quite incalculable." Auchinleck had ordered the holding of public trials at Red Fort with a view to exposing the atrocities committed by INA personnel on their colleagues who had refused to join them. He thought that this will arouse anti-INA feelings among the people. This did not happen. On the contrary, they added to the popularity of the INA in the country. The whole thing

became very counterproductive for the British. Auchinleck realised his mistake and conceded that there was a growing feeling of sympathy for the INA in the Indian Army. Glancy, the Governor of Punjab wrote that the punishment of INA personnel would lead to chaos in the country and mutiny in the Army. Shah Nawaz, Saigal and Dhillon were discharged from the Army but were not given any punishment as such.

Not long after the INA trials, erupted the Naval Mutiny at Bombay and Karachi. This mutiny was a result of the grievances of the sailors and was not directly related to the freedom movement and no political leader or political party was behind this mutiny. The grievances of the sailors were directed against their British officers. This mutiny and rumblings in the Army at Jabalpur, rang loud alarm bells among the British. Plan Gondola was prepared at Army Headquarters. It catered for the evacuation of the British population initially to "Safes" where security was to be provided and then to "Keeps" near the Ports, where more elaborate security and logistic arrangements were to be made for them before their further evacuation by sea to the UK. I recall that I had to maintain a large map of India in the Operations Room at Army Headquarters which showed the location of all combat units in the country. Different coloured pins were used - Red for British units, Green for Gorkha units and Brown for Indian units. Gorkha units which were then officered exclusively by the British and the Gorkha soldiers were not directly connected with the movement for Indian Independence, were considered more trustworthy. The strategy was to deploy British and Gorkha units in a manner that they could, if necessary, act as a check on Indian units.

The popular support for the INA, the outbreak of the Naval Mutiny and their assessment of the attitude of the Indian soldier, convinced the British that they could not rely on the Indian Army to uphold their imperial rule over India. After the Second World War, an economically and militarily exhausted Britain was in no position to maintain a strong military presence in India. Thus the British decided to quit India and quit pretty soon. This conclusion is borne out by an anlysis of documents and views in the British Government publication, Transfer of Power. Earl Atlee who was the British Prime Minister in 1947 when they quit India, on a visit to this country in 1956, told Mr Chakravarty, the Governor of Bengal that the decision to withdraw from India was taken on account of a host of reasons and one of the most important was the realisation that the loyalty of the Indian Army had been undermined. Although India gained Independence primarily through a non-violent movement, the Army also played a significant role. The mutiny of 1857 had laid the foundation by igniting the spark of nationalism and the mutiny of 1946 had proved to be the last straw. The wheel had come full circle. The Indian Army had played an important role in the establishment of British rule over India and now the Indian Army played a significant role in ensuring the demise of that rule over India.

INDEPENDENCE AND AFTER

Two interesting statements were made about the Indian Army at the time of Independence. One was by Mahatma Gandhi. He wrote in the Harijan on April 21, 1946 about the Army, "Uptil now they have been employed in indiscriminate firing on us. Today, they must plough the land, dig wells, clean latrines, and do every other constructive work they can, and thus turn the people's hatred of them into love." As we shall presently see, the course of events at the time of Independence were such that without the Army having to undertake all the social work listed by the Mahatma, the role played by it during the partition riots, the contribution made by it in integrating some States into the Indian Union by force of arms and its defeating external aggression in Kashmir, brought about a tremendous transformation. Not only the Indian Army had overnight changed from being a colonial army to a national army but it also soon became the most popular instrument of the Government with the people of India. The other statement made about the Army at the time of Independence was by Lord Wavell, the outgoing Viceroy. In his farewell speech on March 21, 1947, he said, "I believe that the stability of the Indian Army may perhaps be the deciding factor in the future of India." This turned out to be a prophetic statement. In the total chaos of Partition riots when the civil administration had completely collapsed in North India, the Army was the only instrument available to the Government to restore order.

Partition posed a serious problem for the Army. Two thirds of the undivided Indian Army remained in India and one third went to Pakistan. A surgical operation had to be performed on almost all combat units on communal lines. Muslim sub-units had to be sent to Pakistan and Hindu sub-units brought to India from Pakistan. The officer corps particularly in senior ranks was largely British. A vacuum got created by their sudden departure and that of Muslim officers to Pakistan. The vacuum had to be filled with Indian officers. In 1947, the Indian Army had only 93 officers with over 13 years service, the bulk having 3 to 7 years service. Battalion Commanders with 6 to 7 years service and Brigade Commanders with 10 years service became the norm. A number of officers got promoted step by step from Major to Major General in one year. The crisis of leadership through the lack of adequate experience among commanders at unit and higher level was not allowed to interfere with the functioning of the Army, even when on the morrow of Independence, the Army was engaged in fighting a war in Kashmir, for over a year in 1947-48.

The Army has been making a remarkable contribution in nation building in the spheres of National Stability, National Integration, National Defence and National Polity.

I have already mentioned how the Army ensured stability by restoring order in North India during the Partition riots. Having operated in a mobile Command Headquarters from a special railway train between Delhi and Lahore in 1947, I was a witness to the barbaric brutalities of those riots, the mass exodus of millions of refugees from both sides and the total collapse of the civil administration. The Army provided the only ray of hope at that time for restoring order and sanity. Since internal disturbances have been endemic in our country, the Army continues to be used increasingly in this role. Excessive use of the Army in carrying out police duties can be counterproductive. A new dimension has been added to the Army functioning in this role with the eruption of armed secessionist movements in the country. Whereas through its impartiality, discipline and effectiveness, the Army endeared itself to the people during riots and natural calamities, tackling insurgency and terrorism has been posing a different problem. As part of their strategy these anti-national forces drawing support from across the border and to widen their support base within the country, make totally false or highly exaggerated allegations against the Army of excesses and human rights violations. Ofcourse there are also occasional instances of serious lapse by the Army in this regard. It is not enough to say that such instances involving the Indian Army are much less than Pakistan Army's record in Baluchistan and erstwhile East Pakistan, of the US Army's record in Viet Nam or for that matter the record of the Soviet Army in Afghanistan. Apart from efforts to win the hearts and minds of the people, there is need for effective Public relations to combat hostile propaganda and project the correct image of the Army. There is also no substitute for maintaining the highest standards of discipline and of junior military leadership so that such unfortunate incidents do not take place.

In the sphere of National Integration, the Army has been a living symbol of our nationhood. Its personnel drawn from different regions, speaking different languages and professing different faiths but living together in complete harmony have been a shining example of national integration. At the time of Independence, the Army constituted the ultimate sanction behind Sardar Patel's wise policy of getting the 500 odd princely states to merge with the Indian Union. The presence of a strong and disciplined Army was a major factor in persuading the Princes to sign the Instrument of Accession. Where this could not be achieved peacefully, the Army had to be employed to execute the Nation's will as in Junagarh, Marol, Hyderabad and Goa.

put to test on this score in Kashmir, within ten weeks of Independence. Today is October 26th. I vividly recall that about this time in the evening on this date in 1947, Lt Gen Sir Dudley Russell summoned about half a dozen of us, who were part of his skeleton Headquarters, to tell us that Kashmir had acceded to India and our Headquarters was to be responsible for conducting operations in that theatre. The enemy had captured Baramula and was advancing towards Srinagar, only about 30 miles from there. Troops had to be flown to Srinagar early next morning. We had just the night to make arrangements. 1 Sikh then at Gurgaon was ordered to concentrate at Palam. Issue of winter clothing and ammunition had to be organised at the airport. An operation instruction had to be prepared and a massive airlift organised. Besides my responsibilities as General Staff operations officer, I was given the task of organising the airlift. Perhaps I was given this task as I was the only Indian officer in the Headquarters at that time, the others being British officers who were debarred from going to Kashmir like their counterpart with Pakistan Army. All the Dakotas in the country were made available to me. The Air Force could provide only three Dakotas and the various private airlines like Bharat Airways, Dalmia Airways, Kalinga Airways and so on made fifty odd Dakotas available. Our problem was to induct a brigade group stocked for six months into the Srinagar Valley within a fortnight. By the middle of November, the Banihal Pass would get blocked with snow. There was no tunnel at Banihal in those days. The fair weather grass airfield would also become unserviceable after the first fall of snow. The geographical isolation of the Srinagar Valley from the rest of India would continue till the melting of snow in May. It was a great challenge but we managed to accomplish the task despite all odds. About 800 sorties were flown from Delhi to Srinagar. Often Dakotas had also to be sent to Allahabad, Nagpur and Jabalpur to pick up ordnance stores. Considering that the whole thing was a totally ad hoc effort, it was a splendid achievement. However, after the war, complications arose when the financial Pundits in South Block raised objections to the payment of the bills submitted by the private airlines running into several crores. They pointed out that the prior sanction of the competent financial authority had not been obtained for the airlift and Major Sinha was not authorised to order aircraft to make trips to different places. Moreover, the records of the airlifts had not been maintained properly. I used to get summoned to meetings at South Block to answer the queries. In the process I felt quite harassed. There was even a suspicion that I may have had my cuts in the whole affair. The word scam had not been brought into use at that time, otherwise I would have been held to be involved in an airlift scam. Anyway, much to my relief the whole thing ended on a satisfactory note. The President was pleased to accord ex post facto sanction to the irregular expenditure involved in the airlift. I was tempted to give you these details because today is October 26th, the date on which I had been given responsibility for organising the airlift.

The 1947-48 War was one of the finest hours of the Indian Army. We not only surmounted all odds and successfully carried out the mission assigned to us but its personnel, both personnel below officer rank and officers showed a remarkable sense of devotion and duty. I had accompanied General Cariappa to one of the forward units. The General asked a Sepoy manning a LMG in a bunker about his family. The soldier replied that he had lost touch with his family who had been in Pakistan but he had now heard that they had been traced in the refugee camp at Kurukshetra. The General then asked him if he had been to see them and if not, he should go on leave at once. The Sepoy replied that he had not been to meet them nor did he want to take leave to go to them till he had finished his job of defeating the enemy in front of him. To this day when anyone talks of doing his duty, the image of that Sepoy comes before my eyes. As regards officers, the salary of ICOs was nearly halved at the time of Independence with the introduction of the New Pay Code. I recall that I was, as a Major, drawing the pay of Rs 1300 per month which got brought down to Rs 700 per month. All of us were no doubt very unhappy about this and we represented about it to our superiors. No one ever thought of going to court because that was something which was just not supposed to be done in the Army. I am sure that had the matter been taken up in Court, this decision of Government would have been struck down, because it was something blatantly unfair. The new scales, as in the civil, should have been applied to new entrants and not to those already in service drawing higher scales of pay. Anyway, this unfair treatment did not for a moment affect the performance of the affected officers who continued to carry out their duties in war and peace, with utmost loyalty and discipline.

Our next challenge came in October 1962 when we suffered humiliation in the Himalayas. Both our political and military leadership was to be blamed for the debacle suffered by us. General Cariappa once mentioned to me that in 1950 when the Chinese moved into Tibet and when he was our Commanderin-Chief, he went up to the Prime Minister to voice his concern over the threat that had developed in the North. He was told to concentrate on Pakistan and not bother about China as that would be taken care of by his superiors. Notwithstanding this, a study group under Himmatsinhji, then Minister of State for Defence and with General Kalwant Singh as member, was set up to examine the problems of defence of our Northern frontier. Due to political apathy not much was achieved as a result of the efforts of this Study Group.

Within three years, the Indian Army was again asked to repel aggression. During this period the Army's strength had nearly been doubled and the period of long neglect of Defence was over. The Army put paid in 1965 to Pakistan's ambition of wresting Kashmir by force and inflicting a defeat on India in the plains of Punjab. The 1965 war was perhaps a draw with advantage more

heavily weighted in favour of India. And then came 1971, when the Army ably assisted by the Navy and the Air Force inflicted a crushing defeat on Pakistan. At Dacca 90,000 Pakistani prisoners surrendered and a new nation of 100 millions joined the comity of nations. This was one of the decisive victories of modern times.

And now a little about our national polity. We have chosen democracy as our way of life. The Army by remaining totally apolitical has been giving sustenance to our democratic polity. Not only the Indian Army has been the only apolitical Army of the Third World but it has a better apolitical record than that of some developed democracies. No Cromwell or Bonaparte has risen from the ranks of the Indian Army. I maintain that the four pillars that sustain a democratic edifice are fair elections, free Press, independent Judiciary and apolitical Army. I have no doubt in my mind that the Army pillar supporting our democracy is firm as a rock and there need be no fear of any cracks developing in it. Yet there has been an unfortunate coup syndrome among our decision-makers since Independence. This has led to the increasing isolation of the Army from the process of decision-making on Defence. This has also led to our developing the most irrational higher defence organisation in the world, the like of which is not to be seen in any other country.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, I submit I have tried to cover a wide canvas to highlight the Army's contribution to nation building both before and after Independence. The Army's contribution towards national Independence is not generally realised because we won our freedom essentially through a non-violent movement but the fact remains that the Army played a significant role in this. After Independence, it has been ensuring national stability, promoting national integration, providing national defence and supporting national polity. I also referred to the mutiny syndrome that prevailed before 1947 and the coup syndrome since 1947. This has been unfortunate. Sooner we get rid of the uncalled for coup syndrome, the better.

I feel that my presentation will remain incomplete if I confine myself only to the past and say nothing about the present and the future. Today, the Nation is passing through a grave crisis with complete erosion of values and growing indiscipline. The Army had been an island of discipline in a growing sea of indiscipline. No matter what may be happening outside, the Army must at all times provide a shining example of discipline and values to the rest of the Nation. Let us hope that the future generations of our countrymen looking back to our times say that when things were going bad in the country, the Army by setting an example to the Nation helped it to recover from a morass

in which it had got stuck. This can be ensured through the Army at all times maintaining the highest standards of discipline, professionalism and devotion to duty. Officers have to play a crucial role in this. The Army must at all times remain subordinate to the civil just as the junior is required to be subordinate to the senior, but at no time subordination should be allowed to degenerate to servility or sycophancy. We all know the difference between subordination and servility.

The desire of the Army officer for a bright career for himself is understandable and he must make every legitimate effort towards this end. He must not, however, become a careerist. When we join the Army, we have to be prepared to sacrifice our lives for the country. Similarly one has to be prepared to sacrifice one's career for the Army. The senior must appreciate that the authority vested in him is a sacred trust which has to be exercised in the interest of the country and the Army as also to provide due justice and protect the interests of his juniors. The code of conduct expected of an officer, is to maintain a stiff upper lip even when he feels that he had been wronged and seek redress in an authorised manner, without rushing to the Press or the Court, which only damages the image of the Army. Lest I be accused of only talking big without any matching action, I will take the liberty in all humility of giving you my personal example. When I resigned from the Army, some lawyers from the Supreme Court came to me urging me to file a writ in the court. They offered to fight the case for me without charging any fees. I thanked them for their offer but I was aghast at the suggestion. I told them that there was no question of my even remotely tarnishing the image of the Army, which I had served loyally for 39 years. The whole idea was outrageous to me. Today when I read in the papers of Army officers going to court on issues like promotions and postings, I feel very sad.

So far as our soldiers are concerned, they are among the best in the world. Time and again they have shown their gallantry in battle which has been widely acclaimed. The Guides at Kabul in 1879, the Sikhs at Saraghari in 1897, the Dogras at Ypres in 1914, the Lancers at Bir Hachem in 1942, the Gorkhas at Mortar Bluff in 1944, the Rajputs at Taindhar in 1948 and the Kumaonis at Rezeng La in 1962, blazed a trail of glory. The present and future generations of the Army must live up to their great heritage. As the Nations's ultimate weapon, the Army must never compromise with excellence. It must remain geared to impose the Nation's will, at all times and at all costs, but never impose its own will on the Nation.

This lecture has been delivered in the memory of Field Marshal Cariappa, a man of high principles and great vision. I have mentioned how he went upto Nehru in 1950 when the Chinese had moved into Tibet. He had the vision to

see the threat, that posed to us and which materialised 12 years later. In a lighter vein but on an equally important national issue, let me recall another instance in which he showed that he was a man of vision. In 1951 he had written a foreword to a book on family planning by Lady Dr Satyawati. At that time hardly anyone talked about population explosion, and the threat it posed to our nation. General Cariappa had been advocating the norm of two children in a family. He addressed a large gathering of Army wives at the Family Welfare Centre in Amritsar, in 1951. He spoke, "Mataon aur Behnon. Ham chahta kih ap do baccha paida karo, ek apne lie aur ek mere lie." The suggestion was that one son should be for the family and the other should join the Army.

I now conclude my talk by offering my profound tribute to Field Marshal Cariappa, the Father of the Indian Army, a great patriot, a great General and a great human being. I am beholden to the organisers of this function for doing me the great honour of inviting me to deliver this lecture and to you for listening to my views so patiently. Thank you very much.

USI GOLD MEDAL ESSAY COMPETITION: 1996 - RESULTS

On the recommendations of the Evaluation Committee, the USI Council during its meeting on 13 December 1996, selected the following officers for the award of prizes in the USI Gold Medal Essay Competition - 1996:

Group 'A' "Privatisation of Support Facilities in Defence Services" - Problems and Prospects

(a) Cdr AN Sonsale DDS (Engg.) First Prize - Gold Medal and

Rs.2,000/-

Naval HQ New Delhi

(b) Col RK Bhonsle

Second Prize - Rs.1,000/-

Group 'B' -"Threat to Indian Society Posed by Manportable Weapons and Explosives

(a) Sqn Ldr Anu Rana Saluja First Prize - Gold Medal and Rs.2,000/-

(b) Lt Ashish Khurana

326 Lt AD Regt (Comp)

Second Prize - Rs.1,000/-

Employment of Prithvi Missiles

WING COMMANDER (RETD) J P JOSHI

INTRODUCTION

Levery test firing of the Prithvi Surface-to-Surface Missile (SSM) has been accompanied by a large number of media statements by the leaders of India, and other interested countries. The 15th test firing of the Prithvi on Jan. 27, 1996 was no different in this regard. Media reports suggest that the lone superpower, USA, tried to exert a lot of pressure on the Indian political leadership to discontinue the testing and deployment of the Prithvi. Despite this the test firing went through as planned. The Feb. 2, 1996 edition of *The Times of India* carried the headlines that "India will go ahead with Prithvi deployment". The official spokesman of the US State Department in Washington called the decision by the Indian Government to test the Prithvi missile, as a mistake.

The above political statements clearly bring out the Indian resolve to go ahead with the deployment of the SSM despite US pressures. It is reported that the Army is slated to receive 75 Prithvi SS-150s in the initial phase and the IAF has an order for 25 Prithvi SS-250s. To make the most optimal use of this limited but potent weapon system, it is imperative that the employment philosophy of the Prithvi is thoroughly discussed and debated by professionals. The limited number of SSMs dictate that these be employed optimally in any war.

AIM

The aim of this paper is to discuss an employment philosophy for the Prithvi SSM, after briefly studying the historical employment of SSMs and analysing the special features of the Prithvi.

SCOPE

The paper is restricted to the use of the missile in the conventional warfare scenario only.

HISTORICAL EMPLOYMENT OF SSMS

In modern times, Germans were the first to use missiles in WW-II.

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Initially they used the V-1 that was more in the nature of a flying bomb. From this developed the V-2, a tactical ballistic missile (TBM), which once launched followed a pre-calculated trajectory. The V-2 had a liquid propellant rocket motor that could accelerate it to supersonic speeds and take it to ranges of 240-370 kms.

A TBM of this class has three distinct phases of flight viz. the boost phase, the mid course phase and the terminal phase. The guidance is possible only in the boost phase. The accuracy of the predicted position of the missile at the end of this phase thus dictates the accuracy of the predicted missile impact point. Any variations in the thrust (due to any reason), weight, size, shape or angle of launch of the missile introduces inaccuracies in the missile impact point giving a larger circular error probability (CEP). A conventionally armed weapon with a large CEP can only be effectively employed against large area targets like cities etc. This is how the Germans employed the V-2 TBMs. The Germans employed more than 4000 of these missiles, but the results of these attacks cannot be termed as very cost effective in the present day context.

Even though the results of these first used TBMs were discouraging, the end of WW-II saw the US and other major powers develop Ballistic Missiles (BM) on a large scale. The numerous advantages of a missile over the manned aircraft (in terms of carrying the war well into the heartland of the enemy without fear or risk of attrition, and during all weather) and the miniaturisation of nuclear warheads making them capable of being carried on missiles were two of the major reasons. The space race also gave an additional boost to the missile technology. The above factors coupled with the international security environment ensured that the conventionally armed missiles gave way to nuclear tipped BM with the nuclear weapon states (NWS).

However, BMs have never been used by any of the NWS till date. After the V-2, ballistic missiles have been used only by Iraq and Iran, in the Iran-Iraq war, and by Iraq in the Gulf war. Thus BMs have been used in three modern wars. Due to the inherent inaccuracies, and the consequently large CEPs, the SSMs have invariably been employed as terror weapons against civilian area targets like cities. The CEP of the BM used has been very large to neutralise any worthwhile military target. This is primarily because of no trajectory guidance in the terminal phases, which is not the case with the Prithvi SSM.

PRITHVI SSM

missile powered by two liquid propellant rocket engines. The engines are gimballed to operate independently making it possible to steer the missile in all three axes using thrust vector control during the first 60 seconds of its flight. Thereafter, the missile switches over to closed loop guidance and aero-dynamic control exercised by its four wings. The missile has a strap down inertial navigation system with an onboard processor and real-time software giving the missile an impact point accuracy of 0.1% of range i.e., 250m at 250 kms and 150m at 150kms. The missile follows a tailored trajectory rather than a purely ballistic one. The Prithvi is considered much more accurate than the SCUD or its derivatives that were used by Iraq during the Gulf war. As per the Prithvi Project Director V K Saraswat "Prithvi is now probably among the world's most accurate missiles of its class". The statement is based on the fact that the US and Chinese built missiles, ATACMS and M-11 respectively, have not shown the same accuracy in test firing as the Prithvi.

The Prithvi, as per the SIPRI yearbook 1994, is to have three variants; basically based on a range - payload trade off. The missile is to have a maximum range of 350 kms with a 250 kgs warhead, 250 kms with a 500 kg warhead and 150 kms with a 1000 kgs warhead. A range of warheads, which includes high explosive, pre-fragmented ammunition and cluster bomblets, can be fitted on to the missile. These can also be changed under battlefield conditions. Future warheads could also include the fuel air explosive and runway repair delay mines.

The missile is transported on board the all terrain, eight wheeled Kolos Tatra truck that is being licence produced in India. The missile is designed to be rapidly deployed from the vehicle and fired from a simple launcher. Reports suggest that each battery of four Prithvi carrier vehicles would be accompanied by a missile resupply and loading vehicle, a propellant tanker and a command post to provide targeting information to the missiles before launch. Having seen the employment of SSMs till date, as also how the Prithvi differs from the earlier version missiles used in modern warfare, let us examine how the Prithvi can be employed in our context.

EMPLOYMENT OF PRITHVI SSM

GENERAL

Historically, India has never deliberately targeted any enemy cities or any purely civilian targets in any of the previous wars that she has fought. Taking this as a precedence, it can be safely presumed that the Prithvi is likely to be employed against targets that have a direct bearing on military operations.

These targets would fall under two categories - static (like airfields, oil refineries, power complexes, railway yards, bridges, ports etc.) or mobile (like army targets). For effective and efficient employment of the limited SSM, it is important that these are employed against targets that are likely to give the highest pay offs in a limited war.

The accurate targeting by the Prithivi is dependant on the accuracy of the co-ordinates of the launch pad and the target. It would thus be important to have accurate six digit co-ordinates of the expected launch sites. A large number of sites would need to be identified and ear marked as close to the border as practicable, primarily to utilise the strengths (in terms of mobility and range) of the Prithvi while at the same time catering for the enemy's attack capabilities in terms of artillery, multiple rocket launchers and ground attack aircraft. Each Prithvi battery would need to be adequately dispersed to prevent putting all eggs in one basket and yet be close enough to permit effective command and control and the desired level of mutual support between elements.

Since the range of the missiles is such that it is likely to have theatre wide implications, it is desirable that the control of these missiles is exercised at the theatre level. Delegation below Corps Commander level is definitely not desirable for optimum utilisation of the Prithvi missile. Prithvi SSM is a component of airpower and thus needs to be integrated into the AD set-up of the IAF through effective C3I.

Intelligence information on vital targets would invariably need to include accurate six digit co-ordinates. This may be possible only for static targets. This may need to be collated and prioritised jointly in peace time so as to achieve the highest pay off in war. This would include information on strategic and operational level targets and could be prioritised at the level of the COSC and at the IAF/Army/Naval command levels respectively. Manned aircraft and SSM, each have their own advantages and limitations in terms of attacking targets. They should thus be employed in a complementary manner to bring out the best of each system towards the attainment of the final aim.

Information on mobile, beyond visual range targets would be difficult to come by in war. This would demand near real time recce and surveillance capability. Even this capability may not permit cost effective neutralisation of very mobile target systems like an armoured column due to the inherent delays in C3I and weapon allocation, as also launch and fight time of the missile. It is pertinent to mention here that the reported cost of each missile is about Rs 3 crores and the expected production rate is about 4 missiles/month. Non availability of the latest accurate co-ordinates of very mobile targets, cost and

the missile availability would thus preclude use of these missiles on very mobile targets.

Iraq fired a total of 81 missiles over the 42 days of the Gulf war, without any appreciable military gain. This is likely to be our experience also with regard to the number of missiles fired in any future war and thus it is imperative that each missile counts, and helps us in neutralising a vital enemy target which is directly contributing to his war aims. Colour of the uniform and individual service priorities would need to take a back seat to make the most effective use of the limited number of missiles that are expected to be available with us. Considering that the Prithvi is an airpower weapon, let us analyse how it can best be employed, using a topdown approach.

STRATEGIC LEVEL TARGETS

Oil refineries, major power grids, oil storage parks and ports are vital static strategic targets that should be targeted by an intelligent mix of manned aircraft and Prithvi missiles keeping in mind factors like target defences, distances, degree of favourable air situation (FAS), and the need to hit the enemy round the clock and at the time and place of our choosing.

Mobile targets like the enemy's strategic reserves could be profitably attacked when it is concentrated; either procedurally or due to limitations of terrain or communication lines. However, this would demand a very high level of recce and surveillance capability.

OPERATIONAL LEVEL TARGETS

Historically, it has been proven that winning the air war is a pre-requisite to winning the war. This being so, it is important that the Prithvi is employed for creating and maintaining a FAS. There are numerous ways in which the Prithvi could be employed to help in creating and maintaining a FAS, some of which are discussed below.

(a) Considering it's CEP, a large number of SSMs would be required to achieve any degree of damage to an operating surface. This is thus not practicable. However, the SSM could be gainfully employed with cluster munitions immediately preceding a counter air strike to dilute/degrade the lethal AD systems on or around an airfield. A mix of incendiary and delay bomblets could cause substantial confusion/delay to permit a highly effective counter air strike through any airfield. Repeat SSM attack with airburst cluster munitions could delay runway rehabilitation work to a large extent. Collateral damage to other vital targets (like aircraft in the

open, BPIs, ammunition dumps, labs on an airfield etc.) would be a bonus. However, this cannot be used as a template for all enemy airfields but should be used selectively against his important airfields that are housing his prime strike and multi-role assets.

- (b) The use of SSMs by bad weather and by night when manned aircraft have limitations, in our context, is another area of promise.
- (c) GPS, satellite recce and communication, the need for strike packages to spend time outside hardened shelters before take off while taxying to the runway, and the short flight time of the SSM opens up a whole range of possibilities of destroying enemy aircraft, heavily loaded with fuel and weapons, on the ground. This is the most ideal counter air target. It had not been possible to plan for attacking 'aircraft on ground' after the 1967 Arab-Israeli war due to their being parked in hardened aircraft shelters.

Concentrated theatre reserves and supplies could be targeted by the SSM. The missile scores over manned aircraft against these targets in terms of reaction time and ability to operate in bad weather and by night. However, it has certain limitations that would need to be assessed before employing the SSM against these target systems. Enemy command and control system at the theatre level may not be a profitable target system, except by a lucky chance.

Bridges could be more efficiently and effectively tackled by manned aircraft, as compared to SSMs because of the better CEPs obtainable by the manned aircraft, using precision guided munitions,

TACTICAL LEVEL TARGETS

Considering the limited numbers, it is not envisaged that the Prithvi would be employed on target systems that are within the range of other weapon systems like medium and long range artillery and multiple rocket launch systems. Thus, the closest targets would be about 80-100 kms from the launch sites of the Prithvi (about 40-50 kms from the FEBA). The obtainable CEPs at these ranges would preclude the use of these SSMs against mobile target systems at the tactical level. Static targets like enemy forward airfields could however be tackled, if required.

SOME RANDOM THOUGHTS

There is a tremendous amount of international political pressure on India not to deploy the Prithvi, if one goes by the newspaper reports. Despite this,

India has decided to go ahead with the deployment of the Prithvi. The missile has been proudly displayed to the world during the Republic Day parades and 15 of them have been test fired from February 25, 1988, when the first SSM was test fired, till date. The political message being clear it is important to understand that 100 missiles are too few to make a substantial difference to any military outcome of the war. Small numbers and high cost per missile will leave very little flexibility in the hands of the military commanders to employ these when and where required.

The target systems identified for strikes by SSM all fall in the strategic and operational level categories. This being so the control of the SSMs should also be at the appropriate high level. Also, since these target systems would have an impact on the course of war at the national/theatre level, it is important that a joint organisation be formed for the effective and efficient employment of the SSMs. This joint organisation should have representation of all the three services at all three levels, viz strategic, operational and tactical, and should be headed by the service that best understands airpower in all its varied dimensions. This is primarily because the SSM exploits the medium of air to deliver the punch on the enemy. The decision to employ SSMs in war for the first time should however invariably rest with the COSC.

