



DEFENCE AND DIPLOMACY

IN PURSUIT OF NATIONAL SECURITY

VOL. 1 NO. 1

OCTOBER 2011

- India and the Global Scene
Shivshankar Menon
- Aerospace Power in National Defence
T. M. Asthana
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- Osama's Killing, US Exit Strategy and Pakistan's Instability
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CENTRE FOR AIR POWER STUDIES

New Delhi

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CONTENTS

Editor's Note	V
1. India and the Global Scene <i>Shivshankar Menon</i>	1
2. Aerospace Power in National Defence <i>T.M. Asthana</i>	15
3. Humanitarian Interventions: Geo-politics in Sheep's Clothing <i>Kapil Kak</i>	25
4. Osama's Killing, US Exit Strategy and Pakistan's Instability <i>Shalini Chawla</i>	37
5. Diplomacy and Military: 'Talk the Walk' <i>Manoj Kumar and Dhanasree Jayaram</i>	51
6. Iran's Nuclear Posturing <i>Asif Shuja</i>	63
7. Afghanistan: India's Interests <i>A.V. Chandrasekaran</i>	73

CONTENTS

8	The Future of Army Aviation <i>Rajiv Ghose</i>	85
9.	The Indian Army and its Artillery <i>Debalina Chatterjee</i>	95
10	The UAE's Strategy Against Iran <i>Shelly Johny</i>	107
11.	Air Power in the Foreign Policy of Nations <i>Jasjit Singh</i>	117

EDITOR'S NOTE

On the October 1, 2011, the Centre for Air Power Studies completed ten years. This is also the date when our main quarterly journal, *AIR POWER*, completed seven years of regular publication. I felt it was time to take another step forward in our efforts to expand the knowledge and understanding of our own security and defence. Hence, this sister journal to the main one which is more focussed on air power and professional issues related to it in defence. Our aim is to make *Defence and Diplomacy* more broad-based (as its sub-title indicates), with shorter articles, but keep the focus on national security in its broadest scope and try to evolve it with the aim of the writing to be "future-oriented and policy-related" as much as we can.

I am forwarding the copy of the first issue with our compliments and invite your reactions and equally hope that you will find it useful enough to subscribe to it to enable us to sustain it. Meanwhile, our best compliments for the season.

Jasjit Singh
Director
Centre for Air Power Studies
New Delhi



INDIA AND THE GLOBAL SCENE

SHIVSHANKAR MENON

Mrs. Bhatia, Anand, Shyam and other members of the Bhatia family,
Shri Rasgotra and members of the Prem Bhatia Trust,
Ladies and Gentlemen.

Thank you for giving me the honour of delivering the Prem Bhatia memorial lecture this year. Looking at the list of distinguished speakers before me, I am humbled by your choice.

Prem Bhatia was that rare person who combined in himself the best of two worlds, journalism and diplomacy. We live in a time when every diplomat thinks he can be a journalist and every journalist thinks he can be a good diplomat. Prem Bhatia was the exception who proved that it is given only to very few special individuals to combine both. He was an exemplar both as a journalist and as a diplomat. Each of the newspapers (the *Tribune*, *Statesman* and others) that he edited so magnificently was the authoritative voice of that time. He brought that same quality to diplomacy as well. To read his accounts of Prime Minister (PM) Nehru's 1954 visit to China is a revelation, even at this distance in time. He did a great deal to stabilise our relationship with Singapore at a difficult time. The sound foundations that he laid in

Shri **Shivshankar Menon** is National Security Adviser to the Prime Minister, and former Foreign Secretary. (This address was delivered at the 19th Prem Bhatia Memorial Lecture and is published with the permission of the Prem Bhatia Trust and Mrs Bhatia.)

Kenya have given us a good, strong friend today. I will try to approach this lecture in the spirit of objectivity, precision, fairness and, above all, calm judgment that everything written by Prem Bhatia shows.

It was suggested to me, gently, that I might speak on India and the global scene. I will not inflict on you a compendium of Indian views and attitudes and relationships around the world – a sort of Ministry of External Affairs (MEA) Annual Report in a bad year with an uninspired author. What I would like to do is to look at the broader issue of how India relates to the world, of how we see our own role and place in the world and the international community. These are naturally a function of our own interests, the balance of power in which we operate and the international situation as we find it.

Today may be a good time to undertake such an exercise. On the one hand, we hear outside voices urging India to be a “responsible” power, to do more in the international order, particularly in international security. Within India, we increasingly hear loose talk of India as a superpower.

The issue is not the geo-political importance of India – a country with 1/6th of humanity, a large and fast growing economy, situated in a vital spot on multiple political fault-lines, with a great civilisation and a consistent foreign policy. Such a country was bound to be a great power – great not merely in the UN sense of the word, but great in the sense in which Ashoka envisaged greatness.

How others see the prospect of India as a great power has always depended on how they see that prospect affecting their interest. The Soviet Union decided in the mid-Fifties that it was in their interest. The US has now recognised it as such. And China has been too clever to say so.

The issue for Indians is what sort of power India should be, in her own people’s interest.

THE ROOTS

In one sense, this is not a new discussion. We have been here before in the foundational period of the Forties and Fifties. In the Fifties, Nehru was accused of having too grand a vision of India’s role and place in the world. Nehru’s towering personality obscured the passion, logic and depth of that debate, particularly in the Fifties. It was a

debate about the very idea of non-alignment. It was a debate about whether values have a role in foreign policy. It was a debate about the economic autarchy we should seek, and about the very nature of our industrialisation. It was a debate about nuclear disarmament. And it expressed itself not only in Patel's famous letter to Nehru on China policy, but as early as Bose's Fascist approach, in the continuing internal debate on Pakistan policy, and in multiple Parliamentary debates on foreign policy. On most of these, Nehru's choices have been vindicated by history.

NEHRU'S CONCEPTION

At the very outset, the interim government that Nehru headed, declared his approach to the world in brave words that said:

We propose, as far as possible, to keep away from the power politics of groups aligned against one another, which have led in the past to world wars and may again lead to disasters on a even vaster scale. The world, in spite of its rivalries and hatreds and inner conflicts, moves inexorably towards closer cooperation and the building up of a world commonwealth. It is for this one world that free India will work.

Opinion was divided at that time among contemporaries even in the USA about the merits of non-alignment. President Eisenhower once expressed the opinion in public that there was no need for the USA to take umbrage at India's policy of non-alignment, because for a hundred years, the USA itself had remained non-aligned. (Its policy used to be to remain aloof from what George Washington called "entangling alliances".) Eisenhower also said that non-alignment as practised by India and other countries, similarly placed, need not necessarily act to the detriment of American interests. This so upset Pakistan and some other US allies that Dulles soon declared pontifically that non-alignment is "short-sighted and immoral".

Nehru was the first to see the strategic space that the Cold War opened up for the emergence of a third world, much against the wishes of the superpowers. And he chose to use it not for his personal glory or national interest narrowly defined. He used it for world peace

and to create the peaceful environment that India's transformation required.

And, most important, Nehru gave India a sense of destiny.

Nehru's was indeed a grand conception. The fact that it did not coincide with that of the two superpowers in a Cold War world did not make it wrong.

His conception led to some outstanding successes in foreign policy and development terms, but perhaps less so in terms of hard security as traditionally measured in military terms. India was largely instrumental in bringing about a ceasefire in Korea, and it was the Indian formula that solved the tangle regarding the repatriation of war prisoners and brought about the armistice. In Indo-China, India played an unobtrusive but effective part in bringing about a political settlement after the battle of Dien Bien Phu. India's was a role that we can recall with pride in encouraging decolonisation, relaxation of tensions among the blocs, international disarmament, and the beginnings of multilateral attention to development.

In hindsight, we might be accused of a misplaced faith in the multilateral approach and international organisations where we expended so much effort. We even took Pakistan's aggression in Jammu and Kashmir (J&K) to the United Nations (UN), thinking the UN would come to a quick and proper decision. But the first act of the Security Council was to change the subject on the agenda from the "Kashmir Question" to the "India-Pakistan Question"! We had underestimated the protean forms of power politics. If the Fifties were a period of fulfillment, the Sixties were, on the whole, a period of disillusionment.

There is no question that in Nehru's time, we were punching above our weight, measured strictly in realist balance of power terms. This was possible because of the strategic space that the Cold War opened up for us, and because of the eminent good sense and reasonableness of what Nehru was doing and advocating. During the Fifties, India stood higher in the world's (and her own) estimation than her strength warranted. During the Sixties, the reverse was the case. After 1971, there has been a greater correlation between India's strength and prestige, and this, seems likely to continue for the foreseeable future.

TODAY'S SITUATION

I remind us of what must appear to be ancient history to most of this audience because of its relevance to us and some of our present confusions.

Let us consider our situation today, and where our interests lie, seeing what sort of power India might aspire to be, namely, how we might best pursue our interests in today's evolving world situation.

OUR INTERESTS

I proceed from the assumption that our primary task now and for the foreseeable future is to transform and improve the life of the unacceptably large number of our compatriots who live in poverty, with disease, hunger and illiteracy as their companions in life. This is our overriding priority, and must be the goal of our internal and external security policies. Our quest is the transformation of India, nothing less and nothing more. If we have consistently sought to avoid external entanglements or outside restraints on our freedom of choice and action, it is because we have been acutely conscious of this overriding priority and wanted nothing else to come in the way of its pursuit. This was, and remains, the essence of the policy of non-alignment. If we have sought the strategic autonomy that nuclear weapons bestow upon us, it is to be able to pursue this goal without distraction or external entanglement. This is the touchstone against which policy should be measured for both desirability and effect.

How have we done in practice?

Not badly, when judged by the pace and nature of the development of India's society and economy. Only one other country, China, can be said to have drawn more people out of poverty largely as a result of her own efforts. Consider the statistics. In 1947, the average Indian lived for 26 years, only about 14 percent of us were literate, and we were one of the poorest countries on earth with well over 3/4th of our population in poverty. Famine was common, as was disease. Today, our average life expectancy is over 65 years, 2/3rd of our population is literate, and (using similar relative yardsticks) around 1/5th of our population is poor. We feed ourselves and know how to control disease. This is a vast transformation, particularly when you also consider that our people can now choose their own rulers

and have social and political opportunities that they never had before independence.

But the same statistics show that there is still a long way to go before we can say that all our people enjoy a satisfactory standard of living or are in a position to enjoy and exercise their rights and realise their full potential.

We need at least 15 years more of 9-10 percent growth if we are to abolish the mass poverty which still afflicts us. So, while India is already a major economy in terms of size and ability to influence prices and supply demand in certain markets, it will still be a country of poor people with overwhelming domestic priorities for an extended period of time. This will certainly be true for the foreseeable future which is, at best, fifteen years.

Hence, India's primary responsibility is, and will remain, improving the lives of its own people for the foreseeable future. In other words, India would only be a responsible power if our choices bettered the lot of our people.

Stating the obvious, you might think. But think this through. There are several significant corollaries to this simple sounding proposition. It is certainly not a recipe for turning our backs on the world and trying for pure autonomy. We tried that for a while and it led to a growth rate of 3.5 percent. Instead, it implies the active pursuit of our interests in the world, always bearing in mind our goal. Here are some of the consequences of what that would mean in practice:

- We need to work for a **peaceful periphery**. We have an interest in the peace and prosperity of our neighbours, removing extremism and threats from their soil, as we are doing successfully with Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Bhutan. This is more than the negative interest in avoiding sources of terrorism, extremism and insurgency from cross-border ethnicities or others. It is a positive interest in working together with our neighbours to realise the joint development of South Asia. This is not to say that we do not need a secure peace to make development possible. We should need no reminding, having lost two Prime Ministers to terrorists. But our choices in that fight have been vindicated. For three decades, we have faced a sustained campaign of cross-border terrorism and military aggression in Kargil. That campaign coincided with

the period when India grew, changed, and accumulated power at a rate never before achieved in our history.

