Bhutan occupies the pivotal position from where both Sikkim and Arunachal Pradesh could be outflanked. It faces a part of Tibet that is well served with road network and with eastern Nepal, Sikkim and Western Arunachal, it covers the fertile and populated West Bengal, Bangladesh and Assam. In 1962 conflict, it was isolated and out-flanked on its eastern and western borders by Chinese forces, which emphasized its vulnerability. The basic structure of Indo-Bhutanese relationship is the extension of British Imperial policy in the region. As asserted by China now, Bhutan was a kind of protectorate of the Middle Kingdom till the British altered the situation in Nineteenth Century. Relations between British India and Bhutan were formalised on November 11, 1865 when the treaty of Sinchula was signed. The treaty put an end to the continued conflict in which the two were engaged.

since 1837. Britain agreed to pay Rs. 50,000/- per annum to Bhutan and underwrite the independence. Bhutan ceded the pass areas at the foot of the hills to British, released its prisoners and established free trade between the two countries.

China's influence was cut short on account of the Sinchula Treaty. Nepal, Sikkim and Tibet gradually slipped away from Chinese influence. Britain sent young husband expedition to Tibet in 1903-5 to evaluate the strategic importance of the Himalayan states. On 16th December, 1907 hereditary monarchy was first established in Bhutan and Ygyen Dorji, the king was expected to meet the interest of the British rule. Another Treaty of Punakhe was signed in 1910, which made significant changes in the former Treaty of Sinchula. The annual allowance of king of Bhutan was increased from Rs. 50,000/- to Rs. 1,00,000.00 and it was also agreed upon that the Bhutan will enjoy internal autonomy but, its external affairs will be guided by the advice of the British Government.¹ In the context of the existing situation this was nothing more than de jure recognition of the de facto reality, for even without this clause Bhutan would in any case have had to clear any foreign policy innovations or initiatives with the British authorities in New Delhi.²

There was no change of relations during the 37 years. Upto 1947 Britain did not interfere in the internal autonomy of the kingdom and also did not establish the Residency. After independence of India no stand still Agreement was signed between Bhutan and India but, practically Bhutan adhered to all the previous agreements and Indian political officer in Gangtok continued to be accredited to Bhutan as well.³

¹. Ibid.
³. Ibid.
(a) The Treaty of 1949

India and Bhutan signed a treaty on August 8, 1949 according to which, India recognised the independence of Bhutan and restored the Dewangiri hill strip on the Indian border. India raised the annual subsidy from Rs. 100000/- to Rs. 50000/- under this Treaty, India agreed to provide all trade facilities and carriage by land and water throughout the Indian territory. It was also agreed upon that Bhutan shall be free to import with the assistance and approval of the Government of India, whatever arms, ammunitions, machinery. Bhutan though expressed that it has no problem from India, but, despite the facilities extended to Bhutan all was not well. There were potential problems regarding the Indian Advisor and the interpretation of Article 11 of the 1949 Treaty dealing with the guidance clause relating to the external relations. The assassination of the Bhutanese Prime Minister Jigme Dorji raised doubts and created an atmosphere against India. It was expected that the assassination was plotted by pro-China lobby. The pro-China lobby was also strong enough and there was the likelihood of a civil war in the country. The king appointed Lhendup Dorji as acting Prime Minister to maintain law and order. In the first instance, Lhendup Dorji tried to settle the Conflict, but, later on moved to Pro-China lobby. In July 1965, the king too, was assassinated and Lhendup Dorji along with his supporters fled to Nepal. This time too, blame for the assassination was casted upon India. The relations between the two countries declined after the assassination of Dorji.

Any how, both governments tried to maintain their friendly terms. King made a visit to India, in May 1966

---

and personally expressed "I am deeply touched by the sympathy and understanding with which the Government of India viewed our problem. The help and advice furnished by the government of India are of great value to us and are appreciated by my Government and my people." India accommodated Bhutan in getting membership of United Nations in 1971. India adopted a policy of gradual accommodation of Bhutanese aspirations and sensitivities. But, Bhutan's king Patoron, made it clear that it is not mandatory for his country to accept India's guidance in Thimpu's Foreign Policy and that it is to the advantage of New Delhi to update the Treaty.¹

The relations between the two countries however, remained friendly. India and Bhutan renewed the agreement on trade and commerce for another five years from March 21, 1990 to March 30, 1995. Under the agreement, India and Bhutan were allowed to continue to have force trading arrangements as before. A major modification in the renewed treaty was that the free trade was opened for private Bhutanese traders. Till then it was controlled by the Royal Government.² Bhutanese Trade Minister, Om Pradhan envisaged the continuance of free trading said "a new milestone has been achieved in the age old ties between the two neighbours."³ The Trade Minister further asserted that "we have received all round cooperation. The Government of India has been very accommodating and, it extended all help we required".⁴ Bhutan

---

¹ The Economic Times, New Delhi, dated November 3, 1979.
⁴ The Patrika, New Delhi, March 5, 1990.
king louded India's peace efforts. The legend of Sindu Raja of Bumthaug and his battles with Na-u-che (Big nose) a neighbouring Indian Ruler, warns that if Non (Bhutan) succeeds all of India will be conquered, if India succeeds all of non will be conquerd. The warning was really an exhortation to peace. It persuaded the two princes to meet under Guru Padmo Sambhava's benign and aegis and swear everlasting amity at the oath stone Piller which was thereafter known as Powerless since the kings relinquished their own power for the sake of eternal friendship, between the two countries.

It is a pretty tale recalled by the fervour with which every one in Thimpu pays tribute to the Indian connection. Following the clash between India and China in 1969, Bhutan found itself increasingly drawn closer to its Southern neighbour, India. From the time of the present kings connection in 1974, the Bhutanese have been saying even if Sotto Voce, that according to their understanding of the treaty it is not obligatory on them to seek India's advice on every foreign policy matter and even when such advice is in fact sought, it is not binding on Bhutan. The Indian government described it as tendentious and unfortunate. The king of Bhutan Jigme Singva Naugehuk said, that the India-Bhutanese treaty leaves room for all negotiations and changes in the event of difficulties. But, there are no difficulties whatsoever (in the implementation of the treaty) in practice. At another occasion king of

---

3. The Times of India, New Delhi, September 27, 1979.
4. The Patriot, New Delhi, October 19, 1979
Bhutan lauded the Indian relations and said, "As far as Indo-Bhutan relations are concerned they are carried on within the traditional framework in spirit of friendship trust and co-operation. Indo-Bhutan relations are bound to expand." After the annexation of Tibet by China in 1959, the Bhutanese realised the immense disadvantage of a close door policy. In order to cast aside the fears hovering over the horizon and to ensure national security and unhindered economic progress, Bhutan came closer to India and found a genuine friend. The king said at a banquet in honour of the Prime Minister of India Rajiv Gandhi," I believe we have succeeded in demonstrating that enlightened and farsighted leadership can make it possible for a large country like India and small neighbour like Bhutan to co-exist in perfect harmony, trust and co-operation." Bhutan's problems with India are basically the same as Nepal's or rather India finds itself under similar pulls and pressures from both its Himalayan neighbours. Nepal as is known wants a political and economic identity of its own and does not want to be a satellite of India. This is broadly Bhutan's attitude to India as well. Bhutan is looking for wider contracts especially trade with its southeast Asian neighbours under blessings of India. It has opened doors of new foreign aids. In the Fifth Plan (1981-87) India's support was less than one-third out of the total outlay of Rs. 433.8 crores while it was 100 percent in the first Five year Plan. In the Sixth year plan India committed for only 57%. Bhutan did not like diplomatic over extension just for the sake of it.

2. The Hindustan Times, New Delhi, September 27, 1985.
With the raising of India's posture direct talks were held between China and Bhutan. Bhutan became the member of UN in 1973, through Indian initiatives. It expanded its contracts with outside world, with Bangladesh as well as with Singapore and Hongkong. Bhutan became the member of the SAARC. It was given a common platform to discuss problems of vital importance with other members. King Jigme Singye Wangchuk in the First SAARC Summit made policy statement and said, "In the geo-political realities of our region, it would be unrealistic to ignore the primacy of the political factor, as in the find analysis, it would be political environment of the region which will determine the shape and scope of regional cooperation in South Asia. The main obstacle is not only to over come the psychological and emotional barriers of the past, but, the fears, anxieties and apprehensions of the present". It has broad based its external aid dependence, established diplomatic relations with several countries, Japan, South Korea, Kuwait the EEC, Switzerland, Sudan, Norway and Finland including all South Asia region including Bangladesh (1979) and Nepal (1983). India's policy towards the Himalayan States revolved around the idea of special interest. In the case of Bhutan, New Delhi was to guide the former in its external relations in keeping with the treaty of 1949. Indian policy was essentially a continuation of the British approach. Thus the major objective of Indian policy in this region is ultimately to retain control of the area. The merger of Sikkim with India in 1975 should be seen as a logical extension of the policy towards this region and is a guiding factor.

1. Address of His Majesty Jigme Singye Wangchuk, King of Bhutan to the 1st SAARC Summit meeting Dhaka, December 7,8, 1985.

Geopolitical and strategic compulsions make it explicit that whatever status they may try to seek, it is not possible for border states to take anti-India stand because such an attitude would make them susceptible to threats from China or they will be struck down by internal upheavals. In the border areas in the Asian Landmass, there exist a cluster of traditional societies embracing a vast best of sub-culture inherited from centuries of unrecorded history. These are Sinkiang, Tibet, Sikkim and Bhutan and the tribal areas that lace India's (and Pakistan's) northern front. These irraditional communities which inhabit either side of the national frontiers are also being pressed into varying degrees of modernization. The result has been rebellions, uprisings political and social tensions and demands or struggles for independence acting on and reacting to, relationship between the four major powers.

Bhutan is slowly marching the way Nepal has once crossed. Indian working in Bhutan are being humiliated and forced to leave that country. Though both governments are silent on this aspect but the fact is there. It is on record that Bhutan for the last two years has been complaining about Indian labourers who constitute nearly 80 percent of the 100000 strong labourers and do not return to India even after the expiry of their contracts instead they start agitations. In this regard King of Bhutan expressed that,

"For years people have been coming to Bhutan, once they come in, it is difficult to distinguish them from our own people, by bribing local officials they become Bhutanese nationals. The unchecked immigration is creating unemployment and straining our agrarian economy. It is a potential of social tension".

---
1. The Indian Express, New Delhi, April 27, 1989.
Government of Bhutan in order to win over the difficulty decided to issue identity cards to outside officials and labourers. In the wake of this, 200 workers were expelled by Bhutan chemicals and Carbide Ltd. at Pasakho in Phunsholing. Moreover, Bhutan Govt. cancelled the trade licence of M/S Shyam Sunder Stores owned by an Indian at Phuntsholing. Another rectification of Bhutan peculiar anti-Indian stance has been its restrictions imposed on the owners of televisions to watch programmes telecast by the doordarshan. Bhutan has no major border problem with India, but, it has also a minor border problem of a different type with India. It relates to the boundary between Geylemhung in Bhutan and Assam. According to Bhutan the road connecting Geylephung and Sarbhang (Bhutanese territories) had been initially constructed within the boundaries of Bhutan. But, now this 4 km. stretch has fallen under Assam due to some early demarcations based on maps prepared in 1911 and 1914. Bhutan raised the issue in 1980. The National Assembly also passed the resolution in 1987 to raise the matter with Government of India. Contrary to the India's treaty 1949, Bhutan became a signatory to the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty (NPT) which India has opposed vehemently. Bhutan also joined hands with Pakistan in declaring South Asia a nuclear free zone in United Nations. The most alarming is the fact that it has started direct border talks with China in order to settle the problem of incursions by Tibetan herdsmen in its chumbi valley on the disputed Northern border. It implies that the Bhutan-China border issue will, henceforth not be

1. The Indonesia Times, Jakarta, February 9, 1983.
considered an integral part of the Sino-Indian boundary dispute. In an interview to a West German journal Indo-Asian in October 1986, the king is reported to have said that in the event of a Sino-Indian conflict, Bhutan will adopt the principle of Non-alliance.

Ethnic Problem

Ethnic problems have always been a source of tension and conflict in interstate relations among the countries of South Asia. Since independence these countries have been vulnerable to ethnic tensions arising out of the colonial policy of 'divide and rule', accentuated by the controversial demarcations of boundary by the British. Recently, a long standing and 'low intensity' ethnic problem between Bhutan and Nepal has caused considerable relations to strain between Nepal and Bhutan. In the past months several thousands of these people have crossed into Nepal and Indian territory. Their primary reason for fleeing Bhutan according to these people is that they are being persecuted by the Bhutanese authorities for their different ethnic identity.

Bhutan, the last bastion of Mahayana Buddhism in the Himalayas with its mystical charm has been enveloped by the smog of gloom. The problem of the 80,000 refugees living in camps in Nepal has engulfed the kingdom in a crisis and soured relations between the two countries. A long standing ethnic problem prevailing between Bhutan and Nepal has caused considerable concern in South Asia and the relations between Nepal and Bhutan have become

strain. Thousands of Nepalese living in Bhutan have crossed the borders and camped in Indian territory or Nepal for fear of persecution by the Bhutanese authorities for their different ethnic identity. The root of the problem is that Nepali population in Bhutan has increased greatly over the past few years. Bhutan which has the per capita, GNP of 415 US dollars is one of the richest in South Asia and thousands Nepalis have come to Bhutan in the past illegally in search of livelihood. Bhutan fears that if the migration continues, Bhutan may become a Nepali majority state. Therefore, Bhutan has taken stringent immigration measures to check the inflow. This position has been taken advantage of the migrants living in India and the B.P.P. (Bhutan People Party) to establish democracy in Bhutan, Bhutas, new worry now corners to stop the psychology of "greater Nepal".

According to Nepal, Ethnic Nepalese, the Tamong family are victims of a programme of systematic persecution being conducted by the Bhutanese Government on the Southern part of the country. By mid-summer, there were 6200 Bhutanese refugees living in fire camps, three of which were in Tarai.

The kingdom of Bhutan is divided into three regions - Southern, Central Himalayan and Northern Bhutan. Each of these regions have a different cultures and ethnicity. The southern region is inhabited mainly by peasants of Nepalese origin, high cost people and Tribal population who continued to immigrate since 1950. They are full Bhutanese. The Central Himalayas is divided into three

2. The Indian Express, New Delhi, March 4, 1993.
parts. Each part has its distinct language mutually incomprehensible to others. The Western Bhutan is occupied by Drukpa people of Mongoloid race and speak language of Tibeto-Burman family called Dzongkho, "language of the Dzona which is the official language. Eastern Bhutan is inhabited by "Sharchopas". The region also contains semi-nomadic people who are called Dakpas. The Northern region is inhabited by semi-nomadic Yak traders.

According to 1988 census, Bhutan has population of 6,00,000 of whom Bhutanese Buddhist comprised 48%, Nepalese Hindus 45% and other 7.5%. The most easily identified group is that of Nepalese origin in Southern Bhutan. Most of them are living in Bhutan for three to four generations, representing alien element in the population structure. During the last hundred years, the Nepalese have developed the South Western belt of Bhutan. In 1904 there were only 14000 Nepalese in Bhutan. By 1905 the winter grazing grounds began to diminish with the increase in Nepalese settlers which effected the Bhotia's chief source of dairy produce and worsened the relations between the two. The Nepalese in Bhutan are comprised of three groups, Takuris, Newaris and Kiralis and relate to two groups. The establishment of multiparty democracy in Nepal in 1990 have profound impact on Himalayan kingdom of Bhutan. The pro-democracy movement in Bhutan in August 1990, was spearheaded mostly by non-Drukpa people.

There are three aspects of the Bhutanese identity. The Drukpa church of Lamaism is distinct from other forms

4. Ibid., p. 212.
of Buddhism. The Druk-Gyalpo bear separate identity and the last is Tshongdu, which acts as the dual sovereign along with King of Bhutan and is the symbol of Bhutanese natural identity. The genesis of the present problem is the result of accumulated hatred which Nepalese immigrant have harbored for many years. Nepalese claim parity with the Drukpas who form the core of the people. Since no political activity is permitted in Bhutan, there is no outlet for these grievances. The present situation has reached to critical stage and demands of Human Rights, abuse have taken home. Nepalese complain that they have been treated as alien and Bhutan's policy is to confine them to Southern Bhutan. The 1985 citizenship Act declared that those non-Bhutanese who have entered Bhutan after 1958, would not have any citizenship rights and consequently 30,000 Nepalese were put to statelessness.\(^1\) Since the problem is becoming complicated. The kings action to assert Bhutanese culture led to the outflow of 60,000 refugees in 1992 and may reach to 100,000.\(^2\) The another political grievance is that the Southern Bhutanese elect their representative through indirect method while the high landers\(^5\) follows the direct election procedure. The procedure is manipulated by orthodox landed gentry and clergy. The Nepalese also complain about restrictions on their movement to other parts of Bhutan and harassment on checkposts.\(^3\)

The talks between king Jigme Singye Wangchuk and the Nepali Prime Minister Koirala failed on April 9, 1993. The two leaders could not agree on any vital point. The king suggested that all the refugees in the camps in Nepal are not bonafide Bhutanese citizen and could not be taken

---

back, further, many of them had committed criminal and terrorist offences in Bhutan. The king also issued an edict on 16.1.89 proclaiming the importance and need to promote national dress, language and driglam Namzha to strength Bhutan's unique national identity, the dissident group has criticised proclamation. Presently there is no hope of any settlement of the problem.