There is a need for a vastly improved recce capability to make effective use of the low reaction capability of the SSMs. Pakistan has reportedly deployed the indigenously built Hatf I & II, and the Chinese M-11 missiles. The employment of these missiles is likely to be similar in nature. At present both countries have no defence against SSMs. Geography gives us an advantage. This being so, we are likely to get a higher return if we make a well thought out and effective utilisation of the SSMs. Employing the Prithvi at the tactical level may not be very cost effective or profitable, considering the limited numbers that are likely to be available.

CONCLUSION

Deployment of a weapon system is a political decision, which has to be weighed against the international repercussions and the need for national security.

Having decided to deploy the Prithvi missile, despite international pressure, it is important that the military decide on how to employ the same in the most effective and efficient manner.

Historically, SSMs have been employed in the WW-II, the Iran-Iraq war and the Gulf War, 1991. Owing to the large CEP, all these were employed against civilian area targets like population centres. The Germans fired more

than 4000 V-2 missiles during WW-II and the Iraqis fired 81 SSMs during the Gulf war. However, firing of the SSMs in both cases had no verifiable impact on the course of the wars.

The Prithvi is not a pure ballistic missile, in that it's trajectory can be suitably altered during its entire flight profile based on the output of its strap down inertial nav system coupled to the OBC with real-time software. This makes the Prithvi a more accurate missile, giving it an accuracy of about 0.1 per cent of range.

This kind of accuracy and the range/payload combination permits the effective use of these missiles ideally against static target systems at the strategic and operational level. Mobile target systems could also be attacked based on certain pre-requisites in terms of real time recce capability. However, at the tactical level there may not be any worthwhile target systems, except chance targets that may even then be difficult to attack and neutralise.

Since the SSM is likely to be employed mostly at the strategic/operational level, its employment decision should also be centralised at the highest practicable level. The employment of the missile should be decided by a joint service organisation, at all levels of war fighting, so as to make most effective use of the limited number of these missiles. This organisation would also need to be integrated into the AD set-up of the country through effective C3I.

Considering that it has been politically decided to deploy the Prithvi, based on the threat assessment, it is relevant to make a realistic assessment of the number of missiles that would be required to make a difference to the outcome of the war. 100 missiles are considered inadequate to give an edge to the military commanders in case of war.

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The Story of The Kurds

VICE ADMIRAL (RETD) S C CHOPRA, PVSM, AVSM, NM

s there such a place as Kurdistan"? The answer to that question is both Yes and No depending on the perceptions of the questioner. Yes, if Kurdistan is meant to convey an area of land where Kurds live. No, if it conveys the sense that there is a sovereign independent country where Kurds rule. There is a vast swath of mountainous area stretching from Taurus mountains in south eastern Turkey to Zargos mountains in northern Iraq and western Iran and the adjacent plains where Kurds have lived for over 3,000 years. They form the fourth largest ethnic grouping in West Asia and perhaps the largest minority group in the world, numbering between 15 to 25 million people. No one has ever taken a proper census, so these figures could be substantially incorrect. Be that as it may, Kurds are a fiercely independent ethnic group of people who are neither Arabs, nor Turks, nor for that matter Persians. Their language is also quite distinct from Arabic and Farsee and is called Kurdi (Sorani) or Kurmanii depending on which part of Kurdistan one hails from.

Despite immense variation in their numbers, it is generally believed that 3.5 to 8 million live in modern Turkey, 1.5 to 5 million in Iran and 1.5 to 4 million in Iraq. Small pockets of Kurds ranging from 0.5 to 1 million are also to be found in Armenia, Azerbaijan, Syria and Lebanon. It is further estimated that around 400,000 Kurds live in Germany alone in and around Kreuzberg and Chrlottenberg areas. The Germans do not however recognise them as Kurds, but only as immigrant workers with Turkish passports. Similar but smaller communities exist in many other western countries including the United States.

The history of Kurds is poorly recorded, but they were originally a nomadic people who with their sheep and goat herds roamed the mountains of Turkey, Iran, Iraq and the foothills of Mesopotamia in much the same way as Gujjars in lower Himalayas. The first recorded mention of Kurds came when they are supposed to have pillaged the retreating Greeks from Persia in 401 BC under Xenophon near the modern town of Zakho. The name Kurd can, however, be safely dated to 7th century AD when they converted to Islam in large numbers. Though mostly Sunni Muslims, some in erstwhile Persia also became Shias/Sufis thus setting the stage for future conflicts among themselves. Despite their long-standing occupation of a particular region of West Asia there is no evidence that they ever achieved a nation-state status. Their reputation

in military prowess ensured that they were much in demand as mercenaries in many regional armies.

Saladin, the greatest Kurd of all times rallied his co-religionists in AD 1170, to resist the Crusaders in Palestine and recapture the Muslim holy places from them. He was a remarkable man of great character and courage who first humbled the Seljuks princes in Mesopotamia before recapturing Jerusalem from Christians in 1187. He fought against Richard I, the Lionheart, King of England and Phillip Augustus of France in the third crusade. A brave fighter, chivalrous and generous in battle, he lost some of the territories to the crusaders like Arnif, Jaffa and Ascalon but not Jerusalem. The stalemate on the battlefield was followed by a 3 year truce in which Christian refugees were allowed to ransom their way out of Jerusalem to nearest Christian occupied towns at a time when large scale massacre of enemy was the order of the day. He even allowed small groups of unarmed crusaders to visit the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. Richard I and Saladin developed a healthy admiration for each other and when the former set off for England in 1192 relative peace had descended in the Holy land. Saladin thereafter proceeded to Egypt and established the new dynasty of Ayubbids (AD 1192-1250). He subsequently brought Hijaz, the combined name for Mecca and Medina under the orbit of Cairo leaving the Caliphate of Abbasids supported by Persians to continue to perform its role from Baghdad. Kurdish warriors were left in the lurch and most went back to their mountain retreat. By the end of 13th century the Caliphate, Egypt and control of all Muslim holy places in Palestine and Hijaz moved to Istanbul with the rise of Ottoman Turks and Kurds once again went back to being a footnote on the pages of history.

It was not until the beginning of the 20th century that Kurds began to be heard of again. With the impending disintegration of the Ottoman empire after the First World War, the grand old man of Kurds Mullah Mustapha Barzani who hailed from Iraqi segment of Kurdish factions, extracted a promise from President Woodrow Wilson that a Kurdish autonomous region would be created from the ashes of the Ottoman empire. Indeed the Treaty of Sevres (1920) provided for an autonomous Kurdistan, but for various other reasons it never got ratified by its authors. The Treaty of Lausanne (1923) which replaced it was conspicuously silent on the future of Kurdish territories. The western world tried to forget the deliberate omission, but Kurds did not, as was made evident by the sharp but short-lived Kurdish uprisings in 1931-32 and 1944-45. What happened to Kurds thereafter is a saga of relentless bravery, brutal infighting and monumental treachery which only a satanic mind could have planned in advance. The story of Kurds has therefore to be told in parts to enable the readers to draw their own conclusions about their future prospects. Whilst President Bill Clinton, the swashbuckler come lately and his

western co-horts can make minor dents in the on-going conflict, his current sabre-rattling against President Saddam Hussein of Iraq is unlikely to change the course of Kurdish history.

KURDS IN TURKEY

As brought out earlier perhaps the largest numbers of Kurds live in Turkey, but no one can be sure, since Turkey does not list its people by their ethnic origins. After the break up of the Ottoman Empire, the successor government of Kemal Attaturk refused to part with the Mosul province (Vilayet), which formed part of British mandated territories of Mesopotamia and Transjordan, on the grounds that Kurdish people were closer ethnically to Turks than Arabs. This matter was taken back to League of Nations and later to International Court of Justice which favoured Anglo-Iraqi claim and allowed Mosul to become part of newly created state of Iraq along with the provinces of Baghdad and Basra.

Mustapha Kemal a virtual dictator set about the task of modernising Turkey with such ferocity that the fortunes of its Kurdish population swung from one extreme to the other. From a rural, hilly-billy, nomadic lifestyle they were swiftly pitch-forked into an urbanised society and made to scatter all the way to Istanbul. The Turkish government maintained that Turkey was one nation and Kurds were part of Turkish family, whether they liked it or not. Efforts were made to deprive them of their cultural heritage and identity by designating them as 'mountain Turks', forbidding even the wearing of Kurdish garments in and around important administrative cities. Successive Turkish governments have since then continued to suppress their Kurdish population by preventing them from agitating for autonomy by diluting their concentration in eastern uplands. Use of Kurdish flag was totally prohibited and broadcast of Kurdish language (Kurmanji) and music was banned on official TV and radio channels.

The missionery zeal with which Turks tried to modernise and assimilate their Kurdish provinces, is only matched by the severity and cruelty with which they frequently annhilated recalcitrant elements among them. For instance less than six months after the Gulf War the Turks deliberately chose an opportune moment to suppress their Kurdish population, lest they seek a similar status as Iraqi Kurds had been given by the coalition forces. In Iraq a 'No-Fly' zone was established upto the 36th parallel and the Iraqi ground forces were directed to stay south of this line thus creating a virtual 'Safe Haven' in which Kurds could enjoy total safety although the ostensible reason given was to enable international aid agencies to move about freely for distribution of aid. Iraqi Kurds were further allowed to run a rudimentary admin-

istration, collect taxes, dispense justice and generally be responsible for maintenance of law and order. Further a multi-national Rapid Reaction Force (RRF) was established on the Turkish side of the border to deal with any unexpected interference from Iraqi forces. None of these actions had the sanction of the United Nations Security Council.

In October 1991 Turkish government mounted a major air and land attack on the Kurdish 'Peshmergas', a group of dedicated men who are sworn to die for the Kurdish cause, inside the Iraqi borders to wipe out their bases. These Kurdish guerrillas had been trained and supported by the Kurdish Worker's Party or PKK under the overall control of Abdullah Ocalan-also known as Apo or the Uncle- and operated out of the northern city of Diyarbakir. Iraqi protests against the invasion on its territory fell on deaf ears of coalition partners. The Turkish intrusion was so timed that the recently created RRF was also already on its way out and did not interfere with the invading Turkish forces. Over 500 pershmergas were reported killed against the loss of only 17 Turkish soldiers. Jalal Talabani, leader of the Iraq based Patriotic Union of Kurdistan or PUK, and infinitely proud of his special relationship with the western leaders and coalition partners offered to mediate between Turkish and PKK leadership, which was rejected out of hand by the latter as one Kurdish faction mistrusts the other more than the outsiders. The Turkish peshmergas, however, dispersed in the mountainous terrain as they had always done over the last half century, leaving the Turkish forces without a credible reason to stay put inside Iraq. Only Germany officially protested and even threatened to cut off military and economic aid to Turkey against senseless killing of Kurds. USA and other NATO partners simply looked the other way. Actually they were too busy passing the hat around collecting compensation for defeating the so-called 'Butcher from Baghdad' rather than worry about minor indiscretions indulged by a NATO partner.

Two and a half years later in May 1994 Turkish army once resumed their operations and entered Iraq to settle their score with PKK guerrillas. Over a 1000 rebels were killed in air attacks alone before the peshmergas could disperse in the mountainous terrain. This time around Germany suspended all aid to Turkey whilst USA only halved it. Turkish Prime Minister Tansu Chiller stated that any linkage between aid and human rights was not acceptable to her. She would rather give up aid than her self-assumed right to hotchase PKK peshmergas into Iraqi territory. In March 1995 Turks launched another onslaught of massive proportions against the Kurds, living along the Turko-Iraqi border, the so-called mountain Turks. Over 35,000 Turkish troops, for the third time in as many years, marched into Kurdish areas backed by tanks, helicopter gunships and F-16 fighter aircraft to flush out all Kurdish guerrillas belonging to PKK. It needs to be mentioned that both PKK (Abdullah Ocalan) in Turkey and PUK (Jalal Talabani) in Iraq are basically the break away factions of the

original Democratic Party of Kurdistan or DPK inside Iraq, started by Mullah Mustapha Barzani and now headed by his son Massoud Barzani. Madame Tansu Chiller described the latest Turkish offensive as the biggest since 1984 "to rip out the roots of Kurdish terrorist groups whose activities were aimed at innocent Turkish people". The Turkish Army commander further elaborated that his primary objective was to push 40 kms inside Iraq along a 220 kms front and destroy all guerrilla campsites in the mountains for all times. Iraq still hamstrung by post-Gulf War sanctions could do no better than condemn the Turkish invasion into her territory, primarily in the area where the coalition forces had established a virtual 'Safe-haven' for Kurdish population against attacks by Iraqi forces, but surprisingly not against a NATO partner like Turkey. In fact the Turkish army has pounded these hills more often since the Gulf War than Iraqis in last decade, yet the world media controlled by CNN and BBC reporters reacts only when Saddam sneezes; Madame Chiller may in the meanwhile send a chill down the Kurdish spine and it would not ruffle their feathers at all. PKK rebels who had anticipated Turkish move rapidly disappeared beyond their reach thus scuttling another major army operation. Around 277 Kurds were reported killed against loss of 22 soldiers. Foreign Ministers of France, Germany and Spain travelled to Ankara on March 23, 1995 to persuade Turkish government not to violate Iraqi sovereignty in such a cavalier fashion with utter disregard for international norms. US stand was initially ambivalent saying that Turkey had the right to defend herself against guerrillas but later reversed it, calling for their withdrawal. Despite the world opinion building up against them, Turkey did not hurry up its withdrawal till end May 1995 after much more blood had been shed and 555 Kurds had been killed. Although the 3 months operation was very popular in Turkey its effectiveness was seriously doubted by military analysts. President Suleyman Damriel conceded this much and said that rebels will be back within 3 months and warned that Turkey may have to enter Iraq all over again. He further suggested re-drawing of borders between Turkey and Iraq in the mountains to make it more defensible against PKK peshmergas, offering land in the south as compensation to Iraq.

Despite solemn assurances to the contrary, large scale Turkish offensives were resumed in July 1995 and then again in September 1996 near the town of Cizre on Turkish side of Zargos mountains. Saddam Hussein has frequently offered to mediate but the so-called international community has always advised Turkey to refuse his good offices since this would amount to dealing with the satan itself. None of these actions have made headline news on TV news channels because it is seen as the internal affair of Turkey. The only time international security was deemed to be threatened was when Iraqi forces moved into Erbil in September 1996, inside their own territory, in support of DPK forces to oust Iranian backed guerrillas of PUK from across the international border. But more of it later.

KURDS IN IRAN

The second largest group of Kurdish people live inside Iran. Not only ethnically but religionwise also these Kurds are vastly different from Persians, though some scholars believe that this is not so. Their view is that Kurds are more akin to Persians than Turks or Arabs. In actual fact the Kurds form an island of Sunni Muslims in an ocean of Shia nation and have suffered intense religious persecution by successive Iranian governments. Their desire for autonomy has been crushed with an iron fist by the Shah's monarchy and subsequent regimes headed by Ayatollahs. In 1944-45 Stalinist Russia helped the Iranian Kurds to establish an independent state of Kurdistan at Mahabad, perhaps with an eye on conjoining it later with the Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan, which also has a large population of Kurds. This is also the region of historic conflict between Persians, Turks, Russians, British and later Americans, after the CENTO was established to protect the oilfields of Persia and Iraq from communist Russia. Qazi Muhammad was made the President of Kurdistan but it failed to get recognition from any of the western powers. The Iranian reaction to this self-proclaimed Kurdistan was very fierce and prompt. Within the year the new republic collapsed and Qazi Muhammad was hanged in the public square. The whole episode was a great setback for DPK and its leader Mullah Mustapha Barzani who was accused of being a communist for many years thereafter. In fact he escaped to Moscow after the collapse of the republic and returned to Iraqi mountains a few years later.

Jalal Talabani currently the leader of PUK, the breakaway faction of DPK was at that time the roving ambassdor of DPK and managed to ingratiate himself to many western governments including Reza Shah's regime in Tehran. His party therefore continues to enjoy much support from the central authority in Tehran. One primary lesson that Kurds learnt from the collapse of Mahabad Republic was that Kurdish rebellion had no future in Iran. Otherwise the Iranian government has been fairly liberal with its Kurdish population. Kurdish dress is no longer banned, newspapers in Kurdi language (Sorani) are allowed and there is even a Kurdish broadcasting station in Senna, the cultural capital of Kurds in Iran. It also needs to be emphasized that Iranians would not welcome a Kurdish rebellion in Iraq. Like the Turks, they also fear its long-term effects in Iran, should it succeed.

KURDS IN SYRIA

Although the Kurds in Syria are much smaller in numbers the treatment meted out to them is no different from its other Arab citizens. No one expects them to seek autonomy within Syria, consequently they are treated with as much benevolence as can be expected from an authoritarian regime. Indeed in

many ways the Syrian authorities encourage PKK faction to seek refuge in their territory whenever going becomes tough in neighbouring Turkey. Syria provides an 'umbrella to Kurds for the same reason that umbrellas are provided-water'. In Turkish Kurdistan the huge new Ataturk Dam allows Turkey to control the waters of Euphrates river which flow into Syria thereafter. Syrians use their Kurds to remind Turkey not to overly exploit this advantage. Syria also provides a modicum of security to the Kurds living in Lebanon where they are frequently made to live in sub-human conditions, both by the Arabs and Christians.

KURDS IN IRAQ

Having seen the miserable conditions under which large Kurdish populations live in Turkey and Iran it is time to understand the hardships faced by Kurds in Saddam's Iraq. Although there is no evidence that the number of Kurds living in Iraq is in anyway larger than the other two countries, their plight attracts more media attention and consequent international condemnation than elsewhere.

Way back in early twenties, Mullah Mustapha Barzani, the undisputed leader of Kurdish rebellion had obtained a solemn assurance from the western allies that after the break-up of the Ottoman Empire the Kurds would be given their own place under the sun. They had wanted the Mosul province, with minor adjustments to be made an exclusive homeland for Kurds. This was also the time when Turkey and Imperial Britain were fighting for the same piece of land: the latter to carve out the new state of Iraq by combining the erstwhile Ottoman vilayets of Mosul, Baghdad and Basra. The waters from the famous river valleys of Euphrates and Tigris which had fathered the ancient civilisations of Babylon, Assyria and Islam seemed to be a bonus in comparison to the new possibility of discovering large pools of oil in the area. Once the International Court of Justice decreed Mosul to British mandate, Kurds felt totally let down, considering that their contribution to the fall of Ottomans was not inconsiderable.

From 1920 until the revolution of 1958 Iraq was run by a monarchy assisted by British advisers. Faisal I who had been ousted from Syria by the French, was installed as the first King. He was in due course succeeded by King Gazi and Faisal II, the latter becoming the victim of the revolution in which he was killed in 1958 whilst still in his teens. Iraq was declared a republic and thereafter saw a number of Prime Ministers and their British advisers come and go without making a lasting impression on the administration and socio-political fabric of Iraq. Full of intrigue, rebellion and massive upheavals the society in Baghdad nevertheless gave no quarter to Kurds living

in northern mountains. Forming 15 to 20 per cent of the population they refused to accept central authority or pay taxes except to their own administrative infrastructure. Being proud of their own social and cultural inheritence, language and customs and concentrated in mountainous terrain they had closer links with their ethnic counterparts in Iran, Turkey, Syria and Southern Russia than with Arabs in rest of Iraq. Their numerous uprisings were ruthlessly suppressed by punitive expeditions from Baghdad which frequently included the use of latest techniques in chemical warfare.

Mullah Mustapha al Barzani the leader of the Democratic Party of Kurdistan or DPK carried on a crusade for an independent Kurdistan for well over three decades before his son Massoud Barzani took over the reins of the party after his death. Unlike his father the younger Barzani has had to face stiff competition from Jalal Talabani the leader of the newly created party, the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, or PUK, which garners greater support from Kurds living in Iran. Similarly the Kurdistan Worker's Party, or PKK based at Diyarbakir in Turkey also emerged as a powerful force seeking an autonomous Kurdistan inside Turkey. During their internal bickerings sometime resulting in open hostilities, PKK has always relied on the support of DPK when inside Iraqi territory, whilst the PUK has sought support from their Iranian counterparts. If this is not confusing enough then enter Kurdistan Socialist Party run by Rossoul Mamand and Kurdistan Peoples Democratic Party run by Sami Abdul-Rahman. Each of them have a similar objective, but different approach to attaining it. The internal strife amongst Kurds is so mind-boggling that any attempt by an outsider to resolve their problems is bound to come to grief.

One thing must be said in favour of the current Ba'thist regime that it has not entirely backtracked from the previous government's undertakings given to Kurds that they shall be allowed to run an autonomous region within Iraq, first mooted during the regime of General Abdul Karim Kassem. Whilst the central authority in Baghdad thinks in terms of 'decentralisation' of state administration, the Kurds not altogether surprisingly, seek one third of Iraq's oil revenue roughly proportional to their population - a similar share of seats in the central assembly, local government with its own finance, taxation and educational policies, police to enforce law and order and a limited defence force, leaving only foreign affairs with Baghdad. In the event, the two sides repeatedly failed to see eye to eye on their respective proposals, before Gen. Kassem was murdered in 1963. In 1970 the central government under Gen. Ahmad Hassan al-Bakr and his second-in-command Saddam Hussain in the Revolutionary Command Council reconfirmed their commitment to Kurdish autonomy and agreed to resolve the opposing points of view over a four year period of truce. In 1974 when the final plan for limited autonomy emerged, Kurds rejected it out of hand as being inadequate and not in good faith.

Hostilities were resumed and Iran did not miss the opportunity to add fuel to the fire. In 1975 Iran and Iraq temporarily set aside their other differences and formally agreed not to provide support to rebel Kurds against each other. Then came the Iranian Revolution of 1979, Shah was made to flee the Iranian scene and Ayatollah's took over. The harmonious approach towards the Kurds was put on the back burner and hostilities between Kurds and their respective governments increased.

The 1974 Iraqi offer of Kurdish Autonomous Region, to be called Kurdistan, was to comprise three northeastern 'muhafazats' (governorates) of Iraq - these were Sulaymaniah, Dahuk and Erbil, together covering an area of 15,000 sq. miles. All administrative and educational powers were to be transferred to Kurds, though teaching of Arabic in schools was insisted upon. This still-born offer of autonomy was not to be revived, until fifteen years later after the coalition powers defeated Iraq in the Gulf War of 1991.

Emboldened by the devastation of southern Iraq, its Kurdish factions in north appealed to USA, Britain and Saudi Arabia to give them an independent Kurdistan, an entity they had been seeking for generations. To prove their point Kurdish guerrillas captured the northern oil centre of Kirkuk from the government forces. Fearing the worst and in defiance of the coalition forces, Iraqis launched a brutal counter-attack against the Kurdish insurgents, which triggered off a massive movement of refugees to neighbouring Turkey and Iran. Over 50,000 were reported killed. Massoud Barzani of DPK complained to international community that nearly 3 million Kurds were on the move to escape Iraqi genocide and torture. Whilst the veracity of the quoted figures left much to be desired, International diplomatic efforts during April 1991 were first directed towards an emergency relief operation, followed by finding a suitable framework within which adequate protection could be provided to Kurds within Iraq. These efforts were the genesis of the so-called 'Safe Haven' in northern Iraq and formation of the RRF, with troops supplied by USA, France and Britain.

Whilst International community was engaged in establishing a 'Safe Haven', Saddam Hussein paid a surprise visit to Erbil with an offer of amnesty and to reopen the question of Kurdish autonomy within the state of Iraq. Both Barzani and Talabani agreed to participate in the autonomy talks, giving an undertaking that they would no longer seek western support in the matter. The talks were based on the premise that Kurds will exercise exclusive control over Sulaymaniah, Dohuk and Erbil and a joint. Kurdi-Iraqi administration will be set up in the oil city of Kirkuk. However disagreement arose between DPK and PUK, with Talabani insisting that any deal with Iraq must be underwritten by western allies and backed by their military presence. The foreign hand

invisible for sometime, was once again seen to vitiate the smooth progress of talks. By August Barzani seemed to have reached an apparent agreement with Saddam, when Talabani upped the ante by staking a claim for land area twice the size of what Kurds held and demanded exclusive control over Kirkuk which was not acceptable to Iraq. By September 1991 autonomy talks had broken down and stage was now set for further confrontation and Turkish intervention, as already brought out earlier.

Disagreements over where and how to establish a safe-haven, with no-fly zone and a rapid reaction force was not only confined to western powers, but Kurds also who were by now pulling their arguments any way. President Bush in March 1991 started off by "reiterating his govt's policy of non-intervention and adding that it was not an objective of the coalition powers or US to overthrow Saddam Hussein". French proposal in the UNSC seeking some form of permanent protection for Kurds was thrown out after China, Soviet Union and USA refused to endorse it. UK Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd came out on BBC with "I don't think we can get into the business of using force....in order to impose a particular political answer on Iraq". Be that as it may, France was eventually successful in getting the UNSC to pass resolution No. 688 condemning'.... the repression of Iraqi civilian population in many parts, including most recently in Kurdish populated areas, the consequences of which threaten international peace and security'. This resolution further sought Iraq's co-operation in allowing international humanitarian aid to reach Kurds, but made no reference or provision for any action to force Iraqi government to halt its campaign of repression against Kurdish and Shia minorities.

Strangely, by mid-April US had reversed its policy and threatened use of force to protect Kurdish people, if attacked in the 'safe haven' north of 36th parallel. The European Community also stepped in, encouraged by UK endorsed plan, to ensure safety of Kurds in Iraq by positioning a permanent protection force. "Always in Iraq, nowhere else"!! Whilst these were laudable steps, they were not endorsed by UN as confirmed by the Secretary General Perez de Cueller in Paris on April 17, 1991 "any plan to deploy foreign troops in northern Iraq required UN permission and even a UN backed police force would need to be approved by UNSC". Since this did not happen then and the situation remains much the same today, any form of incursion on Iraqi territory has to be construed as illegal and against the wishes of international community. Thus President Bill Clinton's recent ham-handed attempt to terrorise Iraq into submission by firing 47 cruise missiles on targets in southern part of the country has no legal international sanction. The reality on ground is that the internecine hostilities between DPK and PUK supporters cannot be wished away, nor can international community insist for ever, that Baghdad exercise

no authority in areas north of 36th parallel, even though still within her own sovereign territory.

PROGNOSIS

Whatever the future holds for Kurds is a matter of conjecture. Undeniably this large and proud group of people have suffered immense misery and hardships at the hands of not only successive governments in Iraq but also Turkey and Iran. Interference by outside powers has only increased their suffering without remedying any of their basic problems. Is it fair therefore to put the blame on Iraqi leaders alone and forgetting others who are also the overlords of Kurds? When modern Iraq was carved out of the remnants of the Ottoman Empire the British had argued that Mosul vilayet must form part of it, otherwise Mesopotamia will always be subject to Turkish military domination from Kurdish mountains. A century later one needs to ask whether this was a well thought out move. Their actions were influenced more by the greed to control the oilfields in Mosul province than the fear of Turks dominating the Arab lands all over again. And what of Iraq itself? The fertile valleys of Tigris and Euphrates which fathered three ancient civilisations, have never witnessed peace and tranquility for any length of time. From monarchy to republic, left leaning to extreme right governments, from military dictatorships to civilian overlords from Tikrit, it has never been blessed with a stable government for more than few years at a time; the rival political factions going for each others jugular with impunity. Kings, Presidents, Prime Ministers and their henchmen have come and gone as rapidly as soap operas on TV. But none has paid more than lip service to Kurdish aspirations. This is because Kurds themselves are split in so many ways; by geography, by tribes, by custom, by national frontiers, by education and perhaps most of all by narrow political affiliations. Kurds in Iran do not have any common ground with those in Turkey or Iraq except that they descend from a common stock. Unfortunately, co-operation, conciliation and compromise are meaningful words only in the political vocabularies of the first world countries. West Asia suffers greatly from the disabilities not so much of poverty due to their oil wealth, but selfishness and lack of generosity towards fellow Muslims no matter their ethnic origins, for anyone to conceive of a set up like the European Union where Kurds, Arabs, Turks, and Iranians could live and flourish along with the freedom to move across national frontiers, with self-esteem and pride. The rigid adherence to national frontiers fixed by 20th century western diplomats sitting in Lausanne, after the First World War, has brought neither order nor socio-economic stability to this vast, mostly barren but oil rich area. Similarly, if Islam was meant to give Middle East a distinctive flavour, a kind of special mass appeal and a faith to unify all its people by overcoming their local divisive loyalties, then it also has failed miserably in the land of its own birth. Iraq is said to be floating on oil, an enormous source of wealth, which neither Iraqis nor the sanctimonious West are willing to lose control of. Keeping the UN sanctions alive and constantly intimidating its already beleaguered regime with further menace if it steps out of line is another American gameplan to ensure future oil supplies to the West. Many Iraqi children will die before the sanctions are fully lifted. None of these actions are likely to enhance the current status of Kurds, who despite everything, remain a peripheral issue as far as the west is concerned. Their refusal to accept a federal system i.e. autonomy within the parent state, is bound to further aggravate their chances of gaining anything worthwhile. Massoud Barzani can, if he so wishes create history by accepting the offer of limited autonomy and release his people from a life under constant state of war. Jalal Talabani is far too shrewd to let this happen, but after the latest fiasco in Erbil where his forces very badly mauled, his options have narrowed very dramatically.

There is a striking lesson in all this for those who believe in internationalising local issues and wanting to seek 'Azadi' with outside help. Sure you can keep the pot boiling with mercenaries imported from outside, but redrawing national boundaries is another matter. If Northern Ireland is not a role-model for Kashmir than Kurdistan ought to be. When a historic Muslim minority has failed to get redressal of their grievances from their own co-religionists, even after agitating for many decades, what chance do 4 million Kashmiris have of gaining freedom from the rest of the country. Mostly led by politicians without scruples such people are homeless even at home and stateless abroad. Hooked onto the political dogma of yesterday they refuse to face the realities of today. Is it surprising therefore that most West Asian nations find Kurds a "nuisance at worst and curiosity at best".