- As a country lacking some of the **essential resources** for our continued development (such as oil, high grade coal, fertilisers, high technology and non-ferrous metals), it is essential that we work to ensure our continued access and build up our strategic stockpiles and alternatives. This requires a sustained cooperative engagement with the world, of the type that we are attempting in Africa and Southeast Asia and already have with West Asia. When we have physical access, Central Asia too becomes important to us for this reason.
- We have an interest in helping to create **an enabling international environment**. We have an interest in global public goods like a peaceful order, freedom of the seas and open sea lanes. Over 20 percent of our Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is now accounted for by our exports and our growth, and survival depend on our imports of fertiliser, energy and capital goods.
- We have a responsibility to build the infrastructure in India and our neighbourhood that enables us to pursue these goals. In this sense, roads in the border areas, air, rail and sea connectivity with our neighbours, and economic integration in our extended neighbourhood all become strategic goals.
- **Defence** becomes just that, defence, not offence, unless offence is necessary for deterrence or to protect India's ability to continue its own transformation. We must develop the means to defend ourselves. To what extent we become a net provider of security in the Indian Ocean and our neighbourhood would depend on how it contributes to India's own transformation. As of now, it is our appreciation that our nuclear deterrence is best maintained by a credible and assured retaliatory capacity, rather than a destabilising first strike doctrine.

You will notice that I have spoken of desirable outcomes, of goals that we should aim for so that we can make India the modern, prosperous, strong country that we all want. I have not spoken of the means, of the tools that we have to forge and improve, namely, our armed forces, our governmental structures, our national security

organs, and so on. A review of our national security system structures is presently underway. The Cabinet has asked a specially appointed task force to undertake this task. How we shape those instruments will depend on the task we have set ourselves as a nation and the threats that we see to India's transformation.

What about our values you will ask. Do we not have a responsibility to spread democracy and fight for our values abroad? Yes and no. Yes, if we have the means to actually ensure that we are able to spread them. And yes, having democrats as our neighbours contributes to the peaceful periphery that we need. But please remember that a people cannot be forced to be free or to practise democracy. They have to come to these values themselves if they are to be lasting. Such a crusade for one's values is often mistaken by others as the pursuit of self-interest couched in high tone words. We have seen how high sounding phrases like the "right to protect" are selectively invoked and brutally applied in the pursuit of self-interest, giving humanitarian and international intervention a bad name.

[Perhaps one result of trying to spread one's values to other countries is for us to feel good and posture in front of our own people. But this is the worst form of hypocrisy. It also prevents a realistic understanding of the world we live in. It gets in the way of the pursuit of our real interests.]

It could be argued that I have outlined a very selfish policy, and that if every country were to follow such a policy, avoiding external entanglements and only taking what suits it from the international community, the world would actually end up poorer and less secure than before. It is true that absolute security for one country means absolute insecurity for all others. Extreme prosperity in some is at the price of the immiserisation of others. That is why it is also necessary to look at the sort of world we are living in and at the reactions that our pursuits will provoke from others.

THE WORLD SITUATION

We live for the present in a globalised world, which is increasingly bending towards multi-polarity, where power is more evenly distributed between and among states.. There is no question that the world of 2011 is no longer as supportive of our transformation as in

the Nineties. The world economy has deteriorated in the last few years since the global financial and economic crisis of 2008. Pakistan and some areas west of her have declined to what appears to be chronic instability. West Asia is in turmoil. Technology has empowered small groups of radicals, extremists, hackers, pirates, and terrorists, shifting the balance of power within states too. Between states, the rise of China has been magnified by a matching loss of Western and economic confidence.

But attempting to predict the evolution of the world is risky and unlikely to be accurate. Let us instead look at the factors in the international situation that will affect our quest. In my opinion, three issues are likely to most affect our future ability to transform India.

- The first is **the rise of China and Asia**. The facts are well known. What China achieved in the last thirty years is phenomenal. In thirty years, China's economy has grown by a factor of very nearly ten. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) recently projected that it will be the largest economy in the world in just five years time. By 2035, China will use one-fifth of all global energy. China, which used to be dependent on direct foreign investment, is now herself the investor with \$3 trillion of international reserves and a sovereign wealth fund with \$ 200 billion. She is about to overtake Germany in terms of new patents granted each year.

The world worries whether the powerful China that is emerging so rapidly will be a hegemon, or whether she will be one of several powerful cooperative states in the international order. Will she reorder international structures to suit herself, as the US did after World War II, and as other states have done in history? Or will she continue to rely on existing security and other structures that have worked so well for her, enabling her rise so far?

There are no agreed answers to these questions, in India or abroad.

India's interest is clearly in an inclusive world order, with China as one of its cooperative members. That is clearly what we need to work towards, along with China itself. Bilaterally India-China relations today have elements of cooperation and competition at the same time. We have a boundary dispute, and overlapping

peripheries in our extended neighbourhood, which is also China's extended neighbourhood. So long as both of us continue to be primarily concerned with our internal transformations, cooperate in the international arena on our common interests, and do not see the other affecting our core interests, we can expect the present relationship to continue as it is. But this will require much better communication between India and China, and no misunderstanding of each other's actions and motives.

This also requires that some of our media and commentators, whose unquestioned brilliance is regularly on display lambasting other countries for their politics and policies, learn the virtues of moderation. The Chinese cannot believe that these media and commentators do not speak authoritatively for the country, as do their controlled media and academia. We must recognise that other countries too could have similar imperatives as ours and their own reasons for what they do. And why create self-fulfilling prophecies of conflict with powerful neighbours like China? (For me, that is one of the lessons of the Fifties that some of us are in danger of forgetting.)

- The second is a clutch of energy **and technology related issues**. Energy security, climate change, renewable energy, and so on. Most of these issues that will determine our success in transforming India are not amenable to just our actions. We need international partners, coalitions where possible, to deal with major economic or political issues. Consider inflation in India, which concerns each one of us. Much of what we see today in India is caused by the massive injection of liquidity in the international economy by the USA, China and developed economies to promote their own recovery after the economic crisis of 2008, and the rise in oil and commodity prices that has followed. This effect has been compounded by events in the Middle East and the uncertainty that this has caused, particularly about future energy prices. Technology issues include the new domains of space and cyber space and proliferation. These are new domains of contention where the old rules of engagement and war no longer apply. Just as the world had to learn new rules and ways of thinking about nuclear weapons, we are now at the beginning of doing so

for outer space and cyber space, both of which are increasingly critical to our daily lives, economies and futures.

- The third is **our internal cohesion and coherence**, namely, our success in meeting the formidable internal challenges that we face and will face in the foreseeable future. These include the social and other effects of rapid but uneven growth. Left Wing Extremism (LWE) or Naxalism is one such challenge to our development strategy and to our state institutions. We cannot say that we know all the answers. What we do know is that neither the application of force alone nor a single-minded focus on development can solve the problems. Equally, we now face new challenges of policing mega cities and a population of which over 50 percent will soon be urban not rural. The defence of porous borders requires us to learn new rules for the use and combination of force, dissuasion and deterrence, alongside other more benign means of persuasion. Talk of strategic autonomy or of increasing degrees of independence has little meaning unless our defence production and innovation capabilities undergo a quantum improvement. A country that does not develop and produce its own major weapon platforms has a major strategic weakness, and cannot claim true strategic autonomy. This is a real challenge for us all.

CONCLUSION

So what does this add up to in terms of a global role for India?

This is not an argument for inward looking passivity. In fact, it is just the opposite. You would notice that what I have listed as the likely determinants of India's success in transforming herself would all require us to work with external partners.

As a nation-state, India has consistently shown tactical caution and strategic initiative, sometimes simultaneously. The record bears this out. Non-alignment itself was an act of strategic courage. We kept our nuclear option alive despite the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and exercised it in 1998 when economically stronger countries could not. Since 1988, we have made considerable progress in our relations with China. The Indo-Soviet Treaty, the India-Sri Lanka Agreement of 1987, the India-Sri Lanka Free Trade Agreement, the

India-US civil nuclear cooperation agreement, and so on. The list of our previous strategic initiatives is impressive.

But equally, initiative and risk taking must be strategic, not tactical, if we are to avoid the fate of becoming a *rentier* state. That is why it is important to peg our goals and use of power to our immediate and overriding interest – our domestic transformation. In other words, our condition and the state of the world require us not to seek hegemony, or domination, or expansion, or strategic depth. None of these serve our basic interest, even in a defensive sense. Being a bridging power, or a swing state might, in certain circumstances.

What would this mean in practice? It means, for instance, that faced with piracy from Somalia, which threatens the sea lanes vital to our energy security, we would seek to build an international coalition to deal with the problem at its roots, working with others and dividing labour. Today, the African Union (AU) has peace-keeping troops on the ground in Somalia. We could work with others to blockade the coast while the AU troops act against pirate sanctuaries on land, and the world, through the Security Council, would cut the financial lifelines, build the legal framework to punish the pirates and their sponsors, and develop Somalia to the point where piracy would not be the preferred career choice of young Somali males. This is just one example of what such a policy could mean in practice.

In today's world, we must also be ready to contribute, within our capacity, to the global public good that is increasingly important to our well-being, such as freedom of the seas. Are we ready to shape outcomes on critical issues such as energy security and in areas such as West Asia? Not yet. We have internal hesitations due to what I would call the Partition syndrome and our fear of the communalisation of discourse. But more than that, our capacities, though growing, are still limited in certain fields critical to national security.

As a result of sixty years of non-entanglement or non-alignment, we have built a country whose influence is considerable in our immediate neighbourhood. As a result of our economic growth, we are heard with respect and consulted in global economic councils. The new central role of the G-20 is a tribute to the shift in global economic power and interdependence. But political and military power is the core, and is something that existing power holders do not

share voluntarily or easily. On the larger political issues of the day, we are consulted and have views that matter. India's independence of action (or independent agency) has grown over time. In 1948, we went to the UN seeking help against Pakistani aggression in J&K. In 1971, we helped the people of Bangladesh to create their own state, using legitimate force in defence and in the service of a clear and legitimate political goal. And in 2008, helped by the USA and major powers, the international community rewrote the rules for nuclear cooperation with India, making an exception in our favour in the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG). This is progress.

With time, our positive interests will grow and our horizons will expand, as a responsible member of the international community.

As an old fashioned patriot, I am confident that ultimately the Indian people, history and geography will prevail, as they always have.

To sum up: for a considerable period of time to come, India will be a major power, with several poor people. We must always, therefore, be conscious of the difference among weight, influence and power. Power is the ability to create and sustain outcomes. Weight we have, our influence is growing, but our power is yet to grow and should first be used for our domestic transformation.

History is replete with examples of rising powers that prematurely thought that their time had come, that mistook influence and weight for real power. Their rise, as that of Wilhelmine Germany or militarist Japan, was cut short prematurely.

So at the risk of disappointing those who call on India to be a "responsible" power (meaning that they want us to do what they wish), and the risk of disappointing some of you who like to think of India as an old-fashioned superpower, I would only say, as Mrs Indira Gandhi once said: "India will be a different power" and will continue to walk her own path in the world. That is the only responsible way for us.

AEROSPACE POWER IN NATIONAL DEFENCE

T.M. ASTHANA

INTRODUCTION

In the days gone by, undivided India as a subcontinent felt safe, since it was believed that the Hindukush and Himalayan mountains provided formidable walls, which were considered impenetrable. The marauders and subsequently the rulers proved that wrong, as indeed the British did, using the sea front. We, thus, had to factor in the seas in our defence equation.