(C) Defence

Bhutan's 4000 strong army looks like a Liliput before the military strength of its two large neighbours China and India. So it can hardly be expected to stand even a minor threat from either. Armed defence, however, is not the central issue for the security of this small Himalayan nation, rather it is its political relations with its neighbours. It has special relations with India and China and both sides take care of the little Himalayan kingdom.
Bangladesh emerged in December 1971 with moral and material support of India. The emergence of a new country changed the geo-political and geo-strategic condition of South Asia, with the defeat of Pakistan in 1971 war and its dismemberment, India emerged as a major power in South Asia. The Indian factor has significance for Bangladesh politics, but there is no Bangladesh factor in Indian politics. The only exception in the Indo-Bangladesh relations is the Chakma insurgency, while the agitation against Bangladesh infiltration into Assam has caused immense difficulties for India and has strained the relations to some extent. The Indo-Bangladesh relations started on a happy note. India's role in the liberation of Bangladesh and particularly the military assistance earned for India the friendship of Bangladesh resulting in
the signing of Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Peace between the two countries in March 1972. The period from August 1972 to 1975 (Mujib era), represented a period of good relations between the two countries, Mujib enunciated a secular democratic and socialistic policy of nation-building and steered clear of alliance with super powers. However, the inherent contradictions of Bangladesh Society and polity, which the Pakistan colonisation and Mujib's steam-roller popularity, had only temporarily eclipsed, soon became visible.\(^1\) But, after Mujib, anti-Indianism in Bangladesh policies became sharp. The growth of Muslim 'Sufism' and Hindu 'Sahajive' or folksy 'vaisnavism' had resulted in an efflorescence of the Bengali language and a dilution of religious distinctiveness between the Bangali-Muslims and Bangali-Hindus. As Bengali Hindus sought and discovered continuity in the Hindu Indian past, within Indian and overseas, the Bengali Muslims discovered continuity in the Muslim Indian past, within India and West Asia. The process of Hinduisation was paralleled by the process of Islamisation not only of the language and culture but, of the overall identity and social groups which had hitherto been nominally unself-consciously, Muslim or Hindu. The process of Islamisation beginning in mid-19th century, was to continue through the early part of the 20th century.

Bengali Muslims started feeling alienated from their Hindu neighbours and began to look for some sort of political organisation to ventilate their grievances and was assisted by eminent Muslim leaders and intellectuals like Sir Syed Ahmed Mohammad, Iqbal, Sir Aga Khan and others. The past performance; the partition of Bengal in 1905, the Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909 which provided for separate electorate for the Muslims, and some other acts, of commissions

---

and commissions were all responsible for this shift. In 1906 Muslim league was founded in Dhaka. In avowed policy was to establish a political association for the protection and advancement of the political rights and interests of Muslims of India "and to respectfully present their needs and aspirations to the Government". The League supported the partition of Bengal. It was resolved in Dhaka Conference that in view of the interests of the Musalmans of Eastern Bengal, the partition is sure to prove beneficial to the Mohammadan community which constitutes the vast majority of that province.  

Besides, Hindu-Muslim dichotomy in pre-partition Bengal, Bengali Muslims were opposed to Bengali Hindus but, their interests did not converge with the Muslims from other parts of India. The movement of Pakistan in this region was spear-headed by the Muslims of Calcutta. Though most of the Muslims supported creation of Pakistan, but, failed to recognize that once East Pakistan was created it would be the Biharis, or the Urdu-speaking Muslims migrants from Calcutta, Bihar and West Pakistan who would dominate the economy and politics of the province.  

(a) India’s Role in Bangladesh Movement  

The military intervention of India, sharpened the contradictions in Bangladeshi politics to the detriment of political stability in Bangladesh, India’s interest in Bangladesh was politico-strategic. India and Pakistan had

3. Quoted in Cooperation and Conflict in South Asia Publication, New Delhi, p. 69.  
fought three wars in 1947, 1965, and 1971. The presence of 10 million East Pakistan refugees on its soil and establishment of an exile Bangladesh government in Calcutta provided necessary base for Indian intervention. Indian Parliament on 31 March 1971 declared "throughout the length and breath of our land, our people have condemned in unmistakable terms, the atrocities now being perpetrated on an unprecedented scale upon an warmed and innocent people. This house records its profound conviction that the historic upsurge of the 75 million people of East Bengal will triumph. The house wishes to assure them that their struggle and sacrifices will receive the whole-hearted sympathy and support of the people of India.\(^1\) India whole heartedly helped Bangladesh in her struggle for freedom.

The military crackdown of 25th March 1971 worked as a catalyst to bring all shades of political opinion in favour of independence except a few pro-Chinese communist groups. The pro-Soviet communist party of Bangladesh (Manifestation) and the National Awami Party (Muzaffar faction) the left forces accepted India's role albeit, with reluctance or for sheer tactical reasons.\(^2\)

Foreign policy of Mujib was according to India's choice. Bangladesh accepted to keep the region free from super power entanglements. It gave India a political relief. The major challenges which India's foreign policy now faces is from the extra-regional linkages of its neighbours. The importance that Pakistan pays to the US or to Islamic world, Nepal to China, or Sri Lanka to the United States or the ASEAN are similar. Bangladesh declared that shell not enter into or participate in any military alliance directed against the other party and thus forclosed its option to register extra-

---

regional support to counter balance India's superiority.

The first military coup of August 1975 led to political instability and resulted in establishment of a military dictatorship in Bangladesh. Army brought Khondaker Mushtaque Ahmed to power, one of the Cabinet Colleagues of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. On November 3, 1975 the eleven week old regime headed by Khonaker Mushtaque Ahmad was overthrown by the army under the leadership of Khaled Musharraf and Zia-ur Rahman who were freed from house arrest by Taher's forces was reinstated as chief of the Army Staff.

After assassination of Mujib in August 1975, an era in Bangladesh politics ended. The secular tenor of Mujib policy was replaced with Bangladeshi nationalism based on Islamic solidarity. On 23 April 1977 Ziaur Rahman amended the constitution of 1972 and dropped secularism from the Constitution. It was laid down in new constitution that the state shall endeavour to consolidate, preserve and strengthen fraternal relations among Muslim countries based on Islamic solidarity.

Bangladesh relations with India were not cooperative during Ziaur Rahman's period. Anti-Indian campaign had started during Mujibur Rahman's time. The Government and Awami League Party did not refute anti-Indian charge. The silence of Government of Bangladesh was interpreted in Indian circles as an attempt to divert the hostility of the people from the Government of Bangladesh to the Government of India.

1. The Indian Express, New Delhi, August 15-17, 1975.
4. See Jayedeva Uyangoda, Indo-Bangladesh Relations in the 1970's Bangladeshi Perspectives, South Asian Strategic Issues, p. 78.
Mohd. Taha blamed India and said, 'The Indian expansionists with the active support and martial help from the Soviet Union, launched aggression against our country and have occupied it. Today, East Bengal, renamed as Bangladesh, has become a protectorate of India'. After the assassination of Ziaur-Rahman the government was replaced by a military coup led by Lt. General H. M. Ershad. Soon after Ershad proposed the setting of Zakat fund and declared to base cultural life on Islamic principles.

The communalisation of politics, in Bangladesh all the more affected relations with India. In the aftermath of Mujib's assassination, India feared that since the forces which had toppled, Mujib rode the horse of anti-Indianism the phenomenon would now be even more explicit.\(^1\) It was feared that the deterioration of communal relations in Bangladesh might lead to a repetition of the large scale exodus of Bengali Hindus into India as had occurred earlier with the communal riots in East Pakistan.\(^2\) According to Intelligence Bureau report the number of Bangladeshis in this country is about one crore.\(^3\) India announced to build the barbed wire fencing to check alleged infiltration of Bangladesh nationals.\(^4\)

There were evidences of Bangladeshi involvement in supplying arms training to rebel outfits of north-east India\(^5\) at Moulavi Bazar Camp in Sylhet district.

---

New Moore Island South Talpatty Controversy:

The controversy over the new Moore Island generated heat between the relations of the two countries. The continental shelf in the Bay of Bengal extends to a significant extent. It reaches near Sri Lanka and the Andaman and Nicobar Islands. Bangladesh and India have no agreement on the delimitation of maritime zones such as territorial sea, the exclusive economic zone (EEZ) and the continental shelf. The United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea 1982 (LOS Convention) has raised new questions on the continental shelf. Within 200 nautical mile (n.m.) sea zone measured from the baselines from which the breadth of the territorial sea is measured. The continental shelf in the 200 n.m. sea zone is subsumed in the regime of the EEZ. In the case of continental margin extends beyond 200 n.m. the coastal state is not free to extend the seabed jurisdiction. The continental shelf in

1. The Island dispute is about 24x12 KM and situated in the mouth of River Harya Bhana. The Harya Bhana River flowing through the Sunderbans forms the border between India and Bangladesh. Since Pur basha is situated at the mouth of river, determining the ownership of the Island has become difficult. See also Khyber Mail (Pakistan) July 24, 1985.

2. The delimitation maritime zones creates Conflict between Bangladesh and India. Disagreement arose mainly with India when the Bangladesh government in 1974 signed contracts to share production with six oil companies. See The Bangladesh Observer, Dacca, May 9, 1977, White Paper on the South Talpatty by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of the Peoples Republic of Bangladesh (Dhaka); 26 May 1981.


4. See Article 76 LOS Convention.

5. In this case article 76 para 4-8 of the LOS Convention is attracted. Para 4(a) speaks for the purpose of this Conventions the Costal state shall establish the outer edge of the continental margin wherever the margin extends beyond 200 n.m. from the base lines from which the breadth of the territorial sea is measured by either.
the Bay of Bengal is quite extensive and needs delimitation. Its sediments at 16.5 KM are as thick as any in world.\(^1\) The Bay of Bengal has an area of 879,375 sqr. miles and a depth of 2586 metres.

The continental slopes terminates at less than 3000 metres depth. To the West of Bay are Indian state of West Bengal and Orissa, on Southern part is Sri Lanka and on east is Burma, Andman and Nicobar Islands. These islands are the submerged parts of the outer fold ranges of the Arakan yoma of Burma.\(^2\) The Ganges-Brahmputra Delta of the Bengal is located at the combined months of Bangladesh and India. Bangladesh has passed the Territorial waters and maritime Zones Act (No. XXVI) of 1974 and covers the geological shelf and the slope and rises. Bangladesh is in problem as to the delimitation of Sea zones with her neighbours. Islands are coming up in the Bay of Bengal. There is on agreed sea boundary between Bangladesh and India, Problems are arising on the ownership of New born islands in the maritime zones.\(^3\)

India has its own enactment, and has passed the territorial waters continental shelf Exclusive Economic Zone and other Maritime Zones Act 1976 (No. 80 of 1976) which speaks.

---

"The continental shelf of India comprises the sea bed and subsoil of the submarine areas that extend beyond the limit of its territorial waters throughout the natural prolongation of its land territory to the outer edge of the continental margin or to a distance of two hundred nautical miles from the base line". In the case of ownership of the 'new born' Islands in the sea zone beyond the territorial sea there is little chance of Bangladesh to exist by way of occupation. Due to the existing position of Andaman and Nicobar islands, India is in a favourable position in respect of New Moore island. The issue was discussed when Narsimha Rao visited Decca in August 1980, Bangladesh rejected India's claim over the newly emerged island.¹ In a written statement in Rajya Sabha the Indian External Affairs Minister maintained that the newly emerged island was situated within Indian territorial waters on the basis of Median Line Principles. Charts produced by U.S. Navy also confirmed that the New Moore Island claimed by Bangladesh lies well within territorial waters of India.² On May 28, 1981, Bangladesh Parliament resolved to ask India to vacate the island. But, Indian External Affairs Ministry reiterated that Island always belonged to India.³ The Island controversy is still unresolved and causing tension between the two countries.

(C) The Chakma Problem

There are many thorny issues between India and Bangladesh. The Chakma issue need immediate attention. In November 1986, Bangladesh President H.M. Ershad himself

admitted to the then Minister that the situation in the Chittagong Hill Tracts is not suitable for the return of refugees.\(^1\) Subsequently, when repatriation was to take place on January 15, 1987, violent outburst and the transfer was stopped surprisingly Bangladesh accused India for preventing repatriation.\(^2\) Netherland-based Chittagong Hill Tracts committee was organised to look after the repatriation. The committee appealed to both the Governments not to repatriate refugees, till normalcy was restored.\(^3\) The influx of refugees on Indian soil has created many problems before India.\(^4\) Bangladeshi has raised many questions about the nationality of the refugees and has offered to take back only the genuine "Bangladeshis".\(^5\) India has declared number of refugees approximately 27,000 and 32,000. Bangladesh maintains the figure as 24,000.\(^6\) Later on, India raises the figures to 49,000, but Bangladesh puts it at 26042.\(^7\) The number now is estimated to 50,000 and Bangladesh claims them about 30,000.\(^8\) The Chakma problem is getting more tough day by day. India has accused Bangladesh for helping Tripura National Volunteers and India has been blamed

---

by Bangladesh for sheltering Shanti Bahini (The military organisation of Chakmas). The refugees have denied to return till normalcy is maintained in Chittagong Hill Tracts. Zaker Party of the peer of Atroshi was pseudo-named Maulana Dhiren Bagchi and slogans were casted. La ilaha ill lallah Dhaner Shishe Bismillah" (Read the Kalimah and vote in favour of paddy leaf in the name of Allah). The people relaye Anno Bastra, Basosthan-Islam Dehe 3ama dhan". (Islam will solve problems of food, clothing and shelter) so much so that demonstrators often chanted slogans for declaring Bangladesh on Islamic Republic and forming a confederation with Pakistan. The rise of religion-based politics has proved counter productive. History is replets with instance of rise in religions frenzy leading to communal tensions¹. Moreover the relations between India and Bangladesh have become more tense due to the Islamic fundamentalism.

(a) India and Bangladesh After Indira Gandhi

with the assassination of Indira Gandhi the Indian nation faced a threat, both internally and externally. Rajiv Gandhi took over reign of the country at a crucial time. The functioning of Gandhi was different from his predecessor Indira Gandhi revealed that there was a notable difference between the style of functioning of Mrs. Indira Gandhi and Mr. Rajiv Gandhi with its neighbouring country particularly with Bangladesh.² After assuming power, in order to improve the relations not only with the nearest neighbours, but also with the

¹. Recent press reports have it that in rural areas of southern districts the Hindu minority community are being harrassed. Statement of CPB leader Saifuddin Manik, August, 30, 1991.

countries of other continents, Rajiv Gandhi established rapport with the Governments of the neighbouring countries. In 1985, Rajiv Gandhi visited Deccca and assured full support to flood affected people. The influx of refugees from Bangladesh is a problem which has been causing strain on the relations of the two countries. India and Bangladesh have conflict over the erection of barked wire fence by India along the 3400 kilometers long border between the two countries. Bangladesh opposed the project Fencing around Bangladesh on account of boundary dispute.1

(e) Religion and Ethnicity in Bangladesh Politics

Bangladesh emerged as a secular polity with a constitutional embargo on religion in politics. The first constitution (1972) abolished all kinds of communalism, political recognition of religion by state, exploitation of religion for political purposes and discrimination on religions grounds.2 But, soon after the change of political scenario Islam made a come back in Bangladesh politics.3 Islamic resurgence is a common phenomenon to the Muslim world spreading from Morocco to Malaysia. Bangladesh has basically relied on Islam. The secularism laid in the 1972 constitution but, neither the six point programme4 nor the

1. Morning News, March 31, 1985, and also Assam Tribune
(Gohali) April 1, 1985.
4. The Six point formula was presented at the subjects committee meeting of the convention of opposition parties held in Lahore in February 1966 by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman on behalf of the East Pakistan Awami League. This formula essentially sought for complete fiscal and political autonomy of East Pakistan. He left the convention when Contd....
eleven point programme, a synthesis of which as considered to be the Magna Carta of Bangladesh, had any owing on Secularism and even the proclamation of the Government dated 10 April 1971 endorsed secularism in following words -

"Secularism does not mean absence of religion. The 75 million people of Bangladesh will have right to religion by law. We have no intention of that kind.... Muslims will observe their religion and nobody in this state has the power to prevent that. Hindus will observe their religion and nobody has the power to prevent that. Buddhists and Christians will observe their respective religions and nobody can prevent that our only objective is that nobody will be allowed to use religion as a political weapon."  

The secularism and a ban on religion-based politics brought universal results and driven into permanent opposition to the Awami League and the Government. The Islamic elite linked it with Indian pressure and Indo-Soviet guardianship.  

Soon after, Mujib's role as a Statesman underwent changes and began to use religious symbols and sentiments with political purposes. Islam became politically important because the legitimation attempts of the nationalist

Contd...


1. See Bangladesh Documents, New Delhi, 1971, pp. 281-82.
elites failed. The Mushtag regime used Islam for his political game and started his morning in mercy of Almighty Allah. The process of using Islam for leadership purposes was given coherent speed by Zia and Ershad. The principle of secularism was replaced by the words. Absolute trust and faith in the Almighty Allah shall be the basis of all actions. Between 1982 and 1990 Ershad, made systematic efforts to continue the policy of rehabilitating anti-liberation forces and of parallel Islamisation culminating in the 84 Amendment to the Constitution declaring Islam as a state religion. Ershad used 'Islam' more than Zia ur Rahman. Zia was a freedom fighter, well known for his honesty and integrity. Ershad on the other hand did not have such linkage and image.

In the elections of 1991, religion was used at large. Even a Hindu candidate Dhiren Bagchi from Bangladesh violated the agreement between the two countries and started construction a high and well equipped embarkment along the Mahuri Opposite Belonis. The Indian delegation objected to it. The editorial in Bangladesh Times commented that

"There is an element of positivism in the way India is viewing its relations with its neighbour including Bangladesh. How far this attitude will be translated into action, is a matter that time will tell. India's foreign Secretary, Bhandari said that India's intentions (for building closer ties) were honest", India wants cooperative relations with neighbours".