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The Impact of Social, Political and Economic Conditions on Defence Personnel

CAPT H S KAHLON

INTRODUCTION

Two centuries ago, majority of men in uniform were castouts of the society. They carried arms and donned uniforms more for want of any other livelihood, and were prepared to serve the needs of other countries as mercenaries for payments received. Their officers had usually bought or solicited their commission as a source of profit or status symbol while some of them were international adventurers.

Today the men in arms, serving modern armies are well honed "professionals", who are trained and dedicated to their profession of defending the nation's sovereignty, of extending its zone of influence at minimal cost. Their professionalism is associated with:-

- (a) Practicing skill.
- (b) Organised knowledge growth and acquisition of skills.
- (c) Formal study, training and practice of tactics and techniques.
- (d) Growing awareness of the need for continuing self-education and skill upgradation.
- (e) Adherance to a code of conduct in relation to one's colleagues and clients.

Professional's work always tends towards self annihilation, as he strives to achieve excellence in his work. In so doing, he is creating a situation where he will not be required any more. A professional soldier will try to bring in a state of peace and security to a nation in such a way that the very armed forces in which he serves may no longer be required to maintain peace. Thus the very purpose of maintaining a professional defence force by any nation and

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its people seems to be to prevent war rather than to fight it. More professional an army, less it will go to war.

ENVIRONMENT IN INDIA - ROLE OF ARMY IN CONTROL

Rapid changes in the attitudes and aspirations of our people have occurred in the post independence era, spanning a period of eventful 48 years, brought-in by the spread of education, availability of better health care, communication means and overall increase in the awareness of their rights. These factors have rendered their control and social exploitation by others more difficult.

India has rightly adopted a democratic form of government after gaining independence, guaranteeing equal rights and opportunities to all its nationals. In any democracy the government runs by critically balancing the forces exerting pressures and pulls on the government. Wrong directions given by the leaders to a democracy or wrong pressures from the people ultimately shake the very foundations of the society and split it into distinct groups, each battling for its own rights and caring very little for the interests of the earstwhile integrated nation. Our nation right now is ridden with such dangers caused probably by wrong government priorities, policies and perceptions. In India extremism is spreading like wild fire. This requires frequent intervention by our "professional" army in the control of terrorist activities in states like Punjab, Kashmir, Nagaland, Mizoram, Manipur, Assam, the Naxalites in West Bengal, Bihar and Andhra Pradesh and internal disturbances and communal riots in many states. Added to these, helping people affected by natural calamities caused by floods, droughts, cyclones and earthquakes are quite frequently the tasks of the army. Army is often deployed at short notice and at will, to check infiltration across the national borders, of terrorists, smugglers and drug traffickers. Such activities have increased and the frequency of the use of the army for civil assistance has also increased over the years. But the army is a special-purpose force, whose main job is ensuring the security of the national boundaries and only on occasions, which should be really rare, it could be pressed into service for mercy or rescue missions to mitigate the consequences of natural calamities within the country. The word natural calamities does not, however, include those caused by civil unrest/upheavals, as such instabilities are the manifestations of faulty political actions and directions by the politicians. But politicians in many nations, democratic or otherwise, in collusion with pliable generals, deploy army with an ulterior political and personal motive, in such non professional roles and these expose army to a work environment for which it is not trained or equipped. Army also recruits its personnel from our society which is already afflicted with so much of unrest. craving and degraded values. This affects the build up of professionalism in

the army through the time tested techniques of training which were meant for an orderly society. There is, however, no time even for such training exercises when the army is beset with its own financial cuts and when it has to run civil administration at the will of politicians. These ultimately lead to conflict, degradation of the army in the public eyes; corrupts army and demoralises it, which in the end render it less professional in its main job of safe-guarding the nation against external threats and in preparing itself for war against professional adversaries.

After independence, the armed forces have become an integral part of society. The man in uniform has, therefore, become prone to the influence of changing environment of the society. His social, economic and civic aspirations are similar to his other civilian counterparts and so are the values for their fulfilment. The conditions are thus changing and the current economic and social pressures apply on the soldiers in the direction opposite to the desired way. However, as they live and work in an environment of regimentation and strict discipline in the isolation of their garrisons and cantonments, there is a requirement for a better understanding of their new ethos. It also becomes necessary that suitable psychological inputs and other measures are brought to play to counter these pressures and to ensure that the Army retains its traditional standards of operational efficiency and dedication to duty.

CORE VALUES AND STYLE OF FUNCTIONING

The Army has a very high sense of purpose as is obvious from its primary and secondary roles. The profession of arms calls for certain qualities, characteristics and limits such as courage, sense of duty and fidelity, discipline, sense of urgency, smartness and pride in one's profession. Leadership is of the essence in command at all levels in the Army. The selection system therefore lays emphasis on qualities of leadership like physical fitness, mental robustness, professional interest, accessibility, fairness, loyalty, initiative, humour and co-operation. The core values of the ethos of the Army flow from these considerations.

Tradition reinforces these core values and tries to ensure that it does not fall below the standard of fidelity and conduct handed down to it. The honour and "Izzat" of the Regiment thus becomes a major motivating factor. To this has been added a higher value - the security of the motherland.

The style of functioning is also meant to encourage the development of these values by commanders at all levels leaving their subordinates alone so that they can on their own initiative and without interference get on with the task of training, administration and making their command fit for its operational role. Another important aspect of the style of functioning is the man-to-man relationship at various levels which enables commanders to discuss issues and problems freely. The subordinates and soldiers get an opportunity to express their views, and a senior man thus has a finger on the pulse of his command. This then is the concept and we need to analyse as to what extent it is being implemented.

The core values discussed above and others have been acquired through tradition and style of functioning and constitute the ethos of the present day Army. Most of these, loyalty to comrades, fidelity to an oath, courage under stress as well as characteristics of initiative, co-operation, accessibility and fairness constituted the ethos of the British Indian Army and continue to be relevant in the present context of the development of the Nation state. However, in our present environment care is necessary to ensure that some of these values do not erode.

THE GENERAL MILIEU AND ITS INFLUENCE

The influence being exercised on the ethos of the Army by the general milieu around them is a serious development which needs to be taken care of. The Army continues to subscribe to their ethos when the rest of the society of which it is an integral part is in a chaotic state with all values being cast aside. The distinct life of the Army must remain as a safeguard against the disregard of their ethos. It would be prudent for us to ensure that our motivational process and training persistently emphasise these values and the style of the Army encourages the development of these values.

LEADERSHIP STYLE

We must also take note of the atmosphere of servility and sychophancy that generally prevails in our society. The traits of yes-manship should not be encouraged in the Army. The military is better suited to meet this challenge in that a good leader encourages views of his subordinates as also initiative and is averse to yes-manship. Sychophancy and opinionated behaviour are inter connected and could play havoc with the ethos of the Army. Free and frank discussions should be encouraged up and down the chain of command and the troops at all levels must always be kept well conversant of all national and military issues as part of their psychological training. The distinction between 'discussion stage' and 'orders stage' should not be allowed to get blurred. It is more necessary for a higher commander to be accessible to encourage discussion with an open mind.

or a group to make efforts to achieve a goal in a given situation. It is a dynamic process and a leader must adopt his style to the needs of his subordinates and the particular situation to be encountered in that group. A leader if dictatorial, robs his subordinates of all their satisfaction and confidence as they are now more educated and aware, and in the bargain loses all credibility. This can also breed a feeling of alienation between the rank and their commanders; contact with troops in an essential facet of command and leadership.

Attitudinal Changes. Those joining the Army today are affected by social standards of the society and there is a decline in the moral values. There appears to be a distinctly growing emphasis on economic success and personal liberty. The military leadership's traditional ethos is tending to shift from that of adherance to values of loyalty to ones command, service and honour to the self interest and personal advancement.

The old soldier was physically hardy, came from a rural background with a high sense of duty, with higher attributes of character, pride and honour, though less educated. The new soldier is better educated, better suited to grasp the complexities of his trade or profession but can be motivated under conditions of sustained supervision by officers. The prime challenge of military leadership is to mould the behaviour and response of the present day soldier. Officers must reinforce that competence with percept and exemplary fairness, impartiality, physical and moral courage and professional knowledge to imbibe confidence in their command. The basic training and training in leadership which the Army is required to conduct should make a deliberate effort to ensure the tendency of self interest, materialistic attitudes, declining initiative and disillusionment.

Obligations of Society. The desire to get a feeling of importance and recognition is the basic instinct of all human beings including soldiers. To be recognised as someone special, automatically gives a sense of self pride and 'above the others' feeling which in turn makes individuals and groups to give something extra than the others. Therefore, it is the society that has to adopt the approach by which soldiers consider themselves an 'elite' group and respond to the call of the nation accordingly. The psychological measures in this sphere would entail making the society aware of its obligations towards soldiers. It is obvious that it is the government which has a vital role to play in this sphere.

The government must deal urgently with the problem of job-insecurity which is an equally potent danger to the dilution of values. A feasible solution exists in lateral movement of soldiers retiring young to paramilitary forces and other such institutions. The second urgent measure is to restore the prestige of

the armed forces, administration's attitude to a man in uniform as well as towards ex-servicemen; ensuring security and status of families back home in the towns and villages.

SECULARISM AND NATIONAL INTEGRATION

Background. In the Indian Army we find a variety of races, religions, castes, creeds and colours. In such a divergent society, unjustified fears in the minds of soldiers can easily be created by people trading on communal and regional sentiments and also by our enemies. Such continual evolutionary threats or problems warrant us to be cautious and strive towards unending efforts to faster and promote secularism and integration.

In the last few years, communalism and regionalism have gripped the country on a number of occasions and invariably Army had to be called out in aid to civil authority for restoring law and order in the affected areas. Although there is no doubt that the Army today is the single biggest fully integrated force present in the country, but its frequent exposure to such situations has had its adverse effect in some cases. Our experimentation with secularism still tends to get weak in the adverse atmosphere of the society in general; witness 1984 desertions and mutiny. Though these have been isolated cases in some peculiar circumstances which then gripped the country.

Psychological Conditioning. The Army still remains the shining example of "Unity in Diversity". The concept of nationalism and patriotism is not God's gift, it is purely man-made. A man has to be taught assiduously to love his motherland. As a precautionary measure against any adverse development and to further promote and cement the integration and spirit of securalism existing in the Army, there is a need for psychological conditioning of the fighting soldier. The highest and most enduring form of psychological conditioning is the spiritual conditioning as it covers the entire spectrum of feelings, thoughts, attitudes, perceptions, staying power and character. Despite the diverse beliefs of different sections of our population, there is one thing common to all our men - abiding faith in their respective religions. We shall have to primarily emphasise the commonality of spiritual gospels and universality of our religions in our psychological training at unit and formation levels. The establishment of the Army Institute of National Integration to train officers, JCOs including religious teachers and selected ORs in the rich cultural heritage of our country and the limits of major religions as a unifying factor in an organised and acceptable form is certainly a step in the right direction.

EFFECTS ON CAREER PROSPECTS AND CLASS COMPOSITION

which the Army personnel are today. There has been some erosion and this is to be faced squarely. It has happened mainly out of frustration but also partly because of lack of career prospects amongst other factors. Army is unfortunately regarded as a departmental problem of careers in the country and not a national problem. Unless it is done, we will never be able to get good material out of the tremendous potential that we have in this country. Army has to be made an attractive career both for officers and jawans so that it is able to face the challenges prevalent in the society today and within itself as well.

Unless the self esteem of a soldier is high, his personal sense of honour will be low and his individual ability to preserve the nation's honour will be nil. As a corollary unless we collectively have a very high sense of self respect and self esteem, we cannot expect it in the Army and unless the armed forces are imbued with a sense of overbearing pride and honour, you cannot expect them to make supreme sacrifices. Army service therefore has to be made better because we have to imbue them with self esteem and honour for maintaining high operational efficiency and for correcting the ills which afflict them. Many a social scientist has advocated that the dilemma of manning the military can be overcome by providing job satisfaction, economic and social security during service and post retirement, attractive salaries and perks, improved pensions and better utilisation of ex-servicemen and above all by raising the prestige, honour and ethos of the soldier. Indian Army's ethos of giving 'Izzat' to its officers and men and creating the right aura or 'Iqbal' form the basic concepts of management.

Recruitment and Class Composition. The other important issue that we need to examine dispassionately is the question of future class composition of the Army. The unfortunate incident of 1984 involving soldiers of one class has added a new dimension to the debate on this subject in the Army. Should we retain the time honoured and battle tested concepts of the one class Regiments and the 'Mixed Class Regiments' from a particular region? Or is it time to convert to the 'All Class Regiment' concept? This change would be in the interest of national integration as also stall the in-roads being made by narrow sectarian and religious issues being made into the Army's apolitical and secular way of life. Experience shows that mixed All Class Regiments have performed well in the battles and actions since Independence as in the case of the Brigade of the Guards as also some other Regiments and there was no adverse effects when such regiments were formed or converted in the past. The one class composition is really a relic of our colonial past and should be done away with to conform to our present day environment and requirements. However, it would not be expedient to discontinue the older system in one stroke. The change-over should be carried out in a gradual and planned manner over a given timeframe. It is to be admitted that no structural changes are ever painless. Patience allied with preservance will be required in dealing with this extremely delicate issue.

EMPLOYMENT OF ARMY IN SECONDARY ROLE, IMPORTANCE OF MEDIA AND TRAINING IN MOTIVATIONAL CONTEXT

Current Situation. Aid to civil authority by the Army is no longer what it was in pre or post independence era. Commitments have increased manifold but Army has remained apolitical despite provocations. There have been numerous occasions when the democratic process has been under strain, weakened by outside forces, by insurgencies, armed uprisings and terrorism. On each occasion, the Army supported the democratic process, stood up for it and most of all clearly conveyed that it would not be a party to adventurism of any type. In all the armed insurgencies and acts of terrorism, the part played by the Army has been commendable.

It is accepted that the Army should stay away and not be involved in the rough and tumble of politics and civil administration. But that does not mean that they should be cut off from the intellectual mainstream of the country. In fact they must always remain well informed. If the Army is kept in isolation, wrong conceptions and rumours arise about Government actions and its policies as it happened during Op Blue Star in 1984. Corruption, nepotism and all other ills of administration can be exaggerated and made to appear against a particular section of our society by anti-national and terrorist elements to serve their nefarious designs which can also lead to a confused picture amongst the troops. Democracy tends to give a picture of confusion which to the orderly disciplined mind of a soldier is tantamount to disaster. There is a need, therefore to keep the soldiers always well conversant with current events and issues in the form of regular discussions and debate.

The Army's impartiality is a sure safeguard of the nation resulting in its frequent call-ups for control of large scale violence, terrorism, insurgency or a large scale breakdown of state authority. It is, however, desirable that the use of the Army is kept to a minimum for the following reasons:-

- (a) It detracts from the main/primary role.
- (b) Interferes with training schedules.
- (c) Has ill effects on the psyche of the jawans due to external social pressures. Also religious and communal causes are played upon to divide and subvert.
- (d) Normal operational philosophy is different from that required for control of law and order.

- (e) Intelligence inputs for dealing with situations are insufficient.
- (f) More often the Army is employed, the less effective will intervention become.

Patriotism Training. To guard against the induced confusion in the minds of the soldiers as discussed above, we must ensure that thinking in the Army is well motivated towards its goals. This is an essential and important function of command. Psychological training should be imparted in the motivational context. It should cover the concepts of 'Izzat', military honour, cause, country and duty. Patriotic and nationalistic themes should be included in the unit Sainik Sammelans and discussions as part of the regular educational curriculum.

Media Projection. Army deserves a larger place in the national consciousness. It is imperative to maintain the credibility of the media among both civil population and the military. Loss of credibility gives rise to rumours which has an adverse effect on morale. Sensational and wrong reporting during controversial operations as in Op Blue Star and likewise in the Assam unrest in NE led to traumatic and undesirable consequences/side effects. The importance of military sociology should also be underscored by the media. Army man must be proof against obscurantism as well as narrow parochialism. This aspect should also be an important theme of PR projection of the Army.

A lot needs to be done in the field of educating officers and all ranks on aspects of human rights violations and media handling. Human Rights has taken a very prominent seat in the present day scenario with so much awareness the world over and formation of Human Rights Commission since 1993 in our country as well. Correct education and compliance will certainly go a long way in maintaining a clean, impartial, unstrained reputation of the Armed forces and further enhance Army civil relations ultimately facilitating conduct of operations in counter insurgency environment, so prevalent in the country presently. The media also needs to be incorporated at all levels including during conduct of operations, to remove the misconceptions carried by them and project a correct and true picture of the armed forces.

Conclusion. After Independence, armed forces became an integrated part of society. Thus there is a need for correct understanding of the Army, its ethos, traditions and style of functioning. There exists a danger to the core values of the ethos of the Army from within; primarily the style of leadership abetted by the attitudinal changes amongst the Army itself as also from the general milieu of the society and the domestic pressures. A general rise in political awareness, and religious and ethnic feelings amongst the people as a whole also affects the Army. By itself this need not cause any alarm but it is

a development that has to be recognised. The Army has a high sense of purpose and the ethos by and large is intact. There is, however, a need for us to introspect on the style of leadership and modes of training so as to strengthen these values.

Psy conditioning forms an essential part of the battle worthiness of the Army, for its given roles in our officers and men has assumed greater importance in the context of the changing politico - religious, socio-economic and moral environments of our country. A motivated outlook will help soldiers to achieve the intensity of purpose to dominate the confusion of present day environment. Alongside it would also be in the interest of the Army and the country that we give another look on the vital subject of having 'All Class' composition, specially in the Infantry Regiments.

There is an urgent need to formulate fresh policies to overcome the shortcomings of the present system, especially on aspects regarding making the armed forces a more attractive career option in terms of a stable career, financially lucrative to atleast stand up to the other career prospects available to the younger generation today, better image in the public eye, a career having persons in the hierarchy having a greater say in the functioning of the government at the highest level etc. There is a need to alter training programmes at all training institutions and establishments to include aspects of psychological training, human rights aspects, media handling etc for all ranks of the Army.

NOTE TO CONTRIBUTORS

Articles on National Security issues and Defence and Security forces, for publication in the USI Journal, may be sent to the Editor in duplicate, typed in double spacing. Subjects should be covered in depth with adequate research and reference made to sources from where information has been obtained. The length of articles should be between 3,000 to 4,000 words.

Articles may not be returned unless accompanied by self-addressed and stamped envelope.

Terrorism : Present - Day Assassins

K R SINGH

Though the term terrorism is of recent origin, the concept - using terror as an instrument of coercion - is a very old one. In West Asia, this was perfected during the medieval period and the process even contributed the term 'assassins' to the European vocabulary. It is suggested that the term owes its origin to hashish. The persons who indulged in these acts were allegedly under the influence of this drug and were, therefore, called hashasheen, which later on got disfigured as assassins.

According to legend, the sect was established by Hasan ibn al-Sabbah, a Shii leader from the city of Rayy (near modern Tehran), who hoped to reestablish the glory of Shiism which was coming under increasing pressure from the Seljuk Turks who were Sunnis. In 1090 AD, Hasan captured the fortress of Alamut, also known as the eagle's nest, which was situated in a practically inaccessible region of the Albruz Mountain near the Caspian Sea. Hasan, also known as the old man of the mountain, established a secret politico-religious organisation with an unequalled effectiveness, discipline and dedication. It had its own hierarchy ranging from the novice to the grand master. The members of the sect were given intensive course of indoctrination as well as physical training. The object was to sow terror among the enemies through murder. For greater propaganda and effectiveness these acts were carried out in broad day light in public places. Efforts to curb them proved ineffective. Salahuddin al-Ayubi, the leader of the Muslims during the crusade, also failed. Finally, the Mongols, under Hulagu Khan, while marching towards Baghdad in 1257 AD, not only destroyed the stronghold of Alamut but also scattered the followers of the sect. The assassins had all the characteristics of a modern terrorist organization: a hierarchical organization, a doctrine, an objective, a disciplined and dedicated cadre sworn to secrecy and bound with the oath of self-sacrifice, using terror as a weapon to attain the desired political objective. They were also the most feared and most hated among the enemies.

The term 'terrorism' is of recent coinage. Before that other terms like anarchists, rebels, guerrillas, insurgents etc. were used to designate those who preferred to use violence as an instrument of coercion against the establishment.

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The term terrorism and terrorists became popular after the sixties, mostly in the context of the Palestinian groups that were targeting Israel or pro-Israeli interest groups. The Palestinians, however, called themselves the fadayeen (those who sacrifice themselves for the cause). Thus, the two phrases, the fadayeen and the terrorists, reflect the subjective approach to the use of violence, even of terror, as an instrument to achieve the desired objective. The entire debate on terrorism resolves around this subjectivity of approach to the problem.

Because of the strong element of subjectivity involved, it is very difficult to define terrorism. However, terrorism is the ultimate use of violence as a means of coercion. In that case, it has to be identified within the broad spectrum of use of violence that ranges, on one hand, from the mild form of violent political demonstration to the other end of insurgency, guerrilla action, armed rebellion etc. If terrorism is a part of that broad spectrum, where does it lay? Also, is it a tactic in the overall strategy or a strategy in itself! Is it a means to achieve a political end or the end in itself?

While other forms of political violence like insurgency, guerrilla warfare, war of liberation etc. are well defined, even under international law, the term terrorism has so far defied a universally accepted definition or a place in international law. However, there is a broad acceptance on certain characteristics of terrorism that differ from other forms of violent protest. The most important aspect of terrorism is that 'terror' by itself is used as a political instrument. It is the psychological effect of violence, rather than the physical effect of violence that differentiates terrorism from other forms of anti-establishment violence. Thus, the term 'armed propaganda' is coined in the context of terrorism. The killing of members of the Israeli team at the Munich Olympics, hijacking of aircraft or a ship, hostage taking, planting bombs etc. are to be seen in the context of their over-all psychological impact.

It is important to note that while the psychological impact of acts of terrorism can be very telling, many a times they turn out to be counterproductive. While the Munich attack brought to the limelight the Palestinian question, it was also used to mount an intense 'anti-terrorist' drive against the Palestinians. While some acts of hijacking of aircraft by the Palestinians, had the desired propaganda value, the large-scale hijacking of Western civilian aircraft and their forced landing in a disused military air-field in Jordan in September 1970 proved counter-productive. King Hussein of Jordan who, after the pitched battle between the Palestinians and the Israeli forces at Karameh in 1969 in Jordan, had proudly claimed, "I am a fedayeen", sent his troops to destroy the fedayeen bases in Jordan in September 1970 and forced them to leave Jordan for good. If terrorism is a psychological form of warfare then it will be useful to know the dividing line when use of violence becomes counter-productive; when does the tide turn.

Another point that needs to be analysed in the context of terrorism is whether it is a means to achieve a defined political objective or is it an end in itself. Some extreme radical groups that preach that power flows through the barrel of the gun often tend to see terrorism as an end in itself. There were several such groups like the Red Brigade or the Baader Meinhoff and their counterparts like the Abu Nidal group among the Palestinians. If terrorism is a means to achieve the political objective, one sees a transition or a shift in emphasis from terrorism, which ipso facto implies a small group and use of violence, to an open political organization seeking mass base and a desire to negotiate. Among the Palestinians, al-Fatah began as a fedayeen group, but soon graduated as the dominant group in the PLO (Palestine Liberation Organization) after 1968 and by mid-eighties was preparing the diplomatic ground for a negotiated settlement with Israel. Other Palestinian groups like the PFLP, PDFLP, etc. continued to refuse to negotiate a political settlement and over a period were side-tracked.

Though terrorism defies a commonly accepted definition, one can say that it is the use or threat of use of violence by a well-identified group whose actions are designed to induce fear with the purpose of coercing the opponent into acceding to their demands, Thus, the main objective of terrorism is to generate sufficient psychological pressure that would force the party concerned to concede to the demands that it would not do if only pacific means were adopted. In that context another factor differentiates terrorism from other forms of political violence like guerrilla warfare, insurgency, armed rebellion etc. It is the ratio of force used to the psychological impact. Terrorism is able to achieve a greater impact with minimum force than what other forms of violence are able to attain. Thus, it is important that terrorism is not lumped with other forms of violent protest and use of general terms like low intensity conflict should be avoided in the case of terrorism.

The confusion as regards the use of term terrorism is further compounded when the term international terrorism is employed. When does terrorism become international? Does the term international denote the operational area of the group, or does it mean international support for its operation or does it mean that one state consciously employs terrorism as a means to destabilize the adversary by means short of conventional war; hence the use of the term proxy war. Each of these facets of international terrorism has its independent implications. The third category is the most dangerous in terms of regional peace and security because a proxy war has the tendency of escalating into a real war. In the case of Arab-Israeli conflict, the use of the fedayeen against Israeli targets in 1955-56, as also in 1965-67, was one major cause for escalating the conflict into crisis. Even now the events on the border of Israel and the Lebanon are a testimony to this latent danger of proxy war escalating into real war.

Efforts have been made to side-track difficulties about defining terrorism and terrorist - one man's terrorist may be another man's hero - by concentrating more on acts of terrorism and by trying to get an international consensus against them. Thus, hijacking, hostage taking, violating diplomatic immunity etc. have been agreed upon as acts of terrorism and several international conventions have been signed in that context. These conventions were signed concerning offences on board aircraft on 14 September 1963 at Tokyo, 16 December 1970 at the Hague and on 23 September 1971 at Montreal. The Bonn Declaration of 1978 on air piracy even included air boycott of the country involved as a countermeasure. The convention on dealing with violation of diplomatic immunity was signed on 14 December 1973 at New York and the convention on the question of hostage taking was signed on 17 December 1979 at New York.

Acts of terrorism can be divided into two broad categories; focused and random. In focused acts the targets, be they persons or places, are selected for their importance or value. Random acts of terrorism are directed against general targets; like a crowd, market place, bus, train, aircraft, place of worship or a political rally. Targets of focused terrorism are normally provided with a security cover, though very often it fails to protect them as was evident from the successful attempts on the lives of Indira Gandhi, Rajiv Gandhi, Anwar Sadat, Itzack Rabin or John F. Kennedy. But it is very difficult to provide security to what can be termed as random targets. Another factor that makes the task of combating acts of terrorism very difficult is that the initiative always rests with those who wish to perform the acts of terrorism. Since secrecy is their watch word, preventing these acts of terrorism becomes very difficult. Thus, intelligence becomes a major instrument of counter-terrorism.

Legitimacy of terrorism as well as of counter-terrorism has been a hotly debated question. Partly, the human tendency to romanticize acts of violence by equating them with acts of bravery, or as desperate acts by dedicated individuals against tyranny, helps in making a terrorist a popular hero. Since the post-World War II, efforts have been made to legitimise use of violence in anti-colonial and anti-imperial struggles, and this point of view was always incorporated in UN resolutions dealing with terrorism. The crucial General Assembly Resolution A/Res.40/61 of 9 December 1985, while condemning terrorism as a criminal act, reaffirmed the inalienable right of self-determination and independence of people under colonial and racist regimes and other forms of alien domination, and upheld the legitimacy of their struggle, in particular of national liberation movements, in accordance with the purposes and principles of the UN Charter and the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning friendly relations and cooperation among states, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. This was due to the overwhelming support

offered to these movements by the non-aligned movement, the OAU, the Arab League etc, as well as by the media and the human rights groups.

It is, however, important to note that such international support and legitimacy had been offered to selected organizations like the PLO, SWAPO, ANC, FLN etc, that were active against states that were not only refusing to concede to the demands but were even refusing to negotiate with what could be termed as nationalists. General Assembly resolutions on the use of violence does not touch upon what can be called an essentially domestic violence, even in states that do not offer a democratic environment for a free political dialogue. This, international support at the level of the UN or the NAM was never extended to groups that aimed at destabilizing a state from within. While the FLN, PLO, ANC, SWAPO etc. got recognition and support at the UN, NAM, and other organizations, the same was not extended to JVP or LTTE of Sri Lanka, or various Kurdish groups in the Middle East. Now-a-days, there is a trend to bypass the UN and the NAM and to raise support to some selected terrorist movements within the framework of ethnicity and religion as represented by various resolutions of the OIC on the Kashmir question.

Despite this OIC stand, the earlier euphoria of emotional support in the Third World that had given some credence to the use of violence against the state system has ended because increasingly these very states have become the target of the cult of violence that they had promoted. The war of national liberation was fought on two fronts and was greatly influenced by the Cold War politics. While the fight against the Western colonial powers was supported by the Communist Bloc, fight against Soviet-supported regimes, as in Afghanistan and Cambodia, was supported by the Western Bloc and its supporters in the Third World. One result of this was a massive induction of small arms in these areas of Cold War confrontation. The use of Islam as an instrument to destabilize the Soviet Union from within in Central Asia and Afghanistan with economic and political support from influential Arab-Islamic states like Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and Egypt introduced a new element - use of Islam as an instrument of opposition against tyranny and athiesm. While athiesm in the Cold War context meant socialism or communism as an ideology, its meaning got further extended to cover policies that Islamic fundamentalists considered as anti-ethical and anti-religious. Thus the regimes that had trained the so-called mujahedeen to fight against Soviet Union in Afghanistan, after 1988-90 found these highly indoctrinated and trained mujahedeen turning their guns against the regimes in power in their respective countries. The radical Algerians who led the action against the Algerian government were called 'the Afghanis' in Algeria. These Afghanis, i.e. persons trained and indoctrinated in Afghanistan before 1990, are today scattered all over the Arab-Islamic world from Pakistan to Morocco, and have become one of the sources of terrorist violence in that region. Thus, the Arab-Islamic world is trying to walk on a tight rope, using two balancing weights; supporting use of violence against Israel and even India (OIC resolutions on Kashmir) but condemning violence against their own regimes, however, corrupt and undemocratic some of them might be.