In December 1903, the first powered heavier than air manned flight flew 20 ft above the ground, to a distance of 120 ft and for a duration of 12 seconds. A little over a century since, air forces of the world have emerged as a technologically intensive arm of the nation's military forces. Such intense development in technology could not ever have been predicted in December of 1903. Each successive decade, and even each progressive year (at times) has witnessed the progress of aviation technology by leaps and bounds. With the launch of the Sputnik on October 4, 1957, we entered the space age. The military potential of space was only realised in the 1970s, which finally led to full-fledged application of space power in Operation Desert Storm in January 91. Subsequent operations

Air Mshl. **T.M. Asthana** is a Distinguished Fellow at the Centre for Air Power Studies, New Delhi.

relied more and more on space. Actually, the term “aerospace power” was coined in 1958 to encompass the continuous medium, including air and space. In the 1960’s, the distinction between space and air power stood blurred. When space power was applied first, it was utilised primarily in three distinct areas, viz. decision-making, planning and execution. Simultaneous engagements of strategic, operational and tactical target systems restricted the enemy’s ability to recoup, realign or offer a counter. Where 50 satellites were utilised in January 1991 for Desert Storm (of which a minimum 18 were on station at all times), for Operation Iraqi Freedom in April 2003, over 100 satellites were pressed into service. Proportionally, the bandwidth utilised increased from 99 MBPS in 1991 to 3,200 MBPS in 2003. Analysts and experts say that we have only seen the tip of the iceberg. Recent military operations witnessed by the world give us a glimpse of how economical and precise they can be if they are supported by space power. This is the emerging trend of air power, which is bound to be adopted by all nations commensurate with their capabilities. Therefore, for all purposes, read “aerospace power” for “air power”.

To analyse, comment, suggest alternatives, or recommend measures for the constituents of this subject, i.e. “Aerospace Power” and “National Defence” is an uphill task, but I shall make an effort. First and foremost, let me say that offence is the best form of defence. Hence, one will observe references to offensive capability in various forms in order to comprehend the translated defensive capabilities.

NATIONAL SECURITY

Within a national security context, a nation must be capable of doing at least two things. First, it must demonstrate the capability and resolve to enforce its sovereignty in peace-time. Second, it must retain the capability and will to defend itself should the need arise. The armed forces contribute to the enforcement of national sovereignty in peace-time, but their fundamental and most demanding national security goal is to defend their nation should the need arise. To do so effectively, they need land, sea and aerospace forces that are organised, trained and equipped for combat operations. Of the three, aerospace power

is, perhaps, the least understood by those who participate in national security decision-making.

It has often been said that the way people view a specific situation is simply a matter of perspective, and the views held by people are often a reflection of their background, education and experience. It has also been said that to get the most out of any capability, one must fully understand what it has to offer, what its limitations are, and when and how it should be used to the best effect. Aerospace power is a capability that requires this detailed understanding to employ it to the best effect. The nation has one Air Force. There are other Services with air arms, and they are magnificent air arms, which focus on certain things in support of our national capabilities, but it is the Air Force that is charged with the full spectrum of aerospace capabilities.

CHARACTERISTICS OF OFFENSIVE AEROSPACE POWER

Aerospace forces can conduct deterrence, denial, coercion, decapitation and humanitarian missions. Perhaps the most important of these missions is that of deterrence. These forces make a potential enemy think twice before launching a preemptive, be it a nuclear or conventional, strike. The speed, range and flexibility of aerospace forces give a nation a decided advantage in achieving conventional deterrent value. Aircraft that are ready to bomb target systems at a moment's notice also help to stop another nation taking certain actions because of a swift, decisive reaction. Air forces can demonstrate deterrent value by providing a visible display of combat power if they fly near an enemy's borders or conduct training exercises in plain sight of an adversary.

It will be argued that we cannot create a similar asymmetry, but the lesson to be learnt is: **"if deterrence fails ,apply coercion of the aerospace forces."** Such a demonstrated aerospace power will strengthen the deterrence posture of the nation.

RELEVANCE OF AIR POWER IN POWER PROJECTION AND COERCIVE DIPLOMACY

The lead role of air/aerospace power in executing the strategy of coercion is essentially a predictable outcome of its inherent

characteristics and attributes. Some of its salient features which enable aerospace power to contribute to power projection and application of coercive diplomacy are discussed in the subsequent text.

Speed: The speed of military aircraft makes them very effective instruments of projection of force. This attribute enables air power to project effective military presence in the area of interest in a matter of hours or minutes whereas naval/land power would take days to achieve the same.

Reach: Aerospace power's ever-increasing range, when added to its speed, endows it with tremendous capabilities. The range potential of aircraft was seen during the recent US campaign in Afghanistan where strategic bomber aircraft were getting airborne from continental United States and delivering weapons with pinpoint accuracy over targets in Afghanistan. The availability of air-to-air refuelling has contributed enormously to this enhancement of the range potential of combat aircraft.

Precision Engagement: Technology has made it possible for air power to achieve a remarkable degree of accuracy in delivering munitions over the desired targets. This was amply demonstrated during the Gulf War where one saw selected windows of a building complex being successfully targeted and hit by laser-guided bombs. Recent events in Afghanistan also corroborate the same. The precision engagement potential of air power should also be seen in the light of the following additional advantage: precision air-launched weapons can now be launched from greater ranges. This reduces the threat to the launch aircraft from the hostile ground forces and, thus, reduces, the chances of collateral damage, avoiding unnecessary civilian casualties significantly. The precision of aerospace power gives it the ability to contain escalation.

Freedom From the Constraints of Ground Friction: Unlike land and naval forces that might have to contend with enemy opposition and the ensuing friction, air power, due to its reliance on utilisation of the air medium, is relatively less constricted by friction. This contributes not only to its speed but also to its responsiveness.

Ability to Circumvent Defences: Not being constrained to adopting a predictable direction of attack, air power, due to its

reach can circumvent enemy defences and adopt the line of least resistance.

Firepower: One of the greatest impacts of technology on air power has been the enhancement of its firepower potential. This impact has been so staggering that the missions which needed 1,000 bombers during World War II can now be completed by just one aircraft. This factor has had a tremendous impact as regards the established principles of economy of effort and concentration of force.

Minimum Loss of Human Lives: The sentiments of the modern public in the developed countries are extremely averse to loss of human lives in military conflicts. This forces leaders to adopt a course of military action that minimises human casualties and air power affords just the right course of action. This complements the capacity of air power to cause the least collateral damage.

CHANGES IN THE NATURE OF MILITARY CONFLICTS

The objective behind military conflicts has now visibly shifted from occupation of territory to the achievement of a degree of 'compliance', with or without the actual use of military weapons. This is what has been termed as 'coercive diplomacy'. Political acceptance of the geographical boundaries of nation-states has become so firmly entrenched in the global paradigm that any occupation of territory which disturbs the established geographical contours can neither be condoned nor accepted. There are numerous examples of recent military conflicts where the territory occupied by one side has had to be returned to the original country as a consequence of the intervention of the global community.

The employment of military forces for coercive purposes predicates not only the availability of the requisite military wherewithal but also the ability to apply this potential in a mobile manner, wherever and whenever needed. This highlights that the projection capability of military potential is as, if not more, important than the possession of that potential itself. This flows from the truth that in order to coerce an antagonist into compliance, it is necessary that military force must be in a position to be applied against that antagonist in a manner that forces him to comply. This is best accomplished by aerospace power.

INCREASED RELEVANCE OF AIR POWER IN THE CHANGED GLOBAL MILITARY PARADIGM

The inherent attributes and characteristics of air/aerospace power make it eminently suited for the changed global military paradigm. Air power not only packs a tremendous punch but is also capable of bringing this to bear over long distances, with tremendous speed and uncanny accuracy. This makes it a coercive instrument of military potential par excellence.

An obvious corollary of the global distaste and non-acceptance of territorial occupation is the desire to resolve all disputes between nation-states in a manner which stops short of actual war or the employment of the military instrument. This highlights the importance of coercion to compliance, something that air/aerospace power is inherently and intrinsically designed to accomplish.

AEROSPACE POWER IN DEFENCE

In my personal opinion, the art, science and execution of defence are far more complex than those of offence. This is so because it is generally believed that defence is reactive to an aggressor's posture or action. However, I don't wholeheartedly support this view since I believe that aerospace defence can also be offensive. The world today has increasingly shunned offensive action primarily because witnessing our own brethren in body bags is a stigma attached to the nation, as also conserving our hard earned economy is the topmost priority, and, lastly, offensive action is costly in terms of both equipment and resources. In the interest of the nation, therefore, development of an impenetrable defence should remain the main agenda of the military. **Defence, hence, must form the essence of all military actions (including aerospace power) that will ensure a nation-state's least intervention in offensive action.**

Perhaps the first responsibility of any air force to the nation is to prevent the enemy's air forces from attacking one's own surface forces, population and support facilities in rear areas. The Indian Air Force (IAF) has historically been quite successful in this regard, such that, we now largely take the ability to operate in sanctuary from enemy attacks for granted.

Aerospace defence will be a top priority mission as long as an enemy has the ability to threaten us with air, missile or space systems. Invariably, offensive operations will be conducted along with aerospace defence operations to terminate any conflict as early as possible, on terms favourable to us. Aerospace defence operations should be continuous and must not be conducted in isolation. Active aerospace defence measures are direct defensive actions. Passive aerospace defence measures include all measures other than active aerospace defence taken to minimise the effectiveness of hostile air, ballistic missiles, and space systems. Today, active aerospace defence operations are conducted using an assortment of weapon systems supported by secure and highly responsive Command, Control, Communication, Computers, Intelligence (C4I) systems. It has become popular to disparage air power/aerospace power and to argue, "It is not decisive in war". We also do not claim that aerospace power will be decisive alone in every instance, but it is the hardest hitting, longest reaching, capable of rapid response and most flexible force that the nation possesses. It is difficult to imagine a future conflict of any major scope in which land or sea power could survive – much less be decisive – without aerospace power.

The contributions of space are good today, but they can reach unimaginable levels. Space offers immense potential in terms of information, surveillance and, consequently, intelligence. Satellites give us information, but we do not have dedicated defence satellites. It may be argued that dedication may be gross underutilisation of a satellite. Only recently, it has been agreed to provide dedicated satellites for military use. In the near future, we will also have satellites capable of transmitting sub-metre resolution data. Space will ultimately be the largest repository of surveillance and intelligence information, which is the common denominator to ensure positive aerospace defence. It must be mentioned here that surveillance of the areas of interest is of paramount importance. Surveillance does not demand surgical and/or sub-metre resolution. Any doubts and suspicions that may arise after interpreting the surveillance inputs can always be verified by accurate reconnaissance either by air or space power before initiating any defensive or offensive action.

Geo-stationary Earth Orbit (GEO) satellites have been criticised for not being adept enough to provide meaningful inputs for surveillance, reconnaissance, navigation and targeting information, but there is no dispute about the fact that they are good communication facilitators. Developing skills to identify and spot minor alterations, and mass relocations or movements can enhance this. They will always be good for early warning of all kinds and a special tool for aerospace defence. Above all, GEO satellites will provide continuous cover for communications. We should, hence, also provide a fillip to our space-based assets by ensuring at least two geo-stationary satellites on station at pre-designated locations to provide communications facilities cover for all our areas of interest in the west, north and east, 24 hours a day, throughout the year. These may be launched either together or in tandem, but, at the earliest. Preliminary research has established that the cost of two geo-stationary satellites will be in the region of \$1.4 billion.