2. Article 8(1A) : Article 12 declaring secularism was omitted. The Proclamation (Amendment) Order No.1, 1977.
Indo-Bangladesh talks on Ganges water ended without reaching any agreement. The delegation failed to resolve the problem of augmenting the Ganges flow during the dry season. The Ganges water dispute was a critical problem. Some experts suggested that a permanent body of cobasin states ought to be set up for sharing and using transnational waters. There were little misunderstanding between the two countries. Bangladesh was of the view that India has always been consistent in its stand, despite the Indo-Bangladesh Treaty of Friendship Cooperation and Peace which goes on.

The High Contracting parties further agree to make joint studies and take joint action in the fields of flood control, river basin development and the development of hydro-electric power and irrigation, than agreed to the concept of augmentation (India Mujib Joint Declaration of May 16, 1974) then signed the Farakka Agreement of 1977 which formally introduced the shielda. Indian scheme of Ganges-Brahmanputra link canal and linked the sharing of Ganga water to the augmentation of its flow - than revalidated the 1977 Farakka Agreement though 1982 Memorandum of understanding than belatedly sharing from augmentation and now thinking of new approach.2

Rajiv and Irshad reached an accord on Ganga waters similar to the earlier one, and said that the two countries have agreed that irrigation ministers will meet during the next few days to set up terms. The agreement was applauded and was said but the Rajiv Ershad understanding breaks a new ground. The new agreement prescribed

that the Ganga waters will be shared for a period of three years beginning the dry season of 1986 on the same basis as laid down in the November 1982. Bangladesh will get 35,000 cusec of water during the dry season and India somewhat less than 40,000 cusec. ¹

(f) Defence

There are five army infantry divisional headquarters, with infantry brigades, two armoured, 6 artillery regiments and 6 engineer battalions with total strength of 90,000, with an additional 55,000 para military volunteers, including an armed police reserve and the Bangladesh refires. Equipment includes 30 Soviet T-54 and 20 Chinese Type 59 Tanks.

Naval bases are at Chittagong, Keptal Khulna and Dacca. The fleet comprises 3 former British frigates, 8 Chinese built 390 tonnes fast attack craft, 4 Chinese built fast torpedo boats, 2 ex Yugoslav 200 ton. Patrol craft 1 British Built 140 ton. Patrol craft, 5 Indigenously built 70 ton river gun boats, 12 auxiliaries and traing ship of 710 tones. The man power of Navy is 600 officers and 6900 ratings.

Air force

Deliveries from the Soviet Union and China successfully have built up strength of 20 MIG 19, IAN-24 and 3 AN-26, 20 Mi-8 bell, 212 Bell, 206 L and Aiouselle 111 H. helicopter 10, Chinese CJ-6 primary trainters, 6 Magister armed jet and some light aircraft. Personal strength in

¹ The Indian Express; New Delhi, November 25, 1985.
Air force is 4000. The strength is sufficient to look after internal safety. Bangladesh is secured on all four corners by a powerful neighbour India, which acts as a buffer state. There is neither any external danger to its security nor Bangladesh can create any problem to his neighbour.
India-Maldives Relations

(a) The Political Phenomenon

Nasir was elected the first President in the wake of its independence and ruled for 21 years. In March 1975 president Nasir dismissed the Prime Minister, Ahmed Zarin

and the post of Prime Minister was abolished. To succeed Nasir who did not stand for reelection, the legislature chose Manmooor Abdul Gayoom the then Minister of Transport who was approved by referendum in July 1978. President Gayoom who took office in November announced that the main
priority would be the development of the poor rural regions, while in foreign affairs the existing policy of non-alignment would be continued. In September 1983 and 1988, President Gayoom was re-elected for five year terms. By a referendum with 96.37% of the votes.

(Maldives Strategy)

The republic of Maldives ranks among the worlds 25 least developed countries but, has an importance in the power, game, much greater than might be expected while most of the peoples in the world would havennot heard it, but, significantly the state has its diplomatic relations with more than 75 countries in the world.

For the once ignored republic of Maldives, has one key bargaining point in the world powergame - its strategic location in the centre of Indian ocean and the value of the strong point has grown tremendously as the importance of the Indian Ocean has increased especially now, with the need to keep the oil routes free. The value of the Maldives strategic position, has also been enhanced by the existence of the former British Royal Air Force Base and Air Field on Gan. The Gan base was established by the British during world war II and it was, re-activated in 1957 as a staging most between the East and the West. The piece of real estate also happens to be nearest land to the Anglo-American Military installation in Diego-Garcia in the Changos Archipelago South of the Maldives. Today, the British Staging port on Gan is an unoccupied military base like a ghost town. The Maldives however,

1. V.S. Uryan Narayan - South and South East Asia in the 1990's Konark Publishers A 149-Main Vikas Marg, Delhi,
realise it is useful as a back drop for all their dealings with foreign powers. Foreign diplomats concerned with Maldives readily admit the vacant base is the important but, unusually, unmentioned presence behind any relations with Maldives, who desperately, recognize this diplomatic reality and have learned to play skilfully with this chip. Being a small and poor country, that is dependent for its survival on a peaceful Indian ocean and increasingly dependent on foreign exchange for its modernisation projects, has cultivated its friendship with as many and as politically varied countries as it can.

Among the nations, with which Male has diplomatic relations are Soviet Union, United States, Britain, Cuba, China, Japan, India, Sri Lanka, Libya, South Korea, Pakistan, France, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Egypt, Kuwait, Austria, united Arab Emirate, Vanualu, Morocco, Lebanon, Fizi, Sierra, Leone, and Colombo. It is evident that the diplomatic terms have been extended without any consideration of size, power and financial capacity. Within a year 1988, Maldives entered with 6 countries in various agreements. India and Maldives too, signed a cultural agreement aimed at developing closer bilateral cooperation between the two countries in the field of art, culture, archeology, education, social welfare, public health, mass media and sports. India maintained her relations with Maldives on the basis of equality and respect for each others territorial integrity.

Despite all its cooperation and assistance, there was mild ripple in New Delhi when Gayoom reported on questioning of the status of Indias small minicoy island in an Independence day speech in July 1982. President said, "when I look at such prerequisites in my personal

---

capacity, I have to tell you the atoll...... is a part of the Maldives\textsuperscript{1}, but he asserted that he had not lodged any claim with India. Maldives wanted India to help to set up a defence academy and also increased its quota for training of the military officers in Indian military academies.\textsuperscript{2} Gayoom praised India for its timely help and said: "I don't think India has any hegemonistic ambitions or designs in the region".

Maldives entered into various agreements with other countries. Dhaka signed an agreement on waiver of visas and accord on cooperation in the fields of education, culture, sports. Chief Martial Law Administration made a visit to Maldives on July 26-29, 1983 and hinted at possibility for the further development of the existing friendly and brotherly relations between the two countries.\textsuperscript{3}

As regards Maldives and Sri Lanka relation President Gayoom said we have a specified relationship with Sri Lanka which is our closest neighbour and also on gateway to the world. It is in the interest of Maldives to have very close links with Sri Lanka. Gayoom further declared that we have also found ways further consolidating our traditional relations in this field of culture trade and so on.\textsuperscript{4} Lankan Dy. Minister of Foreign Affairs

\begin{itemize}
\item[1.] The SUN, Sri Lanka, dated 13.11.1982.
\item[2.] The National Herald, Delhi, September 19, 1989.
\item[3.] The Bangladesh Times, Dhaka, July 31, 1983.
\item[4.] The Ceylon, Colombo, August 11, 1980.
\end{itemize}
Tyronne Fernando signed 2 agreements with the Maldives one was the extradition Agreement which will provide the legal frame work for mutual Maldives and Pakistan signed cultural exchange programme in 1989. This is the first time Sri Lanka entered into such as agreement outside the commonwealth. The other agreement was about cooperation between the two countries in the field of education, science, cultural affairs, sports and youth affairs.

(C) Non Alignment

The determination of the Maldives to protect its non-aligned status without caring into big power pressure for letting portion of the ocean republic to be used for military purposes should solve to boost the morale of all nations that wish to see the Indian ocean turned into a zone of peace. After the winding up of the British Military outfit in 1976 it has been a period of various proposals coming in for a lease of this or that part of the strategic island which the Maldives government resolutely turned down on each occasion and then prevented proliferation of the Diego Garcia phenomenon. President Gayoom seems to be determined to steer clear of all probable foreign attempts to spread tentacles over his territorial jurisdiction. The Foreign Minister dismissed an speculative the reports that the US was making overtures to Maldives to establish a base in Gan. The Minister added "We are determined not to allow any one to settle

anywhere in our territory with military or strategic intentions.\(^1\) The islands are string out in the series of the coral atolls between Sri Lanka and equator, affirming an excellent location for watching traffic on international sea lanes between West and East,\(^2\) which is even more significant manifest in Gayoom's foreign policy, and intends to define the countries non-alignment status in terms of pragmatic relations with a number of nations who might be willing and able to render development assistance to Male-without strings. Its decision to join the commonwealth has thus been prompted by desire to breakout of the entanglement which Britain has forced upon Maldives ever since the former quit the Gan island.\(^3\)

Maldives island has full faith in the disarmament and for securing the status of zone of peace for the Indian ocean and thus to enable upon an invigorating programme of socio-economic development. India has been continuously denouncing the militarisation of the Indian ocean and the attempts to intensify arms. In the first session of Majilis (Parliament in 1983, Gayoom said that 'The Indian ocean should become a zone of peace for neuclear weapons, military tensions and military bases.'\(^4\) He further added that the government of Maldives will strictly abide by the non-alignment course.

Maldives is against arms race in the region by supplying an increased quantum of sophisticated US Arms of mass destruction to Pakistan. Like India, Gayoom inhesitantly endorsed that the Indian ocean should remain a zone of peace, as resolved by UN in 1971. Foreign minister of

Maldives expressed that "we will not be interested in giving Gan to superpowers" and further added that "we will not be allowing even ship repairs if they are going to serve any foreign military interest." The strategic Indian ocean, Republic of Maldives emerging from years of isolation, has fended off overtures from the big powers and stock an independent foreign policy posture. President Gayoom declared his determination to preserve Maldives non-aligned status and told to Reuters in an interview "That he will not allow the island to be used for military purposes by any big power." As to his predecessor who wanted to preserve the Maldives non-aligned status, the present President is also of the view "to perseve to non-alignment policy."

The Maldives called for a multilateral framework to ensure protection and security of the small states. In United Nations General Assembly Fathulls Jameel the Foreign Minister said that such a framework is the most feasible mode, "of sound security, mechanisms for the weakest members of the United Nations. The socio-political identity of the weaker states and the principles of Sovereign equality are not strong enough to be impervious to the possible vicissitudes of unequal relationship."

Gan is just 300 miles (480 km) North of the US. Military base on the island of Diego Garcia and already 400 a runway capable of handling big aircrafts. In line

2. Ibid.
4. The Indonesia Times, Indonesia, March 5, 1979
with its policy of neutrality Maldives has maintained cordial relations with North and South, East and West. In 1980 Maldives signed a scientific and cultural Agreement with Soviet Union and a Technical Cooperation accord with China. It also made an agreement with Australian Government to renovate in the former British Air Port facilities for commercial use.1

(a) Maldives and South Asian Regional Cooperation

Understandingly, any cooperative effort in the expanded sphere of such a neighbourhood i.e. South Asia has evoked full support of Maldives for a number of reasons. As one of the smallest countries struggling to arrive on its own, any cooperative venture is bound to be beneficial to it. To begin with common action between the members of a regional grouping of developing countries enhances the bargaining capability and manoeuvrability of all vis-à-vis the developed South, but more so of a small state like the Maldives. Besides, under the regional aegis, joint functions may be carried out in several sectors (e.g. provision of technical services, supply of information, creation of regional financial institutions, etc.) which may be beyond the capability of an individual country. Moreover, in view of similar climatic and physical features of these states, their experiences in several sectors have been almost identical. Some of them who have learnt their lessons the hard way but with a modicum of success in dealing with certain economic problems, can impart their rich experience to others. This is pertinent in view of the fact that regional bodies like ESCAP or Agency for Integrated Rural Development in

---

1. The SUN, Sri Lanka, November 13, 1982
Asia and the Pacific Region have, generally speaking, taken a global macro-perspective and in the process, often side-tracked the micro-problems of common regional situations.

As such, from the beginning, when the initial draft prepared by Bangladesh was discussed at the Foreign Secretary level conference at Colombo in 1981. Maldives evidence a keen interest in the proposal. In the initial draft, it suggested the additional theme of health which was subsequently incorporated. Further, in Kathmandu Conference, the same year, Maldives took the responsibility of acting as the nodal country to prepare a detailed report on transport which was one of the eight themes selected in the deliberations for concerted plan of action at the regional levels. During the deliberations, right from Colombo to Kathmandu to Islamabad and finally, Delhi, in August 1983, at the foreign Minister level when the South Asian regional cooperation SARC assumed a certain degree of institutional trappings, the Maldives representative underlined the fact that such a regional institution can help facilitate the sharing of experiences in harmoning and coordinating planning at the national levels finally, and mentioned by the Maldivian delegate at the Colombo regional cooperation in South Asia, "can offer a unique contribution to the cause of promoting the understanding between the countries of the region."

(\textbf{\textit{\textsuperscript{\textcircled{C}}} India-Maldives Linkages})

When Gayoom was elected as President, a coup was attempted. The third abortive coup which ironically coincided with the beginning of the President third term also raised acute dilemma for the island nation of internal

1. For the text see Sri Lanka, Meeting of South Asian Foreign Secretaries, 21-24 April 1981, Colombo.
The third coup drama was engineered by Abdullah Lathifi a leading businessman with the help of some Lankan mercenaries hired for US dollars 2-5 millions establishing a permanent base for Tamil Militants. Maldivians considered it an act of terrorism. Gayoom called it foreign aggression.

Among the 400 mercenaries 200 had already infiltrated the islands; the remaining 200 equipped with AK 47 rifles and rockets propeller grenade (RPG-7) joined them on November 3 at 4 a.m. Lathifi has left Male for Singapore but, actually was waiting to accompany the mercenaries from Sri Lanka. At 4.15 a.m. they attacked the Presidential palace and the National Security Service (NSS) head quarters. The attempt killed 7 NSS guards and 13 civilians and injured several people. The mercenaries took 2000 hostages including Transport Minister Ahmad Mujilhabe and his wife and captioned the Radio and TV Stations, power supply and foreign exchange units.

Though the Coup-makers managed their assault calculatively they appeared somewhat over confident since they failed to capture the telelink and airport. Gayoom telecasted for International help. Because of the Indian timely decision Indian military planes landed at 8 PM at Male with 1600 para troopers and on November 3 by 4 a.m. 1600 peace-keeping force reached Male. On November 5 the mercenaries

2. The Indian Express, New Delhi, November 9, 1988 and Hindustan Times, New Delhi, November 4, 1988.
demanded free passage to Sri Lanka which was denied. A naval ship fired its final shot at 6:16 a.m. and the mercenaries surrendered at 9.25 and the coup came to an end. Indian help received international accolade. Nepal said "we appreciate that India at the request of the Maldives President, Maumoon Abdul Gayoom sent military assistance to Maldives." The secretary of Commonwealth observed "many a small country is today a safer place because of India's selfless action in turning back aggression in Maldives." After the pullout of mercenaries, a small force of 500 Indian troops was retained in Maldives till the situation in the Indian Ocean archipelago stabilises.

The Maldivian aborted coup leader Abdulla Lateefi alleged that the Tamil militant leader, Uma Maheshwaran had masterminded the bid to topple the government of President Gayoom. With his hands and feet tied and eyes blindfolded the balding Maldivian businessman told P.T.I., that the People Liberation Organization of Tamil Elam (PLOTE) leader wanted to get hold of the island to shift his group away from Sri Lanka where he feared annihilation. The plot was hatched in Colombo and no intervention from India was anticipated.

Sridhar Rao of Indian Institute said "it shows beyond doubt Indias willingness to project military power in terms of assisting its neighbours." Indias policeman role in the South Asian Waters of the Indian ocean dramatised its capacity.

4. Ibid.
5. The Indian Express, New Delhi, November 6, 1988.
The rescue operation was display of India's military power and the sophisticated skills of its defence planners. The distance for the nearest military base in South India to Male was 600 KM and not a mere 57 km, as in the case of Jafna in Northern Sri Lanka. The use of military power to help two neighbouring governments coup with an internal threat (in the case of Sri Lanka) and an external threat (in the case of Maldives) alarmed small nations.

As regards India, the earlier interaction with the Maldives was in the main in socio-cultural spheres. In the 1960s a number of Maldivian students came to study in India under Colombo Plan. In the 1970s, there has been a marked increase in official and unofficial transactions. A State Bank of India branch was opened in Male in 1974 and an airline service commenced in 1975. Earlier the only air route to reach Male was via Colombo, India was the first country to open a resident mission in 1976. In 1977, the Indian Airlines collaborated with Air Maldives in launching the country's first air service between Male and Colombo. The agreement has been renewed in 1982 for another three years. Further, since 1982 Air Male has started operating a bi-weekly service Male-Trivandrum sector too.

In 1978 the International Airport Authority of India won an international tender to expand the runway of Hulule airport and modernize it. It completed its work in 1981. Through another agreement visas were abolished between the two countries. In 1980 India and Maldives signed a trade agreement. Besides, India has also provided technical assistance in various spheres as desired by the Government of the Maldives. It has grant scholarships to Maldivians to study in India and province Indian Building schools, and in other
activities relating to community development programmes. It has also agreed to help Maldives in modernizing its fishing industry.

An institutional form to such socio-cultural relations was provided in 1983 when President Gayoom visited Delhi and signed a cultural agreement covering the field of arts, culture, archaeology, education, social welfare, public health, mass media and sports. Being a free port, Maldives has been attracting a large number of Indian tourists. Thus, in 1982 out of a total of 20,000 tourists from Asia, about 15,000 were Indians. This constructive pattern of relations between India and Maldives has been free of any controversy. However, the issue of Minicoy, an Indian island in the north of the atoll state created a mild flutter when during the July 1982 celebrations of Maldives independence, the President's brother Abdullah Hameed declared that an island in the north of Maldives, Tiladummati Atoll was always ruled by Male and was in fact part of Maldives. The reference was obviously to Minicoy islands. Almost immediately, the President clarified that this reference was to affirm the religio-linguistic-cultural identity between Maldives and Minicoy only and that Maldives was not laying any political claims on Minicoy.