Violence is often met by violence be it by the anti-establishment forces or by the state. In this debate over terrorism, who initiated violence is always a contested point because legitimacy of the use of violence largely depends upon the perception of who is the real culprit. Even in cases when the state responds to violence by violence, the state response gradually escalates both in its nature as well as in the area/population that it seeks to cover. Since secrecy is the hall-mark of terrorism, state response, for want of adequate intelligence, can seldom be focused and, over a period, the state tends to deploy more and more force as well as begins to suspect the very people whom it is supposed to protect. In that process it causes further alienation. This spiral of action - reaction process at times becomes even counter-productive.

There is a logic in the use of force. Unless very selectively and judiciously applied, it is often seen that more and more force is needed to achieve the same result over a period of time. Finally, the state of saturation is reached beyond which extra force ceases to produce the desired result. This is true not only of the establishment or state violence but also of anti-establishment violence. Thus a stage of tyranny is reached, tyranny both of the terrorists and anti-terrorist forces, and the common man suffers. At this stage either the parties enter into a political dialogue to control and reduce the threshold of violence or else there is every possibility that the state structure itself might disintegrate. Afghanistan is a good example of how the use of violence by both parties has turned counter-productive. The off and on attempt at political dialogue and fighting in Sri Lanka is yet another illustration of parties seeking to restrain the ill-effects of the use of violence. The Israelis and the Palestinians also reached that conclusion when both gave up their earlier stand of not negotiating with each other and began their dialogue after the Madrid Conference of October 1991, followed by the Oslo Accord of September 1993.

One sinister aspect of terrorism is often ignored. Since it is tool of a small minority dedicated to the cult of violence, it is often used as a tool to undermine the democratic system itself. It is argued that terrorism is the weapon of the weak against the strong. But it is also true that a minority group, knowing fully well its relative inability to pursue its goal through democratic means, seeks to sabotage the liberal ethos itself by resorting to terrorism. The state responds by counter-violence and the ensuing spiral of violence is used to undermine the democratic norms. Thus, a terrorist group often aims at

undermining the democratic process itself and thereby seeks to acquire power through non-democratic process and through a so-called "negotiated" settlement in which the terrorists expect to gain far more than what their real strength would warrant. This raises the crucial question; should one "negotiate" with terrorists and offer them concessions and thereby help sabotage the very basis of democracy. Though the terrorists claim to have popular support they seldom agree to abide by an electoral verdict and are even violently opposed to any election. The argument used by them is that because of the presence of state's peace enforcement forces, elections will not be free. This is not true of India alone but even in Palestine. The right-Wing Hamas was opposed to holding elections in Palestine. The results of the election showed that despite the image of Hamas being a popular group, it did not generate enough electoral support to overthrow the PLO led by Yasser Arafat.

Another factor that is eroding the earlier credibility of use of violence against oppression is the growing nexus between terrorism, drugs and illegal arms. Narco-terrorism is posing a serious challenge since the eighties. Earlier, funding and political support were provided by states. While one might argue about its legitimacy, at least it ensured a strict control and check on the use of money and arms. This dependency, accompanied by a system of checks and control, gradually eroded after the eighties when drug money was allowed for part-payment of terrorist activities. Afghan crisis could be seen as the starting point of this new development. Even earlier, this area was important for the production of illegal drugs, mainly opium and its various derivatives. The Afghan conflict encouraged it. In Afghanistan opium production increased from about 200 tons in 1980 to 475 tons in 1983 and 600 tons in 1986. Now it is estimated to be about 1,000 tons. Under US pressure, opium cultivation has declined in Pakistan but increased production of opium in Pak-supported areas of Afghanistan has made good that loss. While in the initial years USA and Saudi Arabia provided weapons and funds to Afghan mujahedeen, by 1988 the drug money had made mujahedeen operations autonomous of foreign funding. Besides, the drug trafficking has led to a new nexus between various groups in Afghanistan and Pakistan that has proved stronger than the official policy of both the governments. The drug money has also made the procurement of arms easier by linking international drug mafia to illegal arms mafia. Small arms, very effective and very sophisticated, have multiplied. Thus, narcoterrorism has not only abetted international terrorism in the neighbourhood but has also undermined the state structures in both these states.

Of late there is a growing trend of including terrorism, especially international terrorism, in the category of low intensity conflict (LIC). If terrorism is equated as a form of warfare, then counter-response too will have to be framed in the context of warfare. If one ignores the nuclear war strategy

and confines oneself to the study of conventional warfare alone, then terrorism offers a third choice; the first two choices being a high intensity short duration conflict like the wars between Arab States and Israel or between India and Pakistan, and a long protracted war as between Iraq and Iran. Terrorism or surrogate warfare, that is increasingly replacing the two other forms of warfare, and which has not received the legitimacy so far, could in future become an accepted form of warfare.

When one seeks to analyse terrorism in the context of LIC, two factors need to be analysed carefully. The point is that once terrorism is seen as a form of warfare then response is also searched primarily in military terms; like the types of weapons and battlefield tactics. While these responses might be useful in the context of anti-insurgency operations they are grossly inadequate in the context of terrorism *per se*, primarily because when war-fighting becomes the primary focus, socio-economic and political dimensions tend to be sidetracked and are given a low priority. It is a soldier's way of looking at a military problem. Since terrorism is primarily not a military problem, the military solution is often found to be inadequate.

The second point that needs to be underlined when one links terrorism with LIC is the legal framework of the law of war and the type of armed forces that are entitled to be considered as legitimate soldiers entitled to certain privileges especially under the Geneva Convention of 12 August 1949 (and the protocols of 1977) dealing with the status of prisoners of war. These provisions do provide the POW status to non-military combatants like armed guerrillas but under certain specific conditions. They must operate under a recognized chain of command, carry a fixed distinctive sign, carry arms openly and conduct their operations in accordance with the laws and custom of war. Terrorists do not fulfil these requirements and are therefore not protected under the Geneva Convention dealing with combatants. By including terrorism as a part of LIC, one is only making it easier for the supporters of international terrorism to get legal sanction for it and thus legitimize international terrorism. It is a pitfall that must be avoided.

Over the years one has seen a perceptible shift in the ideological basis of terrorism. During the sixties and the seventies secular ideology, mostly of the left, or nationalism and anti-imperialism provided the rationale for armed action. Of late that base has been eroded, and replaced by one based upon extreme form of religious radicalism derived from Islam, Sikhism or Judaism. After all, the Israeli Prime Minister was assassinated by a fanatic Jew. With religion replacing ideology, mostly 'foreign ideology', terrorism has acquired a new indigeneous psychological base which is nearer to the popular psyche. In this context the 'holy' war, by whatever name different religions call it,

acquires a new meaning in the context of armed violence. Thus, Islamic society is faced with Islamic violence and a Jewish society is facing increasing challenge from its own brand of religious fanatics. This new dimension of terrorism needs a deeper study because it is going to be with us for a long time and it is basically a phenomenon of the post-Cold War ethos.

While challenges from terrorism are increasing, efforts are being made to find scape goats. Instead of finding solutions to the causes that have provoked this new brand of terrorism all energies are now concentrated in trying to suppress domestic dissent and to target a few selected states as promoting international terrorism. Iran, Libya and Sudan have been identified by USA as those states. USA tried unsuccessfully to get a consensus in the meeting of the G-7 to get them so identified. It faced opposition. USA has, however, passed domestic laws in the first week of August 1996 putting severe constraints on oil firms even of other states on their dealing with these states. That has evoked serious negative responses from European States, particularly France. France has reportedly signed a \$ 3 bn contract with Iran to develop its offshore oil fields near the Sirri Island. France has interests in Libyian oil fields. France is also hoping to enter into oil development agreements with Iraq once the UN relaxes its sanctions. Europeans are not going to like to be dictated about their oil policies by USA in the name of combating terrorism.

Under UN pressure, on 16 August 1996 the Security Council decided to impose an air embargo on Sudan in order to pressurise it to handover to Ethiopia three men accused of trying to assassinate President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt on 26 July 1995 when he had gone to Addis Abbaba to attend the meeting of the Organization of African Unity. The Council has, however, delayed putting its decision into effect for at least three months. This move will have far-reaching implications because it is probably the first time that the Security Council has issued sanctions against a state on issues dealing with international terrorism.

USA, the only Super Power left now, is increasingly feeling vulnerable to direct and indirect threats from terrorist violence. The 'Fortress America', the strongest nuclear and conventional power today, is feeling the heat of non-military threat in areas where it thought it was safe; even in its own homeland. American starategists are trying to identify the illusive enemy and in that process are trying to target states like Iran, Libya and Sudan. While that might be good for propaganda at home or even abroad, it does not answer the question as to why Americans are being targeted in so-called 'friendly' states like Pakistan and Saudi Arabia. The devastation caused by the bomb, carried in an oil tanker, that exploded at about 10 P.M. on 15 June 1996 just thirty yards from Al-Khobar Tower Complex in Dhahran, carried its own message.

Nineteen persons were killed and hundreds were injured in that explosion. The building was used to house members of the 5000-strong American armed force personnel who were stationed in Saudi Arabia, mostly at Dhahran air base. They were employed to operate the AWACS and the jet fighters that patrol the area, enforce 'no-fly' zone in South Iraq as well as offer air support to US armour force stationed in Kuwait. They also man the Patriot anti-missile missile battery. There are reports that American troops would be moved out of Dhahran to an isolated air-base about 60 miles near Riyadh.

While the USA might be determined to fight terrorism at all levels and in all places, it is now seeking to identify terrorism with Islamic fundamentalism. US policy in the region after the Second World War is designed primarily to retain control over the oil wealth of the region (including its petro-dollars) and to see that no 'hostile' power gets control over it. Earlier the policy was enunciated under the Eisenhower Doctrine in 1957 and the Carter Doctrine in 1980, under the slogan of containment of communism. Now that communist threat can no longer be used, Islamic fundamentalism is being projected as the new threat. In that context, containment of terrorism is being explored as a new rationale for US strategy for the Gulf region. While the USA might be determined to fight terrorism at all levels and in all places, it is also a fact that the USA has removed its troops from Dhahran to a far away base in the desert. Is it a tactical retreat or the acceptance of the fact that it is indeed the target of local Islamic militancy. If so, where will the retreat end?

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India's Foreign Relations Part II - Relations with Neighbours

SAHDEV VOHRA

RELATIONS WITH PAKISTAN

India's complaint with the United Nations regarding the tribal invasion of Kashmir by Pakistan had yielded no results despite several missions appointed by the UN to bring about a settlement. The matter was taken up by Nehru directly with Pakistan. Talks proceeded favourably with the successive Prime Ministers Mohammad Ali Bogra and Choudhri Muhammad Ali. Next the Governor General of Pakistan, Ghulam Mohammad took up the matter and was confident that he would be able to effect a settlement. Unfortunately death took him away. Later in 1964 Nehru sent Sheikh Abdullah to Pakistan for talks. Unfortunately, death intervened once more, and Nehru passed away while the Sheikh was carrying on talks with the leaders of Pak-occupied Kashmir.

In 1960 Nehru and President Ayub had agreed to a treaty over the sharing of Indus waters, through the good offices of Eugene Black of the World Bank. It showed what was possible to turn a new page in the bitterbook of Indo-Pak relations. USA proposed that Black may be asked to settle the Kashmir dispute also, but Ayub did not agree. In Kashmir, Ghulam Mohammad Bakshi was going ahead as Prime Minister to integrate the State with India, but on the other hand Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, a young member in Ayub's cabinet was emerging as a firebrand hoping to guide according to his own lights. He visited China and forged an alliance with that country making a common cause against India. He forged a link with China which became a firm basis on which Pakistan could rely on its running dispute with India. In 1962 when China invaded India, President Kennedy had warned Pakistan to stay out of the war. Nehru's requests to USA and the United Kingdom were readily met. However these countries desired that India should settle the Kashmir dispute with Pakistan. Their representatives, Averill Harriman of USA and Duncan Sandys of the United Kingdom arrived in 1963 to use their good offices for talks over Kashmir. Bhutto and Sardar Swaran Singh held these talks but they only showed how wide was the gulf between the aims and perceptions of these two. Neither side had any heart on the talks and they petered out.

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Bhutto was now firmly in position as the guiding voice of Ayub's regime, at least so far as relations with India were concerned. In May 1963 China and Pakistan signed a border treaty defining the border between Sinkiang and the State of Jammu and Kashmir upto the Karakoram Pass, although at its eastern end Pakistan was not in occupation of Siachin, Rimo and the areas between these glaciers and the Karakoram Pass. By this China gained the Shaksgam Valley area and Pakistan gained access to the Raksam Pamir. It was however laid down that the alignment was subject to the final settlement regarding the state of Jammu and Kashmir between India and Pakistan. The treaty strengthened the good relations between China and Pakistan who agreed to construct a "Friendship Highway" from Yarkand to Islamabad via Hunza.

When Lal Bahadur Shastri became Prime Minister in 1964, Pakistan posed a threat to the Indian forces in the Kutch region of Saurashtra. The area consisted of salt beds and scrub and had not been occupied by either side except by some peripheral posts. It got submerged below the sea level in the monsoons and was sparsely populated. The invasion by Pakistan in this area was unexpected but the Indian forces halted their advance and a stalemate followed. It was agreed that the matter of defining the boundary be referred to arbitration by nominees of foreign origin. The primary purpose of testing India's response and the state of preparedness of the Indian army was achieved to the satisfaction of Pakistan, since Pakistan next year launched an attack on Kashmir.

Bhutto planned to precede the armed invasion by infiltration by 10,000 guerrillas to mix with the local residents of the border area of the state and exhort them to revolt and help the invading Pakistan army, code-named, "Gibralter", and the plan failed totally. The infiltrators were simply reported to the local authorities and captured. The invasion by the Pakistan army that followed in September 1965 was also held. India had warned Pakistan that her response would not remain confined to the state. The Indian forces advanced towards Lahore and Sialkot. They captured Haji Pir Pass and Titwal in the state. The ammunition supplied by USA for its Patton tanks was soon exhausted in a tank battle in the Punjab, and the POL stocks were running out on both sides. The United Nations were able to arrange a ceasé-fire after a three-week war.

The agreement that followed after the ceasefire was negotiated between Lal Bahadur and Ayub at Tashkent in Uzbekistan through the good offices of Kosygin, the Prime Minister of the USSR. Ayub and Lal Bahadur agreed to sign an undertaking that the Kashmir dispute would be settled without resort to arms, but Bhutto threatened that he would oppose this before the people of Pakistan. Lal Bahadur showed the courage and goodwill that India had by ceding both Titwal and Haji Pir Pass.

On return to Pakistan, Bhutto drummed up a campaign against Ayub for having signed the Tashkent agreement. He became in effect a leader of oppostion. Ayub's popularity declined and he was forced to hand over power to Yahya Khan, the Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan army in 1968. Yahya Khan held the first general elections ever held in Pakistan in 1970-71, but the elections resulted in a majority in the National Assembly for the party of Mujibur Rahman of East Pakistan, a verdict which Bhutto refused to accept. This led to a complete rift between the two wings of Pakistan. In March 1971 General Tikka Khan was appointed Governor of East Pakistan. He launched a reign of terror in the area and the population rose up in arms. The Pakistani troops were confined to barracks. The guerrilla forces called the Mukti Bahini were rampant all over East Pakistan. As many as ten million people also fled to India owing to the reign of terror. India appealed to the United Nations to help in dealing with the dangerous situation that was developing arising out of the revolt and the influx of the rufugees housed in overcrowded camps as best as possible but exposed to disease. The Pakistan army were beleagured and therefore unable to face the general uprising.

Unable to quell the revolt in East Pakistan, Pakistan in desperation launched an attack on Kashmir in the west in December 1971. The attack began with a surprise raid upon the airfields of the Indian Air Force in the Punjab. Simultaneously, she launched the attack on the Chamb - Jaurian sector of Jammu & Kashmir from Sialkot. The Indian army held the attack, and launched an attack on East Pakistan to help the Mukti Bahini's operations. They made a swift advance and reached Dacca within days, meeting poor resistance from the demoralised Pakistan army. The Pakistan army of over 90,000 strength surrendered to the Indian army and the Mukti Bahini in December 1971. Bangladesh had been declared an independent new state by Mujibur Rahman.

Yahya did not put faith in his own judgement and was cowed down by Bhutto into confronting East Pakistan instead of making a settlement with them. On the other hand, Bhutto, disowning any responsibility, left for the United Nations and was out of the country at the time of the war. After the creation of Bangladesh, Bhutto returned to negotiate with Mujibur Rahman but he made little impact on the rulers of the new country. He next turned to India and signed the Simla Agreement in 1972, with Mrs. Gandhi agreeing to sign a pact abjuring war, and to settle the Kashmir dispute with India bilaterally, the same which had him raising a banner of defiance against Ayub after the war of 1965. Having secured the release of 93,000 prisoners of war Bhutto returned in triumph to his own country. The Simla Agreement remained a dead letter except that the cease-fire line now became a line of control recognised by both. The agreement was disowned by Pakistan declaring that the UN resolutions on Kashmir required the intervention of outside powers.

In 1974 India tested an atomic device in the Rajasthan desert. The reverberations of the "implosion" aroused Bhutto to vow his determination to possess nuclear capability also. In this Pakistan was to succeed. The possession of nuclear capability added a dreadful edge to the hostility between the two countries and made it incumbent upon them to abrogate the use of force for the settlement of their differences. In 1977 the Indian Foreign Minister, A B Vajpayee visited Pakistan on a mission of goodwill. General Zia Ul Huq also hit it off with the Indian Prime Minister, Morarji Desai. But in 1979 the regional picture underwent a radical change when the USSR invaded Afghanistan after which USA and Pakistan became once again intimate partners. The people of Afghanisation offered fierce resistance but millions had to flee across the frontiers to Pakistan and Iran. The Russians rained death and destruction on the Afghan country-side by ceaseless aerial attacks and by mine-laying on the ground. Nearly half the poeple had become refugees inside the country and in Pakistan and Iran.

The refugee camps organised in Pakistan along the border were to become the dens for the arms received from USA and for smuggling activities and the illegal sale of arms. Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) regulated the supply of arms which USA kept pouring in, and became arbiters of the fate of the mujahdeen (as the refugees were called) and the factions into which they were divided. The ISI favoured certain of these parties and restricted arms supply to those they favoured, so much so that many of the guerrilla groups and leaders who were actually engaged in resistance within the country (like Masud of the Panjsher Valley) were kept short as they did not favour Pakistan. Thus they became king-makers in Afghanistan. The war in Afghanistan was to prove the one decisive event of the 1980s (as Vietnam was in the previous decade), in as much as its long shadow was to become the cover for the militant and terrorist acts of the fundamentalists armed with these very weapons supplied by the USA. As far as India was concerned the Afghan invasion had the effect of equipping and training armed militants to be sent in unending waves over the years to infiltrate and destabilise the Jammu and Kashmir State, to disrupt law and order, terrorise the inhabitants and engage in hit and run battles with the security forces of the state.

Due to the alliance over Afghanistan, at the same time that USA was channelling small arms through Pakistan for that country, the Reagan administration overlooked the Pressler amendment, and sent supplies of F-16 aircraft for the Pakistan Air Force. In turn, India had to arrange to buy military aircraft from England and France. Thus the effect of the Afghan war was not confined to guerrilla war in Kashmir. The second effect was to enhance the supply of military hardware to the fighting forces of the two countries. As far as the international scene was concerned, the indiscriminate supply and distribution of US arms resulted in their diversion to trained militants wedded

to further the cause of fundamentalism, and stretching their attacks as far as the USA itself at one end and the Philippines at the other.

NEPAL'S RELATIONS WITH INDIA

Nepal extends for 540 miles in the Himalayan region of the Indian subcontinent lying between Uttar Pradesh and Bhutan. India's relations with Nepal (and Bhutan) were at first based on the foundations laid down during British rule. Soon however they were changed in line with the more friendly natural bonds that existed from age-old eras. As far as the British were concerned, the Kingdom of Nepal had proved more than a match for the East India Company when in 1815 General Ochterlony invaded Nepal to check the Nepal advance to Dehra Dun and to Cooch Bihar. The British had to make peace next year and withdraw. The treaty that followed ensured friendship between the two. Nepal gave up its claims to Almora in the west and to the Dooars in the East. Nepal has since then supplied Gurkha soldiers to the Indian army. In return Nepal was respected as a valuable ally.

At that time Nepal was ruled by a family of the Ranas who had become hereditary Commanders in Chief of the army and the defacto rulers of the country. The Maharaja who belonged to the Shah dynasty was reduced to being a figurehead. This position had continued after 1947, but winds of change in India had affected the people of Nepal also. Their popular leaders had been comrades of the Indian leaders of the freedom movement and had fought alongside with them against the British. The Koirala brothers, and other future Prime Ministers of Nepal Manmohan Adhikari, were colleagues of Indian leaders like Jai Prakash Narain and Ram Manohar Lohia, when they were exiles from their motherland because the Rana regime was persecuting them. After India became independent and the Rana rule came to an end, the Maharaja was rescued from his forced retirement and regained his power, instead of being a figure-head. The senior Koirala brother was asked to form the government, and to hold elections. India recognised the new regime and welcomed the setting up of a popular government and the holding of elections under a new constitution. This change was a bloodless revolution and popular.

India entered into a new treaty relationship. The treaty of 1950 was an earnest of mutual help in case of an external threat to either country. It provided for consultations for mutual defence measures. It confirmed the free entry and exit of citizens of either country into each other's territory without any visa/passport restrictions. The relationship between the two countries was thus close and has continued to be so ever since, despite the entry of China on the scene as a new centre of power, unlike before 1950 when China was weak.

In 1950 China had occupied Tibet. For the first time in history, a Chinese army was stationed in Tibet. Nepal had close relations with Tibet and a considerable volume of trade was carried on between the two countries. Now that China had announced control of Tibet, it was necessary to adjust the relations that had existed between Nepal, Tibet, and India, and to continue them as of old wherever and as far as possible. India now recognised China's sovereignty over Tibet, and Nepal had also to consider its relationship. This situation continued till 1954 when India and China negotiated a treaty for border trade over the six passes in Uttar Pradesh west of Nepal. But as soon as this treaty was signed there were a series of border incidents which became a cause of increasing hostility, climaxing in 1959 when an Indian patrol party in Ladakh was ambushed by a Chinese army party killing all seven members of the Indian Patrol.

In March 1959 the Dalai Lama had fled from Lhasa and taken refuge in India. Like India, Nepal was flooded with refugees from Tibet by the thousands fleeing from Chinese atrocities. The monasteries and monks of a predominantly theocratic country were destroyed and disbanded. Unable to stop the flood of refugees, Nepal was at the same time careful to avoid an adversary relationship over the issue. Moreover, besides feeding and looking after the refugees, the security aspects of having these foreign nationals when Tibet was at loggerheads with the Chinese, was a sensitive issue. Nepal carefully adopted a neutral attitude in this situation as between China and the refugees and to steer clear of any confrontation. As a country landlocked between India and China, Nepal had no choice but to maintain friendly and non partisan relationship over any differences that had arisen between India and China and between China and Tibet. In this atmosphere Chou En-lai the Prime Minister of China visited India in April 1960 and from there paid a visit to Nepal. Disappointed in his border talks in India, the Prime Minister came to Nepal and in a rather conspicuous manner signed an agreement with Nepal for a joint survey to determine Nepal's border with the Tibet region of China. This was intended as a rebuff to India in the face or the bitter dispute that had developed over the same border issue between India and China.

Nepal's development is intimately connected with the economy and geography of the Indian sub continent. Whether it is the control of rivers or forests and the physical environment in general, or whether it is in trade, commerce and industrial development, the two countries have maintained a measure of cooperation and mutual accommodation that is in a class by itself. Nepal has a difficult mountainous terrain and needed better communications with both India and China. China built a road from Lhasa to Kathmandu, (part of which already existed), while India built a road from the South and a lateral road. Important rivers like the Kali Gandak, Sarada, Gagra, Gandak, and the

Kosi flow from Nepal to India. Several joint projects have been surveyed and decided upon to utilise these rivers which join the Ganga in India. The flood control, hydel power, and irrigation benefits will be shared. The Karnaphali and the Trisuli projects are two of them. There are also trade and transit agreement between them for import by Nepal of all her needs, under a pass system which allows these goods free transit. Lately, there have been imports from China but Chinese goods have to come over a journey of over two weeks into Tibet. Relations being close between Nepal & India, the defence requirements of Nepal are met by India. The recruitment of Gurkhas from Nepal for the Indian army is continued on a mutual benefit basis which is honoured. The connections between the people on either side have led to settlements of Indians in the Terai of Nepal and of the Nepalese in the Indian border states of Assam and Bengal and elsewhere.

Landlocked countries like Nepal have been guaranteed certain rights of access from a neighbouring country under an international convention called the Law of Access to Landlocked Countries. India has allowed Nepal free access and transport of goods and storage enroute from and to the open seas. Nepal can have access through Bangla Desh and the port of Chittagong also, which India has agreed to facilitate. Indian entrepreneurs have been welcome in Nepal and have set up industries there based on locally available raw materials. Countries like the USA and the United Kingdom have displayed an interest in promoting the development of Nepal. Nevertheless, India's proximity makes it natural for her to play a leading role in the modernisation of Nepal. The common bonds of race, religion and Kinship act as a vital contributory factor for this closeness. Common places of pilgrimage in India and Nepal, and ties of marriage between families of the border regions and generally all over the land, have strengthened those ties.

Nepal is conscious of the need to develop new and close ties with China. It would be in her interest to develop the ancient commercial ties between Nepal and Tibet. Nepalese Newar traders controlled the trade between Lhase and Nepal and across Nepal to India, just as Ladakhs and Kashmiri traders once resident in Lhasa controlled the trade with Kashmir and India. However these ties have now ceased to operate. But the border trade was an important part of this trade with rice and salt from Nepal to Tibet and borax, tea and wool and pashmina coming from Tibet. This trade is now supplemented by factory made Chinese consumer goods and garments.

INDIA AND BHUTAN

For two hundred miles east of Nepal and the Indian terrotory of Sikkim, lies Bhutan. It is a hundred miles across at its widest part and cut off from

Tibet by the Himalaya. The many ranges that branch off in a Southerly direction divide it in a series of broad valleys of which the three main ones are Ha, Pharo, and Punakha named after the three main towns. Bhutan has remained difficult of access due to its configuration. It embraced the Dugpa form of Tibetan Buddhism and was ruled by twin rulers, the Dharmaraj who was head of the Dugpa religion, and the Devraj who was the political head. In 1907 the Dev Raj took over as the sole ruler and ruled till 1953. His son who succeeded him died after a short period, and the present ruler is the grandson of the first sole ruler. The British rulers of India entered into a treaty with the Devraj and made themselves responsible for the defence and external affairs of Bhutan. This arrangement continued after independence of India till 1980. In that year both sides agreed to terminate this arrangement, India helped Bhutan to become a member of the United Nations. Relations between Bhutan and India are close and India is associated with the planned development of the country. Roads are difficult to construct and the services of Indian engineers have been loaned to Bhutan. A lateral road has been constructed and this has helped to open up the country. Foreigners are however not allowed to come in large numbers because of the difficulties of transport and lack of residential facilities. In the contemporary period, Bhutan has faced an influx of people of the Nepalese origin into Southern Bhutan. The rapid increase in the population of the Nepalese race has affected the ethnic composition of this part of Bhutan. The government has taken measures to control the further influx of the Nepalese people. They have laid down that only those who speak the Bhutanese language and wear the distinctive Bhutanese dress will be allowed to remain in Bhutan. The National census of Bhutan carried out in 1988 revealed a large illegal immigration of Nepalese people. With the figures of the census of 1958 as the fixed point, a large number of them faced expulsion under the Bhutanese Citizenship Act of 1985. The prescription of Dugpa language and the Bhutanese dress as a test, led to resistance and agitation, but the poeple who did not qualify were herded into camps and many fled to Nepal where they are living, also in refugee camps. This citizenship issue has resulted in a halt of Nepalese immigrants and the Bhutanese government do not appear to have any intention to relent on the matter.

With China, Bhutan has correct relations and the border question has not presented any difficulties. With India there has been no border problem as it is well defined. The last occasion a question arose about it was in 1855 when a treaty between Bhutan and India defined the boundaries of the Dooars district of Bengal.

Bhutan is thinly populated except for the above mentioned influx of the Nepalese people in the South of the country. The king is keen to modernise the economy, and a number of fruit processing and other industrial units based

on local produce have been set up by the state. Bhutan is an active member of SAARC association and has cordial relations with all its members.

RELATIONS WITH BURMA

Burma was an active theatre during the Second World War when Japan advanced into the country and the Indian XIV army fought them back from bases in North East India. The Burmese leader Aung San sided first with the Japanese to throw out the British to rid Burma of colonial rule, and later joined up with them to establish a Burmese state. Relations between Aung San and Nehru were close. Unfortunately Aung San was assassinated soon after Burma achieved independence.

During British rule, Burma had suffered from exploitation of Burma's resources particularly teak, gems, rubber, and oil. It was surplus in rice and rice used to be exported to India. The first Premier of Burma under British rule was appointed in 1937 to meet the demand of the Burmese for self rule. He was Ba Maw and he writes in his book as follows:

"The vast British enterprises took everything on top, the Indian and Chinese businessmen nearly everything in the middle, and the Indian clerks and coolies a good deal of what remained".