It is natural for us to be concerned about the safety and survivability of these satellites, and, hence, space defence assumes significance. Whether we resort to active or passive or both forms of space defence, only time will tell, but we must ensure that aerospace defence is in place in an efficient manner. Above all, the plans must cater for adequate redundancies and alternates. I have no intention of elaborating on the subject of Ballistic Missile Defence (BMD), except to say that BMD must also be factored into the overall plan of aerospace defence.

No single mission area is capable of providing complete protection from a determined aerospace attack against a nation. A combination of active and passive defence measures from all mission areas, integrated and coordinated by a robust and efficient C4I system is needed to meet the stringent performance requirements demand for aerospace defence of India. **If you want to live in peace, create an impenetrable aerospace defence.**

AEROSPACE POWER IN URBAN OPERATIONS

As the military continues to dominate the air, land and sea, adversaries will attempt to exploit perceived vulnerabilities. The future enemies will try to lure us into combat in urban areas, where the complexities

of applying decisive force are more pronounced and the ability to use overwhelming force is constrained by the threat of collateral damage. While urban operations have traditionally been land-centric, the joint application must be part of our grand military strategy. The key elements of aerospace strategy in urban areas include a concept that will encompass five major components. These components should be regarded as interdependent, continuous and overlapping. They include evaluation and interpretation, identification of centres of gravity, a specific application of force, sustainment of the operation, and, finally, termination and transition to post-conflict operations. This analysis may be applied in the 21st century.

All the demographics point towards massive growth in urban areas. The cultural aspects of these emerging urban areas will lead to clashes due to friction over resources, religion, race and ethnicity. Potential adversaries will choose to fight in these urban areas since this environment provides them some element of concealment and support. Further, they can leverage their strengths against the weaknesses of modern technology dependent militaries. As crises emerge and the military responds, we can expect to fight a “three block war” in cities where strategists expect operators to perform humanitarian, peace-keeping and combat operations simultaneously. In such situations, the actions of our junior operators will have strategic consequences as the compression of the strategic, operational and tactical arts merge in the complexity of the urban battlespace. We can plan and operate within a framework of key components of the aerospace strategy in urban areas and will have to learn how these components are applied during campaigns over the next 40-50 years. We know that having the technological or numerical edge does not always guarantee strategic victory. With effective strategy and the right leaders, we can employ aerospace forces in the urban battlespace correctly and efficiently.

CONCLUSION

The attributes of aerospace power can and will convince all nations to give it primacy for situations when a nation contemplates the use of the military to avert or combat any crisis or conflict. As brought out in this paper, both offensive and defensive operations can be

executed by aerospace power ,ensuring little or no collateral damage. Both these operations complement each other and may be employed simultaneously. By no means has a critical analysis of aerospace power been covered here in detail. Only a few illustrative examples and bare facts are stated. I am sure that readers are convinced that aerospace power holds a special image whenever and wherever national defence comes to mind.

HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTIONS: GEO-POLITICS IN SHEEP'S CLOTHING

KAPIL KAK

INTRODUCTION

In the aftermath of the end of Cold War, the world witnessed frequent military interventions: in Somalia (1992-95), Haiti (1994), Rwanda (1994), East Timor (1999) and Kosovo (1999), to name a few, in the West's self-appointed Role of Responsibility to Protect (R2P). This Western proclivity for humanitarian interventions witnessed a deliberate retreat into the more urgent imperatives, post-9/11, to combat terrorism. Following the success of military intervention in Libya (2011), the trend of greater occurrence and frequency of intra-state conflicts, could tempt interventionist states to leverage concepts like 'humanitarian interventions' and 'R2P' to pursue their national-interest driven agendas. It is also true such force applications violate the principles of sovereignty and non-interference in a state's internal affairs laid down under Article 2(4) of the United Nations (UN) Charter. But first it may be useful to outline the generally accepted definition of humanitarian interventions:

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Coercive actions by states involving the use of armed force in another state without the consent of its government, with or without the authorization of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), for the purpose of preventing or putting to halt gross and massive violation of human rights or international humanitarian law.

We have seen how the post-Cold War shift from state-centrism to human security has clearly altered the traditional compact between the state and its citizens, with the former now having a greater R2P—a transformation endorsed by the UN General Assembly Declaration of 2005. We observe that in terms of the evolving patterns of intervention, there appear “two separate but related measures: a narrowly focussed norm on the fundamental unacceptability of genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity, and a broader norm stressing the importance of non-use of force to settle disputes internally”.¹

EVOLUTIONARY NARRATIVE

Looking back, Vitoria (1492-1546), Grotius (1583-1645) and Hobbes (1588-1679), from the Western world, provide thoughtful philosophical-moral insights. For Vitoria, humankind constituted a universal community, a great society governed by such natural laws as those of mutual consideration and assistance. States also formed a society of their own by means of agreed conventions, and interacted within it as equals.

Grotius stressed only on a society of states, largely based on nothing more than “mutual consent” and governed by collectively agreed-upon rules and practices which he called the law of nations. For Hobbes, there was neither a universal human community nor a society of states. States were sovereign and self-sufficient moral communities...and bound only by such agreements as they had voluntarily entered into and even these were “mere words” to be abided by only when doing so suited the state’s interests. Hobbes’ views prevailed in practice, giving rise to the statist view of international relations.²

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1. Jeffrey Boutwell, “Intervention, Sovereignty and International Security” Report of Pugwash Study Group Meeting held at Venice, December 9-12, 1999. www.pugwash.org
 2. Bhikhu Parekh, “Rethinking Humanitarian Intervention,” *International Political Science Review*, January 1997, Sage Publications, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1601448> Accessed on June 7, 2011.

It is worth noting that an international humanitarian response system began only in the aftermath of the Battle of Solferino in 1859, when Henri Durant formulated the concept of relief assistance that translated into the International Movement of the Red Cross in 1863. The Hoover Commission, initiated to assist the starving in Europe after World War I, was (another) beginning in the sense that the lives of many hundreds of thousands in war-torn Europe were dependent on external intervention".³

The key issue in humanitarian crises is if societal breakdown, genocide, crime against humanity or widespread and large-scale violation of human rights has taken place. Not ordinary violations of human rights that do take place in states with underdeveloped institutions of democratic governance, where nation-building is still work-in-progress, and which a state can be depended on to set right in due course under internal or external pressure.

GLOBAL LEGAL FRAMEWORK

Article 2(4) of the UN Charter enshrines the principles of sovereignty and non-interference in the domestic affairs of a state, even as customary law upholds protection of the individual in safety, security and well-being. Nor are there any legal, ethical and security considerations that impel interventions. Defining such lawful criteria for authorisation would bridge the gap between widely varying perspectives. This is because under UN Security Council (UNSC) Charter, and in the context of its past practices, it cannot authorise a military action purely on the grounds of human rights violations. In this regard, the following issues of legitimacy and legalities are relevant:

- While the UNSC has the legitimacy, legal power and ultimate authority for interventions, great power interests, as reflected in the veto option, result in a lack of consensus, often justifiably. We saw the US-NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organisation) combine undertake a militarily brilliant 78- day air campaign against Belgrade (1999) and prosecute the Iraq War (2003), both geo-strategically driven and without UNSC authorisation. Both

3. Randolph C. Kent, "Humanitarian Intervention," *International Affairs*, Vol. 80, No.5, October 2004, pp. 851-869. Accessed on June 7, 2011.

were in violation of the prohibition on force employment laid down by Article 2 (4) of the UN Charter. The former intervention was termed “humanitarian” and the latter described by President Bush as a war in “self-defence”.

- The contrarian view is equally compelling: “The only first order principle is humanity or the sanctity of life. All others – including the sacred trio of neutrality, impartiality and consent – are second order principles”.⁴ The resulting dilemma raises the question of whether unilateral actions by a state or coalition-of-the willing can be accepted as normative or must these take place only under a UNSC resolution?
- On the other hand, drafters of the UN Charter seem to have drawn lessons from World War II as “one of the haunting memories was Hitler’s use of humanitarian justifications for military expansion... he invoked the right of self-determination of German nationality as a pretext for his incursions into Austria and Czechoslovakia... revealing perhaps in the starkest terms possible what is at stake with regard to unilateral humanitarian intervention”.⁵
- Chapter 1, Articles 1 and 2, of the UN Charter, vests in the UN and its members the power to conduct international relations, apply the principle of equal rights of people, and enjoins upon sovereign equality of states and non-intervention. The only exception is Chapter VII which leaves the door open for the UN to intervene, as a last ditch option, when peaceful means fail to prevent mass murder.

BALANCING SOVEREIGNTY AND INTERVENTION

The concept of state sovereignty – the organising principle of the international system – is based on the Peace of Ausburg (1555), which empowered a ruler to determine his country’s religion, and the Treaty of Westphalia (1648) that permitted the ruler to govern as he wished, free from interference by other states and rulers. Today, over three centuries later, sovereignty still implies “internationally recognized, independent and, most importantly, effectively governed states.”

4. Thomas G. Weiss, “Researching Humanitarian Intervention: Some Lessons,” *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 38, No.4, July 2001, Sage Publications, p. 422. Accessed on June 7, 2011.

5. Ryan Goodman, “Humanitarian Intervention and Pretexts for War,” *The American Journal of International Law*, Vol.100, No.1, January 2006, p. 113. Accessed on June 7, 2011.

State-to-state relations are what count, and states are accountable for threats (that emerge) from their territory".⁶

We also observe that sovereignty was never absolute. During the Cold War, the US and the Soviet Union undertook many violations (the US in Southeast Asia and West Asia, etc, the Soviet Union in East Europe and Afghanistan), although these took place in their tacitly agreed spheres of influence. But today the established sovereignty construct is under increasing threat of dysfunctional ill-governed states having internal upheavals that affect innocent civilians. Some of these like Pakistan are nuclear armed and adopt international terrorism, especially its invidious trans-national variety as state policy that poses a serious challenge to international and regional peace and security.

All of that said, the challenge the international system confronts today is of having to straddle the sovereignty-intervention dilemma. For this, the West needs to be sensitive to different societies, multi-religious and multi-cultural systems, economic patterns and varying political arrangements. As Adam Roberts rightly articulates, "The prohibition of military incursions into states without the consent of the government.... acts as a brake on the crusading, territorial and imperial ambitions of states. Ultimately, we have a rule of non-intervention because unilateral intervention threatens the harmony and concord of the security of sovereign states."⁷ But what if an intervention is deemed imperative. Under what circumstances would it be acceptable and to whom? Before addressing intervener motivations, operational imperatives and conduct methodologies, the key issue remains that of *criteria (emphasis added)* justifying interventions. Jeffrey Boutwell has listed four:⁸

- Gross and systematic human rights abuses, including genocide.
- Suppression of the clearly demonstrated will of the majority such as the overthrow of a democratically elected government.
- Clear cases of failed states where the central authority is not

6. Amichai Magen, "Towards Responsible Sovereignty," *BESA Perspectives Paper No.142*, May 29, 2011 <http://www.sn106.mail.live.com/mail/PrintMessages.aspx?cpids=c2643799-8a9d-11e0>. Accessed on May 31,2011.

7. Adam Roberts, *Humanitarian Action in War*, Adelphi Paper 305 (London: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 26.

8. See n.1. Jeffrey Boutwell lists these broad criteria in the order from the easiest to the most difficult.

functional and the civilian population is at the mercy of militias, warlords, criminal gangs etc.

- The illegal and inhumane use of power by one side or the other during a civil war, encompassing an attempt at secession and or ethnic/religious self-determination.