(Defence)

The security problem of Maldives was noticed for first time at the third coup attempt. Its security problem is in fact so acute that development of military capability to adequate defend itself is beyond its capacity. As the incident demonstrated, Maldives did not even have enough strength to resist the coup attempt which compelled President Gayoom to seek assistance from the friendly countries. This is basically the most important event the capital now face. This is also one of the main aspect Gayoom is advocating
for Indian ocean zone of peace proposal (1020 p). One impact of the incident is, President Gayoom desires to enlarge the structure of the National Security Service (NSS). The President has called upon the youths of Maldives to join NSS to reduce its vulnerability.¹ But, even an enlarge NSS can not absolutely reduce its vulnerability in view of the thousands of small scattered islands in the High Seas.

Control of the vast sea territory with a population of 200000 constitutes a real dilemma for small country like the Maldives. F.M. Jameel, admits that management of a sophisticated defence system is beyond the states capacity, but he is willing to discuss in different forums, the arrangement of a regional force which looks appealing at the moment.²

¹ The Times of India, New Delhi, November 20, 1988.
Indo-Nepal Relations

The social, economic, political and historical binding between Nepal, and India are deeply familiar. The cultural pattern in India and Nepal are hardly indistinguishable. Hindus in the pain of the majority of the people in India, is the dominant religion in Nepal. Gorkheli, the official language of Nepal is a consonant of Sanskrit.¹

Similarly, the economies of the two countries are in extricably interwoven. Gorkhas are serving in the Indian Army. They come to India in search of their livelihood and a large number of them settled in India.

Indian relations with Nepal are the outcome of British Rule. British India relations with Nepal were based upon the treaty of Sugauli, which Nepal had to sign after the war of 1814-16. It was however, a contact between two sovereign states. The terms and condition of the treaty do not reflect that Nepal had surrendered her sovereignty to the Britishers.²

¹ Other languages and dialects spoken and understood in Nepal have close resemblance to Indian language. Gorkheli is written in Devanagri Script. Hindi, obviously is understood in Nepal.

² Kant Rama, Indo-Nepalese Relations, 1816 to 1877 Delhi, 1968, p. 2.
After independence, the Indian Government constantly received gestures of friendship from Nepal. Nepal was conscious that practically no government in Nepal could survive without India’s support.

Another treaty was signed on December 21, 1923 at Sugauli between Nepal and British India and the former timely obtained as "unequivocal" recognition of its independence. In the first clause both governments agreed 'mutually to acknowledge and respect each other's independence, both internal and external. "The scope of Nepal's independence however was limited by the third clause which obligated each other "to exert its good offices" to remove cause of any serious friction or misunderstanding with neighbouring states whose frontiers adjoin theirs".

Although defined in terms of mutual obligation, in fact this meant that Nepal would continue to 'consult' the Government of India on relations with Tibet, Sikkim, Bhutan and China. Clause V provided, that Nepal gain the right to import arms and ammunition without previous Government of India approval so long as the intentions of the Nepal Government are friendly and that there is no immediate danger to India from such importations. Here again however, this right was limited in practice if not in theory. This was evident from the treaty of Sauqauli. The Nepal Government therefore, signed a "stand still Agreement" with India in 1947 and agreed to continue the spirit of British India-Nepal relations. This was followed by a tripartite agreement on August 9, 1947. By this agreement, Nepal agreed to continue to allow recruitment of Gorkhas for the armed forces of India and

Great Britain. In return for the recruiting facilities, the Government of India managed to fulfil Nepal's military needs regarding dependence production, army transport planes, civil supplies and training facilities.

The two very important treaties were conducted on 31 July, 1950 between Nepal and India. These two treaties (a) a treaty of peace and (b) a treaty of trade and commerce, are still considered the corner stone of Nepalese-Indo relations. The first treaty was almost a defence part between the two countries. The second treaty provided for India's directions and guidance in matter of trade and commerce between the two countries.

India, in fact had very high states in the security and defence of Nepal. Such strategic considerations were repeatedly emphasised by Prime Minister Nehru. The treaty of peace and friendship of 1950 provided the basic and legal framework for the unified measures for mutual security and defence between India and Nepal. Following the treaty for instance check posts were established along Nepal's northern borders. The Government of India also sent Military mission to Nepal to assist the host government in the 'Training and re-organization of the Nepalese Army.'

India's policy towards Nepal has always been receptive to Nepal's security needs. It was believed at New Delhi

---

that it could be accomplished only if Nepal became strong, progressive and stable political unit. The Indian Government therefore, advocated a compromise between the Rana's and the "revolutionaries". India adopted, thus, the "middleway" policy.

Indira Gandhi was not able to resolve the fundamental dilemma of power facing India how to be strong enough to prevent encroachment on natural interests by outside powers and yet avoid intimidating small neighbouring states by an increase of power indeed. She exacerbated fear by her forceful assert in the protectorate of Sikkim and showing anger over what she called "Anti Indian Nonsense" in Nepal and Bangladesh.¹

(a) Indo-Nepal bid to mend fences

The ice was broken on August 25, 1989 when P.V. Narasimha Rao, the then External Affairs, Minister paid a two day visit to Kathmandu and met the King. It was felt that the two countries were now moving towards a phase of serious and purposeful dialogue covering almost the entire gamut of bilateral issues.² Rajiv Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India and Nepal's king Birendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev also met on September 4, 1989, in Belgrade on the occasion of NAM meeting.

(b) A new phase in Indo-Nepal Relations

V.P. Singh, The Prime Minister of India announced the policy decision of his government after coming in power in 1990 that it would be his endeavour to normalise relations with all its neighbours, including Nepal. It was

---

believed at New Delhi that the 1950 Treaty of Peace and Friendship had been under operation for the last 40 years but time and again Nepal had flouted it. India itself must do some introspection for its diplomatic land failures. It was felt that this time an affirmation would be sought from Nepal that it would honour in letter and in spirit the 1950 treaty and the security and commercial pacts through a well devised and mutually accepted machinery and monitoring system.¹

It was a landmark in the relations between India and Nepal when the Prime Ministers of India and Nepal, V.P. Singh and Krishna Prasad Bhattarai signed a joint communique on June 10, 1990. The acrimony and bitterness of the past 14 months were over. It took care of their major concerns. The trade and transit arrangements, snapped on March 23, 1989 were restored. India was relieved by the proper understanding and appreciation of its security concerns by Nepal and also the promised end of discrimination against its nationals.² The two sides were prompt with followup administrative measures to implement the decisions incorporated in the communique. The reactions in the two countries were euphoric.

(C) **Restoration of Status quo**

India and Nepal decided on June 15, 1990 to put aside the aberrations of the recent past, normalise relations fully and resolve status quo-anti to April 1, 1987 in trade and transit arrangements pending the finalisation of a comprehensive arrangement. The interim government of Nepal

---

fully exempted additional customs duty levied on all goods imported from India as well as the customs duty levied on primary products.

It was also decided that the two governments will take all necessary steps such as issue of administrative orders, notifications, legislation/ordinance etc. in order to ensure the status quo anti to April 1, 1987, is restored by July 1, 1990 it was agreed.\(^1\)

The advent of the democratic era in Nepal also contributed to the happy conclusion of the talks. It was for the first time that the Prime Minister, and not the King, committed that country's government to major decisions with India. The change exerted a beneficial influence on the negotiations and the preceding exchanges through diplomatic channels. This was also the first time in diplomatic channels that agreed decisions were made known through a joint communique signed at a press conference.

On trade and transit, Nepal was fully accommodated. The 15 points earlier designated as transit points for Nepal's transit trade through India with third countries were reinstated. The 22 border points and the routes specified as land customs stations for the movement of goods between India and Nepal were restored. The new dispensation was aimed to boost Nepal's exports to India. For instance, it was decided that there will be customs-free and quota-free access for manufacturing items containing up to 65% of Nepalese or Nepalese and Indian materials, as against 80% in the past. The tariff concession on import duty was also provided where the value of Nepalese and Indian materials

\(^1\) The Hindustan Times, June 15, 1990.
and labour added in Nepal was 40% of the ex-factory price. In the past, it was 50 percent. The standby credit to Nepal was enhanced from Rs. 25 crores to Rs. 35 crores.\(^1\)

In response, exemption of additional customs duty to Indian goods was restored by Nepal. Indian nationals were exempted from the ambit of the work permit scheme. The Indian government, to recall, had taken strong exception to the work permit for Indian nationals. In India, Nepalese nationals are treated at par with the locals in employment in the private sector or the government, barring the three all India-services, and ownership of property, trade and business. Likewise India expected the same status and privileges for Indian nationals as the local citizens in Nepal. India and Nepal also agreed to usher in a new era of cooperation between the two countries, particularly in the spheres of industrial and human resource development for the harnessing of the waters of the common rivers for the benefit of the two peoples and for the protection and management of the environment.\(^2\)

Chandra Shekhar became the Prime Minister of India after the premature fall of the V.P. Singh government. He provided unstinted support to the leaders and the people of Nepal in their quest for restoration of democracy. He played an inspirational role when the democracy movement was being launched in Nepal. He reached \(\ldots\) to Nepal to attend a Nepali Congress convention in December 1989 and later in February 1990 when a multiparty movement was launched for restoration of democratic institutions.

Chandra Shekher's visit to Kathmandu on February 13, 1991 when the parliamentary elections of Nepal were very

1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.
near gained considerable significance. He said, speaking at a banquet hosted in his honour by the Nepalese Prime Minister: "The time has come to put our economic and commercial relations on a comprehensive basis." ¹

In a significant development, the two countries agreed on February 13, 1991 to more gainfully harness their water resources potential for the benefit of the people of the two countries and to obviate the annual recurring flood-related losses. India also offered Nepal a trade regime which would allow Nepalese goods uninhibited duty free entry into India. India also agreed to purchase all the surplus electricity generated by Nepal.

It was also agreed that the Indian railway ministry would examine Nepalese proposals for the upgradation, expansion, extension and repair of some delapidated and broken railway lines in Nepal. India also showed readiness to assist Nepal in building the physical and institutional infrastructure for industrialisation and human resources development. Chandra Shekhar expressed his view: "we, on our part, must also fully appreciate that in helping Nepal, we are helping ourselves, there is nothing that would give more satisfaction to the people of India than the happiness, prosperity and progress of the people of Nepal." ²

The Nepali congress secured a mandate in the Pratinidni Sabha elections held in May 1991. ³ Girija Prasad Koirala, the new Prime Minister of Nepal, became the complete master of his government's affairs. He will have to take full responsibility for his policy decisions, both

1. The Times of India, Delhi, February 14, 1991.
2. Ibid.
3. Pratinidhi Sabha is the Parliament of Nepal.
in the domestic and international spheres. The Nepali Congress believes that common rivers between Nepal and India should be jointly harnessed for mutual benefit. He has tremendous fund of goodwill in India. Indian policy makers assumed that she will cooperate with India without flaunting a China card which had often in the past created misunderstanding in New Delhi. There is every hope of the two countries prompting the bonds of friendship further on the basis of equity and fairplay.

a) Indo-Nepalese Cooperation

South Asia is endowed with vast and yet unexplored and untapped resources hidden in Seabeds, high Himalayas and huge population which can offset to a considerable extent. The three major river systems - the Indus, the Ganga and the Brahmaputra effect the life of millions in India. Similarly, the three rivers flowing from Nepal into India - Kamali, Gandak and Kosi also possess huge water resources and can bring prosperity in whole region.

Although, Nepal is a small country it has tremendous potential in terms of water resources. The three major river systems namely Kamali (Ghagra) in the far most, the Gandek in the Central Region and Kosi in the east bring the annual run close to 200000 million cubic meters and can generate 83 thousand MW of hydropower. The present capacity of Nepal is simply 127 MW and is only 0.5% of the potentiality.¹ Addressing the fourth SAARC Summit King Birendra said, "Nepal is willing to cooperate in any venture for the multipurpose development of her water resources bilaterally, triateraly and multilateraly for the mutual benefit of the people in

Power cooperate is the main sphere in which India can cooperate to a much extent and which is also beneficial to the economy of the Indian people. Next to Brazil, Nepal has the largest power potential in the world. The estimated capacity of 83 thousand MW is equivalent to the combined installed hydroelectric capacity of Canada, the United States and Mexico.

Out of the different projects the Kosi Multipurpose project, the Gandak irrigation project and the Trisubi Pokhra, Devi Ghat Projects are most important. Kosi project was the first major project undertaken jointly by Nepal and India in April 23, 1954. The project was intended to provide irrigation for an area of 500 sq.miles of Morang Delta and generate 900 MW power available to both countries. Gandak Project was the second scheme which was aimed at harnessing the large irrigation and water potential of the Gandak for benefit of India and Nepal. It was started in 1959. The project provide irrigation facilities for 1.43 lakhs acres in Nepal. The Kernali is the third most important project in which India shared. It will generate 32 MW of power.

An agreement was signed on Nov. 20, 1958 for the construction of Trisuli Hydel Project. The work on the project was completed on Nov. 17, 1981 and is generating 2100 MW. Another project of Devighat Hydel Project

was also taken by India and Nepal in 1978 and was completed at the cost of Rs. 50 crores. Its installed capacity was 14.1 MW. Thus for Nepal harnessing of water resources remain one of the most concerned areas of cooperation.

(c) The Indian Community in Nepal and the Nepalese in India

The word ' Indian Community includes "People of the Indian origin" and denotes in broader sense, peoples from India who has migrated to those regions in lesser or greater number at one point of time or another. These expressions may be used for a set of people from the Indian origin living in any country like Fiji, Guyana, Mauritius, Surin; Trinidad, Tobape, Nepal, Pakistan etc. There seems a very connotation of these terms in the context of South Asia. Under normal circumstances these terms are used in a disparateing sense to identify a group of people distinguished from others generally, the power holders, or regions, linguistic and ethnic grounds or the underprivileged in the state concerned.

The Tamils are treated to be associated with the terms "of Indian origin" in view of the status they hold in the state population structure". It is insignificant that Sinhalese too consider themselves from the Indian origin and connect them to the pedegree of Prince Vijaya who established Sinhalese race in Sri Lanka in the 6th century B.C. and irrigated from the part of Indian which presently is called Orissa. Similarly, the people of Nepal who have so far been ruling elite in the state also call themselves, People of Indian origin. But, they use it only at time of grievances and aggregating their demands. There are certain segment of people in Nepal who under normal conditions suffer on various counts and whose life in Nepal is not pleasant. They are called 'Indians' even after their stay
in Nepal for generations back. Similarly Madhshis are the people of Indian origin in Nepal. There are about 75 lakhs and more Medheshis in Tarai. They face a number of problems relating to citizenship, agriculture business, education and religion etc.

The most serious problem faced by large section of the Indian community in Nepal is that of citizenship. Many of the Madheshis are of the opinion that the Nepali ruling elite wants to drive them away from Nepal by not recognising them as citizen of Nepal, and a different approach is being exercised in respect of the people of Indian origin living in Hill areas. There are 3 type of Nepali citizen. The first consists of the paternal, the second is that of inherent citizens by virtue of both rights' and the third category is that of the naturalized citizens, neither, born in Nepal nor having Nepali ancestors and are living for a long time. They have created problems. Even after the proof that they are living in Nepal for long time some of the Medheshis are not being given citizenship rights. Initially, they are being provided temporary citizenship certificates and than try to get the permanent one. The task is cumbersome and some fails to get it. The possession of the Nepali citizenship certificate is a must to apply for any government job.

Agriculture

The tarai is known as the granary of Nepal and is the backbone of the economy. It produces jute, tobacco, oil seeds, sugarcane, herbs, spices, timber, hides. The area which is responsible for producing a substantial part of Nepal's gross domestic product and revenue is paradoxically faced with numerous problems. Land Reform programme was oriented in Nepal in 1963-64 to achieve equal distribution of land ownership. But the more important goal for
some influential elements was the replacement of landowners, tenants of the Indian origin in the Tarai region with Nepalese from the Hills. As a result of the ceiling provisions 3% land was found excess and only 27000 hectares of land was given to the people of the Indian community.

Under Panchayati Raj system a large number of agriculturists have been dispossessed of their holding. Moreover, forests have also been cleared but, despite all of it Madheshis could not get any share worth mention. Apart from it excessive Malguzari is also being imposed on agricultural sector and they had to pay Rs. 70 to Rs. 80 per Bigha. The major effect of it goes on to Mehshis, "the people of Indian origins". A number of restrictions have been imposed on the business of 'People of Indian origin'. A nepali paper commented as early as 1969.

"If the Government of India wants to see Indian in Nepal looked upon in the same way as Indians in Ceylon, Burma and Africa, it has only to continue the present policy of attempting to protect in economic monopoly of Nepal".

The Madheshis are discriminated against in respect of the education also. Indian Government provide huge amount as assistance for Education to Nepal Government. A number of Nepalese get education in Indian Universities without any discrimination. A large number of Indian students went to Nepal under the Colombo plan but, it is strange that 10% marks were deducted out of gross number for purpose of competition from the outsiders most of whom were Indians.

The position of Nepalese in India is quite different from those people of Indian origin in Nepal.
Government has issued guidelines for Tribunals to detect foreigners in Assam under the illegal migrants (Determination of Tribunals) Act of Feb. 2, 1984. The Government of India also clarified its official position regarding Nepali nationals in possession of restricted area permits. They will not be treated as illegal migrants. The person protected under Government of India, Notification of August 14, 1970 are also protected.