Perhaps this offers a clue to the present insular politics of Burma. After the assassination of Aung San, the country was run by U Nu who was a devout Buddhist and upright ruler. But he was replaced by a military dictatorship under the Commander-in-Chief Ne Win. Under him Burma became a closed country. While U Nu had maintained close relations with India, the Burmese military rulers cut off all connections with the outside world. What minimal contact that took place was in order to promote the internal campaign being carried out against the prominent tribes of remote and border regions, the Shans, the Kachins, and the Karens who were up in arms against the Rangoon government. A long drawn civil war drained the energy and resources of the regime. Illegal Opium trade was rampant and in the recent news it appears that the Burmese government want to profit from it instead of suppressing it, and that it has succeeded in establishing control over the tribes.

Burma's relations with China are of importance as the two countries share a common frontier in the remote northern parts of Burma which adjoin Yunnan province of China. Burma has a long history of contacts with China, both of a trans-border commercial nature as well as of invasion and infiltration from Yunnan. In medieval times the emperor Kublai Khan invaded Burma. During the last war, the Mytkyna route through north Burma and the airlift

from India "over the hump" were used in a sustained and difficult operation by the US army to keep arms supplies going to the Chungking government of China. After the war, China made a treaty with Burma to settle the border issue. At the same China clandestinely trained guerrillas from among the tribes in Burma who were hostile to the regime in Rangoon. The tribes from the neighbouring Nagaland and Manipur States of India were also trained and supplied with arms. These activities were part of the Communist game plan to gain sympathy and support of the opposition forces to the establishments in the neighbouring government. With time as relations of China with the latter have crystallised however, these destabilising activities have ceased.

With India relations were influenced by the fact that the liberal elements and students who had fled from Burma to take refuge in India, and in particular Aung San Suu Kyi, the daughter of Aung San who was their acknowledged leader, carried on an idealistic war against the military rulers. When the latter became so unpopular that Ne win had to abdicate, his successors decided to have general elections. Aung San Suu Kyi's party won overwhelmingly in these elections, but the military rulers decided to go back on their intention to instal a popular government. It appeared that Ne Win was still master minding their strategy. When Aung San Su kyi returned to Burma, there were such joyous popular demonstrations in her favour that the regime were alarmed and put her under house arrest. She carried on a non-violent movement against the dictatorship and the latter were urged by the world opinion to release Suu Kyi. She was awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace in recognition of her principled fight for Peace. The military regime had to release the lady but have not allowed her to carry on normal political activities.

India has urged Burma to resume trade with her and there have been signs of the Burmese authorities' willingness to do so. India's sympathies lie with the democratic elements of the country. On the other hand, China has signed a treaty with Burma in 1994 to develop ports in South Burma and develop naval facilities for Chinese ships. As part of this policy, China has persuaded Myanmar as Burma is now called, to lease naval facilities to China at some islands near Andaman and Nicobar of India. This is to be viewed as part of the increased Chinese presence in the South China Sea, and as part of the desire of the Chinese to strengthen their hold vis-a-vis the Paracel and Spratly Islands, as well as to mark their presence in the Indian Ocean. With India, relations of Myanmar (Burma) have continued at a low key but there are no outstanding problems between the two countries.

RELATIONS WITH BANGLADESH

The new state of Bangladesh was ushered in with high enthusiasm in December 1971. It was earlier considered a "poor cousin" within the family

of Pakistan, a low lying area covered with water and accessible by waterways in the monsoons and ravaged by floods and cyclones. Little did the others in Pakistan realise that this Cinderalla will after independence turn into a princess with a better rate of education, specially among women, and with capacity to be innovative in the field of development. Blessed with a fertile soil, the country has rich crops of rice, jute and tea. The people had won their laurels by the forceful resistance they offered to the military rulers of Pakistan since March 1971 till they won their independence.

The very qualities which enabled them to win independence have become difficulties of sorts in their refusal to compromise among the views of the various political parties. At first Mujibur Rahman proclaimed as *Banga Bandhu* and the undisputed leader of the single political party, the Awami League, carried the day. Unfortunately he was not a successful administrator. While the problems arising out of the repatriation of ten million refugees who had fled to India were over with goodwill and ease, opposition gradually developed and ended in the assassination of Mujibur Rahman in 1975. A military coup d' etat took place under the commander-in-Chief General Zia-ur Rahman. The family members of Mujibur Rahman were all murdered except the daughter Begum Hasina who was abroad. She was to be the successor of her father as the leader of Awami League.

Bangladesh drew into a shell under Zia-ur Rahman. Surrounded by West Bengal and the north eastern states of India, the problem of illegal migrations from the country to these parts of India also began to arise. The illegal infiltration took place in increasing members. Indian frontiers were kept open as an earnest of the good will and good relations. In times of scarcity, the people of Bangladesh kept coming into India to seek employment and stayed on.

Another bone of contention with India was the sharing of the Ganges waters. India had constructed a barrage at Farakka to increase the supply in the Hooghly and dredged the silting up of the port of Calcutta. In cooperation with Bangladesh, India had agreed to regulate these supplies in the interest of the needs of Bangladesh. At first the Bangladesh government was satisfied but later both governments realised that some compromise was necessary as both needs could not be met fully. At the same time, meetings at the experts' level showed that a long term augmentation of water supply was possible by linking up with the flows down the Brahmaputra river. A long term solution would augment the supplied in the lean scason and control the floods during the monsoons. The farmer of Bangladesh dependent on the supplies in the Padma river would not have to be apprehensive about his crops in the winter months drying up on account of a thin trickle of water in the river. Here again the

goodwill of the two people must come into play to effect a compromise in the interest of a workable solution. Instead, the adoption of extreme positions and the "best" solution keep coming in the way of an agreement over a long-term plan, which could be financed by the World Bank as happened in the case of the Indus waters in 1961 between India and Pakistan. A 30 year Indo Bangladesh Treaty was signed on "fair and equitable" sharing of the ganga waters, during the visit of Bangladesh Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina Wajed on December 12, 1996 in New Delhi.

The question of illegal migration mentioned already has also caused a rift between India and Bangladesh. Assam had a history of migration from Sylhet now part of the new country. Apart from Assam, infiltration into the neighbouring parts of Bengal & Bihar's Purnea district began to assume large proportions. When these were controlled, this became a cause of lack of goodwill. There were also reports of increasing smuggling of goods across the frontiers, and the two governments agreed that the borders must be sealed and patrolled. However when India decided to build wire-fencing there was resistance and lack of cooperation by the authorities in Bangladesh. The fencing of the border could not be completed. An enclave of West Bengal in Bangladesh called Tin Bigha was given to Bangladesh in the interest of goodwill.

Another problem to be noted in this connection is the flight of the Chakma Buddhists of the Chittagong Hill Tracts. They are of a different ethnic stock and have been ousted by Bangladeshis from their areas by force resulting in their flight to India. A large influx of the Chakmas took place and they fled by the thousands. India had to settle them in temporary camps in Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh, as well as in Tripura. The Bangladesh government had promised to take them back and rehabilitate them back in their lands. When some parties of them went back, their welcome was not such as could induce others to return. How could it be otherwise when the authorities were not willing to dispossess the others who had illegally possessed their lands?

Like dictators elsewhere, General Zia-ur Rahman fell a victim to another coup d'etat this time by General Ershad. He proved to be modern minded and progressive. Ershad promoted the idea of an association among the States of South Asia for common development, and gave practical shape to it as the South Asian Association for Regional cooperation (SAARC) which took place at his initiative. If the idea is given practical shape it will help to benefit all member states by economic planning of common interests, free trade, common network of communications. Within the country, Ershad gave encouragement to the cooperative movement for credit and self-help at the rural level for local industries, and initiative, also by small-scale women enterpreneurs formed into women's cooperatives which were set up to promote development activities and became successful.

The Ershad regime came to an end when he held general elections. The two leading political parties were led, one by Begum Hasina, and the other by the widow of General Zia. The latter won by a narrow margin and formed the first parliamentary government in Bangladesh. The parliamentary system has however not been allowed to work because of the tendency (already mentioned) to carry opposition to extremes. An anti-government campaign led to continual strikes and protests outside Parliament. The anti-government campaign ended in resignation of all members of opposition from the national assembly. Begum Zia now ordered general elections and the country voted Begum Hasina to power, the political spectrum thus turning full circle, in favour of the daughter of Mujibur Rahman.

RELATIONS WITH SRILANKA

India's relations with Sri Lanka date back to the third century BC when Emperor Asoka sent emissaries to the island kingdom and Buddhism spread from India to Sri Lanka. There was flourishing trade in those days by sea from Tamralipti in Orissa and Bengal to Sri Lanka and to Sumatra and further east. During British rule Tamil labour from India was imported for tea plantations in the northern highlands of Sri Lanka. These Tamils from India are distinct from the Sri Lankan Tamils of the Jaffna peninsula and other parts of north east Sri Lanka who are engaged in a civil war of great ferocity today.

The main people of Sri Lanka are the Sinhalese who are Buddhists. The standard of living and the educational standard is high both among the Sinhalese and the native Tamils. Trouble between the communities started when Sinhalese was declared the national language and the Tamils wanted their language to be given an equal status as that would have helped to get a share in the government jobs, where they were under represented. The Buddhist monks have a great influence over the Sinhalese and they often take a chauvinistic view over problems of a political nature. They protested against Tamil being given the status of a national language. The then Prime Minister Bandaranaike put down the agitation even though some monks emmolated themselves in protest. This had a tragic denouement, for the Prime Minister was murdered in 1959. The Tamils have been engaged in a bitter civil war in the otherwise prosperous island, and it is all the more cruel because the struggle is between two equally laudable goals - the need for a united island nation, and the demand for recognition of the Tamil identity and autonomy.

It was Srimovo Bandaranaike who in 1962 formed a group of major nonaligned nations to mediate between India and China in 1962 after the border war. The terms proposed by them were accepted by India but not by China. India and Sri Lanka cooperated also in the repatriation of Indian Tamils in Sri Lanka who did not opt for Sri Lankan citizenship, and the two countries decided upon their phased return to India. About six lakh Indian Tamils were to be repatriated but owing to delay in carrying out the repatriation, their numbers have remained high. When Lal Bahadur Shastri was Prime Minister of India the two countries agreed on a revised ten year programme for the return of these Tamils. Work was held up once again and the scheme for their repatriation is still incomplete.

When the Sri Lankan Tamils resorted to violence to resist the law and order agencies in their struggle for a Tamil homeland, there was sympathy and support for their cause in the Indian State of Tamil Nadu. The rebels and the fighters often took shelter on the Indian soil during the 1980s. They could cross the Gulf of Mannar easily and seek sanctuary there. This was a matter of great concern and objection to both the Sri Lankan and Indian Governments. The President of Sri Lanka, Jayewardene and the Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi agreed to the despatch of an Indian Peace Keeping Force to the north east of the island nation to restore law and order. Unfortunately this operation was the cause of ill-will and misunderstanding. The Tamil rebels called the LTTE, and the new President of Sri Lanka Premadasa, were both equally opposed to the presence of the Indian Peace keeping Force. The impulse of cooperation that inspired this mission was on the contrary coming to be a symbol of ill will. This was reflected in the act of a Sri Lankan naval rating who was in the guard of honour for Rajiv Gandhi on his visit to Sri Lanka. A member of the guard attacked the Indian Prime Minister, though luckily, he was not harmed. It is pertinent to recall that when early there was a dispute between India and Sri Lanka over the Katchathevu Island, Mrs Gandhi, the then Prime Minister had agreed to the island being handed over to Sri Lanka. The same impulse had guided Rajiv Gandhi to agree to send an Indian peace keeping force, but the path of good intentions is sown with many unexpected obstacles.

The struggle between the LTTE and the government of Sri Lanka is still continuing but India can best serve the cause of settlement by abstaining from any act of support in this internal conflict. An end has yet to be achieved, in this ethnic conflict which is one instance of many such conflicts that have become a feature of the modern nation-states.

(To be continued)

Peacekeeping in Somalia: An Indian Experience

BRIGADIER D P MERCHANT, AVSM

The 66 (Independent) Infantry Brigade of which I had the honour to be Deputy Commander left India and went to Mogadishu on 28 August 1994.¹ The Brigade Commander was Brigadier Mohinder Bhagat², late of the Mahar Regiment, and his Brigade³ was part of the United Nations Peacekeeping Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM) which came to an end on 3 March 1995. The Brigade earned much praise from the Somalis and from the United Nations for the way in which they carried out their mission⁴. We were lucky in that we did not lose any men or equipment.

As most readers know, Somalia is in the Horn of Africa, a flat and arid land with few resources. Water is so scarce that it is often sold in Somalia, and many of the conflicts in the country take place over who controls the water resources. Two rivers - the Juba and the Scebeli - flow through the southern part of the country which was the area given to our Brigade. It was the most fertile part in the entire country. Many factions wanted to control our Area of Operations and we had to work with most of the 15 political leaders, including General Aidid and Ali Mahdi.

In all, the Brigade was responsible for some 170,000 sq kms with a population of three and a half million, which is nearly half of the estimated total population of the country. The policy of the Indian Army in Somalia was somewhat different to that followed by the UN contingents that had come from some 28 other countries.

Somalia has one religion - Islam - and one language - Somali. Paradoxically, however, their fragmented society is based on clans. Like the other UN contingents, the Indians found that clan priorities overrode national ones. The complex clan hierarchy made it difficult to look for complete consent as one had to start discussions with the many sub-sections of the different clans.

Brigadier Dinesh Puroshottam Merchant served with 66 (Independent) Infantry Brigade Group in UNOSOM-II in Somalia as the Deputy Brigade Commander. This article is reprinted with permission from Army Quarterly and Defence Journal which in its April 1996 issue also carries articles on "Naval Evaluation of the Indian UN Brigade," "Lok Sabha Question concerning Peace Keeping Mission", and "India's Infantry in the Mid-Ninetees"

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The major clans in our Brigade area had been farmers or businessmen and were peace loving. It was soon the Indian Brigade's view that the incursions into militia and banditry were because of lack of opportunity for a peaceful existence. There had been a bitter Civil War for over four years. One clan would encroach on the land of another and smaller wars would result.

The United Nations' intervention was noble in concept, but was not made with the consent of the people. Unintentionally, some of the early policies initiated by the UN to form a Somalian government away from or outside some of the Somali factions frequently led Somalis to demonstrate their growing dislike and finally their hatred towards the Blue Berets. The UN Security Council Resolution SCR794 (1992) had given the military contingents wide powers. However, the policy of using force to bring about peace was, sadly, a failure from the start for many of the earlier UN contingents had aroused the dislike of the Somalis. They were unwilling to forget earlier problems.

The strategy of the Indian Brigade was based on six firm principles.

- To make resources available to the Somali population including the all important water, so that potential conflicts could be avoided⁵.
- To win trust, confidence and respect from the Somalis so that our officers could resolve conflicts before these became serious. The United Nations in Somalia was inadequately staffed when the Brigade arrived. For example, there were only two Zone Offices in the Indian Brigade Area of Operations, so that Indian platoon and company commanders found themselves representing all the agencies of the United Nations with whom the Somalis were discussing the issues which mattered. In short order, it was necessary for us to train junior officers to handle many issues besides security and peacekeeping.
- -- To build peace as much as possible on the consent of the local people. For example, a cordon and search operation to flush out bandits was much more effective if it was made with the agreement of the Somali decision makers. Bandits and militia are terms frequently used within the country; the terms are synonymous. The militiaman became a bandit when driven to be one. There were no codes of conduct. However, when well-armed young men were able to wander where they wished and had a plentiful supply of khat the intoxicant weed so heavily in demand that it was flown in from Kenya on a daily basis strong and effective military action was frequently needed.
- To respect the religious beliefs of the people and to take measures to protect and foster these beliefs.

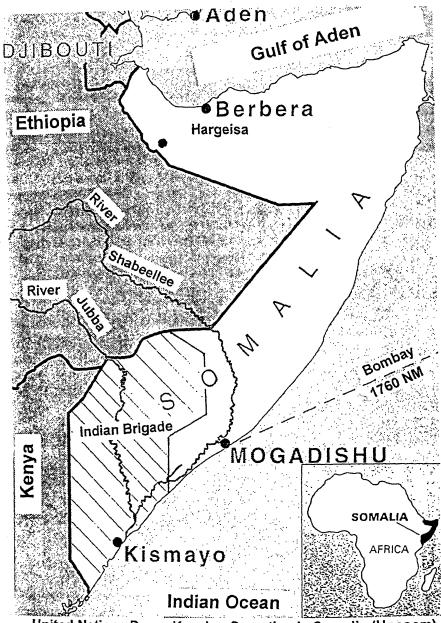
- -- To create conditions of safety and normality throughout our area by active patrolling, air patrols and the establishment of a good intelligence network. Such work would leave the people safe to involve themselves in the normal activities of agriculture and business.
- -- To keep communications open from each of our key commanders up to Brigade, so as to emphasise the message to the Somalis that we were only there for them and for their good.

What was our job? Based on the strategy outlined above, it seemed obvious to begin with - and especially to the first members of the UN Force to arrive - that disarmament was the main solution. The Indian Brigade soon came to believe, though, along with many others in the UN, that - however desirable - this could not be achieved. For the Somalis, the personal weapon is part of his being, and he resisted violently any effort to make him surrender his weapon in the absence of a foolproof alternative. Any amount of weapons could be brought into the country through Somalia's open borders with Ethiopia and Kenya. Neither the United Nations nor the Indian Brigade had the will nor the force to block the routes followed by these arms traders.

We came to discover that religion was a binding issue. An activity such as the celebration of Diwali or Christmas in a way that could be expected back home in India or America, might very soon cause offence.

By October 1994, when the Brigade had been in Somalia for two months, the situation in our area had improved considerably whilst it had continued to deteriorate in other areas. Indeed, by October 1994, out of some eight and a half political regions under UNOSOM control, the Indian contingent controlled five. We had set up five Regional Councils and 18 of the 22 District Councils in our area. Normal life was beginning to return; schools were reopening, farms were beginning to be cultivated and Somalis were beginning to move to and fro between villages and the city to trade. However, the worsening situation elsewhere did indicate how fragile the situation had become.

The Indian Brigade had now evolved an organisation which had a 30 per cent humanitarian bias. This was being set up in a Somalia where anarchy had prevailed and many of the buildings were burnt to the ground. We had worked out our policy from the first day we landed in Mogadishu. We asked for a good four weeks in Mogadishu in September 1994 to concentrate and indoctrinate the Brigade. Units used this time to study the situation on the ground and learn about their new tasks. We were given the limited task of guarding the Bypass Road, but most of our time was spent in learning how, in our view, the problems needed to be tackled.



United Nations Peace Keeping Operation in Somalia (Unosom)

As we saw it, however, no analysis had previously been carried out by the UN to understand what caused breaches of the peace or, put another way, breakdowns in security. Mission analysis identified our objectives from the beginning and helped the Indian brigade identify the problems and develop ways to deal with them. It was absolutely vital to obtain the consent of the elders, the leaders of the different factions and important decision makers in the community before introducing any schemes and, as mentioned above, it was important to get such consent before carrying out even a comparatively simple cordon and search operation.

We learnt too how important it was to brief the Somali leaders after an operation so we carried them with us and they learnt of the good that had been done by the Brigade.

Again and again, we learnt that disarmament as the principal policy to bring about a secure environment was wrong. Study of the ground and the Somali psyche showed that disarmament was not feasible with the limited troops and resources available to the UN.

Every UN venture has to remember that theirs is almost certainly a short term deployment. A vital part of their job is, therefore, the creating of a viable police/paramilitary force able in the future to take over security from UN military contingents.

We learnt to train such forces; sadly, too many agencies handled military police affairs in Somalia with the result that a well established police force has not yet taken root in the country. There was lopsided growth in the judiciary, district councils and prisons, and this tended to create divisions within each district so that each institution might find itself working at cross purposes with each other.

It is self evident that UN agencies and non governmental organisations played important roles in the humanitarian mission. What has yet to be done is to learn how to establish ways in which they and their work can be placed in a framework of operations. Zone Officers in Somalia had one humanitarian coordinator who was supposed to coordinate the work of the non governmental organisations.

However, since everyone had to be linked to security the coordination of humanitarian work was eventually undertaken by the Indian Brigade in our area by weekly and daily conferences held under the Brigade Deputy Commander. Most meetings were attended by Zone Office officials, the Humanitarian Officer, the UN agency coordinator, the representative of the military

units in the area and, of course, the Somali district officials and Somali peace commissions. The meetings were held for the benefit of the NGOs and, after teething troubles, they proved highly beneficial in creating an environment of mutual trust and confidence.

Large military forces for the UN are sometimes counter-productive. In Somalia it was better if a response to a problem was quick and efficient. It was vital that the response was coupled with the dissemination of the information to Somali elders and decision makers. The Somalis had to be taken to the site of the problem at the earliest moment. This meant that each Indian post had to have transportation available, and sometimes a well planned air effort was a must. In many cases, we hardly had to use force as Somalis took it on themselves to defuse a conflict situation.

Most of the UN contingents in Somalia were briefed on the Somali culture but, sadly, few had the inbuilt aptitude to deal with the Somalis. There is a vital need to select and train officers with these aptitudes and who enjoy talking and dealing with people of other cultures. It is vital for they will have to hold key appointments in future UN missions.

The different UN headquarters in Somalia were, perhaps, handicapped because so many units had landed in Somalia with their organisations all set up before they arrived. Many had been worked out in staff colleges in the home nations and along rigid lines. There was not nearly enough flexibility. However, the humanitarian aspects of the mission in Somalia meant that brigade and unit headquarters had to work with Zone officials, Somalis, non governmental organisations, the Somali police and others in the way that I have already explained. This meant that the first headquarters had to be quickly reorganised in order to deal with these agencies. Some contingents found it easier than others. Summing up, formation and unit commanders must be chosen for their flexibility and their ability to modify their organisation tables so as to improve their effectiveness - and quickly.

In a similar way, the rigidity of logistics and administration during the early days of the UN in Somalia sometimes led to supplies of what was not needed. The truth that the function of logistics to support a mission was, perhaps, sometimes forgotten.

Too much of the budget in Somalia was frittered away in equipping UN contingents with material that they did not want, still less need. Yet the finance required to support the humanitarian work of the contingents was often not available. The Head of Mission (SRSG) did not have a say in the logistical operations; this was a serious mistake. There is a need to develop a competent

logistics concept in future missions. Logistic resources must be used for the benefit of the mission, and in close consultation with the Special Representative of the Secretary General of the UN (SRSG)- then Mr James Victor Gbeho - and the Force Commander. The SRSG interacted at political level with the heads of the various clans/parties in the conflict whilst the Force Commander looked after the military aspects of the Mission.

The Indian Brigade started two newspapers whilst we were in Somalia. Sadly, we did not have a radio station! The Indians were determined to develop their media and so tell the Somalis what the Indians were doing to help their country. For the same reason, we carried out weekly briefings of key Somalis. Not only did these keep them informed but it gave them an opportunity to air their own views to us. Future UN contingents should work out such necessary plans well in advance and - more important - make sure they have the resources available before they arrive. This means spending time in working out a media plan during the early reconnaissance of the area in which the Mission is to be placed.

Last June, I attended a seminar⁷ to repeat the lessons that had been learnt in Somalia. This was a step in the right direction - but only a step.

There will be more conflicts like the one that happened in Somalia and, particularly, in the under-developed countries. The international community will continue to have a responsibility. It is vital that the UN or coalition forces develop both the willpower and the capacity to mount such a Mission as we had in Somalia with the object of re-establishing international peace and security. Both willpower and ability will be tested.

The UN will have to find ways and means to maintain their neutrality and yet, at the same time, learn how to develop peace and security without going too far - or put another way - without over-stepping the line and threatening the sovereignty of nations, however weak or under-developed those nations might be. Military contingents such as our Indian Brigade will continue to be part of UN missions⁸.

We who live in a secure environment are fortunate. Those in Somalia, the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda exist in environments where the peace we enjoy is not to be found⁹.

This is a challenge to the military commanders of all nations that may be entrusted with future UN peacekeeping operations. We of the Indian Brigade developed our own approach in Somalia. However, no situations will be alike. What is for certain, is that there are no hopeless situations that goodwill and military skills cannot overcome.

AQ & DG EDITOR'S FOOTNOTES

- 1. 66 (Independent) Infantry Brigade, Indian Army, had embarked on the peace-keeping mission in Somalia in September 1993, known as UNOSOM II. This was the second time that India had sent an entire brigade overseas as part of a UN peacekeeping operations, and the eighth time Indian troops had taken part in UN missions. The movement of the Brigade to Mogadishu commenced on 28 August with the advance party flying out of Delhi in a UN requisitioned Boeing. The first ship sailed out of the Port of Bombay in early September. The air flow from Delhi of personnel and airportable cargo utilised a total of ten Boeing 747s, one Boeing 707 and two AN-124 aircraft. The sea flow from Bombay to Mogadishu involved four RO-RO ships and three cargo ships.
- 2. Born on 19 June 1946, Brigadier Mohinder Pratap Bhagat was commissioned in the Mahar Regiment on 24 December 1967. A graduate of the Defence Services Staff College, he is now at the National Defence College. He has commanded two infantry battalions and the Indian Infantry Brigade in UNOSOM II, Somalia and has also served on the staff at various levels. Mohinder Bhagat saw action in the 1971 war and was awarded the military decoration Param Vishisht Sewa Medal on 26 January 1995 in recognition of his services with UNOSOM II. Married in 1972, he has a son.
- The Brigade consisted of 1 Bihar Regiment, 5 Mahar Regiment and 8 J&K Rifles with a company of mechanised infantry and a squadron from 7 Cavalry.
- Within two weeks of the arrival of equipment and stores from India, the Indian Brigade had completed their deployment within Somalia. The communications had been damaged by the war: four bridges had to be built by Indian Army Engineers to connect the Government/UNITA areas.
- 5. Humanitarian aid carried out by Indian troops at this time included the digging of water wells, the construction and repair of schools, orphanages, mosques, airfields, roads, sports stadia, water catchment areas and ponds. Indian troops also made safe a number of minefields, returned a large number of Internally Displaced Personnel (IDPs) to their homes, and treated over 125,000 Somalis for cholera, snake bites, malaria, difficult childbirths and injuries from bandit gunfire, together with other accidents and injuries. Indian doctors visited remote areas, and troops willingly donated blood for the needy. In addition to providing aid for the Somalis themselves, veterinary doctors of the Indian Army treated more than 15,000 Somali animals and trained over 500 young people in veterinary and first aid skills.
- 6. The roads proved a major hazard for the Indian troops. Bridges had been destroyed, and huge craters marked the presence of mines. Additionally, wrecked vehicles lay along the route, indicating the damage these mines had done. Along the entire length of the road, red and white markers gave warning of the danger they posed.

- 7. The seminar was held in New York from 19 June to 20 June 1995. It was sponsored by the United Nations Department for Peace Keeping Operations (UNDPKO) and the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs. Brigadier Merchant represented India at this seminar which was also attended by participants from the UN, Pakistan, Zimbabwe, UK, USA, Bangladesh, Kenya and NGOs.
- 8. The 14 Punjab (Nabha Akal) Infantry Battalion, supported by an Engineer Company and other elements, has been responsible for peacekeeping in the northern region of Angola since the beginning of August last year. The Deputy Commander of the Battalion is Brigadier Y K Saxena, Indian Army. At the same time, Indian troops forming part of the United Nations Verification Mission UNAVEM III were deployed in the Zaire, Uige and Bengo provinces of Angola. There were also 19 Indian Military Observers and 49 Staff Officers nominated for deployment with the Mission.
- 9. Indian troops arrived in Rwanda in 1994 when the force consisted of an infantry battalion, with engineers and signallers, based around a Gurkha rifle battalion (5 GR TBC) commanded by Colonel N K Singh. The Indian soldiers were again praised by the UN Commander, Canadian Major General Guy Tousignant, during his farewell visit in December 1995 on relinquishing command, for their discipline, professionalism and devotion to duty. Indian troops provided transport, rations, engineer support and medical aid for the eight hard-hit orphanages in the area. Additionally, the Brigade's Engineer Company repaired a Rehabilitation School at Butara, an important city centre in the south-west of Rwanda. Last October, signallers provided secure communications helping local authorities to improve their links. General Tousignant's remarks led India's senior commander, Colonel K S Sivakumar, to comment that "Such compliments from senior officers of UNAMIR are a feather in the cap for the Indian soldiers deployed for a noble cause in Rwanda".

Indian Ordnance Field Park at Ladysmith

DR T G RAMAMURTHI

The Indian Ordnance Field Park was part of the "Miscellaneous Units" included in the Scheme for the Despatch of the Indian Contingent for South Africa. Whereas the various British cavalry, infantry and artillery regiments got dispersed on landing in Durban, the Ordnance Park remained a distinct entity and took part in the campaign at Ladysmith, Natal, which was the base of operations at the beginning of the war and was held under siege by the Boer forces for 119 days. The Field Park minus its stores returned to India as soon as the relief of Ladysmith was effected. Thus, if any unit of the Indian Army participated in the Boer War by itself, it was the Indian Ordnance Field Park, which played a crucial role in the defence of Ladysmith and in helping its relief. The following account is based mainly on reports filed by the Senior Ordnance Officer of the field park, Major R.H. Mahon from Maritzburg, Ladysmith and on board SS UMTA during the return journey!

Major R.H. Mahon, R.A.. Deputy Director General, Indian Ordnance, was deputed to take charge of the Indian Ordnance Field Park, despatched to South Africa with the "South Africa Force". He was designated as Senior Ordnance Officer of the field park. The field park was made up of the following personnel:

Ordnance Officers	3
Departmental Officer with Hony. rank	1
Warrant Officers	6
Armour Sergeant	1
Store Sergeants	8
Clerks	5
Tindals and Lascars	81
Artificers	30

The Native establishment of the Park thus numbered 116.

The text of the above article is from section 3 of a monograph on *The Indian Army and the Anglo Boer War 1899-1902*, written by Dr. T. G. Ramamurthi, currently the Editor of *Africa Quarterly* who is a former diplomat. The research work for the paper at the India Office collections of the British Library was made possible by a grant made by the General Palit Military Studies Trust, New Delhi and London.