The Report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS) on *Responsibility to Protect* also identified two primary 'just cause' threshold criteria for military intervention to halt or avert:

- large scale loss of life, actual or apprehended, with genocidal intent or not, which is the product either of deliberate state action, or state neglect or inability to act, or a failed state situation; or
- large scale "ethnic cleansing" actual or apprehended, whether carried out by killing, forced expulsion, acts of terror or rape.⁹

It has also been proposed that the threat of occurrence of grave and systematic human rights abuses must not only be apparent but there should be clear and unambiguous evidence of such a threat or occurrence. Underlying political causes of violence and suffering, whether the regime is factually repressive, and the scale of intervention, would also require objective analysis. Contrarily, "the most effective interventions are not military. There is need to articulate the importance of cost effectiveness of pre-emptive action, economic advice and assistance and skillful diplomacy."¹⁰ And when intervention is inevitable, "just cause, comparative justice, a legitimate authority alone that may employ force or wage war, right intention, probability of success, last resort (action), proportionality and non-combatant immunity"¹¹ should serve as key considerations.

9. *The Responsibility to Protect*, Report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (Ottawa: International Development Research Centre, 2001) p.32.

10. Christopher Greenwood, "Is There a Right of Humanitarian Intervention?," *The World Today*, Vol.49, No.2, February 1993, p. 39. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40396480>. Accessed on June 6, 2011.

11. See Kapil Kak, "Humanitarian Intervention and the Changing Role of the UN," *Strategic Analysis*, Vol. XXIV, No.7, October 2000 (New Delhi: Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses), p.1239.

GEO-POLITICS OF INTERVENTIONS

Interventions have historically been the preserve of the great powers. Consequently, sub-regional, regional and trans-regional constructs like the Group of Twenty (G-20), NATO, Association of Southeast-Asian Nations (ASEAN), East Asia Summit, Asia Pacific Economic Community, Shanghai Cooperation Organisation, Organisation of African States, Organisation of American States, to name a few, not only serve as forums for nations to pursue their interests geospatially – some developing countries perceiving membership of these as a means to reduce their vulnerability to intervention – but also influence major power decisions during crises that may call for intervention. Some of these groupings have also assisted the UN in intervention situations in the past (ASEAN in East Timor during 1999).

To be sure, national interest invariably trumps. The world witnessed how during the March 17, 2011 vote on UNSC Resolution 1973, authorising employment of force during the Libyan crisis, Germany broke ranks with the West and joined Brazil, China, India and Russia to express reservations against an international intervention and abstain from it. The 22-member Arab League's espousal of a no-fly-zone against a fellow Arab nation Libya, followed by unstinted support to the intervention by France and the UK, seemed as ironic as the developing world condoning the military action. The military success in Libya has reignited the (humanitarian?) impulse that the West must be prepared to fight for its values against barbarianism. Does this success mean that one in Syria is feasible? Perhaps not, as there are no fixed doctrinal answers. For were not oil, gas and water resources the key intervener motivations in Libya? And did not bombing operations violate UNSCR 1973?

It would be useful to recall that most post Cold War interventions have also been humanitarian only to the extent of providing legitimacy to the intervener's geo-politics-driven initiative. Thus, while human rights abuses invited intervention in Cambodia and Rwanda, Afghanistan was left to be ravaged for five long years by the grossest human rights violations perpetrated by an extremist-religious, medieval-oriented and narcotics warlord-dominated Taliban regime, created, supported and sustained by Pakistan. It

required the 9/11 terrorist attacks against the US to be traced to the Osama bin Laden-led Al Qaeda, operating from the epicentre of global terrorism, Afghanistan-Pakistan, to trigger what is now a decade-long intervention.¹²

There is no denying that Rwanda was abandoned to its genocide from April to July, 1994 by its Hutu-dominated regime that reportedly killed 750,000 to 1 million people. Kosovo was perhaps the first case of regional employment of force to resolve inter-ethnic tensions, an option that is best avoided in multi-ethnic and multi-cultural states. This is because in the end, intervention may bring about greater damage to inter-ethnic peace and stability – the cause that is sought to be upheld in the first place. Witness the irony in the West's collusion in Indonesia's annexation of East Timor in 1975 contrast with Western support for its independence in 1999. In Kosovo, strategic dictates of eastward expansion provided a *raison d'être* for NATO's out-of-area operations. *Realpolitik* played its own role: "As Russia supported Serbia culturally and geopolitically, and NATO could not translate its military victory into a political arrangement without Russian help, creation of a de facto UN Trusteeship for Kosovo was the only option."¹³ Many raise the question: would intervention be attempted in the territory of a major power (China) even if its government grossly violated human rights or another permanent member of the UNSC or one like North Korea, possessing nuclear weapons?

Looking back, there is no denying how the West willfully neglected Pakistan's genocide in its eastern wing (1970-71) following which Bangladesh fought successfully to independence and that too after the decisive intervention by India's armed forces, which the West opposed. The Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia in 1978 – which India again backed – was never accepted by the majority of UN member states, despite the new state government replacing the notoriously genocidal Khmer Rouge, that reportedly killed 3 million and which the West supported. The Soviet Union's many military interventions in Eastern Europe and in Afghanistan (1979) were even more driven by geo-politics and strategic interest.

12. *Ibid.*, p.1239.

13. Mats Berdal and Spyros Economides, eds., *United Nations Interventionism 1991-2004* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 13.

It would be useful to recall how the West protected the apartheid regime in South Africa – that so grossly violated fundamental human rights – against any intervention, well into the 1980s, while India, in contrast, actively pursued a principled policy of intervention there.¹⁴ Also, when Yugoslavia broke apart, following the hesitation of the major powers, it was the sympathy of Germany for Slovenia and Croatia, on account of domestic and geo-political pressures, which impelled a premature recognition that had serious political consequences for the region.

ROLE OF THE UNITED NATIONS

The primary function of the UN, as stipulated in Article 1 of its Charter, is “to maintain international peace and security”. Envisaging greater reliance on preventive diplomacy to address pacific settlement of disputes under Chapter VI, resort to force was to be regularised in the form of UNSC operating under Chapter VII. We saw how the UN failed to prevent and halt the humanitarian crisis in Rwanda during 1994 and in Darfur in recent years. In East Timor(1999), “the UN-sanctioned intervention force came only after the worst of violence was over and World Bank and IMF loans to Indonesia were withdrawn”.¹⁵ The UN also remained ineffective during the invasion of Iraq (2003). Thus, the elaborate provisions of Chapters VI and VII have produced mixed results in over six and a half decades.

Peace-keeping has been an invention of the UN, and is often perceived to be undertaken under what is termed Chapter VI and a half, and in multifarious ways, reflects its place between preventive diplomacy or conflict prevention and employment of force. When major powers undertake interventions, they invariably follow these up with the induction of peace-keeping forces, under the aegis of the UN, to provide their actions a measure of legitimacy. Past cases of Kosovo and Sierra Leone serve as instances. But the UNSC still appears to prefer to do so in the peace-keeping mode, as its past

14. For an insightful analysis of India’s policy on international interventions, see C. Raja Mohan, “India, Libya and the Principle of Non-Intervention,” *ISAS Insights*, No. 122 (Singapore: NUS, April 13,2011) www.isas.nus.edu.sg/.../ISAS-Insight_122--Email-India,-Libya-and-the-principle-of-non-Intervention.pdf

15. Aidan Hehrir, *Humanitarian Intervention after Kosovo: Iraq, Darfur and the Record of Global Civil Society* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008), p. 55.

practices in Liberia and the early stages of the conflicts in Somalia and the former Yugoslavia indicated.

There is, however, a contra-perspective on the UN's low success rate in the resolution of disputes, and perceptual reservations on its willingness and ability to take an objective position. Shorn of the strategic and geo-political interests of major powers, these serve as a major disincentive for states that seek pacific settlement of disputes. A related question of import is that in intra-state conflicts also, the UN's track record has been disappointing, perhaps because the US and the Soviet Union intervened in quite a few of them directly – Vietnam, Afghanistan and the Horn of Africa, to name a few. Given that people's aspirations in Asia, Africa and Latin America, are rising far out of proportion to the states' ability to deliver effective governance, intra-state turbulence is unlikely to get attenuated. The adverse consequences of globalisation, exacerbation of inequalities and growing marginalisation of the disadvantaged and related social tensions – central to the mission of the UN – pose a threat to global peace and security, even as efforts to whittle away the socio-economic mandate of the UN continue apace. Perhaps revitalising the UN to help it assist in meeting these challenges is justified in the context of the extant paradigm of comprehensive security.

In UN peace operations, more effective conflict prevention strategies, improved wherewithal for peace-keeping, including the troops capabilities to defend themselves along with robust rules of engagement, would prevent failures, as in Rwanda and Srebrenica, from taking place. The Panel on Peace Operations, in its report released on August 23, 2000, had recommended wide-ranging measures for peace-keeping reform, most of which have been implemented. But this is still work in progress, as any major changes in the peace-keeping role of the UN would need acceptance by the member states from the political, financial and operational angles.

Looking at restructuring of the UN in consonance with evolving challenges, UNSC reform is an idea whose time has come. Its composition reflects the political realities of 1945, being oblivious of the ongoing and prospective game-changing global power shift, and the legitimacy of its decisions. Doubtless, India, Japan, Germany, South Africa, Brazil and others would have to be included among the

veto-wielding permanent members. Even when this is achieved, and UNSC permanent veto-wielding membership increases from five to say ten, Europe, with 9 per cent of the world's population would have four representatives (France, Germany, Russia and the UK). In contrast, Asia, with 60 per cent of the world's population and sharply enhancing economic-technological-military capabilities, may have no more than three seats (China, Japan and India). In terms of the current and future power trajectory, Asia must have a commensurate say. This would not only ensure a more representative and holistic consideration of key issues and consequences for UNSC decision-making, but also reflect a conception of humanitarian intervention that is more universal, non-Western-centric and farthest removed from what is termed the colonial logic of the 'white man's burden.

CONCLUSION

In over six decades, the world has seen how the national interests of major powers trump humanitarian considerations even as the post- Cold War shift from state centrism to human security, and unacceptability of genocide, war crimes and gross human rights violations makes for the state having a far greater 'R2P.' This was endorsed in the UN General Assembly Declaration in 2005.

Establishing lawful criteria that justify military force employment in humanitarian crisis situations would serve as a check against geopolitically motivated unilateral actions by the major powers behind a humanitarian façade. Thus, interventions should be rare exceptions authorised only by the UNSC. The UN also has been unable to prevent humanitarian crises, notwithstanding the elaborate UNSC provisions of Chapters VI and VII. The UN track record in intra-state conflicts has also been disappointing. Perhaps revitalising the UN peace-keeping mandate to assist it in meeting the emerging comprehensive human security challenges is a necessity. This could include more effective conflict prevention strategies, better wherewithal for peace-keeping and more robust rules of engagement. Reform of the UNSC to reflect contemporary global strategic balance and the ongoing game-changing power shift to Asia is overdue. This would serve to create a truly representative and holistic decision matrix for humanitarian intervention policies and operations that are more universal.

OSAMA'S KILLING, US EXIT STRATEGY AND PAKISTAN'S INSTABILITY

SHALINI CHAWLA

The US' greatest success in the war on terror, the killing of Osama bin Laden in the Pakistani military environment has raised a number of questions regarding not only the credibility of the Pakistani leadership, but also its future relationship with Washington which would further impact the stability quotient in Pakistan. The nation which has been struggling for two decades to move away from the crossroads, is undoubtedly at the worst stage of its destabilisation since its inception. Alarming radicalisation, lowering Gross Domestic Product (GDP), rising inflation, exceeding anti-state and particularly anti-military sentiments, seem to have wracked the nation and the survival of the state is being questioned. The already complex problems have been compounded by the lowering US popularity in Pakistan, where not only the leadership but particularly the common people blame the decade-long US presence for much of the country's woes and are apprehensive about Western intentions to grab Pakistan's crown jewels – its nuclear weapons.