In India the intensive development of the plantation and construction work gave job opportunities to Nepalese migrants. Free plot of land were being given to plan taken workers in Darjeeling and Assam while in Sikkim South of Bhutan. There was considerable land for reclamation which was a great asset to the land-hungry hillmen of Nepal.¹

**Defence**

Nepali Army consists of 1 Royal Guard, 7 infantry brigades and single artillery, engineer, Signals, parachute and transport battalions, and 1 air squadron. Equipment includes 25 Ferrets. Strength of all services is about 40000 and there is also a 28000 strong para military police force.

Air force; independent of the army since 1979, the air force has 3 Suyau Transport aircraft, 1 Purna helicopter and 3 Chetak helicopters. An HS 748 turboprop transport and 1 super Purna and 1 Purna helicopters are operated by Royal Flight.²

---

1. Quoted from the unpublished dissertation submitted in parties fulfilment of requirement of the Master of Philosophy degree in J.N. University by Nimala Das.
Pakistan came into existence as a separate homeland of Muslim minority. The word 'Pakistan' was first brought by Muslim students in Cambridge in 1933. Islam, whether as separatist force not in line with the national main stream of anti-colonial struggle or as a religion per se; a rallying point for national unity of people conscious of their different identity, has been identified by both India and Pakistan as the root of the genesis of Pakistan.\(^1\) Pakistan's perception of its role emerged from the realisation of two vital forces - the area pull of South Pakistan's pull of domination around the area of being part of core dower Asia and the ideological Islamic identity. The defence policy revolved central theme of Indian and safeguards to counter it.

This made the found and affiliations this way of to value Liyakat Ali of Pakistan talked of the strategic importance of the Middle East, of West Pakistan bordering on Iran and Afghanistan and East Pakistan bordering on Burma keeping in mind the Muslim concentration of Indonesia.\(^2\) Their attempts did not prove successful. This phase of Pakistan's foreign policy, when attempts were made to be friend the Arab World, was full of

---

1. For details see Pakistan: The Struggle of a Nation 1949, The Paradox of India-Pakistan Relations, New Delhi, 1965.
misunderstanding between the Arab World and Pakistan. Having exhausted the natural image to bring about a solidarity in the Muslim World, Islamabad sought to break isolation by aligning itself to the West.¹ Pakistan's foreign policy changed when Pakistan joined the Western alliance system. This step ended its isolation and provided it an opportunity to counteract India's desire to dominate in what she called, her sphere of influence.² India opted for non-alignment and kept itself aloof from the East-West and North-South conflict. India's stand to keep extra-regional powers from interference in South Asia and the cold war, rejected the Balance of power doctrine enriched by Western powers. India's motto for peace was based on a dual policy of settlement of conflicts through peaceful negotiations. Peace was to be achieved to tackling the root of conflict (social, economic, political) and not by taking poise of strength and negotiation.³

Pakistan's policy resulted thus in the replacement of the Regional power hegemony with that of the Great power hegemony. The motive for alliance was thus not to escape geography but, achieve security in the context of India.⁴ India viewed with suspicion the extra-regional linkages which Pakistan entered with great powers, Nehru's classic reaction to Pakistan's decision to enter into US alliances was that "conditions have qualitatively changed and it affects Indo-Pak relations. In view of Pakistan, the major aspect of going, the US alliance was fear of Indian hegemony as well as the position of the traditional mountain route under Pakistan's control, through which the

---

sub-continent was invaded throughout history. The burden of guarding these routes is now borne by Pakistan.\(^1\) The argument was that a strong and stable Pakistan would be the strongest bulwark of security for India and in performing this role, it would gain an identity for itself.

After independence and partition of the sub-continent Pakistan was assiduously cultivated as an ally by the next for the cogent reason. Sir Olaf Caroe, a well known expert on this region, who had advised the UK and USA "governments", summed up the matter that "Pakistan has succeeded to much of India's responsibility, for the Gulf opens directly on Karachi..... India is no longer an obvious base for Middle East defence. It stands on the firing of defence periphery."\(^2\) The American interest in Pakistan is more or less on account of her interest in the Gulf.

The 1971 war had two main repercussions for South Asia. It legalised India's claim as a regional power as well as it changed Pakistan's perceptions of security interests and problems. Pakistan lost a valuable part in the form of East Pakistan; it was disenchanted with the United States for its half hearted support during the war and turned more towards West Asia and developed its linkages with China. Speaking about the changed circumstances, Bhutto, described that at the global level both the United States and China two friends of Pakistan - slightly modified their stance. The United States gave slight

\(^{1}\) Reply by Foreign Minister Hamidul Haq Choudhari to the debate in National Assembly on 25 March 1956, Foreign Relations, Karachi, 1956, pp. 54-55.

accepted to Indian position when both Nixon and Kissinger recognised India's new responsibilities\(^1\) China, in an oblique manner, reminded Pakistan that it would have to accept the new balance of power in South Asia.

Pakistan considers itself a cut above Nepal, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka and did not accept India's predominance. Pakistan's hope is to cut India down to a size to match India's strength. This has been the dream of all those who fragmented India in 1947 by collaborating with the West. They have reconciled themselves to the partition as it came about since their dream was to Balkanise India.\(^2\) The precipitate of a nuclear weapons race in South Asia is between India and Pakistan. Within the next five years both sides will have medium-range missiles. Each side will have to assume the worst of each other. And this is destabilizing because of the harrowing trigger nature of these missiles in times of tension. Not only do both countries have nuclear weapons and ballistic missile programmes, they have recently pursued chemical weapons as well. These programmes are particularly worrisome because of constant tension and conflict in Kashmir.\(^3\)

Pakistan's main threat perception of India is based on the suspicion of Indian motives. In view of Pakistan, India have not reconciled to the establishment of Pakistan. They will like to undo it, if they can, because their motives from the beginning have been inimical. For example,

---


when the Muslim ruler of Hyderabad delayed acceding to India, the state was captured by Indian using force. Finally, when Pakistan had some internal difficulties in East Pakistan in 1971, India played an active role to break up Pakistan and have not stopped there. India has been finding disruptionist elements like Sindhis for further fragmentation or annexation of Pakistan.¹

In 1977, Congress lost its 30 years domination from the Indian political scene. The Congress was replaced by the Janta Party. Janta Party introduced aggressive policy of non-appeasement towards Pakistan and thus it effected India’s relations with Pakistan. Further more Pakistan first tried to achieve parity with India in military strength by joining US sponsored Military alliances, the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) and the South East Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO) and later by obliging China and take use of it. After emergence of Bangladesh, Pakistan's strategy of maintaining parity with India was finally buried. China’s support to Pakistan can not always be described on India’s cost. Pakistan in fact lost much by providing China Karakoram High way and had opened doors for a powerful expansionist country, moreover, introduced China with USA with the obvious intention by using two giants as counter weight to India, without deeply thinking that in politics no one is friend or enemy. History repeats that China had never been a reliable friend.

Zia failed to bring about a consensus on any issues facing the country and always remained under the psyche that dead Bhutto may turn to be more dangerous than the

¹. Chibber, M.L. Indo-Pak Reconciliation, Lectures, page 75.
living one. The re-emergence of the military bureaucrats establishment in the decision making process in Pakistan proved dangerous portent for Indo-Pak relations, when the possibilities of a genuine 'detente' become visible for the first time since 1947.¹ The common idea was that if Zia decides to remain in the saddle for long and if his legitimacy is questioned, he may find it increasingly difficult to maintain the present process of normalization of relations between India or Pakistan.

The relations of India with Pakistan have never been cordial. Pakistan has never taken to their heart, India's policy of cooperation and has always tried to show superiority and with these objectives it shaked hands with extra-regional powers. John E. Owen has rightly observed that many Pakistani would like to see India weakened or even destroyed by communist China. S.S. Harrison wrote early in 1965: That "Frustrated and at loose ends, Pakistan searches restlessly and needlessly for a degree of recognition and respect out of all proportion to its size. It huffs and puffs and still finds to its understandable despair that India is bigger".

Pakistan's attitude towards India is in fact of rivalry to the point of bitter jealously. Pakistan's Foreign Minister while speaking about the relations with India expressed "Even if India were to treat us with yielding the tomorrow, we should only regard it as a trap. Pakistan's rivalry with India is so deep that Pakistan has a desire to keep conflicts alive till India realises the need to settle all disputes with Pakistan on the basis of recognised international merit and in a spirit of equality". Ayub Khan

characterised India as the most treacherous country whose plighted words were worthless. Prime Minister Liyakat Ali Khan followed a 'cleanse flat' policy towards India while another Prime Minister Firoze Khan Noon called India 'the enemy of Pakistan.'

It has been the policy of Pakistan to keep alive its dispute with India. Pakistan failed to carry any agreement entered with India. It violated the agreement of 1958 regarding her borders with India in Kutch, under which India's frontiers in Kutch were disposed off. Evidently, Pakistan treated the Nehru-Noon agreement of 1958, Indo-Pak agreement of 1960 and the Simla Agreement as a waste paper and scrounged many problems before India to divert the attention of his population from its own problems. Pakistan has a root cause that 'India's enemy is Pakistan's friend.' Pakistan shaked his hands with China, even though it was aware that China was aggressor and can not be believed.

Yahya Khan, gave a twist to Pakistan's foreign policy and played active part in the world politics to isolate India. But, the efforts of Pakistan to play the role of a powerful nation proved a nightmare. Economically, geographically and politically Pakistan remained too week to compare with India. The separation of East Pakistan had far reaching consequences. It cut short the importance of Pakistan as a Muslim country and strategically also weakened its position.

Pakistan is India's most difficult and the most important neighbour. But, seldom has any thing, any issue or any argument (been) resolved between India and Pakistan. Dialogue is the most vital thing between them. Their drift towards war begins when they cease to talk.  

relations go back to the pre-independence conflict between the Indian National Congress and the All India Muslim League, the two nation theory propounded by Mohammad Ali Jinnah, and the manner in which the partition of the sub-continent was brought about by the departing British Colonial rulers.

The conflicts and Controversies between the two major parties over partition were later transferred to the foreign policies of the two countries and coloured their world view. This was strongly reflected in Pakistan's Foreign Policy. One plank of the Muslim League's movement for Pakistan was that the Muslim League be treated on par with the Indian National Congress. Pakistan claimed equality and parity with India. Implicit in the framework was the Pakistani awareness of the disparity between India and Pakistan in terms of size, population natural resources, and industrial, scientific and Technical levels. To make up for this disparity Pakistani leaders began to seek outside support.

Pakistan could only look to the United States for this support. The USA was also seeking allies in Asia to counter the growing influence of the Chinese People Republic. Pakistan joined the SEATO is September 1954 and CENTO in 1955. Pakistan could only get an apparent sense of Security with the USA support. Nehru stated "That such

1. See Burke, S.M., Mainsprings of Indian and Pakistani Foreign Policies, Minneapolis University of Minnesota Press, 1974 for detailed study.
a step imperilled the freedom of the Asian Countries, that it would upset the existing equilibrium and constituted a form of intervention in Indo-Pak problems and that it was a step towards war. Large Scale Supplies of sophisticated weapons by the United States to Pakistan over the decades has had a profound influence on Pakistan's domestic and external affairs and particularly on Indo-Pak relations. The impact of this on Pakistan's relations with India has been that the ruling elite considered military solutions to problems, which could have been solved through bilateral negotiations. Here in lays the cause of three Indo-Pak wars (1947, 1965 and 1971).

Pakistani Leaders failed to understand the genesis of Indian Foreign policy of the Indian National Movements long struggle against imperialisms, colonialism and racism. Nehru said "peace and freedom have to be considered in their political and economic aspects. The economic problems demand urgent solution or else crisis and disaster might overwhelm the newly independent countries". The Indian experience has been that whenever Pakistan has accumulated large stocks of arms, mainly supplied by the United States, it has gone to war with India. Neither India nor Pakistan has solved any of the problems which led to war.

Pakistan and Islamic Ideology:

In 1977 Zia-ul Haq took over as President of Pakistan on the basis of the military coup and overthrew the democratically elected government of late Zulfikar Ali Bhutto on the plea that there was a confrontation between the PPP Government and the opposition united front. On the one hand Zia ul Haq made repeated attempts to legitimate the military rule by associating opposition political parties; on the other hand he Islamized the Pakistan society. The constitution was also amended repeatedly by the General to meet the wishes of the Generals.

The Muslim League was dominated by feudal aristocracy and a group of professionals, merchants and leaders. The rich urban professionals were led by Mohd. Ali Jinnah. The Muslim trading communities were active in supporting the Pakistan movement. The reason for this was that they either felt inhibited by restricted opportunities in India or saw much greater scope for themselves in an independent Muslim State.¹

After Pakistan emerged as a new country Muslim League was represented by the rich urban professionals who had migrated from India. The indigenous feudal aristocracy had not supported the Pakistan movement and it took them several years to reassert their power in the ruling party of Pakistan.² The landlords continued to exercise strong influence in politics and the society in general. Individual landlords could make or break parties by utilising the power

they enjoyed over the land and their tenants. The five
year plan under Ayub Khan led to leaders who were educated
in western countries and did not know Islam. Islam served
only as a slogan to rally Muslims belonging to all classes.
Both the Islami ideology and the concept of Pakistan had
meant different things to different people. The traditional
Ulma and fundamentalist groups backed by feudal forces and
rival factions of the capitalist attacked the constitutional
and political programme of the ruling faction as un-Islamic.
The fundamentalist could always take up provocative theo­
logical issues and sectarian conflicts to destabilise any
government. Pakistan had five constitutions in forty six
years. In each constitution a new definition of sovereignty
had been given. In Pakistan lopsided industrialisation and
the poor and the impoverished became poorer and the infamous twenty two families emerged. The policy of promoting
capitalism needed. Capitalist ideological framework. However,
Pakistan's ruling classes have failed to evolve a capitalistic
Islam. The ruling classes of Pakistan half heartedly attempted
to impose a prefeudal and feudal Islamic ideology on a society
which was rapidly developing capitalist relations of production.

1. Ali, Tariq, Can Pakistan Survive: The Death of a State
Harmonds Worth, 1983, p. 41.

2. For details see Chowdhari Habib Ahmed, Tehrik. 1.
Pakistan Aur Naynashnalist Ulma, Lahore, 1966.

3. Bahadur, Kalim, South Asia in Transition; Conflict and
Tension, p. 137.

4. Leonard, Binder's Jummat-i-Islam of Pakistan, New Delhi,
1977, for the Jammai arguments against Pakistan.


6. Haq-Zia-Ul Pakistan and Islamic ideology in Hasan Gardezi
and Jamil Rasheed (eds.) Pakistan: The Roots Of Dictator­
ship, The Political Economy of a Propetarian State,
Delhi, 1983.
Most of the leaders of Muslim League in power after 1947 belonged to urban professionals and they paid lip sympathy to the promise of Islamisation of society. The capitalism favoured individual rights and freedom, democracy and constitutional governments and also separation of religion from politics. It was a major tie between the ulama's and the capitalists. Ulmas believed that Muslim League leaders claims that Pakistan would be an Islamic State.

In Pakistan Islamic fundamentalism is an ideology of the dominant feudal and capitalist classes, which means defence of private property, free trade, suppression of democratic rights, authoritarian regime and national oppression. General Zia used Islam as a tool to legitimise his military rule and to attract the general mass and divert attention of public from the ethnic conflicts. He commanded as the true Islamic concept the institution of Amir or one man rule for the country. Zia's Islamic concept was related to interest free banking, enforcement of Zakat and Shariat courts. The minority Muslim sects like shias and Ahmedis were placed under repressive measures by the State. The followers of Shia community found to their dismay that they were being pressed to follow laws and regulations of Sunni Schools. Their voice was suppressed by violent policy action. Similarly new laws were enforced which almost outlawed the Ahmadi religion. Rights of women were also reduce in the name of Islam. Restrictions were imposed on social activities of woman.

The Pakistan's rulers laid stressed on the unshakeable bond between the State and religion and the ruling class embraced religious fundamentalism. As an ardent advocate of the Islamic Unity, Pakistan has been making untiring efforts to promote world Muslim Unity on the pretext that Zionist expansionist menace was a threat not only to the Arabs but to the entire Muslims world. Pakistan maintain the closest possible contacts with the fraternal Islamic states at the highest level.¹

(b) Ethnic Conflicts in Pakistan

Ethnicity can be defined as the emergent expression of primordial feelings long suppressed but, now awakened, or as a mode of seeking political redress in the society.² It is a term which is most often applied to any group which differs in one or several aspects of its patterned, society transmitted way of life from other groups, in the totality or that way of life or culture.³ Ethnic conflicts have posed a serious challenge to a large number of states.

Waller Conner has described the nation as a self differentiating ethnic group⁴ and the pre-requisite of a nationhood is an awareness that one's own group is unique in a 'most vital sense'.⁴ No where is such a crisis, so clearly manifested as in a multi-ethnic state like Pakistan.

---

¹ Kathpalis, P. N., National Security Perspective, Lancer International, New Delhi, p. 44.
Pakistan bears the major ethnic threat from internal violence along regional ethnic identities. The Bengali's Sindhis, Baluchi's and Pakhtun's constitute important elements in Pakistan's ethnic mosaic. The primary cause of conflict is the Muhajir representation of their community among Pakistan most significant national elites. This has served to politicize the Muhajirs community.

Sindh is the most ethnically diverse of Pakistan's frontier province, due to the international transfer of peoples into the promise during the subsequent to partition. The 1981 census disclosed that Sindh had a population of 19.3 million of whom 10.6 million (55.7%) were indigenous Sindhis. The ethnic consciousness of the Pathans, Baluchis- and Sindhis indicated that the feeling of relative deprivation has existed among all the three groups and the present upsurge in ethnic conflict in Sindh, can be attributed to this factor. It is pertinent to mention here that political violence results from an intolerable gap between what people want and what they get. Relative deprivation as conceptualized by Ted Gurr arises when an individual does not get what he thinks is justifiable due to him. Relative deprivation is the mechanism that produces frustration of sufficient intensity to motivate people to engage in political protest and violence.