Journal of the United Service Institution of India, Vol CXXVI, No. 526, October-December, 1996.

The Ordnance Park left Calcutta on September 20, 1899, with the first batch of troops of the South Africa force and landed at Durban October 13. Immediately, it was sent by train to Ladysmith, then the base of operations, reaching there on October 14. It remained there throughout the siege and returned to Bombay on April 23, 1900.

Since the entire Indian contingent of European troops was to be dispersed among British forces already in South Africa, it was apparent that the Indian Ordnance Park would not retain its independent identity, but would form part of the overall command. On arrival in Ladysmith, the field park was ordered to be amalgamated with and form part of the Army Ordnance Department. Major Mahon attempted to retain independent command by convincing Brigadier-General Wolfe-Murray, Commanding the Line of Communications, Natal, that "this procedure would seriously interfere with the utility of a complete unit, having a totally different system of accounts and having an establishment unsuited to a change of system". However, the General was overruled by the Chief Staff Officer (Sir A. Hunter) and the unit was placed under the overall command of the Chief Ordnance Officer, Natal (Lt. Col. Appleby), stationed at Maritzburg. The siege of Ladysmith having cut off all communication with the Chief Ordnance Officer, the Indian Ordnance Park functioned for all practical purposes independently, though under the control of the Assistant Adjutant General (B).

The Ordnance Base Depot was formed on October 15 and opened for supply on October 19. It was decided to station the advance depot also at Ladysmith, though separate from the base and ready to move when required. The siege of Ladysmith having begun on October 30, no further movement could take place. A total of about 14,000 troops were then stationed in Ladysmith, of which only a small part was made up of units of the Indian contingent. At the same time, because other supplies came in driblets due to heavy pressure on the railway from Durban, while the Indian supplies had arrived almost fully by October 25, practically all issues were made from the Indian Ordnance Park, despite the demands being heavy on account of replacements needed from losses in action.

Speaking about the setting up of the base depot, Major Mahon made very appreciative references to the Native establishment of Lascars. "The whole of the field park stores were unloaded and moved by them alone on two separate occasions and much heavy work in removing ammunition has been done by them when the necessity for removing it to a place of greater safety occurred". Major Mahon noted that the pay of the Natives of India working with the force was on the whole much less than the pay received by Natives of Africa working with the British units there and regretted that his recommendation,

supported by his 2nd-in-command, Major Wickham, for an increase in the batta payable to them was not sanctioned by the General Officer Commanding.

As the siege continued, the whole force caught inside became shorthanded and most of the officers of the Indian Ordnance Park had to take up additional duties or posted to staff or combat duties. Major Mahon himself was asked to take up the duties of a Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General for Intelligence and Major F.T.T. Fowle, R.A. was given the duties of the Principal Ordnance Officer from January 16, 1900.

The Indian Ordnance camp at Ladysmith was finally pitched on a site at the foot of the Convent Hill and partially protected by it from the north and west. The site was located conveniently centrally and remained in that position throughout the siege. According to Major Mahon, it was the only camp which did not have to shift its location more than once to escape shell fire from the enemy. The immunity was largely due to the strict enforcement of security around the camp. All tents facing the east were kept closed during the day, entry being made only from the west. The camp was in full view of the enemy's guns from the east, consisting of two 6" guns (one of them, on the Gun Hill, was captured during the siege) and one 4.7" howitzer, besides several smaller guns. However, it was only on a few occasions that the camp came under direct attack. On one of these occasions, one Lascar was wounded, though only slightly.

Major Mahon observed that the Boers in fact did not possess any field artillery "in the sense that we understand it". 75 mm guns were mounted on Maxim Nordenfelt carriages of very flimsy character, the wheels and axles being much too light. However, he also noted that against modern rifles used by the Boers, artillery was not able to come into action at ranges of less than 1,500 yards of well-entrenched infantry. Ensconced behind a stone, the Dutch riflemen were not easily shaken by shrapnel or rifle fire.

More importantly, Major Mahon noted that "as an enemy, the fighting qualities of the Transvaal and (Orange) Free State Dutch (Boer) has been entirely under-estimated. Their Generals are not only very competent strategists, but their men, in addition to being hardy mobile troops and first rate rifleshots, are gallant self-reliant soldiers. No one who witnessed the attack on Ladysmith on the January 6 last can fail to recognize in them qualities of the highest order; to thrice carry a difficult position in the face of heavy losses and to maintain a hold on that position during 16 hours of fighting is an achievement, which the picket men of any force might be proud of".

Major Mahon also found that the Boer mounted men were more effective and efficient - light active men on light active ponies and the training of the pony to stand when unmounted or to come to the call of the few horse-holders behind the firing line, the ability to take advantage of cover and the ability of each man to look out for himself and to place himself in the firing line without more instruction on the part of the leader than a general indication of the objective. On the other hand, the British mounted infantry was a heterogeneous collection of men from various corps mounted for the first time on service, requiring about 20 percent of their number to look after the ponies in action. The infantry itself was, however, well-disciplined and prepared to face the enemy.

The relief of Ladysmith took place on March 1, 1900, the siege having lasted 119 days. Consequent on the reorganization of the Natal Army after the relief of Ladysmith, it was decided to dispense with the services of the Indian Ordnance Department. Partly this was due to the units of the Indian contingent having been scattered in brigades occupying positions wide apart. Also, it was realized that the amalgamation with the (British) Army Ordnance Department previously ordered could not be carried out. Moreover, a field ammunition park had also arrived from England.

On March 9, 1900 orders were given for the departure of the Indian field park. All remaining stores were handed over to the Army Ordnance Department. The Indian field park left Ladysmith on March 29 and embarked on SS *Umta* the next day from Durban, five and a half months after it landed there. The unit as a whole was highly commended for its service during the siege. There were no deaths in the establishment and only one lascar was wounded. Among the British Officers and NCOs two officers were invalided to England and three sergeants were left behind in hospital at Durban.

Major Mahon in his report made special mention of the following members of the Native establishment of the park:

Allahabad Arsenal:

No.28.	Ist Class Tindal	Sewathal
No.62.	2nd Class Tindal	Bindesari
No.230	2nd Class Lascar	Banee
No.219	2nd Class Lascar	Mattabuda

Ferozepore Arsenal

No.45	1st Class Tindal	Motee
No.266	2nd Class Lascar	Munglee

He recommended them for promotions "either for the good work done by them in keeping the men of their sections well in hand, or for cheerful intelligence and obedience to orders given". Besides the lascars and tindals, the park also had Native artificers. Mahon made mention of "Painter Umer Khan not only on account of the good work done by him in his trade, but because by his cheerful readiness to assist at times when the services of all the artificers were necessarily requisitioned to remove stores, especially ammunition, to places of greater safety, he set an example. Should a vacancy as a maistry painter be vacant in any arsenal in India, I recommend consideration being given to this man". Another Native of the Park establishment commended by Mahon was Eranna Comajee, senior clerk.

Recommendations were also made for the British personnel. These included: Major T.T. Fowle, R.A., Captain N.F. Gordon R.A., Lieutenant A.F. Wickham, Assistant Commissary, Conductor and Overseer G. Cow, Senior Warrant Officer of the park. Conductor and Assistant Overseer R. Walmsley, conductor and Assistant overseer G.H. Bittles, Conductor W.E. Bowder, sub-conductor C.B. Hardaker, Armour Sergeant W.H. Goodwin.

When the park was ordered back to India, the balances of the stores were handed over to the Army Ordnance Department. Mahon recorded that "the Officer of the Army Ordnance Department deputed to take over the balances expressed himself unmistakably as to the excellence of the Indian system".

Mahon noted that "although the (British) authorities were at first skeptical as to the advantages of pack mule transport, it was afterwards a good deal utilized". He added: "The whole of the pack saddlery taken by the field park was issued, a great part being taken over by Captain Hennessy, I.S.C. who with an Indian pack transport train did very good service",

The Indian ordnance Field park received commendation from the Lieutenant General Commanding, Natal Field Force. Conveying this, Lt. Col. J.C. Stoneman, Deputy Assistant Adjutant General, Headquarter Staff, Natal Field Force said in a telegram dated March 24, 1900:

"As I understand you are about to return to India, I desire to express to you on behalf of the Lieutenant General Commanding here during the siege his appreciation of the good work done by your department. The duties of your department were always carried out promptly, smoothly and thoroughly".

A similar note of appreciation was also sent on behalf of the General Commanding by Colonel H.G. Miles, Chief of Staff.

On the return of the Park, the "entire satisfaction of the Government of India with the efficient manner in which" Major Mahon and the establishment under him had "conducted their duties under exceptionally trying circumstances". The Report of Major Mahon as well as the appreciatory references to the work of the Indian Ordnance Field Park was forwarded to the Secretary of State for India³.

REFERENCES

- ¹ Mily. Procg. No. 452, August 1900.
- ² Mily. procg. No. 453, August 1900.
- Para 11, Despatch No. 104 dated July 25, 1900 (Mily. Procg. 454, August 1900).

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Letters to the Editor

Letters are invited on subjects which have been dealt in the Journal, or which are of general interest to the services.

Ι

THE KASHMIR ISSUE

Dear Sir,

Maj Maroof Raza in his article on Kashmir (July-Sept 96 issue of the Journal) remains silent on some unpalatable facts of life concerning the Kashmir imbroglio. I should like to enumerate these.

First, it was Jawaharlal Nehru's blind parochialism and slavishness towards unsolicited British advice that are the prime reasons for the mess in Kashmir. He had no concept of politico-military strategy, hence he churlishly overruled Gen Cariappa's contention not to accept a ceasefire and continue with the military operations till the whole of Kashmir was liberated. Nehru failed to exploit the advantage accruing out of MA Jinnah's uncertain gamble combined with Gen Douglas Gracey's military dichotomy, as also from the fact that India's armed forces had far greater staying power than a nascent Pakistan's. Nehru's pusillaminity was the cause for our losing the initiative in both political and military fields.

Second, if the Kashmiris had any true feelings towards India, they would themselves have renounced Article 370 and joined the national mainstream. But, as Maj Raza rightly points out, they want to enjoy all the benefits under this Article. They virtually "live on the house" without an iota of thought towards the country's impoverished condition. Some of the benefits have even been diverted to characters like Amanullah Khan of the JKLF. We have deliberately turned a Nelsonian eye to Kashmir's blackmail of minority community vote bank.

Third, some of our influential politicians enjoy ISI patronage with the sole motive of keeping Kashmir "aflame." During 1994, for example, ISI forked out a payola of Rs. 55 crores towards this end. Both Indian and Pakistani politicians are cashing in on the arms and drug trades prevalent in the region.

Fourth, the biggest red herring that Nehru and his cohorts let loose on

the unsuspecting Indian polity was the misnomer "secularism." Our naive citizens have been made to swallow the line that secularism and Kashmir are synonymous. Are we to understand that the rest of India is not secular and if Kashmir was to secede, India would disintegrate?

Fifth, we missed a golden opportunity to liberate POK by force after the fall of Dhaka in December 1971. We aborted the thought when warned by the USA to desist from any such adventure. Our puerile foreign policy, which has been a principal failing since independence, was responsible for this. However, would the heavens have fallen had we gone ahead with our plan? The Shimla agreement is not worth the paper it has been written on.

Sixth and last, the only solution is the one advocated by Field Marshals Cariappa and Ayub Khan in the later years - have a "Soft Border" in the Valley akin to Monaco, freely accessible to both India and Pakistan.

2, Gariahat Road Calcutta 700 063 Yours sincerely Lt Col (Retd) J.K. Dutt

II

Sir,

WOMEN IN MANAGEMENT

With the increase of women in corporate sector, the government's proposal to reserve seats for women both in the Lok Sabha and the State assemblies, and managerial appointments in the military thrown open to women, questions are being asked regarding the efficacy of women in the realms of management. A recent study has indicated that contrary to popular beliefs, women do better in management than men.

Today, 60 percent of the students at the Harvard Business School are women. A recent study indicates that, women do a better job than men in 28 of 31 key management categories, including keeping productivity high and generating ideas, but they do poorly at handling frustration. This was a departure from traditional presumptions, which credit women with being nurturing team players at work, but not with skills associated with top management.

Women have traditionally been given credit for being good in terms of intuitive skills...and the study confirmed that they do well and out-perform men in that area. However, the study also showed that women were even

stronger in more logic-based skills like... getting things done on time, producing high-quality work, generating ideas, problem-solving and planning.

Women were even with men in one area - delegating responsibility - but were behind in the ability to handle pressure and cope with their own frustration. The study did not aim to single out gender differences at the outset but rather to identify leadership abilities.

The 31 areas of management ability surveyed were broken down into seven categories; problem-solving, planning, controlling, managing self, managing relationships, leading and communicating. While women did better than men in 28 of the 31 and excelled by a wide margin in 25, they were behind in a key area, self-promotion. There, the study concluded, women have to be more assertive in demanding recognition for their efforts. Men will not give them this on a platter.

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Yours Sincerely Brigadier (Retd) N.B. Grant

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Another American Century?

LT GENERAL (RETD) S N SHARMA, PVSM, AVSM

A unpalatable conclusions, craftily sugar coated in persuasive presentation. Brazillian Valladai, teaching in Paris, is effectively translated to create a spirited enjoyable book to which the title does not do justice.

Valladao offers "World America" the "Universal Democratic Empire is (already) up and running". His thesis skillfully dissects the American human environment aptly summed as "Liberty, Equality, Competition." Beginnings are seen in Roosevelt's four freedoms of speech, religion, want and fear: growth through disenchantment with past values and leadership over world wars and Viet Nam; acceleration through modern technology, vigorous enterprise, unmatched economic and military confidence; all creating a New American Dream, Universalism, World Society, with a world culture founded on creating wealth within the bounds of justice and law, a basic which "flourishes alongside local particularisms". The planet's information, enterprise, resources and wealth increasingly flow through trans-national systems. Nation States including the USA, are having their sovereign economic powers expropriated by the "Imperialism of Freedom": "Protectionism is becoming the surest way to decline". The dream Empire asks only for allegiance to its principles - respect for natural justice with political, economic and individual rights enforcing "Pax Americana" across all past barriers of race, colour, caste and creed. "Everyone can be American because America is already everyone". New leaders are impatient of local exclusivities, but at ease with all cultures, with a unity of international purpose creating wealth.

With uncanny skill Valladao unravels historical events to establish how Washington has steadily become the centre of the planet's brain and nerve system through which pass the Energy, Capital and "Images" which rule the bodies and minds of all people striving towards the New American Dream individual freedom, opportunity, and justice. Heterogeneous, multi racial, mixed ethnic USA has pushed individual rights with a deep commitment to law well beyond any past society of this size, with human resources drawn from the

The Twenty First Century will be American, Alfredo G A Valladao, Translated by John Howe. Verso London/New York, ISBN 1-85984-939-3.

Lt. General S.N. Sharma is a former Engineer-in-Chief Indian Army and writes frequently in the USI Journal and other defence magazines on security issues.

energetic the resourceful, the risk takers, the strivers for betterment in all fields. This culture is not a direct threat to old social strata and hierarchies: it is "extraordinarily attractive" to the world's people who want it "simply because they like it": "to the poor and marginalised this does not seem too high a price for dream of success and weatlh", though the cost is exhorbitant for local elites even in the USA, whose power and privileges depend on permanence of exclusive national, cultural and social sovereignty. The future Washington will be a black box fine tuned to react and adjust a "bionic system for global management" in a world where security is everyones business, with justice and negotiation preferred to violence; a world where the awesome military power of the GI "Praetorian Guard" is used prudently ignoring strictly local disorders dealing only with those which affect world democracy.

Valladao specifically dissects the achievements of Bush and Clinton when USA became top dog after the Soviet collapse: whatever their blarney and stated policies, these political opposites most successfully promoted world democarcy with Washington as first amongst equals almost as if the same master minds directed the game plan for both. Maybe they would be more than surprised with what the author credits as the practical achievement consequent to their rule; but peace and prosperity for all people who strive for them, even with "English of sorts" as the wealth creating common language is most attractive to our world filled with oppression and injustice. While team Bush /Clinton/more Clinton pat themselves we can bless the hidden masterminds behind them. Leaders seeking power through dissention and conflict can see easier, peaceful, and longer lasting routes to success.

Valladao is certainly worth reading. Whether you believe him or not he absorbs with challenge and interest.

Review Article 2

Nuclear Issues Between India and Pakistan

MAJOR GENERAL (RETD) DIPANKAR BANERJEE, AVSM

Nuclear non-proliferation has emerged as the major issue of our times. Not merely as a security concern, but also as a policy question affecting international relations. At this particular moment South Asia is at its epi-centre with India and Pakistan as the point of focus. Realistically, especially where weapons of mass destruction are concerned, the area of interest cannot be restricted merely to two countries. Major states in South Asia do have their own views that need to be heard. Yet, the issue is truly global. Even in a South Asian scenario external nuclear powers play a major role, as sources of potential threat, for possible coercive influences and policies affecting cooperation in nuclear energy. China, with its large holdings of intermediate range ballistic missiles and a sizeable nuclear arsenal, is especially relevant to the debate. It is China's reluctance to discuss this with India in a meaningful manner that complicates the issue further.

The Book "Nuclear Non-Proliferation in India and Pakistan - South Asian Perspectives", edited by PR Chari (India), Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema (Pakistan) and Iftekharuzzaman (Bangladesh) attempts to provide a regional dimension to this issue. It is compelling reading. In one volume it includes the nuclear weapons programmes and capabilities of India and Pakistan, their nuclear policies and likely future directions. Each of these aspects is written by a leading specialist from these two countries. Three additional articles provide the views from Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka. In the interdependent world of the post Cold War era and in a period which is likely to see growing cooperation within South Asia, such joint examination of important security issues serve a useful purpose. The Regional Centre for Strategic Studies (RCSS), Colombo, has done well to bring this out as its maiden venture.

A word about the Centre at Colombo. Was there a need for a regional security studies centre? There may be divergent views. The lamentable lack of interaction between institutes and centres of security and policy studies in the sub-continent has willy nilly left a vaccuum. Around the world there is a

Maj. General D. Banerjee is a former Deputy Director IDSA.

Nuclear Non-Proliferation in India and Pakistan - South Asian Perspectives, Edited by PR Chari, Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema nad Iftekhauzzaman, New Delhi, Manoher 1996, p.236, Rs.350.00 ISBN 81-7304-153-9

proliferation of non-governmental institutions. These have emerged as integral instruments in the Track II approach to policy formulations. South Asia urgently needed such a body. It is this space that the RCSS will try to fill. Its charter is networking, collaborative research and dissemination. One would wish it all the luck.

The book was planned to be ready before the NPT Review and Extension Conference in mid 1995. In the event not only has the NPT been extended indefinitely, the CTBT too has been passed by the UNGA. Globally these are significant developments. In South Asia their impact has been indirect, ground realities have not changed. This book is as timely as ever.

The nuclear weapon capabilities of India and Pakistan have been discussed comprehensively, India's by RR Subramanian in an authoritative manner and in some detail. Naeem Salik does the same for Pakistan, quoting mainly Indian and western sources. According to their assessment India would theoretically have the capability to produce three times the number of nuclear bombs that Pakistan would have.

Deterrence like beauty cannot be objectively quantified or categorised. It lies in the eyes of the beholder. To that extent it is relevant to ask how this is seen from the viewpoints of India and Pakistan. Is a state of 'non-weaponised deterrence' effective or adequate? Zia ul Haq in 1988 had called this state "an impression of deterrence" and considered it good enough. Is this really so, and would it still be effective in the future in its present state? Is 'recessed deterrence' an appropriate concept? Some of these aspects have been discussed in four intermediate chapters.

Zafar Cheema has very ably summarised Pakistan's nuclear policies and traced its evolution and history. Pervaiz Cheema does raise the issue of nuclear weaponization in South Asia, but concludes by saying that non-weaponized deterrence is unlikely to change. These two chapters should be compulsory reading for anyone in India looking at the India-Pak nuclear debate. The corresponding Indian chapters have been very ably covered by Poulose and Chari. Chari in particular examines the progress of CBMs between India and Pakistan, the role of America, the dialogue process and Track II diplomacy. He concludes by asserting that India has only one practical option, and that is to keep its "nuclear option open as an insurance against unforeseen contingencies".

A major contribution of this book is in introducing regional views on the nuclear situation in South Asia, an area of lamentable omission. Bangladeshi view is that nuclear proliferation is a global problem. In examining the sources

of conflict in South Asia Iftekharuzzaman links it with the region's history, geo-politics, economics and ecology. According to him, in the absence of addressing these basic questions of insecurity, nuclear issues cannot be discussed effectively. The Sri Lankan paper examines Colombo's changing policy on nuclear issues under different governments. He frankly admits US dominance on Sri Lankan policies and accepts that because of this its policy will follow those of America. Dhruba Kumar's perspective from Nepal underplays Chinese nuclear capability considerably and sees no threat from that quarter.

The world is poised at an important period on the question of role and legitimacy of nuclear weapons. The NPT review and Extension Conference legitimised nuclear weapons in perpetuity. The CTBT has attempted to restrict this capability only in the hands of the nuclear five, even though imposing some restrictions on their future improvements. However, nuclear weapons are likely to remain in the arsenals of these five powers for a long time. Will this really prevent other nations from acquiring such a capability? Not till such time as nuclear weapons continue to have a role as an instrument of national policy. Therefore, it is in deemphasising the role of nuclear weapons, which is the more appropriate approach to nuclear disarmament. It is here that Track II and NGO's assume a salient role.

This deemphasis naturally should not begin with the nuclear have nots. The nuclear weapon powers themselves need to address this question, and from the standpoint of their larger strategic interests. The process has begun, haltingly and in a disjointed manner. But there is a momentum. The Canberra Commission report is likely to raise some major issues that cannot be entirely swept under the carpet. For Indians, as for many nations, a nuclear weapon free environment offers the best options for national security. Perhaps a wider consensus is required on this aspect. And if this is truly accepted, then it would open up a whole range of new policy options that the nation must carefully examine.

The nuclear weapons question is a serious one. Like major issues facing a nation, it cannot be left entirely to the government to address. The people and enlightened public opinion needs to be deeply involved in this. The book is a serious attempt along this path.

A Soldier's Reminiscences

LT COLONEL (REID) GAUTAM SHARMA

A battalion is an extended family with its own culture, customs and traditions each one better than the other. The major portion of the book revolves round Rudra and his 28 Punjab (later 4/15), a fine example of a professional soldier. No one could represent this better than Rudra who was among the first Indians to have been granted a King's Commission in the regular army. He did this after having been in the British army (Royal Fusiliars) in the ranks, fighting during World War I for four years and wounded more than once.

The author has rendered good service to those in uniform and young entrants to the Services who will be able to feel the taste of regimental life which abounds in this well documented and excellently produced biography. Actually it is mixture of biography and auto-biography, portions written as if done by Rudra himself. I too had the good fortune to have recorded the entire gamut of his life from young age until his retirement as GOC Madras Area. While reading this book I could virtually hear the chuckles, snides and asides of that grand old man then in his 80s still alert with a sharp memory. To my querry of his name being Ajit Anil, I was told that his mother who died within four months of his birth had named him Anil Kumar. His father had named him Ajit. So he was Ajit Anil.

The author has successfully managed to give the feel and pulse of the fighting man in the front lines at Somme and La Bassee, with water seeping from the sides in the three feet deep trenches for months on end... gas masks-a loose head cover made of flannel shirting impregnated with chemical antidotes with peep holes cut out for the eyes and covered by pieces of transparent celluloid sewn in... similar masks for the horses.... at the trenches were dead and dying strewn all over... Field Marshal Roberts VC on visit to the battle zone in full regalia...his horse slipping on a bank and dying on the spot... fantasy in the minds of the 'gilded General Staff of effects of preliminary bombardment.. men falling on all sides, some as they tried to climb over the wire obstacles... time after time burly Scots advancing in their kilts their pipers playing them on.. marching resolutely to their death in drill formation. lieutenants doing sentry duty...the Co, Adjutant and all company commanders

Major General AA Rudra. His service in Three Armies and Two World Wars - By Maj Gen D.K. Palit, Vr.C., Reliance Publishing House, New Delhi, Rs. 350, pp 348, ISBN 81-7510-043-5.

Lt Colonel Gautam Sharma has written several books on the Indian Army and is a frequent writer on defence affairs in newspapers and journals.

killed or wounded... of the 30 and more officers who went into battle only three or four returned and of the men only about 60.....the rest in the no-man's-land dead, dying or wounded. This is soldiering and its stark face. Rudra too was at the receiving end most of the time.

He was a sergeant (three stripes) by the end of the war and because of his performance was recommended for a commission and attended a course at the officers training school. War was then over and his being an Indian he could not be accepted and was sent to Indore where a school had been opened for Indians.

His impressions of the cadets a 'motley collection' is interesting. There were many rankers among the lot who could not fit into the 'cantonment culture'. The selection was made on the basis of two each from various regions and classes of India. Some were doddery and average, according to him. Even some unsuitable men were sent in the hope that they would undermine the Indianisation scheme which had been announced. In this context Rudra remembers Cariappa who himself thought he was a misfit and being miserably unhappy left the college and made straight for Coorg. Another Coorgi cadet-Ponappa was then sent to bring him back and he later made it all to the top - and eventually to a Field Marshal's baton.

Not many know that Principal Rudra (Ajit Anil's father) of St. Stephen's College at Kashmere Gate, Delhi, was instrumental in getting Gandhi to India with the help of C.F. Andrews who was later very close to Gandhi. For the first few years Rudra's house was a witness to most of the important meetings as Gandhi always stayed there.

Young Rudra came to have a good equation with Gandhi as also with the Nehru family and others.

The non-cooperation movement was then in full swing. Rudra once told Gandhi that if he was on law and order duties and "you are the one causing disturbances, I shall not hesitate to shoot you". Gandhi broke into peals of laughter and asking Rudra to sit down said; "Cool down, Ajit. You have to think all this out logically. How can we ever hope to rid ourselves of the British by the force of arms? We are a poor, uneducated, unarmed people - we can never fight the British. But I do not despair. I know my Englishman. He will deal with us honourably. When the time is ripe and our cause is a righteous one and if our country is ready for it, he will give us our freedom on a platter. And then, Ajit, when we are a free country, we shall have to have an Army". Prophetic words for Rudra to recount these.

"Inspite of the inborn hostility of British officers to accept Indians as equals in the regiments Rudra had managed to earn the approbation by sheer dint of hard work and being an all-rounder in sports. He was the youngest and shortest with his height of 6 feet among the officers. He was very popular with

the men. When time came for his transfer to an Indianised unit the entire battalion led by the Subedar Major stood for him. He stayed on. Rudra was always out-spoken and stood his ground when the time came. His evidence before the Skeen Committee is proof of this and his CO also spoke highly of Rudra.

Just as the war on the eastern front was hotting up and Rudra had a chance to do some active soldiering, there was a detour. He was posted to GHQ. Positioning of the INA by the Japanese on that front had to be tackled. Morale of Indian troops was the issue. Josh Groups were formed and counter propaganda intensified. Auchinleck under whom Rudra had served as a subaltern in his Brigade in the NWFP was then the Chief. Rudra had multifarious roles to play. He became the eyes and ears of the Chief as also a military secretary due to his knowledge of the senior Indian officers. We also have some deep insight of the battle front in the book as Rudra was on frequent visits to the area.

Many INA personnel were surrendering or being pushed up into India by ships and submarines. Their trial had started and some 20 were executed at Attock Fort. Not many people know about this, says Rudra. He also unfolds the final drama of the trials of Sehgal, Shah Nawaz and Dhillon. Rudra knew some people in Singapore. Thimayya brought a vital document from there and handed it to Rudra. This was a leaflet containing an address by Army Commander Percival to the Indian troops after the surrender ceremony. Among other things it stated: "We have lost the war. We have surrendered to the Japanese. We the British have let you down. We are no longer your rulers. Therefore you are free to take whatever course you think right and proper. It is up to you; your loyalty and duty to the British are terminated".

This decided the issue for Bhulabhai Desai who was prevailed upon to be the main defence counsel. Jawaharlal and Jinnah came in later. It is pertinent to point out here that INA documents, even 50 years later are still closed and not available for study. Why one may ask?

Rudra had a hand in the setting up of NDA Khadakvasla from conception up to selection of the site near Pune. It was his suggestion to Auchinleck who obtained approval of Viceroy Wavell.

Nehru's ideas on defence of the country, division of the Gorkhas between India and the UK (in which Rudra played no mean part at the tripartite conferences), Bengal famine, promotion of senior Indian officers in the army and a lot more are encapsuled in this biography. It is sad that one who had played such important roles should have been let down in the end for his own promotion. He had carried out the planning of the Hyderabad operation too. All these and many more form a part of this very informative book and an essential document for further research.

Short Reviews of Recent Books

The Silent Revolution: Development of Conventional Weapons 1945-85. By Guy Hartcup, London, Brassey (UK), 1993, p.328, £ 27.50, ISBN 0-08-036702-X.

The book covers the entire spectrum of transformations in conventional warfare since the 1940's, the Silent Revolution in an enthralling and enlightening study. Stepby step, Guy Hartcup's narrative discusses both the progressive introduction of higher efficiency weapons and machines, as well as, the designing and development of diverse force-multipliers for land, sea and air warfare.

The interesting features of his dissertation; firstly, the technology race between Hitler's Germany versus the Allied nations during the Second World War in the field of radar, rocket, first generation of computers and chemical bombs; secondly, between the antagonists of the Cold War era, in the fields of electronics - infra red, laser, sensors and missiles, side by side with armaments and munitions; and thirdly, the turning points of military-oriented capability in the form of jet propulsion, the solid fuel for missile propulsion, the transisters, the micro-chip, et al. His book explains how electronic warfare now over-shadows every kind of war-like activity.