Pakistan's political and economic destiny is at the crossroads. President Obama has announced the exit plan from the Af-Pak region

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and in all likelihood, the US and North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) forces would depart by 2014, although complete absence of the United States from the region cannot be guaranteed. It would not be wrong to state that Pakistan can still make a choice between allowing itself to fail and result in a totally collapsed state or opt for a change in its power structure and strategies which are centred on its perceived threat from its neighbours; and chart a fresh course for itself, redefining its destiny. While there are several issues which in combination would define Pakistan's future, it would be useful to analyse some of the key factors in the direction

CREDIBILITY OF THE MILITARY

The circumstances surrounding Osama's killing have compelled the Pakistanis to rethink their trust in the military. The fact that Osama bin Laden was able to live for years undetected in Abbottabad has been a severe blow to Pakistan's image. The world's most wanted terrorist was comfortably placed in a complex which is home to three Pakistan Army regiments, a military academy and thousands of military personnel. The area is also relatively affluent, with several retired military men residing there. Osama's killing lends credence to the views on the global platform about Pakistan sheltering and supporting the terrorists. The US has for a long time been expressing its discomfort with the Pakistan military's non-performance in the war on terror. The Obama Administration in the last two years has adopted the policy of "tough love" and the US-Pak relations have been increasingly strained.

Osama's killing has tarnished the military's image within Pakistan. It is difficult for the US and the rest of the world to believe that Osama did not enjoy the patronage of the military and intelligence agencies in Pakistan. According to President Obama's chief counter-terrorism adviser, John Brennan, it was "inconceivable that Osama bin Laden did not have a support system in the country that allowed him to remain there for extended periods of time".¹ A US based non-governmental expert on Al Qaeda and Osama bin Laden claimed:

1. "Inconceivable that Osama had no Support System in Pakistan: US," *The Hindu*, May 3, 2011.

It stretches credulity to think that a mansion of that scale could have been built and occupied by OBL for six years without its coming to the attention of anyone in the Pakistan Army. The initial circumstantial evidence suggests that the opposite is more likely that OBL was effectively being housed under Pakistani state control.....Perhaps, the circumstantial evidence in the OBL case is misleading; only a transparent, thorough investigation by Pakistani authorities into how such a fugitive could have lived so long under the military's nose without detection would establish otherwise. That sort of transparent investigation is unlikely to take place.²

There are two possibilities which can be assessed: one is that the military was aware of the secret US operation and it silently cooperated with the US. This possibility is viewed as the military's complete submission to the US where it allowed the infringement of Pakistani sovereignty by a foreign power in allowing the operation within its own territory, that too in a military compound. This factor becomes extremely critical in the wake of rising anti-Americanism within Pakistan on account of the continued drone attacks and also the very recent Raymond Davis imbroglio. The second possibility, which the Pakistani military and the civilian leadership have claimed, is that the military was totally unaware of the operation. This exposes the military's incapability, being clueless about the operation, and the failure of the intelligence services in not detecting Osama's location. The entire US operation on May 2 went undetected in a heavily guarded military compound just 50 km from the capital. *Dawn*, a leading Pakistani daily stated, "The idea that the world's most wanted criminal was spending his days there unnoticed by Pakistani intelligence requires either suspension of disbelief or the conclusion that the authorities are guilty of a massive intelligence failure."

The Pakistanis are embarrassed that their supposedly all powerful military, the institution which has been a central player in the country, was unaware of the major operation on its soil. For decades, the military has highlighted the threat of Indian

2. Steve Coll, "Notes on the Death of Osama bin Laden", *New Yorker* (online), May 2, 2011.

aggression and justified the defence build-up which has been at the cost of national development. A major chunk of national resources has been spent on defence and intelligence build-up and every financial year, the defence spending has increased substantially, citing the Indian threat. Still, the military was unable to stand up to a foreign power and defend its own territory. Also, it was expected that Osama's killing would escalate the terrorist attacks within Pakistan. A statement by the Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan vowed retaliation for bin Laden's killing, "President Zardari and the army will be our first targets, America will be our second target."³

The military has been the most stable institution in Pakistan and has very successfully demonstrated the capability of crisis management, though one can argue that it has been the military's power ambitions which have led the country into a crisis very often, and not allowed the democratic powers to flourish. But every single military coup, including the first coup by Gen Ayub and the last by Gen Musharraf, has been welcomed by the country. The Pakistanis have looked to the military for resolving their woes, due in large part to the corrupt civilian leaders. However, the military (like Ayub earlier) has faced the people's resentments in the past and Musharraf had to exit due to the increasing unpopularity of the military regime and the nation's cry for democracy. Following Musharraf's departure, Gen Kayani took firm measures in order to restore the military's image. He tried to separate the military from civil affairs and politics and ordered the withdrawal of military officers from the government's civil departments.⁴ To a certain extent, the military managed to regain its popularity by moving away from the political stage and also carrying out counter-insurgency operations in the Frontier regions. The floods in 2010 also allowed the military to project its image as the nation's saviour in any crisis. The killing of Osama has once again shaken the people's belief and this would invariably contribute to the instability of the nation. Pakistan's

3. TTP quoted "Pakistan Taliban Threatens Attacks After Bin Laden's Killing," Reuters, May 2, 2011.

4. Salman Masood, "New Pakistan Army Chief Orders Military Out of Civilian Government Agencies, Reversing Musharraf Policy", *The New York Times*, February 13, 2008, at <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/02/13/world/asia/13pstan.html>

most stable and professional institution, its military, cannot afford to lose its credibility at a time when the nation is at war with itself. Though, regaining its credibility cannot be associated with the military coming to, the political forefront, it certainly has to regain the confidence of the nation.

THE UNENDING WAR AGAINST MILITANCY

The attacks on the Sufi shrines throughout Pakistan and the high profile assassinations of Salman Taseer, Governor of Punjab, and Shahbaz Bhatti, the only Christian Cabinet Minister, are symbolic of the strength the extremist organisations have gained in Pakistan. The killing of Salman Taseer, a critic of the blasphemy law, by his own bodyguard who was then welcomed by showers of rose petals is symbolic of the deep penetration of extremist factions within the country.⁵ The assassination of Salman Taseer is a portrayal of a highly intolerant attitude for any liberal thinking in Pakistan and also that the civilian authorities can do little to prevent these incidents, given the fact that the assassination was carried out by an elite force personnel in broad daylight.

Presently, Pakistan is facing a broad landscape of militancy. A variety of terrorist groups operate from Pakistan and share a varied relationship with the state (see Table 1). Some of these the military is willing to target, some it was compelled to target, and a few it wants to protect. For the first time, militancy has managed to penetrate the interior of Punjab and Sindh, and the Army General Headquarters (GHQ) became one of the terror targets in the recent past. The impact of the Afghan War has allowed the Al Qaeda, Haqqani network and the Taliban inside Pakistan where they have been expanding their influence. "Talibanisation of Pakistan" has become a popular topic of discussion amongst the international community. The Pakistani military and the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) have nurtured some of the terrorist organisations which they categorically grade as their "strategic assets" and are clearly not willing to act against them. These so-called "friendly"⁶ groups, as Ayesha Siddiqua Agha

5. Karim Brulliard, "Salman Taseer Assassination Points to Pakistani Extremists' Mounting Power," *The Washington Post*, January 5, 2011.

6. Ayesha Siddiqua Agha, "Pakistan's Counterterrorism Strategy: Separating Friends from Enemies", *The Washington Quarterly*, Winter 2011, pp.149-162.

terms them, include: the “Good Taliban”, Lashkar-e-Tayyeba (LeT), Jamaat-ud-Dawa (JuD), and Jaish-e-Muhammad (JeM). The Haqqani network which has a stronghold in the bordering Afghan districts of Paktia and Khost and is involved in the anti-US and anti-NATO operations, has enjoyed state patronage for long.⁷ The military, desisting from acting against these groups, has been “selective and partial” in its counter-terrorism approach, has been the root cause of the lack of success in the war on terror.

The Frontiers areas – Northwest Frontier Province (NWFP) and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK) – have become the breeding ground for terrorism and the region presents a conglomeration of various insurgents and terrorists groups. The Al Qaeda, Haqqani network and the Taliban have established their sanctuaries in these areas. The NWFP and KPK which have been troublesome regions even at the best of times, are now embroiled in a full blooded insurgency. Insurgency in Baluchistan, which became active in 2004, has aggravated much more after the killing of Akbar Bugti in 2007. The Baluchis have always suffered from a deep sense of alienation from the state and have resisted frequently, which even the democratic Pakistani leadership tried to curb with brute military force in the past, starting in the 1940s. Added to this deadly mix of extremists is the Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) whose avowed aim is to revolt against the presence of US and NATO forces within Pakistan and establishment of *Sharia* as the rule of law within Pakistan. The TTP has taken up the battle against the Pakistani state and has been selectively targeting the military. The TTP probably tops the list of deadly terrorist attacks, including the assassination of Benazir Bhutto in 2007 and the attack on the Marriott Hotel in Islamabad in 2008. Although some Pakistani scholars hold the view that the TTP is losing its ‘brand value’, the fact remains that the attacks by the TTP pose a significant challenge which the Pakistan Army is trying to overcome militarily but without much success.

7. Ibid.

Table 1: Militant Groups in Pakistan

Confederations	Militant Groups	Targeting Scope	Pakistani Tolerance
Pakistani Taliban (Tehreek-i-Taliban, Pakistan, TTP) and affiliates	Collection of semi-autonomous regional networks across FATA under Emir Hakimullah Mehsud. Constituents groups include Mehsud factions; TSNM; Lashkar-e-Islam; Wazir factions, and other local groups Affiliates include Punjabi Taliban (splinter elements of Kashmiri jihad and sectarian groups); Ghazi Force	Pakistani state Anti-Shia Western interests Criminal activity	None
Global Jihadis	Al-Qaeda; Brigade 313; Lashkar-e-Jhangvi (LeJ); Lashkar-e-Taiba; Tahrik-i-Taliban	Pakistani state Western interests Indian interests Afghan interests (low capacity) ¹⁶⁵	Low to medium
Afghan Taliban	Quetta Shura Taliban (QST); Haqqani Network (HQN); Hizb-i-Islami;	Western interests Afghan Security Forces Criminal activity	Medium to High

Sectarian	Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan (SSP); Lashkar-e-Jhangvi (LEJ); Al Qaeda; Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU); Jaish-e-Mohammad (JEM); Sipah-e-Mohammad (SMP)	Anti-Shia Intra-Sunni Anti-Sufi (limited degree) Anti-Sunni (only SMP)	Medium
Kashmir Jihadis	Lashkar-e-Taiba (LET); Jaish-e-Mohammad (JEM); Harkat-al-Jihad-al-Islami (HUJI); Harkat-al-Mujahideen (HUM)	Indian interests	High
Baloch Separatists	Baloch Liberation Army (BLA); Balochistan Student Organisation (BSO); Balochistan Republican Army (BRA); Balochistan People's Liberation Front (BPLF); Popular Front for Armed Resistance (PFAR)	Pakistani state Anti-Punjabi Criminal activity	None
Ethno-political	Muttahida (MQM); Awami National (ANP); Pakistan People's (PPP); JUL; JI	Three way Pashtun-Sindhi-Mohajir conflict Religious versus Mainstream	Medium to High

Source: Varun Vira and Anthony H. Cordesman (Arleigh A. Burke Chair in Strategy), "Pakistan: Violence Vs Stability, A Net Assessment," *Centre for Strategic and International Studies*, Working Draft: May 5, 2011.