(c) Sindi question of nationality

The crystallisation of the Sindi Nationality had taken place as far back as 1200 years ago. The tribal identification had been subordinated to the Sindhi national identification. A feudal nationality, so to speak came into existence while vestiges of tribalism remained and a number of secondary languages continued to consist. When the Arabs conquered Sind in eight century. They did so by defeating a sovereign ruler of the long establishment state of Sind. The Arabs had difficulty in recognising the separate national identity of Sind and even considered of about from Hind and India people.

After lapse of Sind rule, two Sindhi dynasties 'Soomro' and 'Momo' ruled Sind independently. The Arghums and Tarkhans who came from Central Asia also ruled as more or less sovereign rulers of an independent state. In 1652 Mughal ruler of India, Akbar imposed direct rule over Sind. But, it did not cease to be a distinct entity. The Mughals never thought to integrate Sind with Hindustan. The subedars and faujdars of the Sarkars were no more than farmer generals of revenue. The Mughal rule was never accepted by the Sind public and remained in continuous revolt against the Mughals. Sumeja Umar, Chandio and Nomri were particularly noted for their resistance to alien rule. Lastly Mughals had to recognize the sovereignty of Sind under Kalhoro native rule. Despite all efforts by Iran and Afghan to win over Sind, no fruitful efforts could be achieved and Sind maintained its sovereignty.

Before the British conquered Sind in 1843, the latter had established itself as a sovereign state under

Talpur Yirs. Commander Hoshoo, who became a hero, raised the slogan of "Murvesoon, Sindh na leeson (we will die but will not give Sindh). Even British had to recognise the advanced nationality development of Sind. They declared Sindhi to be the official language, Muslim nationalistic consciousness in Sind was not only based on narrow material considerations but on long nourished Sindhi nationalism. Its social extent was extremely limited. The HUR movement in 1940 paid resistance to the British Rule in Sind. The British imposed martial law in 1942. Sent police from Punjab but remained unsuccessful. The Hur movement was for independence of Sind. Pir Sibghatullah Pagoro claimed that his ancestors were Guddi Nasheen of sind and will rule Sind. For Pakistan the task of nation building was more difficult than any other newly independent country. Beside the geographical separation of East Bengal, which had the minority of the countries population from west Pakistan, each of the five province represented a distinct nationality which had a fully or equal sovereign state of its own before the British conquest. Besides, the provinces had different population resources and proximity of power.

The transfer of population from India in 1947 also created much difficulty to the existing mass. The removal of colonial rule led to an enormous concentration of power in the hands of civilian bureaucracy which largely belonged to Punjabis and Urdu speaking refuge and Kathiawari immigrants. The landlord class which was quite powerful in Punjab and Sind could not excercise political hegemony. The Military which immerged as the paramount political force in the country dominated in all fields.

Pakistan was aware about the position and creation of Bengladesh as a result of the insensitivity of its rulers.
The Baloch's people were subjected to armed suppression from 1973 to 1977 resulting alienation of Balochies from Pakistan. The army also took hard steps against Sindhis who were claiming disparity. The main problem in Sind is demographic. In 1947 about 1 million Hindu Sindhis left for India and in their place more than one million urdu speaking persons from India settled in Sind. Recently several hundred thousand Behari from Bengladesh have been settled in Sind with the result that they have been reduced to minority and creating disparities. The other aspect of discontent among Sindhis is that practically, more than half of the Pakistan industries are located in Sind, but, they have no participation in it. The lucrative, commercial transportation construction and service sector, which comprises 55% of the Pakistan's domestic gross products are largely located in Sind but, Sindhis have no share in this sector. As regards to service class their margin comparatively to the population is nil.

Similarly, agriculture lands were the bastion of the Sindhis economic power. But, after creation of Pakistan situation has dramatically changed. More than two million acres of land left behind by the Hindu Sindhis in 1947 was distributed among the refugees and was not allotted to landless Sindhis. Also, over one million acres of land which was brought under cultivation due to construction of Kotri and Guddu barrages were also distributed to non-Sindhis. It has exacerbated the condition of the common Sindhis.

The Sindhis met their first political shock when their primate city Karachi was separated from Sind and declared "Federal capital Area". It put Sind in ridiculous position of locating its government as no other city in the province had the infrastructure to host the provincial government. Sindhis surplus revenues was appropriated by the West
Pakistan (New Pakistan) and Sindhis people hardly benefitted with it. In Pakistans ethno-political calculus, there is no room for a Sindhi Prime Minister. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto accomplished the unthinkable, but, had to pay for its cosmopolitan outlook. The constitution of 1973 did not provide sufficient quantum of provincial autonomy. The Sindhis were turned as strangers in their own Karachi city. Sindhi schools were shut down. In 1975 all the periodicals were banned by the government. At present only the government and Jammat-i-Islami are allowed to publish newspapers in Sindhi.

Sind comprises 23% of the Pakistans population but contains 60% of its industries, consume 42 percent of energy and has a per capita income of 40% higher than in Punjab. The crux of the matter however, is the question of nationality which Sindhis are not ready to alienate. They want and fair participation in the democratic policy. A free hand to develop their culture and national personality and their future without coercion. It is estimated that Mohajirs now make up about 35 percent of Sindhis population. They are concentrated to the major cities in Karachi and Hyderabad where industry and commerce has thrived. The seeds of ethnic conflict in Sindh were sown in 1947 when during the blood letting which accompanied decolonisation on both sides of the sub-continental divide more than half a million Urdu speaking refugees Muslims (Mohajirs) came to Sindh as displaced people.1

1. The Times of India, July 31, 1990.
(d) Baluchistan Problem

Baluchistan is a vast country in West Asia divided into three geographic units, the Palistan or Eastern Baluchistan, the Iranian or Western Baluchistan, and the Afgani Northern Baluchistan. The total area Baluchistan is around 7 lacks kms having a population of 7½ million people. Apart from it they are about three million ethnic Baluchi in sind who have merged with Sindhi population and have become part of its socio-political matrix. When the British arrived in this part of Asia in 19th century, the Baluchi area consisted of several independent Principalities. In Sind, klat and Western Baluchistan. The British conquered Sind and finished Baluchi power. Soon Punjab was subinghted and the Baluchi area of Dero Jah (Dere Gnezi Khan, Mushirgash Jhang and Dere Ismail Khan) came under British sway. British attached Khan Mehraf Khan in 1939 and after killing him, put his son in Khante. The British agreed with Iran on the occupation of Western Baluch area. However, due to strong resistance, Iran could not take possession. The Khan of Balat was made the head of the Baluch confederation. Before the partition of India a conference was held on August 4, 1947 in Delhi which was attended by Lord Ismay, for Liaqat Ali Khan and Sir Sultan Ahmed as legal advisor of Khan of Keret and Kelet was declared as an independent State on August 12, 1947.

However, Khan of Kerat treacherously and unexpectedly announced on March 22, 1948 surrendered and annexed its area with Pakistan. Pakistan took over the entire administration and put behind bars all the prominent leaders. In 1954 a party Demarook Ulus (Progressive People Party, was organized to struggle for the democratic rights of the people. In 1955 Baluch leaders organized another party VSI a man Gal
(Peoples Party) with Agha Abul Karim as its President to form autonomous Baluchistan. On GX/1958 Khan of Kelat was arrested and put into jail with all other leaders. For three months the whole Zakakzai tribal area was indiscriminately bombed and several peoples were killed. A special concentration camp was opened in Quetta. After 1962 martial law was uplifted. Elections were held and Baluch leaders came in majority. Again there were disturbances and finally compromise was reached in 1967. In 1973 NAP came into power but, again NAP ministry was dissolved and troops were sent to take over to look after law sorter similar with from hands. After the emergence of Bangladesh again an elected provincial government was established but that could not last long and was dismissed in 1973. The main reason of the discomfort was that Pakistan since 1958 upto ZIA had been under Army rule except short periods and has blotted the national feelings of the Baluchi people. The other important fact was the national awareness against the tyranny of the Punjabi people. Baluchi people feel that they can not get solution of their demands in the present set up.

Baluchistan in fact is situated at an important strategic cross-road as it is wedged between Afghanistan to the north and gulf of Oman to the South and is of great importance to the US because of its proximity to the oil-rich gulf. It has remained the centre of attention of Pentugow. Till the fall of Shah of Iran, American policy makers mainly operated in this area of Pakistan through him. In the early seventies Iran was in the forefront of suppressing the movement of the Baluch people Guwdian reported. "What has now become clear is the recent involvement of the Iranian Army Aviation in the province working together with the Pakistan Army Aviation. Nine Iranian Helicopters and 18 crew were deployed between Dec. 73 - May 74."
Daily Aayendagan reported but military block had shifted its focus of attention from the north to the South, particularly. The southern border of Iran and Pakistan” - which means the areas inhabited by Baluch people. After the fall of Bhutto, Washington intensified its efforts to gain a foothold in this strategic area with a view to build military bases.

It is now clear but Baluchistan has become a springboard for imperialist subversion and intervention in the Middle East and the Indian Ocean. The area has been brought under the newly established Pakistani Rapid Deployment Force which has direct bonds with US Central Command. It is evident that new type of military arrangements have been inhibited after the CENTO has been dissolved and Baluchistan has been a key link.

(e) Military Rule in Pakistan

Pakistan has been under military rule for a pretty long time. The first serious blow to the democratic setup was effected in 1953 in the wake of anti Qadri riots and martial law was imposed in Lahore, which became the key stone in the arch of military coup in Pakistan.¹

After the incident of Lahore riots, Governor General Ghulam Mohd. dismissed Khwaja Nizamuddin in April 1953 despite of the fact that he was enjoying the majority in the constituent Assembly.² It provided ample powers to bureaucracy and resulted in the alliance of Military and bureaucracy. In 1954 Prime Minister Mohd. Ali was forced to

include General Ayub Khan and General Iskander Mirza as Ministers of Defence and Home and thus formed a semi-dictatorial executive. Ayub Khan imposed a new political system in the name of basic democracy. After ten years of rule he was toppled and Yahya Khan stepped into power.

In 1971, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto came to power after ousting Gen. Yahya Khan on account of the defeat and disaster in East Pakistan. He was the first civilian Administrator in Pakistan. Gen. Zia Ul Haq, the C-in-C of the army took over in 1977 after throwing Bhutto and thus Pakistan again entered into Military rule.

Pakistan is one of the many third countries, where military rule has been permanent feature. Some scholars view that military does not have any unique effect on social change regardless of the level of economic development.¹ Other sect of scholars are of the opinion that third world countries where backward and outdated customs prevail and where primitive practice and culture dominate and in such countries technically trained civilian cadre is too small, the military perceives that it alone can modernise the country and this perception is an incentive to military take over.²

There is a strong argument that in Pakistan effective power within the state apparatus since the coup d' etat of 1958 and thus the first martial law in Pakistan was in fact not a seizure of power as the power was already in the

hands of those who were supposed to have it. There is a strong view that Islami character is the cause of the military rule. An overall view of the Muslim states shows that soldiers have governed a majority of Middle Eastern (Muslim) countries almost continuously. In 1980 half of the Muslim states were directly ruled by the military and in rest the military was the ultimate power.¹

Ayub's contacts with Pentagon were well known U.S.A. was of the view that Military officer corps was a major rallying point of the defence against communist expansion and penetration. The main cause of the emergence of Pakistan in its territory was not Muslim league, but because majority of their population was Muslim who provided support and followed the Muslim Leagues proposal.

In Pakistan bureaucracy prevailed for the first ten years. The relationship between the political parties and the bureaucracy was in Pakistan, Political parties were waxed, waned and suffered eclipse. Political leaders argued and reduced each other to importance. In the meanwhile the state has been run by the civil service, backed by the army, which has carried on much as it did before independence.² In Pakistan, after the failure of Muslim League, the country could not build the democratic institutions as was done in India. After dismissal of Khwaja Nizamuddin, Governor General held overall control on power. He dismissed the constituent Assembly and brought Ayub into power. The Martial law imposed by Ayub remained till 1962. After the fall of Ayub in March 1969 power passed to Yahya Khan. The defeat of Pakistan Army in East Pakistan and emergence of

Bangladesh, discredited the army and its legitimacy. Bhutto reduced the powers of military bureaucratic oligarchy and removed sword of military intervention.

Bhutto was overthrown by Gen. Zia. General Zia's regime was the most isolated in the history of Pakistan. After Zia's aircrash, Mrs. Bhutto, a political leader took over as Prime Minister of Pakistan and after a short interval Nawaz Sharif succeeded. The Military again put pressure in one way or the other and both of the Prime Ministers had to try their fate. Mrs. Bhutto again became the Prime Minister of Pakistan and thus power again transformed to a political leader and the military failed to interfere this time due to extra regional pressure.

(f) An Analysis of the Threat:

Pakistani Armed Forces have undergone a number of major changes in the four decades since independence, and partition from India. Not only have there been a number of political upheavals, but the entire outlook of the country has changed. Importantly, the Pakistani Armed Forces have learnt that they don't have the slightest hope of an outright victory in a war with India, as has been illustrated in the outcome of the 1947, 1965 and 1971 conflicts. Also, Pakistan has learnt that it can weather the disapproval of one super power with the endorsement of the other. Although there have been major upheavals since independence in 1947, the basic outlook of Pakistan's foreign policy has largely remained unchanged. The primary purpose of its armed forces; officially; is to render its sovereignty absolute. Pakistan's primary perceived threat is her parent country - India.
(g) **Social Conditions**

Pakistan's current population stands at approximate 110 million, which includes some 3 million refugees from neighbouring Afghanistan. These Afghan refugees entered the country between 1979 and 1989, the period of Soviet occupation. The Gross Domestic product has tripled to almost US $ 40 billion in 1989 compared to a little over US $ 10 billion in 1959. And the Pakistani Defence Budget by overly austered estimations is a little over 8% of their GNP. Though one factor remains common with the rest of the third world, the average man's per capita income is less than US $ 400 per annum.

(h) **Foreign Aid and Defence Expenditure**

The Pakistani military expenditure regularly absorbs between 40 to 50% of the Federal Budget of the country annually. The Defence Budget for the year 1989 was US $ 2.9 billion. Of which 2.4 million was from the Federal Budget and US $ 500 million was from foreign aid. Out of this foreign aid US $ 230 million was aid from the United States alone. The 1990 defence budget for Pakistan has been set at US $ 3.2 million of which the United States has contributed US $ 290 million. About 3/4th of the foreign aid to Pakistan comes from a consortium of nations including the UK, USA, and ten other countries. Between 1962 and 1974 the United States and the United Kingdom were the principal sources of foreign aid. In recent times, however, China and Saudi Arabia, have contributed increasingly towards Pakistan's Defence Budget. This has been by either hard cash transfers or major concessions on the purchase of military hardware, and often both simultaneously. Under the military dictatorship by General Zia the armed forces as a whole underwent a major
modernisation, though little was done to strengthen the arms industry base particularly in the private sector. The reluctance to invest has its roots in the large amounts military aid from the US. This aid is the result of agreements signed by the late Gen. Zia, under whose tenets the US will supply Pakistan US $3.3 billion worth of military hardware, including the General Dynamics, F-16 Falcon and the Lockheed P-3 Orion aircraft amongst other items.

(i) Armed Forces:

The overall manpower of the Pakistani Armed Forces continues to grow. Particularly alarming is the fact that the manpower of the Pakistani Army will exceed 500,000. The combined strengths of the armed forces at present stands at 523,000 with the Army accounting for over 90% which numbers 480,000 and has close to 500,000 reservists. The Air Force has a total strength of 25,000 which does not include the 800 reservists, while the strength of the Navy including the aviation wing is 13,000 and besides which are the 8,000 reservists. The 271,000 strong para-military forces of Pakistan include the coast guard, Rangers, and the National Guard which will augment the armed forces in event of a contingency.

Like India and Pakistani Army retains the British organisational legacy. This is highly evident in the army, where the regiment forms the basis of organisation for the higher brigade, division, and corps level formations. The Army comprises of nine corps level formations, each commanding two or more divisions.

There are two Armoured Divisions, each of which commands two brigade headquarters; each of which commands
Sketch 1: General Locations Pak Land Forces

AFGHANISTAN
- Kabul
- Peshawar
- Islamabad
- Srinagar
- Sialkot
- Multan
- Hyderabad
- Karachi
- Sukkur
- Bannu

INDIA
- Amritsar
- Jodhpur
- Jammu
- Delhi
- Lucknow
- Calcutta
- Gujrat
- Sialkot

IRAN
- Quetta
- Panjgur
- Turbat
- Gwadar

- Borders
- Army Corps
- Line of control

Scale: 0 500 1000 Kmr
five armoured regiments and two mechanised infantry regiments and various support units. The infantry strength comprises of 19 infantry divisions each of which has, three brigade leve headquarters, one armoured regiment, one artillery regiment (towed) one engineer regiment, one signals battalion, and one supply unit. Besides these there exist four independent armoured brigades and eight independent infantry brigades, supplementing reconnaissance battalions, and one special force group. The comparative figures are given below:

Table 1
Percentage of Population in the Military and Military Expenditure as percentage of GNP/GDP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Population (in million)</th>
<th>Total Armed Force (in millions)</th>
<th>Percentage of Population in Military</th>
<th>Military Expenditure as percentage of GNP/GDP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>1,008.175</td>
<td>4.100</td>
<td>1.86</td>
<td>Not available unlikely to be less than 6 percent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+ 4.300 (Reservists)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+ 10.3000 (Militia)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>723.500</td>
<td>1.120</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td>3.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+ 0.200 (Reservists)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>89.500</td>
<td>0.478</td>
<td>1.14</td>
<td>7.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+ 0.513 (Reservists)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+ 0.030 (Troops Abroad)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USA</td>
<td>234.516</td>
<td>2.136</td>
<td>1.32</td>
<td>7.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+ 0.005 (Reservists including National guards)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>271.800</td>
<td>+ 5.050</td>
<td>3.70</td>
<td>Not available but unlikely to be less than 8 percent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+ 5.000 (Reservists)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2
Military Capability Equation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>19 Armoured/infantry Divisions</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>21 Armed/Infantry Divisions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangladesh</td>
<td>5 Infantry Divisions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China (in and</td>
<td>28 Divisions out of her approximately 280 Divisions of various types.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>around (Tibet)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

52 Divisions      31 Divisions

Note: Above figures are as in 'The Military Balance 1988-89'.