The analytical study provokes thought on the dangers of technophillia as exemplified in some disastrous consequences of naval support of land battle and even the air-battles in recent wars. "The human is still the best image processor.....and for making strategic decision", as he emphatically proclaims in the concluding chapter.

-- Maj Gen (Retd) S.K. Talwar

An Introduction to Political Communication. By Brian McNair, London Routledge, 1995, p. 213, £ 10.99, ISBN 0-415-10854-3.

Political Communication as the art of persuasion and influencing the public opinion by the new professional class of publicists and press agents for intra-media considerations, journalistic bias, proprietorial interference or the routine practice of news gathering, has been very well explained by the author. McNair has attempted the theme by defining the concepts, giving their pros and cons and leading to the conclusions logically and exemplifying illustratively. A comprehensive bibliography acts as a source for further reading. Notes to chapters act as addons to the illustrative lists which supplements the main theme in details.

Organisationally the book is divided into two parts - mediatisation and communication. The former incorporates political communication in capitalistic and communistic societies, strategies of political actors, available resources and the functioning of the media and the enveloping environment. The latter covers the mechanics of political communication and the alacrity with which it had been applied by the politicians. Advertising and publicity coupled with public relations have been fully exploited as aiders and abetors in the Vietnam (1960s), Falkland (1982) and Gulf (1991) wars; military aggression against Sandinista government (1984) and the bombing of Tripoli (1986) etc in international conflicts.

It is a standard book on the subject and is recommended to one and allacademicians (students, scholars, researchers, teachers), politicians, staff (concerned with the fourth estate-press and the electronic media alike), and the personal relations staff.

-- Air Cmde (Retd) S.K. Bhardwai

International Law & The Use of Force. By Anthony Clark Arend & Robert J. Beck, London, Routledge, 1993, p. 272, £ 14.99, ISBN 0-415-090303-1.

A monumental work on International law with respect to use of force spanning from 330 B.C. to the contemporary times aspecting the historical overview including the modern principles. The principles are well analysed, well argued, well chronicled and thought provoking, thoroughly supported by authentic and well documented cases and examples in a chronological fashion. The existing law/practices, the scholarly approach and the suggested law all have been presented side by side. The treatise is an ideal amalgam of the conventional *jus ad bellum*, the futuristic trend and the authentic opinion of Arend and Beck besides confronting scholarly opinions.

The book is recommended to all students and teachers of International Law, the policy makers and the fraternity of armed forces especially the Navy; and should find its rightful place in all good libraries.

-- Air Commodore (Retd) S.K. Bhardwaj

International Organizations: 2nd Edition. By Clive Archer, London, Routledge, 1992, p. 205, £ 12.99, ISBN 0-415-07837-7.

This second edition of 'International Organisations' includes evaluation of the influence on the role and capabilities of the International Organisations due to end of the Cold War, Iran-Iraq and Gulf wars, disintegration of the Soviet Union, Reunification of Germany amongst others.

The first chapter delves into formation of international organisations in pre and post world war era and goes on to establish the definition of an international organisation as a formal, continuous structure established by agreement between members (governmental and/or non-governmental) from two or more sovereign states with the aim of pursuing the common interest of membership.

The classification of international organisations has been examined according to type and extent of membership, aims and activities, and by their structure. The author has suitably illustrated these aspects by use of tables and sketches. The author has classified the available literature of international organisations in four types viz. Traditionalist, Revisionist, Structuralist and Globalist. He forecasts that third world publications could become more openly cynical or hostile and as mankind realises the endangered condition of this planet more urgent cries will be heard for drastic solutions.

The number of international organisations have grown because of their roles as instruments, forums and actors, and perform functions that help to keep international

political system working. This need cannot be fulfilled by national states and groupings. The international organisations may not have great military or economic resources but they can communicate political ideas and have the power to mould people's minds and strengthen their will power.

The author has carried out a deep study and this single book provides an excellent reference to a student of international organisations in the history, classification, role, function, literature and future of these organisations.

-- Cdr. S. Kulshrestha

The Economics of Defence. By Todd Sandler, Cambridge, Cambridge University, 1995, p. 387, £ 22.95, ISBN 052144204-4.

This interesting book on defence economics designed for graduate students, should be must for our policy planners brought up on the premise, that defence industries are a drain on the exchequer and therefore provide for losses every year in the budget.

Containing numerous equations and graphs it may be difficult for the average military reader. I commend three chapters which would be of general interest.

Chapter 5. Procurement theory—the various forms of contracts. The only way open to the Government to bring down the costs is by competition — whether by national or foreign firms. The treatise on labour learning curves is important for us — entering into manufacture of high tech weapons. We need to apply modern theory of incentive contracts.

Chapter 8. The work of BENOIT, and his finding that defence spending has a beneficial effect, on the net growth in less developed countries — is also of particular interest — it did happen so in the early sixties. The problem is discussed inconclusively — quoting two Indian economists Sen and Ram.

Reactions of Governments to — Anti terrorist policies. The most effective ways to follow discussed in Chapter 13, are of topical interest.

-- Mai Gen. (Retd) Partap Narain

Strategic Appraisal 1996. By Zalmay Khalilzad Santa Monica Rand, 1996, p. 329 (Project Air Force), ISBN 0-8330-2343-8.

Strategic appraisal is a study by RAND on behalf of US Air Force to evaluate strategic issues that could confront the United States and in which aerospace power may be required to play a major role.

In the opening chapter, an assessment has been made on different options, US foreign and security policies, may have to exercise. In the subsequent 12 chapters an evaluation has been made on likely challenges to US interests in Western Europe, Russia, Eastern Europe, Latin America, Asia and Africa by scholars specialising on these areas. Comments of relevance to us are those on India and China as these, in a manner of form, reflect official US perceptions.

On India the summation is that by virtue of its demography, geography, economy

and technology, India is bound to become a regional power and also a hegemonic one. The only question is when. India's ambitions beyond legitimate aspirations could conflict with US interests and to contend with such a situation a full range of capabilities would merit attention.

On China the poser is whether she with her spectacular economic development and her international linkages be conciliatory and reasonable or will she, with her burgeoning military power, become coercive towards her neighbours? The forecasts made on this issue are in the form of inspired guesses as the general belief is that processes of political succession in China are not likely to be smooth. Hence an adversarial scenario is not ruled out.

Strategic appraisal is a book which does provide an insight into the making of current US foreign and security policies and should be of particular interest to students of military science.

-- Air Marshal (Retd) K.D. Chadha, PVSM, AVSM, VM

Brassey's Land Warfare into the 21st Century: Vol 2 Cannons. By DF Allosop, London, Brassey's 1995, p.127, £ 25.00, ISBN 1-85753-104-3.

The on-going tussle between the target profile on the one hand, and strike potential of the cannon/shell on the other, have acquired new dimensions during the recent decades. Newer generations of weapon systems for the land forces and helicopters will take the field as warfare enters the 21st century.

Building up on the basic concepts of weapons technology, the author has projected numerous design, and structural factors pertaining to futuristic guns and munitions. While the user obtains a fuller comprehension of the composite weaponry he will handle in the next battle, the design engineers have been provided considerable theoretical data for their research work, in the book under review.

Despite its predominant technological bias, the book makes very interesting reading.

-- Maj. Gen. (Retd) S.K. Talwar

Inside: The Great Jet Flighters. By Robert F. Dorr, London, Windrow & Greene, 1996, p. 128, £ 19.95, ISBN 1-85915-0764.

This pictorial tribute of the United States' half-a-dozen war planes ranging from Republic F-84 Thunderjet, North American F-86 Sabre, North American F-110A Super Sabre, McDonnell F-4 Phantom, Lockhead F-16 Fighting Falcon and McDonnell Douglas F-15 E Strike Eagle in actual squadron service and combat role, striding across half-a-century of time span leaping across generations and geographically globally; witnessing changes in speed from subsonic to supersonic, from no ejection seat to zero speed and zero altitude ejection seat, accelerating while flying straight upwards and structurally (G-wise) more sound than the pilots who fly them; with a plethora of high tech inventions like computer guided fly-by-wire system, a side stick controller and effective flying clothing like G-suit etc.

Some of the photographs snapped by the amateurs with whatever cameras they had and by some professionals are in rarest of the rare category. It is a real feast to the eyes and depict/describe virtually the entire history of the United States Air Force as an independent Service (since 18th September 1947) and its pragressive development.

The book must find its rightful place in all defence libraries and military science libraries of the universities and Colleges.

-- Air Cmde (Retd) S.K. Bhardwaj

Nuclear Wastelands: A Global Guide to Nuclear Weapons Production and Its Health and Environmental Effects. Ed by Arjun Makhijani, and others, London, MIT, 1995, p. 666, ISBN 0-262-13307-5.

Nuclear Wastelands is probably the first book, which deals with A to Z of Nuclear perspectives, potentials and problems in a single volume. Commendably compiled by three very able editors, assisted by 14 other contributors, the book deals with tough and dry subjects like physics, physiology, medicine, strategy, rescue, relief, rehabilitation use and abuse of nuclear energy etc. in an absolutely plain language, easily comprehensible by a common person/non-professionals.

Personally, being a student of Arts and humanities, this is the first time I got a real insight into the complexities of nuclear projects - research, testing, manufacture, supply, storage, usage, precautions, devastations, dangers and doom of nuclear energy, during peace and war. To my mind, the aim of this book has been to enlighten and warn the public at large about the catastrophic nature of the phenomenon, rather than produce an encylopediac treatise for the policy maker, 'Change agent' or the opinion formers. In-depth analysis of the past (Secrets and performance) and future posturing of the 'haves' and 'have-nots' as well as the potential bidders in the field, form the real pithy portions. The illustrations, charts, pictures, posters, cartography and general technical specifications of its production make it a 'masterpiece' worthy of possession and lasting storage at least on this complicated subject.

-- Air Marshal (Retd) SS Malhotra, AVSM,VM

Brassey's Defence Year Book-1996 ed. The Centre for Defence Studies, King's College, London Brassey's 1996, p. 396, £ 36.00, ISBN 185753-1248.

Focussing on defence and security issues, in this 106th year of publicaction, the very first Chapter written by one of the best experts in this field, Lawrence Freedman, on the Future of Military Strategy highlights the major issues on this subject. The Section on British Defence Policy is laced with a backgrounder to British perception of European security vis-a-vis the NATO and its own position in the European security equation in the future. The other chapters in this section deal with British policies towards the Mediterranean especially security against certain non military threats, the importance and the need for a British maritime doctrine, its basic features and the British American relationship and their position in the present multipolar world with new emergent powers. The section on European security highlights the need for a common security in the region, the importance of NATO in Europe, even for Germany to be a vital player in European security, the NATO air power, Russian military's position now and their military doctrine and the non military threats from the Third World.

Apart from a section on arms control dealing with the CFE, terrorism, the British nuclear deterrent and the use of personnel mines the section on regional security is well researched too. The section on Perspectives dwells upon the growing tensions caused by the ever increasing inequality among the nations and within nations leading to a neat type of conflict in society more silent yet more lethal. The technological revolution its highlighted by a chapter on missiles while the question of morality and need to search for means of defence which keep the non combatants unharmed is dealt with in the other chapter making us aware of the awe inspiring levels technology can transcend to make war less violent. In this scenario what would be the role of the armed forces is the last Chapter on this painstakingly researched book to deal with future issues of concern.

-- Dr. Sudha Raman, Ph.D.; USI

The Hi-Tech War of Twentieth Century: By A.V.M. V.M. Tiwari & Dr. R.K. Tewari, New Delhi, Vikas, 1996, p. 297, Rs. 395.00, ISBN 81-259-01590.

If International Relations trend shows breathtaking pace in shift in power equations, there has been an equally breathtaking revolution in technological improvements as far as weaponry is concerned. This book has been able to deftly handle both the technological and the political aspects of international politics through the medium of the Iraq-Kuwait-Multinational Force embroglio.

The book is well written, well researched, precise in details with an excellent analysis of the events of history of this conflict region in the Gulf and the forces that were at work between the nations, the leaders, and their decision makers which ultimately culminated in the war. With an excellent understanding of the economic interests and political manouverings at play in this conflict the book has widely covered the mastery of technology over heroic war fighting. A very valuable book for the researcher of international issues and those keen to be well informed on the latest in warfare technology.

-- Dr. Sudha Raman, Ph.D., USI

India and the United States: Estranged Democracies 1941-1991. By Dennis Kux, Washington, National Defence University, 1992, p. 515, Rs.375.

The book covers a panorama of undulations in Indo-American relationships over a fifty years period - 1941-1991, correlating with the United States presidencies. The major hurdles are the fundamental disagreements in the national security issues affecting both the democracies. Indian non-alignment policy steering clear of both the power blocks was not appreciated by the Americans, especially her closer ties with the erstwhile USSR which was considered a major threat by them. On the other hand US arming of Pakistan for the containment of the Soviet Communism as US ally was always viewed suspiciously by the Indians. The dismemberment of the Soviet Union and the end of Cold War has again brought both the democracies on cross roads assessing each others usefulness in the new perspective. Diplomatic initiatives are needed from both the sides to learn from the past mistakes and start a new chapter again.

From all counts an authentic and practical account of issues events & personalities based contemporary history of India - United States relationship from declassified

papers from the national archives, memoirs, biographies, academic studies and interviews. Not just an addition of another book but a reservoir of realistic information on Indo-American relations for the period in question in one single source. Dennis Kux deserves quodos for doing such a marvellous job.

-- Air Cmde (Retd) S.K. Bhardwaj

Nixon: A Life. By Jonathan Aitken, London, Weidenfeld, 7, 1993, p. 633, £ 25.00, ISBN 0297-81259-9

When President Nixon resigned in the wake of the Watergate scandal, he did not fade away as most expected. Since 1974, Nixon has been trying to rehabilitate himself both in the eyes of the world and the gaze of history. Author tells the story of the rise and fall of Nixon with a wealth of new material evidently provided by Nixon himself. It is clear that the main aim of this book is to project Nixon in brighter light. Even incriminating issues like Watergate tapes have been treated rather sympathetically. This book has concentrated on Nixon's personal life and his contribution to history has been side-lined like Nixon's relationship with China, his role in 1971 Indo-Pak War with particular reference to despatching USN ENTERPRISE in the Bay of Bengal. The trauma of humiliation, stigma of ignominy, strain of scandal have dampened Nixon's zest for life. The octogenarian Nixon proves the point that after retirement, you can put pep in life by playing golf, mowing lawns or just writing memoirs.

-- Lt Col (Retd) Daljit Singh

Why Alliances Endure: The United States Pakistan Alliance, 1954-1971. By Rekha Datta, New Delhi, South Asian Publishers, 1994, p. 202, Rs. 250/-, ISBN 81-7003-169-9

A mutual defence undertaking between a world power concerned with global power-gaming, and an under developed nation with aspirations of regional military power status is inherently an anomalous proposition. In this context, the USA-Pakistan Mutual Defence Pact 1954 and their bilateral Agreement signed in 1959 makes an interesting area of study.

Rekha Datta, in this case study, first examines the promotive pressures and internal dissentions of the two nations, as also the loose commitments as prescribed in the Pacts. Interestingly, the Secretary of State John Foster Dulles successfully forestalled the doubting Thomases - Chester Bowles, Fullbright and Galbraith. The author has then analysed the political developments in the Indian sub-continent consequent to the three wars thrust on India by China in 1962, and by Pakistan in 1965 and 1971. The emergence of the China factor, India's alignement with the USSR, and the emergence of Bangladesh as a new nation created diverse tensions and trials for the US-Pakistan relationship. In the seventies, it was Henry Kissinger and Nixon combine which forced a strong anti-India stance, essentially to prove their credibility to Chinese leadership.

The book thus makes a useful contribution to political theory vis-a-vis military alliances, while providing a refreshing review of current history.

Robert Kennedy: The Final Years. By Brian Dooley, Staffordshire, Keele Univ, 1995, p. 191, ISBN 1-85331-103-0

Robert F. Kennedy stood like a lighthouse among the American democrats beaconing the youth, the blacks, the poor & the unorganised labour. In the span of his political career two periods - Attorney General in his brother's administration and Senator were most distinguishable. During the former the President depended on him not only for advice pertaining to the Justice department but also on matters foreign and military like the Cuban Missile Crisis and the Vietnam imbroglio. The latter period was utilised by Bobby Kennedy to feel intimately the pulse of America, understanding its people and their problems - especially those of the blacks and civil rights ghetto amelioration through private effort; and thence as spring board to the Presidency 1968. The process brought about a change of heart in him - the conservative democrat protagonist of Vietnam war turned its champ antagonist. To achieve a coalition he practised 'Options Open' approach as a way out to accommodate the variables.

The six chapters that the book has been divided into respectively deal in civil rights bringing him out as a hero of the civil rights movement; industry and the New Left deal with his relations with the elements of American business community and his overtures to American youth notably migrant worker; foreign policy concentrating on Vietnam and the Third World, Latin America and African development, spread of communism and about turn on Vietnam; presidential campaign with his appeal to different strata of the new coalition; and last one rings down the curtain by Sirhan shooting him down, accounts for the various hypotheses on his death.

Brian Dooley's presentation has been lucid and systematic, to the point and concise and factual and enobbling. The book is thought provoking and keeps the reader interested throughout.

-- Air Cmde (Retd) S.K. Bhardwai

Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War 1956-58. By Ernesto Che Guevara. *New York, Pathfinder, 1996, p. 483, \$23.95, £ 15.45, ISBN 0-87348-824-5.*

Ernesto "Che" Guevara was an Argentine medical doctor and Cuban revolutionary leader. His death at the hands of a CIA-trained Bolivian army rangers unit in October 1967 made him a global icon of youth non-conformity and activism, as well as an enduring inspiration for guerrilla movements around the world. It is this romantic revolutionary visage that persists to this day.

However, it can be questioned if Che Guevara is as important to contemporary Latin American and world history as his popular heroic image would suggest. Che's strategy of foquismo-sparking off revolution throughout Latin America by simultaneously creating many foci of armed struggle in the region - was a colossal failure. Likewise, the many rural and urban guerrilla movements that seriously - but unsuccessfully - challenged the Latin American military dictatorships in the 1970s can be regarded as his legacy. Nevertheless, Che continues to be regarded as a central figure in the transnational revolutionary pantheon of the 20th century that includes successful revolutionary leaders like Lenin, Mao, Fidel and Ho Chi Minh. In a very real and non-trivial sense, he is the patron saint of lost causes that are worth dying for.

Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War, published in English for the first time, is about the making of a revolutionary and a revolution. It gives us a remarkable insight into Che's thinking as well as a critical insider account of the events leading to the Cuban Revolution. The book under review is thus an ideal companion to Che Guevara's classic Guerrilla Warfare (1961). All professional soldiers should be required to read it.

-- Dr. Varun Sahni Jawaharlal Nehru University

Democracy in Latin America: Patterns and Cycles. Ed. by Roderic Ai Camp. Wilmington, Delaware, SR Books, 1996, p. 294, \$16.95. ISBN 0-8420-2513-8.

The book under review is the latest contribution to the rapidly growing corpus of literature on democracy and democratization in Latin America. The transition from military authoritarian rule to some form of civilian democratic governance, and the subsequent process of democratic consolidation, remains the most important feature of Latin American politics today.

The strength of this edited book lies in the impressive breadth of its chapters, which cover themes as diverse as underdevelopment, authoritarianism and corporatism, non-governmental organizations and the economic crisis. Some of the significant scholars who have contributed to this volume include Mitchell Seligson on political culture, August Varas on the military, Daniel Levine on the Church, and Alan Angell, Maria D Alva Kinzo and Diego Urbaneja on elections. The relationship between economic libralization and political democratization is explored in several of the chapters.

For anyone interested in the problems of democracy and dictatorship, in Latin America and elsewhere, this book has great value and utility. It goes a long way in explaining the nature of the democratization process in Latin America. It is therefore an essential addition to all good social science libraries.

-- Dr. Varun Sahni Jawaharlal Nehru University

Dien Bien Phu: The Epic Battle America Forgot. By Howard R. Simpson, Washington, Brassey's 1994, p. 193, £ 20.95, ISBN 0-02-881047-3

The author, a much published defence expert was the combat reporter and photographer who has given us an eye witness account of the epic battle; where tens of thousands of Vietmin troops overran the besieged French garrison of 15,000 out of whom less than a hundred finally escaped, those who survived were eaten up by the jungle or died in captivity.

A number of lessons, have been brought out, useful for us and other nations when fighting irregulars in terrain where the effectiveness of modern weaponary, like air, is reduced. A pilots split second decision between a friend and foe village led to enmity affecting the ground troops.

This is a provocative and useful study of a historical battle where a less sophisticated force of a dedicated people against a vastly superior force both materially

and technically wore out the French Army, who may have suffered less casualties but morally they suffered a very heavy defeat.

-- Brig (Retd) Y.P. Dev

Anglo-American Relations in the Twentieth Century by Alan P. Dobson. London, Routledge, 1995, p. 199, £ 37.50, ISBN 0-415-11942-1.

This book deals with the continued existence of special relationship between Britain and the USA for over a century, the reasons thereof and what benefits accrue to them. American foreign policy has seen changes from isolationism till First World War to involvement during the Great War to neutrality between the two World Wars to interventionism during the Second World War and now to domination, whereas the British foreign policy was based on ensuring that no hegemonistic imperial empire tilted the Balance of Power in Europe and Britain ruled the waves thereby carrying commerce before the flag or vice versa. Americans preached morality in international affairs, had belief in their "Manifest Destiny" whereas Britain believed in predominance of national interests as enunciated by Palmerston in the nineteenth century and carrying of "White Man's Burden" to civilize the uncouth foreigners. The attitude of these countries towards each other characterised initial domination by Britain in the eighteenth century, subsequent acceptance of parity in the nineteenth and later practical domination by Americans in the twentieth century over matters of strategy, realpolitik, trade and commerce.

The ease with which Britain surrendered its super power status and its acceptance by USA without bloodshed is something which enhanced their close relationship. There were a host of subjects where similarities of views coincided like foreign policy, ideology, capitalism, culture, languages, containment and if possible rolling back of communism. However, differences of opinion, disagreements, disputes and controversies did exist on neutral maritime rights, attitude to Germany, total war, war debts, Cold War and of course trade and commerce.

These turbulences in special relations resulted in British Lion's tail being twisted most of the time and occasionally the US Eagle's feathers got plucked. Would Britain's joining European Union and consequent tilt to Europe first policy lessen the importance of USA in their special relationship? Only time will tell.

-- Maj General (Retd) J.N. Goel

The Russian Question: At the End of the 20th Century, By Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, London, Harvill, 1994, p. 135, £ 7.99, ISBN 86046 064.

In this book Solzhenitsyn has described the history of the Soviet Union since the 15th century and has brought out the blunders that form a basis for the plight of the Soviet people today. The beauty of the book lies in its brevity and crystal clear thought provoking analysis and inferences. He brings out that the break up of USSR has occurred mechanically along Leninist borders detaching 18 percent of ethnic Russians. In Ukraine, for every Russian there are two non Russians and thus there are slogans like "Ukraine for Ukrainians". Ironically 25 million Russians have found themselves "abroad" without moving anywhere and just by staying on the lands of their forefathers.

Solzehnitsyn gives three paths viz. evacuation and resettlement of detached Russians in Russia, compliance of national minority rights by Baltic States and unification in various areas with Belarus, Ukraine and Kozekhstan.

The Russian question at the end of the twentieth century stands unequivocal: Shall Russian people be or not be? A moral Russia has to be built directed towards its inner health within its borders and without veering off into the interests of others. The guiding light has to be the Preservation of the People.

The book provides an interesting insight into the multiethnic USSR, its splitting in the name of democracy and its leanings towards liberalisation and capitalism. We have a lot of lessons to learn if we have to survive as we are today.

In the address to the 'International Academy of Philosophy" he brings out that progress has led to endless accumulation of possessions which will not bring fulfilment. It has made us lose the internal harmony between our spiritual and physical being. The only recourse is to take step of "Self limitation and self restraint". Progress thus cannot be infinite without dire consequences, there can be only one true progress, the sum total of the spiritual progresses of the individuals and the degree of self perfection in the course of their lives.

It is a visionary essay by a great writer.

-- Cdr. S. Kulshrestha

Order and Discipline in China: The Shanghai Mixed Court 1911-27. By Thomas B. Stephens, London, University of Washington, 1992, p. 159, \$ 40.00, ISBN 0-295-97123-1.

The book deals with the Order and Discipline in China and the Mixed Courts from 1911 to 1927, the primary functions of which was to support the councils, the municipality councils, the municipal police in the repression of good order and enforcement of the Council Ordinance among the Chinese settlement.

The author carries out an assessment and administration of order. He brings out some very interesting practices being followed in China. Some of these are :-

- (a) Obedience to superiors in the hierarchy of authority is the heart of the Chinese disciplinary system. In the Chinese society, the superior for the ordinary man was, in family matters, his father, in local community matters, the village elders or local gentry, in business matter, the officers and leaders of his guild, in Government matters the ZHIXIAN, (superior or magistrate) in woman's superior in all things was when she was unmarried, her father, when married her husband; in widowhood, her son. The same culture was prevailing in India in the past and to some extent in the villages today but with the changing values, the attitude of younger generation is changing.
- (b) In the Chinese disciplinary system, it was not always regarded necessary to punish the actual offender even when correctly identified, so long like son, grand

son or younger brother was prepared to undergo punishment even in a capital case. This system would not be allowed in India and for that matter in any other country.

(c) Collective punishment are routine rather than exceptions thus punishing the innocents with the guilty. This form of punishment is somewhat followed in the West where the jurisprudence demands that as a general rule with few exceptions, no person should be punished for other person's crime. The exceptions are for insubordination or disobedience which would be extended beyond the offender to the other members of immediate group for good discipline in a society.

The book would be of particular interest to the intellectuals in India who may like to do a similar study of all aspects including indiscipline and corruption prevalent in the Indian society. A good addition to all libraries.

-- Cmde R.P. Khanna, AVSM

Demystifying Tibet: Unlocking the \$ Secrets of the Land of snows. By Lee Feigon, Chicago, Ivan R. Dee, 1996, p. 242, \$ 27.50, ISBN 1-56663-089-4.

The author traces the origin of Tibet - largely a plateau between the lofty Himalayas in the South and the Altyn Tagh mountains system in the north - its development into a nation, its eras of prosperity and adversity as also the controversialties with China.

The book is divided into seven chapters bringing out that Tibet was independent for tens of centuries and held sway over much larger territories than what it has now been cocooned into by the Chinese. The monastic influence made religion the key and cultural institutions the hub in Tibetan society. By thirteenth century Tibetans & Chinese differed so radically that it would be hard to imagine them to be part of the same nation. Manchu tie with the Tibetans was based on the Manchu connection with the Mongols; and the Tibetans were calling shots during the Qing dynastic rule and Lhasa acted as the Vatican/Jerusalem for the vast central Asian diaspora.

International rivalries (British & Russian) spurred the Chinese to dominate Tibet to preserve their own security and territorial integrity which became clear as the Tibetan government weakened and the Chinese government strengthened. The 'liberation' of Tibet was complete with the flight of the Dalai Lama into India and Tibet losing its cultural and ethnic uniqueness with the implementation of the 'Great Leap Forward' and 'Cultural Revolution' leading to the mass immigration of the Chinese from the mainland and thus making the Tibetans a minority in their own land. If ever the Tibetans have any hope of redemption from the Chinese yoke, the author contends, is the weakening of the central Chinese authority leading to provincial autonomy or splitting up in combination with Xinjiang - China's largely Muslim north - western province that might receive aid from its central Asian relatives.

Lee Feigon's Demystifying Tibet, is a well researched and well reasoned treatise with historical perspective. Culturally, linguistically and religiously its (Tibetan) ties and akinness are more to its Asian nomadic neighbours rather than to the Chinese. An absorbing, entertaining and interesting book well illustrated by maps and photographs.

How China Opened Its Door: The Political Success of the PRC's Foreign Trade and Investment Reforms. By Susan L. Shirk, Washington, Brookings, 1994, p. 120, \$ 28.95, ISBN 0-8157-7853-8.

Foreign trade and investment reforms have had the transmogrifying effect of opening the closed Chinese economy during 1970-85 into a major trading nation and integrating into the global market economy not so much through economic institutions but by the way the communist Chinese leaders manipulated their political institutions to produce reforms characterised by gradualism, administrative decentralisation and particularism.

An excellent, incisive and thought provoking study, and is recommended to economic scholars and seekers of liberalisation and marketisation.

-- Air Cmde. (Retd) S.K. Bhardwaj

Chinese Awakenings: Life Stories from the Unofficial China. By James and Ann Tyson, USA, Westview, 1995, p. 325, \$ 19.95, ISBN 0-8133-2472-6.

An informative book by James and Ann Tyson on recent changes in China affecting 1.2 billion Chinese in consequence of the Deng Xiao Ping reforms. The book gives an inside view of China at the grass roots level by a pair of skilled journalists who during their five years in China carried out a penetrating analysis of how reforms have affected various sections of Chinese society. During this period the Tysons eluded government surveillance and found out how the reforms have been reshaping Chinese lives as China promotes a market economy and eases Maoist social controls.

Research by the Tysons indicate that as reform weakens the grip of the state, individual Chinese are seizing opportunities and taking their future and the future of their country into their own hands. This initiative for change is coming increasingly from the grassroots as millions of Chinese pursuing different dreams propel reforms far beyond the Communist parties original intent. This bottom-up momentum for change is advancing reforms despite resistance from hardliners within the leadership.

The book is unique in that it focuses on the lives of individuals thus providing representative soundings of Chinese society rather than on broad spectrum statistical detail. The ultimate message is that it is the sum of a peoples individual wills that determines the course of history, and it is the combined myriad wills of the Chinese people that presages the China to come.