PAKISTAN'S STRAINED RELATIONSHIP WITH THE US

Pakistan remains the central point of the US strategic interests in the region and despite a decade-long involvement in the war on terror, and provision of approximately \$22 billion in aid and sophisticated defence equipment to Pakistan, the US' ability to persuade Pakistan remains limited. The alliance has been shaky in the last two years, with the US expressing its frustration due to the lack of success in the war on terror, pointing towards "lack of will" from the Pakistan military not only to expand military operations in the tribal areas, but also adopting a selective approach in targeting the terror outfits.

Although the US has defined its relationship with Pakistan in the past as based on trust, in December 2009, President Obama talked about a strategy for Pakistan:

In the past, we too defined our relationship with Pakistan narrowly. Those days are over. Moving forward, we are committed to a partnership with Pakistan that is built on a foundation of mutual interest, mutual respect, and mutual trust. We will strengthen Pakistan's capacity to target those groups that threaten our countries, and have made it clear that we cannot tolerate a safe haven for terrorists whose location is known and whose intentions are clear. America is also providing substantial resources to support Pakistan's democracy and development. We are the largest international supporter for those Pakistanis displaced by the fighting. And going forward, the Pakistan people must know America will remain a strong supporter of Pakistan's security and prosperity long after the guns have fallen silent, so that the great potential of its people can be unleashed.

These are the three core elements of our strategy: a military effort to create the conditions for a transition; a civilian surge that reinforces positive action; and an effective partnership with Pakistan.⁸

A year later, in 2010, the US had narrowed down its strategic ambitions in Pakistan and the President said:

8. Transcript of President Obama's West Point Address on Afghanistan, *White House*, December 1, 2009, Available at <http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/remarks-president-address-nation-way-forward-afghanistan-and-pakistan>

Pakistan is central to our efforts to defeat al-Qaida and prevent its return to the region. We seek to secure these interest through continued, robust and counter-terrorism and counter-insurgency cooperation and a long-term partnership anchored by our improved understanding of Pakistan' strategic priorities, increased civilian and military assistance, and expanded public diplomacy.⁹

The third US-Pak alliance started on a good note which brought immediate relief to Pakistan from its enormous debt burden and problems that were leading towards the much debated 'collapse' in 2001. Gen Musharraf who had little option but to go ahead with cooperation in the war on terror, was able to convince the nation that the US alliance was in favour of the country, given the critical concerns and priorities of Pakistan. The critical concerns and priorities included: the security of the country and the external threat; the economy and its revival; strategic nuclear and missile assets; and the Kashmir cause.¹⁰

Pakistan gave a nod to the war on terror without actually realising that it would effectively imply that the military in Pakistan has to alter its strategic calculus and stop supporting terrorism as a tool of foreign policy. The alliance grew especially when the US focussed almost exclusively on Iraq during 2003-08, and Pakistan received enormous US aid and much desired equipment which could neutralise the Indian conventional military superiority.

The US arms supplies came much easier for Pakistan after the removal of US sanctions which had denied Pakistan the right of purchasing not only the high technology weapons but also spare parts for a decade. Pakistan was designated as a "major non-NATO ally" in 2004 and the military now has a distinct advantage in terms of obtaining the latest high technology weapons and spare parts. The US weapon sale/aid during 2003-09 has been at an accelerated scale. Total security related aid during 2002-10 amounted to about \$13.3 billion. The initial US supplies to Pakistan consisted of items like

9. "Overview of the Afghanistan and Pakistan Annual Review", *White House*, December 16, 2010, Available at <http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2010/12/16/overview-afghanistan-and-pakistan-annual-review>

10. President General Pervez Musharraf, *Address to People of Pakistan*, September 19, 2001, at <http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/pakistanpresident.htm>

UH-II utility helicopters, VHF/UHF aircraft radios, air traffic control radar, night vision equipment and equipment and support systems, including intelligence gathering devices. Eventually, Pakistan managed to receive the F-16 A/B, F-16 C/D and the P-3Cs. The arms sales/grants to Pakistan since 9/11 have been to support the counter-terrorism operations but have mostly contributed towards building up Pakistan's conventional military capability in order to counter India's conventional military superiority and the ongoing conflict in Kashmir which has constantly shaped Pakistan's military build-up.

In 2007, after five years of alliance, various questions were raised regarding the use of the American aid and, reportedly, the Bush Administration and military officials said they believed that much of the American money was not making its way to frontline Pakistani units.¹¹ A report released in June 2008 by the US government accountability office discovered widespread accounting irregularities with the Pentagon spending in Pakistan.¹² Despite much debate on the misuse of the funds, the American aid continued at a rapid pace. Pakistan failed to deliver the required results in the counter-insurgency operations and it was increasingly obvious to the US that Pakistan had a different agenda, and would not alter its strategic calculus. This led to a significant shift in the United States' posture and Washington initiated military moves to reduce its reliance on Pakistan to rein in the Islamists militants in the tribal belt. The US drone strikes were accelerated in 2008 despite tremendous resentment from the Pakistani military and also the civilians, and these strikes remain a great source of tension between the two nations. Pakistan has been equally disenchanted and it has been evident in the last two years in the increasing number of crises, including closing of a vital border crossing to NATO supply convoys in 2010, and also the opposition of the military and ISI to the continued drone strikes and the presence of Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) agents within Pakistan. Anti-Americanism within Pakistan had started to increase more in 2008 following the civilian and military casualties and it continues to

11. David Rohde, Carlotta Gall, Eric Schmitt and David E. Sanger, "US Officials See Waste in Billions Sent to Pakistan", *The New York Times*, December 24, 2007.

12. See, "Combating Terrorism; Increased Oversight and Accountability Needed Over Pakistan Reimbursement Claims for Coalition Support Funds", GAO Report, June 2008, at <http://www.gao.gov/new.items/d08806.pdf>

increase.¹³ Surprisingly, the anti-American sentiment in Pakistan has surpassed the anti-Indian sentiment. The Pakistanis blame the US for the spillover of violence in their country and a majority of them view the American aid as sheer compensation for the hardship and killing the nation has gone through due to America's war on terror. Although the US has never been bothered about the civil society's sentiments and has been comfortable dealing with the military and pampered the men in khaki, its trust in the military has also been shaken and the secret operation of Osama's killing was an ultimate manifestation of the mistrust.

The US has announced the suspension of further aid to Islamabad, but neither the military nor the civil regime appears to be bothered about the suspended \$800 million. The increase in tensions between the US and Pakistan would lead to stronger Pakistan-China ties as Pakistan would naturally increase its reliance on China. It would delay the US equipment and training coming into Pakistan and also the developmental programmes based on the US funding would be put on hold. Also, the US moving away from Pakistan would impact Pakistan's ability to negotiate in the international financial institutions like the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank.

CONCLUSION

The problems get worse due to Pakistan's worrisome economic figures – the real GDP is estimated to grow at 2.4 percent against the target of 4.5 percent and inflation stands officially at 14.1 percent. The probable suspension of American aid would impact the economy. Pakistan has ignored the basic economic issues for long and has been on a constant life support drip of foreign economic aid.

Most of the discussions on contemporary Pakistan focus on the problems it is facing regarding the internal violence and the socio-economic disorder, but these are the outcomes of the policies which the country has been following for decades. Trying to rectify each or any of them would probably not be the solution and the real future for Pakistan lies in changing the power structure and its strategies. Pakistan has focussed far too much on expanding its influence in

13. "Pakistan Now or Never? Anti-Americanism in Pakistan", *Reuters*, May 11, 2008.

Afghanistan and also catering to its perceived overhyped threat from India.

Pakistan has pillars of strength which can bring in some stability in the country. There is a vigorous civil society and secular elite in Pakistan which are extremely conscious of the causes of the state's decline. Certainly, there is hope of some civil revolution in Pakistan. One cannot ignore that Pakistan has had a history of civilian resistance, bringing in a change of regime. The students agitation in 1968 did shake up Ayub's rule and even during 1971, it was the students in the Dhaka University who brought in the wave of active protests against the regime. Again, it was the agitation by the judiciary which finally resulted in Musharraf's exit. So, the role of the civil society cannot be ruled out in the near future of Pakistan.

Pakistan needs to focus within its own system and reduce its focus on the external factors. The insurgency has bloated to this level due to the consistently indifferent attitude of the ruling elites towards these regions. The influx of other terrorist organisations post 9/11 became an additional factor which added fuel to the already existing fire in the region. The real problem lies in Pakistan's strategic calculus which differentiates between the friendly and not so friendly militant outfits. The military needs to alter this calculus and abandon reliance on terrorism as a foreign policy tool in order to start the process of stabilisation within Pakistan.

DIPLOMACY AND MILITARY: 'TALK THE WALK'

MANOJ KUMAR AND DHANASREE JAYARAM

What a society sees in its armed forces is exactly what it asks for – no more, no less; what it asks for tends to be a reflection of what it, the society, is. When a country looks at its fighting forces, it is looking in a mirror, the mirror is a true one, and the face that it sees, will be its own.

— Sir John Hackett, *The Profession of Arms*

Gone are the days when military and economic prowess alone could elevate any nation-state to the status of a superpower or a world hegemon. In the era of the information revolution and public diplomacy, it is equally important for a nation to disseminate information in the public domain to build credibility; more importantly, legitimacy and transparency. With the advances in information and communication technologies, the task of publicising actions along with generating readership for them has become almost child's play. Image, reputation and credibility are now relevant public goods that have become prerequisites for steering a nation forward, both domestically and internationally, primarily because a nation-state competes with not

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only other nation-states for these 'virtues' but also with the domestic constituents, including the non-governmental agencies, business enterprises as well as the civil society, as pointed out by Joseph S. Nye.¹ In this context, environmental diplomacy assumes significance in the 21st century due to concerns being expressed about environmental degradation. In fact, the industrialised world is putting pressure on the emerging economies such as India to be transparent about their environmental policies. At the national level, the need to highlight the actions being taken by different organs of the government in the direction of environment protection is extraordinary since the 'black hole strategy' will no longer serve 'national interest'.

One of the most important entities of a nation-state's architecture is its military. Like any other organ of the government, the military too has environmental responsibility and accountability as it is a universally acknowledged fact that the armed forces are one of the biggest polluters in the world owing to the nature of their responsibility. Across the globe, especially in the developed countries, militaries have been actively pursuing the task of creating visibility in their fight against environmental degradation within their countries or even at their deployed foreign location² – an action that can be termed as environmental diplomacy. In India, on the other hand, both the political and military establishments are still lagging behind in terms of sending a similar message across to their own public and the international community at large. It has to be appreciated that the concept of diplomacy has evolved considerably and it now involves not only the policy-makers but also the public.