As far as the equipmental aspects of the Pakistani Army go, it is the perfect haunting logistics nightmare, requiring sheer genius to make things worse. The major weapons systems have been acquired from a variety of sources which include the US, the UK, China, Germany, Sweden and France. Presently, the Army is desperately seeking to modernise its armour capability. A combat development Board was established in early 1989 to make recommendations on future tank procurements. The main contender is the MIAI Abrams, manufactured by the US based General Dynamics, Land systems Division. Even though the US has reduced the per unit cost of the MIAI, a final decision is as yet awaited. Meanwhile, Pakistan is also seeking the Chinese T-80 MBT, and setting up a production unit for the T-69 II MBT with Chinese help. The T-69 II is believed to be the "indigenous" tank that is expected to roll out shortly, (around 1995-96).
Pakistan operates mainly US supplied M-47/485 and Chinese T-62/69 MBTs. The retrofitting of these tanks with modern equipment has developed into very major programme for the Army. Moreover, Pakistan has also entered into contract with the US firm EMC corporation to manufacture the M-113 armoured personnel carriers, the first of which is expected to roll out around 1993-94. In the area of anti-aircraft systems, the Pakistani Army is in the process of selecting guns, along with gun control and fire control systems. Along with the new guns from the Swedish firm AB before manufactured RBS-70 Laser surface-to-air missile, which have already produced are being integrated with the force. A quantum jump in the capability of the Army was achieved with the successful tests of the ANZA (Lance) man portable surface-to-air missile, that has been modelled on the basis of Chinese HN-5 and the HAFT-11 (Deadly) surface missile. The Chinese assistance in both the missile programmes is evident, the ANZA is believed to have an indigenisation content of 70% with complete indigenisation before 1993, while the indigenous content of the HAFT remains unknown, though it is believed to have a range of about 300 km.

In the two and a half decades India and Pakistan fought three wars with each other. All three Indo-Pak wars were probably the result of Pakistan's basic need to justify the two nation theory and thereby its very existence, since a secular, stable India constitutes a standing negation of the philosophy which gave birth to Pakistan. In an attempt to combat India's growing stature and to draw attention away from its own deficiencies, Pakistan's leadership has resorted interference in India's internal affairs. It has also raised the Indian hegemonic bogey to wean sympathy and military
aid from other nations.¹

The army and the air-force have remained the principal actors in all the Indo-Pak wars fought so far. The last war in 1971 witnessed the two navies playing a small but significant role. Consequently, Pakistan appeared to have re-appreciated the scope of the navy in the pursuit of its national objectives, and assiduously followed a maritime policy of modernization and expansion. As a result of its post-1971 maritime strategy, the Pakistan Navy has emerged today as a leading maritime power in the Indian Ocean region, with the major part of its naval assets being developed to provide it with a formidable offensive capability.

The Early Years (1947-72):

At the time of its creation, the Royal Pakistan Navy received 10 ships and 3,200 men from the Royal Indian Navy. The ships included four frigates, four minesweepers and four motor launches, while the manpower comprised 200 officers and 3,000 sailors. In the early years, the Royal Pakistan Navy made slow but steady progress. By 1954, it had added four destroyers to its fleet and had more than doubled its manpower to 7,100 personnel (including 600 officers). At the same time, the Government of Pakistan resorted to vigorous lobbying for US military aid which resulted in their joining the SEATO and CENTO, and the signing of the Mutual Defence Assistance Agreement between the US and Pakistan governments on 19 May 1954.

In the Indo-Pak war of 1965, the US-leased submarine PNS Ghazi was deployed extensively, but failed to see any

¹ Kathpalis, P.N., National Security Perspectives, Lancer International, New Delhi, p. 44.
action. In the next war with India in 1971, the Pakistan Navy managed to notch its first kill when two torpedoes, fired from the submarine PNS Hangor, struck the Indian frigate INS Khukri. The Pakistan Navy, however, lost several ships in Indian naval action in the same war, including the submarine PNS Ghazi, the destroyer PNS Khyber and a minesweeper ONS Muhafiz. The creation of Bangladesh further depleted the Pakistan Navy which thereby lost and depleted the Pakistan Navy. Nearly 40 per cent of its manpower and the shore establishments based in east while East Pakistan were transferred accordingly. The Indo-Pak war of 1971 seems to be the turning point in the growth of the Pakistan Navy, which prepared itself thereafter for a greater role in the region.

The Preparatory years (1972-87)

The exit of General Yahya Khan and his coterie from the political scene after the 1971, probably encouraged the Pakistan Navy to press the succeeding order for a greater role. The value of a strong maritime capability in the pursuit of Pakistan's national objectives seems to have been better appreciated by the new political order and, significantly, the Naval Headquarters was finally shifted to the national's capital, Islamabad, on March 15, 1975. The Pakistan Navy also prepared itself for modernisation and expansion, and appears to have adopted a maritime strategy which would permit it to develop its base steadily and progressively for this purpose.

The Expanding Years (1988 onward)

In the period after 1987, the Pakistan Navy undergone a major expansion. A glance at figures 1 and 2 shows a sharp rise in all fields, viz, tonnage and combat potential. Correspondingly, the manpower strength is once again on the
rise. The present expansion has thrust the Pakistan Navy into a leading maritime power in the Indian Ocean region, as is evident from a comparison of the Indian Ocean navies (shown in table 1).

The past few years have witnessed the Pakistan Navy coming of age, and its transition to state of the art missile technology. It has developed its submarine force to fire the Harpoon submarine launched anti-ship sea skimming missiles, of range 130 km. This greatly enhances the Pakistan Navy's sea denial capability, and maritime offensive power. It has also acquired 10 more frigates from the US and UK, which doubles the potency of its surface fleet and accords it with a strong sea control capability.

With the end of the cold war between the two superpowers, there was a possibility of the US discontinuing its strategy of maintaining Pakistan as a frontline state. However, it is likely that the recent events in the Gulf may well have baled out Pakistan.

Pakistan's Maritime Strategy:

It is evident that Pakistan has formulated a clear and cohesive maritime strategy for attaining its national objectives, and that the ongoing expansion of the Pakistan Navy comes at the end of a careful planned and laborious period of preparation.

In the case of Pakistan, this stands out more poignantly on account of the limited maritime security concerns of the nation. Pakistan has only a 700 km coastline, with about 250,000 sq.km. of Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ). It does not possess any island territories, nor any known off-shore assets. The favourite cry of Pakistan for obtaining attention and military aid, for a long time now, has been
the bogey of Indian hegemonic designs. In order to appreciate the baseless nature of this cry, it is necessary to briefly examine India's maritime security concerns.

Pakistan has in the last four decades pushed its military and political envelope to the point where its weakness have become apparent. The 'Zarb-e-Momin' exercise in '89 and the Sind problems in early '90 indicate that the Army is as yet arrogant, a carry over of the martial law days. More disturbing is the tendency of the Army to claim a capability they do not possess; and get adventurous on the basis of their claims. Which is a decidedly dangerous thing.

Bilateral relations with India touched a new low in early 1990, with Pakistan aiding anti-India subversives, and disputes on the Kashmir issue. Moreover, Pakistan continues to expand its military capabilities beyond legitimate requirements. Even though it is evident that Pakistan cannot win a 'conventional' war against India they continue to prepare for this eventuality. The result being that the entire South Asian region is poised for an economically devastating arms race. Pakistan must seek to sort out bilateral matters amicably without sabre rattling. In the meantime Pakistan continues to arm itself and configure its armed forces for a possible conflict in the region.
## MAJOR COMBATANT: PAKISTAN NAVY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Gross Tonnage (tons)</th>
<th>Operational Range (n.m)</th>
<th>Weapons</th>
<th>Weapons Range (km)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>A. Submarines</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agosta</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1,740</td>
<td>8,500</td>
<td>4-20 SSM Sub-Harpoon/4-20 Torpedoes ECANP17P</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daphine</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1,043</td>
<td>4,500</td>
<td>12 SSM Sub-Harpoon/12 Torpedoes ECAN L-5</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>B. Destroyers</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Country</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6,200</td>
<td>4,500</td>
<td>2x4 Seacat SAM 4 Guns 4&quot;.5 4 Guns 37 mm 6 SSM Harpoon 2 Guns 5&quot; G Torpedoes MK 32</td>
<td>5 19 8.5 130 17 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gearing</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3,500</td>
<td>4,500</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>C. Frigates</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leander</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2,962</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>2x4 Seacat SAM 2 Guns 4&quot;.5 1x3 Mortar MK 10</td>
<td>5 19 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garcia</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3,403</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>2 Guns 5&quot; 1x8 ASROCMK 116 6 Torpedoes MK 32 16 Standard SAM 1 Gun 5&quot; 1x8 ASROCMK 116 6 Torpedoes MK 32</td>
<td>17 10 46 17 10 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erooka</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3,246</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>D. Missile Craft</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huangfen</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>4 SSM Fei Lung 4 Guns 25 mm 2 SSM Fei Lung 2 Guns 25 mm</td>
<td>95 3 95 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negu</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>400</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SOURCE:** Jane's Fighting Ships 1990-91
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Commissioned</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>6 Midget submarines</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>1 Daphne submarine, 2 Hainan FAC(G)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>2 Gearing destroyers 1 Type 16 frigate</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>1 Agosta submarine 1 minesweeper</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>1 Agosta submarine 2 Gearing destroyers, 2 Hainan FAC(G) 4 Hegu missile craft</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>1 country destroyer 2 CR destroyers, 1 Gearing destroyer 1 CH destroyer</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>1 Gearing destroyer 3 minesweepers</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>4 Huangfer missile craft</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>(Agostas developed for SSM Harpoon) 1 Dido cruiser</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>2 Leander frigates, 3 midget submarines (Daphnes developed for SSM Harpoon) 1 Battle destroyer</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>4 Garcia frigates, 4 Brooke frigates</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>2 patrol craft</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SOURCE:** Jane's Fighting 1972-73 to 1990-91
Air Power Structure:

When Pakistan was created in 1947, the assets of the eastwhile Royal Indian Air Force was divided between the two countries in the following manner:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>India</th>
<th>Pakistan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fighter Squadrons</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport Squadrons</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Equipment and spares were divided on the basis of one third of everything to Pakistan. Pakistan Air Force (PAF) was also established as an independent force. From that date onwards, the PAF has continued to grow, both in quality and quantity. It underwent a massive re-equipment and expansion with American military assistance programme after Pakistan joined the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) and South East Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO) in 1955 besides the joint security agreement with USA in May 1954. The PAF, which had inherited its structure from the Indian Air Force (IAF) modelled on the British pattern, also moved closer to the American force structure patterns. Under this American influence, an Army Aviation Corps was created as integral to the Pakistan army in 1958 after its personnel and aircrew were trained in USA. The Naval Aviation element was created in 1975 with MR and ASW capabilities. However, this element continues to be commanded by PAF officers; and PAF provides maintenance support and initial training facilities.

Pakistan's aggression and war with India in 1965 led to an American embargo on supplies of arms to Pakistan. This
Sketch 3: Air Power and Defence Bases

[Map of Pakistan and Afghanistan showing defence bases and routes.]

AFGHANISTAN

Kabul

Kandahar

Quetta

Islamabad

Peshawar

ISLAMABAD

Risalpur

SKAHUU

LC

Srinagar

Chaklala

Marid

Sargodha

Gander

Amritsar

Afghan-Iran Border

Afghan-India Border

Bikaner

Jodhpur

Jiwani Gwadar

Pasni

Ji

Nawabshah

Hyderabad

Talhar

Badin

Main Air Bases

Naval Air Bases

Scale:

0  500  1000 km
embargo was lifted for a short period in October 1970 which permitted restocking of spares and equipment to a supply level of 30 days at the Air-base and six months reserves at 'depot' level, besides resupply of F-104A Starfighters and B-57B Canberra aircraft to make up for peacetime attrition etc. Pakistan also moved close to China, especially in the field of arms and equipment, and received generous military arms supply, assistance and aid in 1966. At the same time, Pakistan settled on a third, and comparatively independent source of other weapons systems for its arms supplies, viz. Europe, especially France. This established a pattern of equipment for Pakistan's air power which is in evidence today, and which, barring some major developments in international relations and alignments, is likely to continue in the foreseeable future.

Another element in Pakistan's air power has been the significant support from other Muslim countries of Asia, both in kind and in cash to support arms acquisition which expanded in a large way in 1967 with the Pakistan-Saudi Arabia agreement. Concurrently, large scale cooperation in the military field with these countries has led to a significant number of PAF air and ground crew being involved in training and maintenance activities to assist these countries. This has led to the twin advantage of build up of valuable experience at the cost of the recipient country, and also in an opportunity and valuable operational experience to operate some of the equipment common to IAF (e.g. Mig 21, SU-7, Jaguar aircraft etc): an opportunity PAF may not have been able to obtain otherwise.

(e) Military Expenditure

Pakistan has also been receiving military equipment as aid from USA (under the Military Assistance Programme (MAP) in the 1950-60s and more recently, the US $ 3.2 billion
security related economic and military aid granted in
1981, and $ 4.02 aid in 1987) as well as arms acquisitions
funded by Muslim states, especially Saudi Arabia. It also
receive a significant quantum of military equipment on
'lease', as indeed the recent acquisition of a 8 Brooke/
Garcia class frigates on lease from USA shows. An analysis
of military expenditure in Pakistan (See Figure 1) indicates
that:

(a) Except for one year (1974) the military expenditure
has been progressively increasing in spite of reduced
national security commitments after East Pakistan separated
and became a sovereign state in 1971.

(b) After a period of comparatively stabilized growth,
during 1967-1978, there has been a significant upwards
surge in the level of spending starting from 1978 going
up substantially in 1979, when it registered record 43
per cent increase over the previous year. The high rate of
growth coincided with the establishment of the new military
dictatorship and growth of Islamic fundamentalism. A more
significant jump has taken place after 1986. During 1988-90
military expenditure experienced a 40 percent growth rate
mostly under a democratic government and during a period
when Indo-Pak relations were showing positive signs of
improvement and the Soviets withdrew from Afghanistan.

(c) For over 20 years, Pakistan's annual military expendi­
titure has constituted on an average, over 6 per cent of
its GNP. In recent years, it has hovered close to 8 percent
of the GNP.

(d) Pakistan's military expenditure may be expected to
grow at an annual rate of 10-15 percent (current values)
by a most conservative estimate. This could be significantly
higher if the national government remains under military control/domination/influence and thereby sustain the military elite and its concomitant effects.

The above analysis is further borne out by other indicators of increasing militarisation of Pakistan. Pakistan's armed forces have increased by over 49 per cent since 1968, although its national security commitments significantly reduced after the separation of East Pakistan in 1971. If the raising of the large reserves after 1972-1973 is also taken into account, the armed forces during the 20 years period (1968-1988) have grown by over 204 percent - that is, an annual average of 10.2 percent.

Although the population of present Pakistan is estimated to have registered a 22 percent increase between 1972 and 1980, its per capita military expenditure had gone up progressively to a figure of $18.85 per person (see figure 2) i.e., a 200 percent increase by 1980, and had reached $24.8 by 1988 and onward.

Arms transfer to Pakistan has also shown a spurt during the 1990s. In the ten year period between 1967-76, total arms transfer to Pakistan were valued at US $831 million (current dollars): in the five years between 1975-1979, Pakistan imported arms valued at US $875 million. The first package of US aid of $3.2 billion security related economic and military aid in 1981 visualised 50 percent for direct military aid alone. This implied an arms transfer to Pakistan with American aid alone amounting to US $160 million in the five year period between 1983-86. It started receiving the second package worth $4.02 billion from 1987. This has meant nearly $2,100 million for arms acquisitions from USA under Foreign Military Assistance (FMA) during the six year period.
Maritime Role

Pakistan operates a fleet of 4 Atlantique long-range maritime petrol aircraft which are also equipped for the strike role with AM-39 Exocet sea-skimming anti-ship missiles (AShM). It is scheduled to get six P3C Orion long-range maritime patrol aircraft from US Navy surplus stocks. These will be fitted with the more capable Harpoon AShMs. Pakistan also maintains 12 Mirage 5P for maritime strike role with AM-39 Exocet AShMs. In addition, 6 Westland Sea King Mk-45 helicopters are also fitted with AM-36 Exocets. The maritime reconnaissance strike force available to Pakistan during the 1990s would be the second largest (next to Australia) in the Indian Ocean littoral during the 1990s. At the turn of the century, the Atlantiques may provide the 'second-string'.

Early Warning and Air Defence

PAF has maintained an efficient early warning coverage with mobile observer units which is now progressively linked to automated air defence command and control system. Six Westinghouse AN/TPS-43 3-D radar EW/GCI systems were acquired. PAF has also acquired a large number of low-level early warning radar systems to provide a near complete coverage of all of Punjab and other essential areas of the country with adequate overlaps to cater for redundancy etc. Automatic data processing system would significantly enhance the capability of the air defence command and control system.