-- Maj Gen. (Retd) Ian Cardozo, AVSM, SM

The China Challenge: Adjustment and Reform. By David S.G. Goodman and others, London, Routledge, 1986, p. 86, £ 5.95, ISBN 0-7102-1111-2.

This book was published in 1986 and gives the then perception of the authors on China's compulsions on foreign policy, drive towards modernisation and economic development. Opinions expressed on relationship of the state with market forces and

search for stability where egalitarian goals were bound to become a casualty in the Chinese new road to socialism, were at a time when the Berlin Wall had not come down, the Soviet Union had not disintegrated and Tiananmen Square clamp down had not taken place. Hence many of the assumptions made have been rendered invalid by these developments and many arguments are non-sequitur. As a result the book is primarily of historical interest.

-- Air Marshal (Retd) K.D. Chadha PVSM, AVSM, VM

Japan Since 1945: The Rise of an Economic Superpower. By Dennis B. Smith. London, Macmillan, 1995, p.180, £ 35, ISBN 0-333-59024-4.

The most spectacular rise of any nation in the post-war world has been that of Japan from ashes to glory - economic gianthood. From Meiji era (1860) the Japanese motives - economic, psychological and political - are all but clear for territorial aggrandisement. General Douglas MacArthur the Supreme Allied Commander for Allied Powers (SCAP) in Japan after the end of WW II made great strides in helping the Japanese to pave the way to the establishment of a peaceful democratic state; to discourage the control of large land holdings by absentee landowners and break-up of the family hold of the control of the industry and devolution of the right to organise the labour unions; setting up of a new constitution guaranteeing the civil liberties, freedom to form political parties and universal adult suffrage (20 years and above), executed through the Japanese government. The outbreak of Korean War (June 1950) and the Vietnam War accelerated the economic process and rapid industrialisation of Japan further accentuated by the import and assimilation of the latest technology by the assiduous workforce as a result of the remodelled education system which was a vital element in dramatically improving its quality which again was one of the fundamental inputs into the post war economy. The economic miracle became possible due to an unprecedentedly open international climate in an age of worldwide expansion and the unrivaled political stability provided by the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) since (1950 upto 1993) despite several and savage pummeling by a wave of revelations of corruptions/scandals.

It is a well reasoned and well researched treatise stimulating critical thoughts; and is recommended to the students, researchers, teachers of history, politics and international affairs and military and foreign service staff.

-- Air Cmde (Retd) S.K. Bhardwaj

Hiroshima Notes. by Kenzaburo Oe Tr. by David L. Swain and Toshi Yonezawa, London, Marion Boyars, 1995, p. 191, £ 14.95, ISBN 0-7145-3007-7.

Through his essays on the biological, social and political aftermath of the atomic holocaust inflicted on Hiroshima the author has projected the impact on human psyche of an inhuman act of war. During his successive visits to Hiroshima nearly two decades after the bombing of Nagasaki and Hiroshima, he recorded first-hand accounts of the survivors their afflicted descendents and dedicated doctors who were still grappling with complex biological consequences of exposure to nuclear radiation, which perhaps has been grossly underscored by the outside world.

The survey also extends to socio-political ferment in the Japan of mid-sixties as the Ninth World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs at the Hiroshima Peace Park and the Tenth World Conference at Kyoto, which ended after a confused rather than any positive response to anti-nuclear threat. Reverting again and again to individual cases, the author has touchingly focussed on the fortitude and dignity of Japanese society as manifested in the rebuilt Hiroshima - "They do not like to display their misery for use as 'data' in the movement against atomic bombs or in other political struggles."

- Maj. Gen. (Retd) S.K. Talwar

The Military in Politics and Society in France and Germany in the Twentieth Century. Ed. by Klaus-Jurgen Muller, Oxford, Berg, 1995, p.176, ISBN 0-85496812-1.

The treatise presents the opinions of eminent German researchers on Civil-military relations in France and Germany from Franco-Prussian war till after the occupation of Germany by France (1845-1949). It compares the officer corps of both the countries in respect of various dimensions - educational, moral social and professional, meritocratic mobility and feudal/regimental nepotism; and in victory as well as in defeat. The researchers have discussed the role of the German and French navies and their military impact on the defence and foreign policies of both countries in the interregnum of two Great Wars (1918-1939). The occupational policies have been compared of the Wehermacht in France during 1940-44 and the Gendarme in Germany during 1945-49.

The book will be of great interest to students of political and social sciences; and military history and those who want to go in depth and details to fathom and ferret the similarities and dissimilarities of the two armies of the two great European neighbours at war and in peace and also the transition of their monarchies into nation-state/republics.

-- Air Cmde (Retd) S.K. Bhardwaj

Now the Dust has Settled: Memories of War and Peace 1939-1994. By Freddie De Butts, Padstow, Tabb House, 1995, p. 253, £ 30.00, ISBN 1-873951-13-2.

Brigadier De Butts recounts his experiences and impressions of the historic years of the Allied Campaigns in North Africa, Sicily and the Italian theatres of the Second World War, following up with the decades of turmoil in occupied Germany, Malaya and the Middle East. Whether as a military intelligence Staff Officer or in command of his battalion, the author's autobiography throws fresh light on many controversial issues that confronted the Allied Commanders, or the British occupation forces. He has also projected the socio-political cross-currents in Malaya and the Mid-East during the post-war decades.

The authors personal travelogue and inter-action with military commanders as well as civil dignitaries, add flavour to the narrative. His easy smooth-flowing style makes this book a most enjoyable reading.

For Love of Regiment: A History of the British Infantry-Vol Two-1915-1994. By Charles Messenger, London, Leo Cooper, 1996, p. 287, £ 19.95, ISBN 085052-422-9.

Thematically biographical, Charles Messenger's second volume of the history of British infantry not only narrates the battles and campaigns fought by the battalions of the traditional Infantry Regiments and the territortial army during eight eventful decades since 1914, but also describes the multifarious changes in its structure and personality, consequent to the fast-changing battle-field environments. The five major wars - the two world wars, the Suez gamble, Falklands and the Gulf War as well as virulent peace-time conflicts in regions of British presence - from Borneo-Malaya, Jerusalem, Aden and Northern Ireland, as the author so aptly explains, posed their own challenges to the infantryman.

An interesting feature of this story is the effect of the inevitable post-war disbandments and reduction of manpower paticularly the officer cadre during peace-time, in the eventuality of an unforeseen war. The author has highlighted the stresses on the fighting efficiency of battle units, hastily marshalled up for operations, and, none-the-less, creditable performance of regrouped or amalgamated battalions, in battle.

For the military reader, this history also provides the progressive induction of new weapons and capability (against armour and airforce) during the twentieth century. The keen reader would also like to peruse the transition of the traditional Infantry Regiments to their present structure (1994).

- Maj. Gen (Retd) S.K. Talwar

The Battle for History: Re-Fighting World War Two. By John Keegan, London, Hutchinson, 1995, p.128, £ 12.99, ISBN: 0-09-179229-0.

The Second World War in which about fifty million people were killed, devastated the economy and devalued the very basis of Civilisation.

The book basically deals with the controversies that surrounded the war. Some concern its origins, some its conduct and others its personalities. The author analyses the campaigns, the brains and sinews of war and lastly the occupation and resistance.

About the controversies, the author states that Hitler's subordinates kept him from the facts of the final situation which led to him taking wrong decisions. The principal strategy of Churchill was to bring the United States into the war on Britain's side. However, Roosevelt had his own compulsions and could not openly agree but it is alleged that Roosevelt had foreknowledge of the attack on Pearl Harbour by the Japanese but chose not to act on it as a means of bringing the United States into the Second World War. How far this is true, is debatable.

A well researched and absorbing book which has quoted a number of authors who have written about the Second World War thus bringing authenticity to the various facts. A good reference book for the students of History.

British Defence Policy Since 1945. By Ritchie Ovendale, Manchester, New York, Manchester University, 1994, p. 218, £ 11.99, ISBN 0-7190-40159.

The British Empire started breaking up after the Second World War. Subsequently, after 1945 there were many controversies and dilemmas in British Defence Policy implementation.

There was a debate, whether Britain should have a continental strategy, (defence of Europe) or a maritime strategy, with world wide ramifications. Another issue was the development of an independent nuclear deterrent and the extent it should rely on conventional weapons. Another bone of contention, was the question of over-dependence on USA military might.

This book draws on newly released documents on the subject and provides valuable material to those studying defence issues.

- Maj. Gen. (Retd) Ram Nath, SM

The Secret State: British Internal Security in the Twentieth Century. By Richard Thurlow, Oxford, Blackwell, 1995, p. 458, £ 19.95 (HB), ISBN 0-631-16066-3.

Every nation has to manage public order and internal security. This is a subject which the Governments would prefer that the academics, the media and others should ignore. The Official Secret Acts, in various forms are enacted to discourage leaking of information.

This book is an attempt to write out the history of the secret activities of the British Government, in response to threats to the nations well being and stability during this century. It is based on intensive research in public and private archives and from documents recently made public. The author describes the methods and people employed and the mixed nature of their results. He shows the tensions among the departments (MI5, MI6, SIS & Special Branch for example) and the crucial part played by individuals whose motives were often far from what the Government supposed them to be.

- Maj. Gen. (Retd) Ram Nath, SM

Greece in a Changing Europe: Between European Integration and Balkan Disintegration? Ed. by Kevin Featherstone & Kostas Ifantis, Manchester, Manchester University, 1996, p. 182, £ 40.00, ISBN 07190-4766-8.

This book is a compilation of nine scholastic essays written and commented upon by thirteen scholars pertaining to Greece in its changing situations both internally and externally. Three themes run dominant: first, the impact and ramifications of being a member of European Union (EU), secondly its stance towards Balkan States and thirdly the implications of the end of the Cold War.

The poor performance by Greece on economic front like Italy, Belgium and Portugal has relegated it to the peripheral importance within EU. Greece, however, still

remains a supporter of EU rather than an awkward partner. Greece is very sensitive to the great instability on its door step: the War in ex-Yugoslavia, conflict with Skopje and the increasingly bad relations with Albania over Greek minority and the Turkish threat. The Greeks are emotionally involved in the title Macedonia desired to be used by Macedonians, a former component state of erstwhile Yugoslavia, as it freshens images of Alexander The Great, a Greek conqueror from Macedonia then a part of Greece; inter alia Macedonia may lay claims to Greek territory. Greece does accept though reluctantly that Macedonia be named as Former Yugoslavia Republic of Macedonia (FYROM). Greece became important to US for containment of communism during the Cold War because of its strategic location and thus US got involved in its political, economic and domestic dimensions. With the demise of Cold War, Greece is faced with problems of ethnic conflicts, border disputes and bankrupt economy which threaten regional stability and security systems.

Greece has strong nationalistic sentiments as against Europeanisation and is a long way off from total integration with EU in foreign, economic and political policies.

- Maj. Gen. (Retd) J.N. Goel

For Our Soul: Ethiopian Jews in Israel, By Teshome G. Wagaw, Detroit, Wayne State University, 1993, p. 293, \$ 42.95, ISBN 0-8143-2458-4.

This book focuses on the Jews of Ethiopia known as Beta Israel (of the house of Israel) or as Falasha in ancient/modern languages of Ethiopia encompassing the religious rituals, economic circumstances, political beliefs, social practices and the corresponding reactions of Euro-centred absorbing community in Israel.

The Beta Israels moved from Ethiopia to Israel from 1975 onwards when immigration by Jews from anywhere in the world was recognized as his/her right to settle in the land of Israel. Practically every Ethiopian Jew left Ethiopia because of the draconian behaviour of the military establishment which overthrew Emperor Haile Selassie I in 1974, the drought and the consequent famine which had become increasingly acute since 1973. The author himself a rural Gondar-Tigray Ethiopian non Jew traces with authority the customs, superstitions, traditions, way of life and the various conflicts that arose in schools, places of worship/work during absorption period in Israel.

The drama, tragedy and triumph related to the daring air lift/land movement of Beta Israel from Ethiopia to Israel through Sudan and Belgium resulting in see-saw political relations amongst Ethiopia, Sudan, Libya, Egypt, Israel and to some extent USA make a fascinating reading. The Ashkenazis (occidentals) occupied the centre of power followed by Sephardis (Orientals) whereas Beta Israelis settled down in remote rural areas.

An absorbing book for those who are interested in Beta Israel and the consequent challenges they posed for absorption in the mainstream.

Mutiny at Salerno: An Injustice Exposed. By Saul David, London, Brassey, 1995, p. 240, £ 19.95, ISBN 1-85753-146-9.

This book brings out vividly the injustice done to 3 Sergeants, 5 Corporals, 11 Lance Corporals and 162 Privates who were courtmartialled for mutiny which apparently was disobedience of orders at Salerno, Italy in 1943. The draconian sentences, much later suspended, ranged from death to several years of imprisonment. The NCOs and men belonged to the crack 50th Tyne Tees and 51st Highland Divisions which distinguished themselves against Rommel at Alamein. The court had not made any recommendations to mercy.

The author after thorough research, traces the background of offence and the conduct of authoritarian court martial proceedings. The defending counsels were given six days only to present their cases, a wholly inadequate time. At times, one felt that the sentences had already been decided and the court martial was just a formality.

This was the largest mutiny if it was so by the British troops at war. The author makes a fervent appeal for royal pardon even at this belated stage to restore honour and dignity to the individuals and their families.

This is a true story which exposes the callous manners of chair-borne staff officers in dealing with combat veterans. This must be read and digested by all officers in command of troops both in peace and war so that justice tampered with mercy is always meted out to (so called) offenders.

- Maj. Gen (Retd) J.N. Goel

The Forgotten Air Force: The Royal Air Force in the War Against Japan 1941-1945. By Air Commodore Henry Probert, London. Brasseys, 1995, p. 381, £ 35.00, ISBN 1-85753-065-9.

The book covers the role of the RAF in the war against Japan from 1941-1945. The author like a true airman starts his work with an appropriate quote from Field Marshal SLIM's book 'Defeat into Victory', which truely depicts the soul and role of the force which the Field Marshal had personally experienced viz "I do not think such devotion has ever been surpassed in any Air Force and I doubt if it has been equalled." Like wise Air Chief Marshal Sir Lewis Hodges has summed up the raison-de-etre of the entire volume in his brief Foreword. During the war years the events in European theatre overshadowed the Far Eastern theatre; similarly after the end of the war, victory in Europe lingered more in memory than the effort and victory over Japan - the show being stolen by the 'ATOM BOMB'. Hence this volume and its validity and importance.

- Air Vice Marshal (Retd) S.S. Malhotra, AVSM, VM

The Rise & Fall of the Grand Alliance. Ed. by Ann Lane & Howard Temperley 1941-1945, New York, Martin, 1995, p. 264, £ 45.00, ISBN 0-312-12674-3.

Despite the innumerable books on World War II, history never provides for a dull moment. On the contrary the books dealing with history bring forth many a new aspect hitherto neglected or ignored.

This book is invaluable with its collection of interesting analysis of the interplay of relationship between Churchill, Roosevelt, Stalin, the economic interests which decided how the war was fashioned, the actual war decisions and the tragedy of primacy of self interest in fighting one of history's nastiest wars.

The actors, the events, the intent of each master player in the war the manner in which the Atlantic Charter remained in force and some of the accurate historical assessments are worth perusing. The book also highlights the long term consequences of the folly of wrong judgements by leaders of major events and of their compatriot's character.

- Dr. Sudha Raman, Ph.D., USI

Kuwait: Fall and Rebirth. By Mohammed A. Al-Yanha, London, Kegan, Paul, 1993, p.130, £ 35.00, ISBN 0-7103-0463-3.

This book is by a banker about the economy of Kuwait which is weaved around oil. Kuwait's economy had been adversely affected by two factors - a collapse in an unofficial stock market in 1982 and the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in 1990. The worst fall-out of Iraqi occupation of Kuwait was the torching of 732 oil wells with daily loss of 4 to 6 million barrels of oil. The last oil fire was extinguished on 6 Nov 91 but the political fire in the Arab world is still smouldering. This book will interest those interested in the oil politics in the Middle East.

- Lt. Col. (Retd) Daljit Singh

At War in the Gulf: A Chronology. By Arthur H. Blair, College Station, Texas A & M Univ, 1992, p. 124, \$ 9.95, ISBN 0-89096-507-2.

Napoleon had wished that if he must fight, let it be against a coalition. The Gulf War against Iraq was a crucible in which five major lessons have been tested. First, coalitions can succeed; second, air superiority, is the battle winning factor; thirdly, legistics are sine qua non of victory; fourthly, good leadership is the trump card and lastly, diplomacy and soldiering go hand-in-hand. This book is a well-illustrated chronology of events of the Gulf War. Like the desert, this book is dry with lots of dates.

- Lt. Col (Retd) Daljit Singh

Britain and Suez: The Lions Last Roar, Ed. by Scott Lucas, Manchester, Manchester Univ., 1996, p. 136, £ 12.99, ISBN 0-7190-4580-8.

Scott Lucas in Britain and Suez narrates the history of the Suez War of 1956. This war acts as a watershed in respect of Great Britain climbing down from a first grade power to a second grade power status. 'Eden's folly' accelerated this process. Blowing up Nasser disproportionately big in stature as menacing Mussolini or Hitler, colluding with France and Israel under the mask of peacekeeping which fooled none since it was to help Israelis to grab Egyptian territory, sabotaging the strategy of British military commanders, the failure of psychological warfare because of the non destruction of Egyptian Civil facilities and non-occupation of the canal zone by the

French and British troops albeit under international pressure are some of the striking causes of the Suez war and the reasons for British failure. For the first time the hitherto unknown role of British foreign intelligence - M16 - and the impact of regional equations in the Middle-East have been highlighted. The style of presentation and referencing of sources in a chronological manner in the text itself is simply refreshing and reinforcing.

- Air Cmde (Retd) S.K. Bhardwaj

Defence for A New Era: Lessons of the Persian Gulf War. By Rep. Les Aspin & Rep. William Dickinson, Washington Brassy (U.S.), 1992, p.93, \$ 15.00, ISBN 0-02-881028-7.

Much has been written about Operation Desert Storm. Many disagree with the rationale put forward by the USA in waging this operation, with the help of some 'stooge' countries and by 'hijacking' the UNO. As per some accounts, the USA encouraged Iraq to settle its border dispute with Kuwait and Iraq 'fell for it', thus the long term interests of this Super Power were well served.

In this small volume, Senators Les Aspin and William Dickinson have made an assessment of the lessons learnt, from the Persian Gulf War. These lessons are to be taken with a 'pinch of salt', as the capabilities of the two opposing forces were vastly different and because of this, the Iraqi army surrendered, almost without a fight.

Some of the positive lessons that emerged are a) the air campaign being decisive, b) effective use of high-tech weapons, c) effective functioning of unified command and coalition forces and d) good training standards in handling high-speed and high-tech conflict.

Some of the weaknesses, that need to be addressed are a) shortfalls in the support system in battle involving high-tech weapons and force multipliers, b) the role of light forces eg airborne and marine, who first arrive in the battle field is not clear c) communications d) defence against tactical missiles like Scuds and e) deficiencies in mine counter-measures.

Military thinkers and planners will find this book of some use in our context.

- Maj Gen. (Retd) Ram Nath, SM

Reflections on Political Personages and Other Topics. By L.M. Bhatia, New Delhi, Reliance, 1996, p. 267, Rs. 250.00, ISBN 81-7510-025-7.

Here is a colourful panorama of modern Indian history with peeps into the medieval - the gold and glitter of the Moghul Court representing the wealth of the East. It was the time when decorum and submissiveness were at their extreme best. There is also a Hemrai better known as Hemu, conqueror of 22 battles and ruler of Delhi for 29 days until his 'accidental' defeat at the second battle of Panipat. The present order of precedence seems to be a leaf from the Moghul etiquettes and protocol.

In short articles and reviews we come across Sir Thomas Roe, Tipu Sultan, General Barnes, Ripon, Kipling, Curzon, Irwin, Wavell, Mountbatten and Churchill and many more who have influenced British Indian history. Among the Indian personalities we have glimpses of Nehru, Mahatma, Patel, Lal Bahadur Shastri, Rajendra Prasad, Radhakrishnan, Zakir Hussain, Govind Ballabh Pant, Sampurna Nand and others. The first war of independence as the 1857 'Sepoy mutiny' has now been termed was a revolt against change, says the author - progressive measures introduced by the British.

L.M. Bhatia, a fine example of a bureaucrat-scholar had the good fortune to come in close contact with some of the makers of the present day India. He lets us have a view of these diverse personalities in this collection.

Some of the comments on modern trends are pithy. One of these is on punctuality which the civil servants both British and Indian adhered to as well as Gandhiji. Now, says the author, the importance of the VIP is measured by the length of delay with which he keeps his appointments.

An interesting collection for students of modern Indian history.

- Lt. Col. (Retd.) Gautam Sharma

Chota Sahib: Memoirs of a Forest Officer. By John Rowntree, Padstow, Talb House, 1981, p.110, £ 6.50, ISBN 0-907018-12-2.

In a humorous and keenly perceptive vein, John Rowntree has painted a colourful canvas of the elitist British colonial society, the rigorous but rewarding life-style of the British bureaucrat and the medieval culture of the people he administered, during the last three decades of the British Raj in India. The fun starts with his "chance" induction into the colonial forest service, the "preview" during the ship journey to Bombay and onward by train to Calcutta and Amingaon on way to his long sojourn in the off-beat province of Assam.

Besides the prolific variety of the fauna and flora of virgin tropical forests of Assam, the author gives a vivid insight into the multi-textured tribal society infesting the sub-regions of Assam, - their ethnic antecedents, local customs and habitat, in jealously guarded isolation. In the latter chapters, he describes the slow in-flow of political and cultural thought and gradual Indianisation of the administrative machinery. Particularly, when hordes of refugees escaped into India from the Japanese military onslaught on the one hand, and the massive allied forces built up in Imphal-Kohima sector for the counter offensive, on the other, set off the conflict-strewn assimilation of Assam into Indian national mainstream.

In his chapter "A Mixed Bag", John Rowntree makes an enlightening comparison of ascetic monotheism of Budhism and Hindu polytheism which was a controversion of Upanishadic teachings - To quote" when they say - sacrifice on this god-or that god, these gods are but his manifestations. He (the spirit) is all these gods", and again - "As the Vedic sage explains - The seeker shall meditate on Brahma." Extending the

discussion to christianity, he contends that Bhagwad Gita sermon might also have been spoken on the mount in Galilee. He also, later in the chapter, explains Mahatma Gandhi's "Ahimsa" as "far from being simply a political tool ..., but a way of life".

The memoirs thus make a wholesome and enjoyable journey into the last decades of the British Raj in India.

- Maj Gen. (Retd) S.K. Talwar

What They Don't Teach You at Army School: A Critique of Indian Military Thought. By Brig B.N. Sharma (Retd), Delhi, Shipra Publications 1996, p. 227, Rs. 350.00, ISBN 81-85402-65-3.

According to the author's own description this book is a critique that has been unsparing in its indictment of the outmoded concepts under which the Indian Army is supposed to have worked since Independence. Brig Sharma has certainly brought out and discussed many shortcomings in our Army organisations, training and tactics that need to be highlighted and debated in order that reform and corrective action can be initiated.

But after going through his book, especially the chapters on training for war, tactical doctrine and about the Infantry, one is left with the impression that his ideas are more of theoretical conjectures without the backing of proper practical experience. How else can any Army officer consider it a treat to watch a "disciplined police force move with its fire closer and closer to the dacoit stronghold from cover to cover instead of rushing headlong with blazing bayonets" and compare this with an infantry attack. He criticizes the infantry for trying to maintain a geometrical straight line after crossing the SL. He would have known better had he ever taken part in an actual infantry assault in battle. Had the author served in an infantry battalion in war he would have had the answers to many of the infantry practices he finds irrational and he would have known that a 'bull-headed bayonet assault' was a thing of the past even in World War I. This, however, is not to gain say the fact that there are still many well formulated thoughts reflected in this book that are worthy ideas, which need to be given due consideration.

In the Epilogue the author admits that his work should not lead to a facile conclusion, to which many uniformed readers may be prone, that all is not well with out Army or Armed Forces. In keeping with this view it would have perhaps been better if the Author had either left out or moderated some portions of his critique.

- Maj Gen. (Retd) S.C. Sinha, PVSM

Bengal Engineer. Ed. by. Peter Vaux, Edinburgh, Pentland, 1994, p. 202, £ 14.95, ISBN 1-85821-130-2.

Bengal Engineer is not about the proud guild of our army but is a collection of letters the author's grandfather exchanged with his mother, wife and children while serving with the East Indian Railway Company during 1850-1873.

Superbly edited the letters are a moving record of the daily official and domestic chores: what it meant to manage house-help of 25, unpleasant visitors the weekly steamer brought or to have your Divisional boss beheaded while laying a track or how the family managed when the 'head' died...

An engaging and easy to read book that has leant a life of its own to my rail journeys along the Ganga.

-- Col. Balwant Sandhu

Glory on Wings. By AVM (Retd) SS Malhotra, New Delhi, Classics, 1995, p. 204, Rs. 250.00, ISBN 81-7369-005-7.

'Glory on Wings' is an interesting collection of random thoughts and anecdotes based on the author's experiences garnered over forty years of flying with the Indian Air Force. They cover not only various facets of flying and flight-safety but also many stories of human interest. The book will, therefore, be of as much interest to the 'fliers' as to the general readers.

The author's plain and simple language and easy to read style makes it easy for even the 'non-flier' to follow some of the more technical aspects. Some of his articles, especially the ones on 'flight-safety', are incisive and bring out many lesser known facts, which should be of long term value. They bring out clearly how "for the loss of a nail a battle and a kingdom were lost".

The book could have done with a glossary of the abbreviations, liberally used. Its absence is likely to leave puzzled those readers, who are not familiar with these terms commonly used in the Air Force. The numerous printing errors and spelling mistakes detract from what is otherwise a very good and readable book.

- Maj Gen (Retd) S.C. Sinha, PVSM

Additions to the USI Library for the Quarter - Ending December 1996

(The books reviewed in July to Sept. 1996 issue have been added to the Library during this quarter but not shown in this list)

Ser No.	Author's Name	Title	Year
		Afghanistan	
1.	Rubin, Barnett R.	The Search for Peace in Afghanistan: From Buffer State to failed State	1995
		ASEAN	
2.	Prakash, Shri (ed)	India and ASEAN: Economic Partners in the 1990s and future prospects	hip 1996
		Assan	
3.	Bhattacharjee, Chandana	Ethnicity and Autonomy Movement; case of Bodo - Kacharis of Assam	1996
		Biography	
4.	Seale, Patrick	Abu Nidal: A Gun For Hire	1992
5.	Nezareth, J (Retd)	Light and Shade in Combat Soldiering: The Evolution of a Good Grenadier officer	1 99 6
6.	Gill, S.S	The Dynasty: A Political Biography of the Premier Ruling Family of Modern India	1996
		CTBT	
7.	Bidwai, Praful and Vanaik, Achin	Testing Times: The Global Stake in a Nuclear Test Ban	1996
8.	Poulose, T.T.	The CTBT and the rise of Nuclear Nationalism in India	1996
		Israel - Nuclear Weapons	
9	. Nasif, Taysir, N.	Nuclear Weapons in Israel	1996

570		U.S.I. JOURNAL	
		India-Foreign Relations	
10.	Bhatt, S.C.	The Triangle-India, Nepal and China: A study of Treaty Relations	1996
11.	Silva, K.M de	Regional Powers and Small State Security; India and Sri Lanka	1996
		Japan-Religion	
12.	Kaplan, David E. and Andrew Marshal	The Cult at the end of the World	1996
13.	Wallerstein, Immanuel	After Liberalism	1995
		Medals	
14.	McClenangham, Tony	Indian Princely Medals; A Record of the Orders Decorations and Medals of the Indian Princely States.	1996
		Middle East	
15.	Szulc, Tad	The Secret Alliance; The Extraordinary Story of the Rescue of the Jews since World War II	1991
		Nationalism	
16.	Westerlund, David (ed)	Questioning the Secular State: The Worldwide Resurgence of Religion in Politics.	1995
		Pakistan	
17.	Malik, Jamal	Colonialization of Islam; Dissolution of Traditional Institutions in Pakistan	1996
		Palestinan	
18.	Gowers, Andrew and Walker, Tony	Behind the Myth; Yasir Arafat and the Palestinian Revolution	1,990
		North-East India	
19.	Kumar, B.B.	Re-Organization of North-East India	1996
20.	Verghese, B.G.	India's Northeast Resurgent; Ethnicity, Insurgency, Governance, Development.	1996

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21.	-	Ethnicity, Culture and Nationalism in North East India.	1 9 96
22.	Ray, Datta B.	Reorganization of North East India Since 1947.	1996
		Quotations	
23.	Ranbir Singh	War and Peace; Quotes and Anecdotes	1996
		Research Institutions	
24.	Indian Biblographic Centre, VARANASI.	Handbook of Research Institutions in India.	1995
25.	Pashanra Singh & N Gerald Barrier (ed)	The Transmission of Sikh Heritage in t Diaspora	he 1996
		Tanks	
26.	Cavendish, Marshall C.	Tanks at War	1996
		Tibet	
27.	Shiromany, A.A. (ed)	The Spirit of Tibet: Vision for Human Liberation	1995
		Vietnam War	*
28.	Sauter, Mark and Sanders, Jim	The Men We Left Behind; Henry Kissinger, the Politics of Deceit and the Tragic Fate of POW's After the Vietnam War	1993
29.	Moore, Harold, (Lt Gen)	We were Soldiers Onceand Young	1994
		War	
30.	Kolko, Gabriel	Century of War Politics Conflicts and Society Since 1914	1994
		World War II	
31	. Klemperer, Klemens Von	German Resistance Against Hitler; The Search for Allies Abroad 1938-1945	1992
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