In October 1989, Pakistan established its Army Air Defence Command in addition to the existing PAF air Defence Command. It made vigorous efforts to upgrade the air defence system after 1974. By the early 1990s, as many as 80 high and low-looking radars, connected by data links and automated computerised transmission to the sector operations.
Helicopters:

Pakistan has a total fleet of helicopters as under:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Air Force</th>
<th>Navy</th>
<th>Army</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alouette III</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Super-Freion</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Super Puma (SA-330 J)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sea King MK 45</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mi-8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SA/IAR/UH-1H/Bell 205/206</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaman HH 438</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AH-1S</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20+20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>162+20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Force Levels:

Forecast of force levels is more difficult to predict especially over a twenty year period since they involve factors like the very nature of national leadership, their perceptions and prejudices, interaction of international relationships and other imponderable and unquantifiable parameters. However, force levels may also be treated as part of an evolutionary process brought about by the interaction of a complexity of factors which normally undergo only marginal changes in the rate of evolutionary process. An attempt at forecast can, therefore, be made, based on the historical context.

Throughout the years of independence, Pakistan's perceptions, regardless of the nature and personality of its leadership, have been observed with a security concern viewing India as its primary adversary. This is essence has evolved from a crisis of identity in Pakistan which,
while it may reduce in its intensity, can hardly be expected to disappear in the foreseeable future. As a matter of fact, the very process of militarisation of Pakistan further heightens this crisis. The independence of Bangladesh in 1971, in effect, improved Pakistan's security situation: it was reduced in size and population but not in military strength and was left with a geo-politically cohesive unit and militarily a more compact and lesser area to defend. However, in spite of a better security situation, Pakistan's militarization, in fact, increased after 1971. The significant growth of Pakistan's military forces (as indicated below in respect of its Army) can thus only be explained by factors of deep-rooted military elite jealously guarding its privileged position in society and a heightening of the crisis of identity in Pakistan and a value threat posed by Indian socio-political structure: factors which, short of a revolution altering the course of events, are likely to influence military force levels like along the evolutionary path charted so far:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total strength</td>
<td>300,000</td>
<td>408,000</td>
<td>480,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(+500,000)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infantry Divisions</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armoured Divisions</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent Armoured Bde</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent Infantry Bde</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Air Defence Bde</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artillery Bdes</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armoured Recce Regts</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special Services Group</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Army Aviation Squadrons</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6 + Indep. flights</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Contd....
In effect, a 40 per cent increase in the Army's active strength took place in the 10 years after the 1971 war, after which Pakistan was actually not responsible for the security of its erstwhile Eastern Wing with 93 million people, which now maintains an 103,000 strong armed force. The increase is maintained in the trend in the past two increase is of much greater order if reserves and military personnel serving abroad are also taken into account. During 1990-92 Pakistan will add 775 APCS (Armoured Personnel Carriers) of M113-A2 type increasing the strength of APCS to 1975. The armour (tanks) and APC represent the strike elements and also the focus of air power operations - both hostile and friendly.

**Nuclear Capability:**

Assessment of the air threat will not be valid without taking into account the prospect of nuclear capability of Pakistan. As and when Pakistan achieves this capability, its choice of delivery method against strategic targets will remain serial and the vehicle will remain primarily based on manned aircraft, at least during this century. Given the present trend of PAF reequipment, both Mirage and F-16 aircraft could be the logical candidates. (Mirage IIIIs of the French Air Force are capable of delivery of 25 KT tactical nuclear weapons). PAF may be expected to retain its options for high altitude delivery or a low-altitude manoeuvring, one using the toss-bombing technique for which the F-16A's nav-attack system has been optimised. This would make the task of air defences time-critical and extremely
difficult without a complete day/night coverage by airborne early warning system and integrated automated air defence command and control systems, especially since the target for nuclear attack may not be a purely military one.

At the same time, Pakistan has been developing missile capabilities. In 1987 it initiated its ballistic missile development programme. On April 25, 1988, it launched a ballistic missile produced by the SUPARCO (Space and Upper Atmosphere Research Commission) which was claimed to be capable of reaching Delhi and Bombay - that is, a range in excess of 800 kms. This was noted by the then Senator and now US Vice President, Dan Quayle, in his May 1988 report that, Pakistan took a quantum lead forward last month in its efforts to develop its own ballistic missile arsenal....' The missile was developed apparently with assistance from China and the Federa'. Republic of Germany, Pakistan also launched a 'multi-stage' rocket into deep space on 10 January 1989. The missile carried a 150 kg payload to 640 kms altitude and the payload was claimed to have been recovered over national territory. The height-payload combination would suggest a range of 2,200 km or more in surface-to-surface ballistic mode. Pakistan also tested its 'Hatf-I' (80 kms) and 'Hatf-II', which is apparently based on the Chinese version of Scud-B design and can be developed further to ranges of 600-1000 kms (as Iraq with a lesser technological access and capability did with its 300 kms 'Al Hussain' to develop the 650 km range' Al Abbas' version by grafting the propellant fuel tank from the earlier version). Chinese assistance in further missile development cannot be ruled
out. It is also instructive to note that Pakistan's missile programme, initiated in 1987, was placed under Dr. A.Q. Khan, the father of Pakistan's nuclear weapon programme and still heading it.
India-Sri Lanka Relations

At the tip of the Indian peninsula, Sri Lanka occupies a position of considerable strategic importance overlooking as it does the Sea route from the straits of Malacca to the Gulf and the Suez Canal. For India the Island assumes significance from the fact that all Indian Naval and Shipping traffic, which is not inconsiderable, must move around the island. All traffic from the eastern seaboard ports to the Suez or from the Western ports to Japan and South East Asia must also pass by the island. The proximity of the island and the internecine conflict involving the minority Tamils and the Sinhalese has repercussions in India, especially in the Southern Indian State of Tamil Nadu.¹

Surveying the external milieu of Lanka's foreign policy decision - making Kodikars identified India as one inevitable factor in Sri Lanka's World outlook.² He highlighted two important facets of Colombo's perception of India and ties with China and Pakistan to counter-balance Sri Lanka's unequal relationship with India.³ Sri Lanka adopted common approaches with India on issues as Indonesia, (1949), the Suez Crisis (1956), Hungray (1956), disarmament problems, the statue of military pacts, but in matters of India's relations with Pakistan and China, Sri Lanka steered itself clear of Kashmir issue observed an overall neutrality in Indo-Pakistan wars.⁴ As regards to China, she adopted a dual stand and entered into an agreement with Beijing in 1952⁵

---

3. Ibid., p. 18.
4. Except perhaps provision of refusing facilities to Pakistan Airlines on way between West and East Pakistan.
and instead of declaring China as an aggressor in the 1962 Sino-Indian war, summoned the Colombo powers to take the role of mediator.\textsuperscript{1}

India and Sri Lanka solved the citizenship question raised by the problem of emigrant Indian labours, settled in Sri Lanka through an agreement in 1964\textsuperscript{2} and the maritime boundary agreement also came into effect in 1974.\textsuperscript{3} The geostrategic environment in which Indo-Sri Lanka relations have been taking place has undergone changes in some respects in recent years due to a number of factors, the most important of which being changes in the terrain of global politics, changes in the strategic scenario in South Asia itself. The new security relationship between India and Sri Lanka which was brought about by the escalation of Sri Lanka's ethnic crisis after July, 1983.\textsuperscript{4} K.M. Paniker, and even politicians like Pattabhai Sitaramayya, had advocated the strategic unity of India and Sri Lanka and the closer union between the two countries for strategic reasons.\textsuperscript{5} A retired commander of the Indian Navy commented

"Sri Lanka is as important to India as Eire is to the United Kingdom or Taiwan to China....As long as Sri Lanka is friendly or neutral India has nothing to worry about but, if there be any danger of the island falling under the domination of a power hostile to India, India cannot tolerate such situation endangering her territorial integrity".\textsuperscript{6}

\textsuperscript{1} Ibid., p. 27.
\textsuperscript{2} Foreign Affairs Record, October 1964, pp. 263-265.
\textsuperscript{3} Ceylon Daily News, Colombo, March 27, 1981.
\textsuperscript{5} Shelton U. Kodikare, Indo-Ceylon Relations since Independence, Ceylon Institute of World Affairs, 1965, pp. 32-35.
It was a well known fact that India's Security interests are coterminous with Sri Lanka, and not vice versa. India is Sri Lanka's near neighbour hence threat perceptions of India are always present in Sri Lanka.

Both India and Sri Lanka have common geographical, cultural, social and historical links. Sri Lanka came into contact with the west in the sixteenth country and was annexed by the butch from the Portguese in the middle of the 17th century. Sri Lanka became a Crown Colony under the Treaty of America in 1802 and achieved dominion statue in February, 1948. The migration of Indian indentured labourers to Ceylon started in the middle of the 19th century and in 1954 their number together with the number of persons who had migrated to Ceylon from India for business and other purposes constituted nearly ten percent.

India's relations with Sri Lanka has always been cordial, but, the question of the statues of persons of Indian origin in Sri Lanka has caused friction between the two nations. The Tamils want to enjoy the fundamental rights including the right to freedom of speech, expression, assembly religions worship and right to form trade union and associations. The United National Party had promised to placate 1.2 million Tamils of Indian origin who were defranchised in 1948, which the LITTE do not agree. Sri Lanka became the member of SAARC but also desired to be member of ASEAN while there was disagreement between India and

3. Ibid.
Sri Lanka in international affairs, their bilateral relations were dominated throughout by the protected problem presented by the people of Indian origin in Sri Lanka.\(^1\)

Sri Lanka passed some legislative measure which is in effect, denied citizenship or voting rights to the majority of its Indian immigrants. The citizenship Act of 1948 and the Indian and Pakistan Act, 1949 restricted citizenship claims to those who could prove their eligibility through descent or continuous residence since 1939.\(^2\) In 1964 an agreement was reached between Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri and Sirimavo Bandaranaike which established for the settlement of 875000 persons - 300000 to be granted Sri Lankan Citizenship and 5,25,000 to be repatriated to India within a period of 15 years. Meanwhile, Sri Lankan Government agreed not to discriminate against those leaving and that the facilities would be accorded to them as other citizens until the time for their departure.\(^3\)

The demands of the Tamils remained generally unresolved and all the Tamil groups were forced to make a Tamil United Front in 1973. Some Tamil Youths dissatisfied with the non-violent policies of the T.U.L.F. took up arms in the name of the same cause. Neelam Tirunchvelam, a prominent Tamil Lawyer in Colombo said "Our old conception of Sri Lanka as a liberal and Secular state is shared by fewer and fewer people."\(^4\) Even Indian Tamils could not prove more helpful to Lankan Tamils.\(^4\) Inspite of the hopes earlier raised

---

1. Appadorai A., *India's Foreign Policy and Relations*, South
2. Ibid.
3. For complete text, See *Ceylon Treaty Series* No. 5, 1965
   Also *Coelho*, No. 172, p. 132.
weapons was solved through government to government negotiations with Pakistan and China. US, 7th Fleet ships of loaded arms and ammunition and also helped train Sri Lankan Security forces. France Pressee in Madras declared that the November 10 to 14 port visit by four US ships led by the aircraft carrier Kittyhawk was not a mere goodwill call, but, part of a more to strengthen the armed forces not only this Colombo purchased arms from Israel.

Sri Lanka became South Asia's top arms market due to continued violence owing to Tamil Separatists crusade. Sri Lanka became a Central hut of sale and purchase from a needle to a battle-ship. Sri Lanka acquired military equipment from Britain also to combat Tamil querrillas. Britain supplied nine 'Congar' petrol boats to be used in Palk - Straits off the northern Coast and six fast naval petrol boats were received from Israel. Jagewardene appealed to the west for arms to money and moral support to fight the Tamil militants.

Maritime Boundaries

Sri Lanka being an island her natural boundries are the Sea, but in the north, and in the north-western and north-eastern sectors, she shared a Common maritime boundry with India. The waters in the Palk Bay and Palk straits between the two countries has been delimited by the Boundry Agreement of 1974, i.e. "Agreement between India and Sri Lanka on the Boundry in historic waters between the two

by the Sri Lankan and Indian Governments comming closer indications do not provide for the optimism Tamil minority groups demanded a separate state for the Tamil dominated districts in the Island nation lying just 40 miles of the Southern Coast of India. The Lankan Government in order to solve the ethnic problem decided to form Provincial Government similar to those of India and Pakistan. As the tortuous, Indian mediated negotiations on devising a political settlement to the Sri Lanka ethnic problem wind on the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) which humbled the Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation (TELO).

The Lankan Army planned to major offensive action against the quarrel activities. The warning notices were dropped from the air by helicopters throughout the Jaffne. The Deputy Minister for Teaching requested for a United action against terrorism and said that the whole country should realise that it has to fight the war together. The minister for security Athulathmudali declared that the army would take action against terrorists. A Innovative programme was initiated by the Ministry of Planning to motivate youths for development work and leave terrorist activities.

Sri Lanka solved the problem of finding weapons for its security forces to fight separatist Tamil guerrilles by obtaining arms from Pakistan. The problem of finding modern

2. Hong Kong Standard, Hongkong; October 30, 1956.
7. Telegraph, Calcutta, June 5, 1986
countries and related matters". This demarcates the boundary in the waters from Adams Bridge to Palk Straits. The Second Agreement in 1976, i.e. "The Agreement between Indian and Sri Lanka on the Maritime Boundary between the two countries in the gulf of Maanunar and the Bay of Bengal i.e. to the west and east respectively. The Agreement of 1974 has become important due to the dispute relating to Kachchatives island. This island lies in the Palk Straits and was apportioned to Sri Lanka as the boundary line was drawing just one mile to the west of island. The Agreement, refered to the 'historical waters' and they were accepted as such by both the governments at the initial stage; subsequently, by a Proclamation under Maritime zones Law, the waters on Sri Lanka side of the boundary line have been declared 'historic water of Sri Lanka', and have been further sub-divided into "internal waters" and territorial Sea", i.e. the waters on the Sri Lanka side of the Palk straits and Palk Bay upto Adams Bridge, are demarcated as internal waters of Sri Lanka, and the waters in the Gulf of Manner upto the tip of Kalpitiya on the water Coast as Territorial sea. Sri Lanka has declared its right on the new island and have based partly on the findings of a case decided by Madras High Court. In Anna Kumaru Pillai V Muthupaya decided by Madras High Court in 1903 it was declared that the Kings of Sri Lanka had exploited the sedentary fisheries in the Gulf of Mannar i.e. Pearls and Chank fisheries, from time immemorial and a reference was made to a king of Sri Lanka having sent a chank to emperor Ashok of India, as present.

The 1974 Agreement states that each of the country shall have sovereignty and exclusive jurisdiction and control over the waters, islands, continental shelf and subsoil falling on its own side of the boundary. Kachchhalive is one of the islands on Sri Lanka's side hence falls under the
control of Sri Lanka and in view of Article 5 of the Agreement India has no rights to free passage.

**LTTE and India's Security**

In a letter to Prime Minister Premdasa in 1979 the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) claimed.

"We are neither murderers nor criminals or violent fanatics..... on the contrary, we are revolutionaries committed in revolutionary political practice. We represent the most powerful extra-parliamentary liberation movement."

Sri Lanka had shown proclivity to steer an independent course in South Asian affairs vis-a-vis its northern neighbour, as was evident in the Sino-Indian and Indo-Pak conflicts. In the early eighties the influence of the U.S.A. and its European allies had been increasing rather rapidly as Sri Lanka under Jayawardane turned up to them for weaponry and other aid in return for the VOA broadcasting facilities in Northern Sri Lanka and its Trincomalee oil tank farm and harbour facilities. That was seen by Indian policy makers as a threat to its national security. Sabotaging this sell-out became its immediate goal and militarising Sri Lanka Tamil discontent a ready means and method manipulation. Added to this was the distance, distrust and dislike between JRJ and India Gandhi.¹

Sri Lankan Chauvinism undoubtedly had brought considerably misery to Sri Lanka's Tamils estimated to be about 4,60,000² and put great strain on the state's economy psyche and even politics. Tamil militants both Sri Lankan and local have impinged on politics, and have resulted in large scale smuggling gun-running and manufacture of destructive war like materials with corresponding increase in

---

propagation of violence.

The U.S.A. in violation of Indo-Sri Lanka Accord has succeeded in getting facility for Vol. broadcasting near Puttalam, South of Mannar and in keeping out India from the Trincomalee tank farm. Despite the LTTE's thoughtless slaughter of Muslims in Arnaparai, Batticaloa and Trincomalee, no Islamic country has raised its voice. The LTTE had mesmerised its people not only in Sri Lanka but also in Tamil Nadu. Amidst the LTTE brand of obstinate aberration and violence, whose danger is spreading to the People's War Group in Andhra. The United Liberation Front of Assam in Assam, possibly Khalistan in Bombay and Naxals in Karnataka and it has succeeded in persuading us to see it busying itself in breaking up a slice off our country. India and Tamil Nadu are realising how deep and wide the LTTE poison has spread in society and polity, social, ethnic, linguistic, religions and tamialial ties have been laced with centuries old economic of smuggling and fishing 'smuggling through the coast is not new and can not be controlled by any one' Sri Lankans have enough money to find appropriate shelter and merge with Indian population.2

The Defence

The army was constituted on 10 October, 1949. It consists of 5 infantry brigades, 2 reconnaissance, 2 field artillery and 1 engineer regiments and 1 signals ballalion. Equipment includes 18 Saladin Air mounted cars and 15 Ferrent Scout Cars with 40000 active reservists.

1. The Indian Express, July 30, 1991
2. The Times of India, July 22, 1991
NAVY

The navy was constituted on December 9, 1950. It comprises 4 surveillance command ship, 2 new Colombo-built off shore patrol vessels, 6 patrol gunboats, 50 small patrol boats, 2 landing craft and 2 fast passenger craft. It has 500 officers and 6000 ratings.

Air Force

The Air Force was formed on October 10, 1950 and is equipped with 4 squadrons comprise 9 SF-260 and 4 Cessne 150/152 Trainer, 2 Iterons, 3 HS 748, 6 Chinese built Y-123, 2 Chinese Y-8s, 1 Super King 3, Cessne Sky Masters, 1 421 and one Cessne cardinal for general transport with 3700 officers.