It has been found that the environment-friendly concerns of the armed forces in India are similar to those of the armed forces in the West in many ways. The disparity between the two is created by the lack of diplomatic efforts to highlight these concerns in the case of the former. Instead of restricting the military forces into a showground

1. Joseph S. Nye, "The New Public Diplomacy," *Project Syndicate*, February 10, 2010, see <http://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/nye79/English>, accessed on July 8, 2011.
2. Air Mshl A. K. Singh (Retd), Wing Cdr Manoj Kumar and Atul Bagai, *Ozone Protection and National Security: A Military Perspective (Toolkit for Defence Forces)* (United Nations Environment Programme, Multilateral Fund for the Implementation of the Montreal Protocol and Centre for Air Power Studies (Nepal: Jagadamba Press, 2009), pp. 52-59.

of adventure and patriotism, one has to go beyond and also highlight the social role that they actively play. On the one hand, the existing gap between the military and the civilian mindsets has to be bridged in order to address the issues of national security holistically. On the other, there is enough room for transparency at the level of social and environmental activities undertaken by the military, which have nothing to do with national security and, thus, there is no need to wrap them in a veil of secrecy. In India, the need to delineate the military from the polity has also been stressed upon from time to time to maintain their apolitical aura at all costs. The need of the hour is not to put the military on a higher pedestal but to demonstrate that its service is more wide-ranging than is portrayed currently. An attempt would be made in this paper to focus on ways that could be adopted to bridge this information gap and draw attention to the initiatives being undertaken by the armed forces in terms of environmental mitigation. An analysis of the reasons for such a weak approach towards environmental diplomacy and its negative impact would be made. Besides, it will also reflect on the ingredients of environmental diplomacy in the Indian context as well as its benefits for the armed forces.

COMMITMENT: DELIVER-AND-REVEAL APPROACH

The word 'commitment' is harped on by individuals and organisations in every sector. It is one thing to 'show' commitment, and work towards it; it is a completely different thing to 'showcase' commitment (even while working towards it) and build confidence amongst the larger society. It is a well-established fact that environmental commitment is on top of the agenda of a majority of stakeholders in the society. The corporate organisations seem to be ahead of the government agencies in their initiatives to prevent environmental degradation. The Corporate Responsibility for Environment Protection (CREP) has ensured that the same companies, which were shown in a negative light due to their profit oriented practices, indulge in social service that could transform their image. Ironically, every department in, and affiliated to, the government has also been doing its bit to advance environment protection, but without a stated policy like the CREP. The only

difference between the two is that the former have successfully trumpeted their achievements as an image-building exercise so that their business does not suffer while the latter are yet to publicise their work in the public domain in a comprehensive manner, due to a perceived lack of need. A majority of the corporate organisations carry out well-designed and persuasive public relations exercises frequently, using various means, including the media, while the government organs, including the military, have shown little enthusiasm in engaging in such exercises.

It is an accepted fact that the armed forces have played a vital role in a plethora of humanitarian missions involving disaster management. The search and rescue missions in the aftermath of natural disasters like earthquakes and floods are quite familiar [as seen in the cases of the 2004 tsunami and the 2005 Jammu and Kashmir (J&K) earthquake]. However, the best illustration of the remarkable work being done by the Indian Army on the environmental front is that of their Ecological Task Forces (ETFs). The concept of ecological units of the Territorial Army came into force in India way back in the 1980s and, astonishingly, the Indian Army is the only army in the world to implement it. The ETFs are credited with the implementation of soil conservation projects in states like Uttarakhand, afforestation in Assam, Rajasthan, and J&K among other states, creation of Amarpura lake in Rajasthan, conversion of Mohangarh in Jaisalmer district into green fields, to name just a few. In fact, the ETFs are reported to have planted approximately two crore plants and reclaimed twenty-five mines in the past one decade.³ The Indian Army Environment and Ecology Cell (IAEEC) is the central coordinating agency of all environmental and ecological activities undertaken by the Indian Army; these activities include afforestation and arboriculture, rainwater harvesting, wildlife and biodiversity conservation, use of renewable sources of energy, environment education and awareness, waste and wetland development, pollution control, and garbage management and waste disposal, among others. The Army's efforts have fetched it recognition in the form of awards

3. P.K. Gautam, *Environmental Security: New Challenges and Role of Military* (New Delhi: Shipra Publications, Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, 2008), pp. 26-28.

as well; some of these are the Indira Gandhi Paryavaran Puraskar (Highest Award For Environment Protection), Green Governance Award by BNHS, Confederation of Indian Industry Green Award, Environment Conservation and Desert Development Special Award, etc.⁴

The active participation of the Indian Air Force (IAF) in putting an end to emission of Ozone Depleting Substances (ODS) while undertaking maintenance of their aircraft, as a part of the national commitment towards the Montreal Protocol, is significant. It has also been found through interactions with military officials that the IAF has adopted several villages, especially in the northeast and Jammu and Kashmir for providing a range of social services to the villagers, including education, healthcare, housing, sanitation and tree plantation among others. For instance, Air Mshl A. K. Singh (now retired) was awarded the Mahatma Gandhi Service Award in 2006 for his outstanding service to the people of Jammu and Kashmir after the catastrophic earthquake of 2005.⁵ Most of these efforts go unnoticed as the need for following environmental diplomacy within the organs of government has still not been felt in India. If one looks at the pace at which countries like the US, Australia and the UK have gone about practising environmental diplomacy, India's position is dismal. For example, the carbon reducing projects run by the UK Ministry of Defence (MoD) have got immense coverage the world over through the ministry's website. The Indian Army has taken the lead in terms of taking initiatives to highlight its achievements through its official website, but the other defence organisations and most importantly, the MoD, have not shown any inclination so far to publicise them with zeal and vigour. Even the endeavours of the Indian Army go unnoticed by the general public due to lack of concerted efforts on the part of the MoD. Public diplomacy can prove to be more effective only if it is 'centralised' and 'collaborative' at the same time, projecting a coherent approach.

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4. "Contribution of the Armed Forces Towards Conservation of Our Environment," see <http://indianarmy.nic.in/Site/FormTemplete/frmTempSimple.aspx?MnId=Mn7z5DsNvgU=&ParentID=W4Xw5DL5GkM=>, accessed on July 15, 2011.
 5. "Modern Day Military and Effect of Climate Change," see <http://airmarshalaksingh.blogspot.com/>, accessed on July 8, 2011.

At a juncture when media attraction is relatively easier to obtain, the Indian establishment should be exploiting these readily available resources to garner support for its initiatives and create goodwill. Instead, the MoD has shown needless lack of enthusiasm to interact with the media. Surprisingly, the Indian MoD does not even have a highly visible spokesperson. Issues concerning national security should obviously not be exposed but there is no harm in showcasing the other side of the military – its social leadership – which is unknown to the common man as of now. As a well-reasoned strategy, the Departments of Defence in the Western countries have used their association with think-tanks to hold consultations on pertinent issues related to the environment and military as well as released them for the public to take note of. For instance, the Development, Concepts and Doctrine Centre is a UK MoD think-tank that performs a range of tasks including production of “concepts and doctrine,” “forced migration’, “informing decisions in defence strategy, capability development and operations,” and “providing the foundation for joint education, both now and into the future.”⁶ This custom is absent in India as the association between our few think-tanks and the defence establishment is limited to small-scale consultations that are rarely highlighted. These are indications of lack of will to initiate diplomatic forays on the part of the Indian authorities handling defence matters.

CULTURE: PROGRESSIVE OR REGRESSIVE?

What could these diplomatic failures be attributed to in the first place? The reason cannot be lack of resources or expertise as it does not require high-end technology or superior thinking abilities. The answer is simple: culture. It is more important to realise that the need of the hour is not only to occupy the moral high-ground but to go one step ahead after the constructive results are achieved – to highlight them. Culture has to be dynamic and progressive; disregard of diplomacy of any sort can only harm the cultural ethos of a country. In a similar vein, the armed forces will end up harming themselves by neglecting environmental diplomacy.

6. For more information, see <http://www.mod.uk/defenceinternet/microsite/dcdc/>, accessed on July 11, 2011.

To put the 'cultural block' in a better perspective, one could look at the example of the Public Diplomacy Division of the Ministry of External Affairs (MoE). The need for having such a division was felt only in 2006 while the West had been dedicating considerable attention to this since World War II, especially during the Cold War, though under different tags such as Public Affairs. It was the event of 9/11 that altered the entire international political architecture and many countries in the West were forced to intensify their public diplomacy efforts. In the case of India, the division became 'active' in the real sense only in 2009 when Ms. Nirupama Rao took over as the Foreign Secretary and decided to create online forums, blogs, facebook, twitter accounts, and so on. Switching over to the armed forces, one can only wonder at the approach towards a predominantly public relations exercise such as recruitment. In fact, advertising for recruitment into the forces started barely a few years ago. Until then, the general public knew very little about it. So much so that young aspirants could associate the IAF only with pilots; the presence of engineers, technicians and other staff in the organisation was completely unknown to many. Therefore, one could conclude that advertising itself was a cultural shift. This was triggered by the drop in the number as well as the quality of the candidates. With the enforcement of the Right to Information Act (RTI) and an active judiciary, the second shift towards more transparency ensued. Due to this shift, the military personnel are now being trained to manage the RTI appropriately and effectively. The third shift was to manoeuvre the forces into the art of public diplomacy, which also includes environmental diplomacy. It has to be noted that the first two shifts were forced and reactive. The third shift should ideally be a proactive move. One could draw a parallel in this with India's foreign policy that had been dubbed by many experts as not only 'reactive' but also fence-sitting right from Independence.

As far as military training is concerned, it leaves a void in the personal and professional lives of personnel by deliberately alienating them from burning social issues that affect them as much as they affect the common man. The roles and responsibilities of

the military in the social arena are overlooked to such an extent that as soon as the personnel are exposed to the social milieu, they find themselves severely constrained. Right from the day of recruitment into the armed forces, they are exhorted to devote all their energy and resources – and some may say rightly so – towards issues of national security and war-fighting. The entire training process is so inward-centric that the military personnel are not provided any form of training in important areas like media management. The military officers cannot even interact with the media until they reach the top echelons of the forces. It can be said that they are groomed to be non-appreciative of social issues and, as a result, no efforts are made to prepare the junior officers for tasks such as showcasing environmental forays by the military. The leadership process that commences at the junior level and continues till the senior level does not provide the requisite exposure to these social issues; at the senior level, all of a sudden, they are required to work in tandem with the government functionaries, taking on a much bigger role than envisaged in their training or experience till then. This strategy, followed right from the grassroots, has resulted in the insulation of the defence organisations, at the cost of losing out on many a 'diplomatic victory.' The media too refrains from focussing on the social and environmental leadership in the armed forces. They tend to stereotype the military in a fashion as ordained by the political leadership and, thus, refrain from ever contextualising social and environmental leadership with the military. There is a dire need for some out-of-the-box policies to pull out the junior military leaders from the cocoon of secrecy and national security, and expose them to social issues to enable them to become holistic leaders as they grow in service. Every military policy pertaining to social and environmental issues should be brought into the public domain and the media should be encouraged to give as much coverage to these aspects as the war-fighting scenarios. The common perception that there is no relationship between the military and environment has to be discarded, within and without.

AN ALL-ENCOMPASSING REWARD-REAPING EXERCISE

The instruments of environmental diplomacy are based more or less on willingness. If this mindset is crossed, the diplomatic initiatives will follow. Any initiative which is implemented in the larger interest of the public must be showcased. It is unfortunately true that for this to materialise, the whole system, which has been designed to be passive in terms of public relations and diplomacy, has to be overhauled. Any systemic change may be executed through two approaches: top-down and bottom-up. The bottom-up approach could undeniably be an arduous journey as it goes against the military ethos. However, voices could be raised at the appropriate in-house forums allowed within the Services and the superior officers could be made cognisant of these concerns. The research community, media and the civil society could also play their part in highlighting the benefits that would accrue to the military organisations if their visibility on matters of social importance is enhanced. The onus, however, lies on the top-down approach and policies have to originate from the top guard, to pervade all sections of the armed forces, irrespective of the positions of the military officers. It is imperative to define and assign the roles of these officers, and not estrange them from public view. The spin-off from these policies would encourage more people to join the armed forces, especially those who possess social or environmental leadership qualities as also have a quest for adventure.

The benefits of environmental diplomacy are numerous. It has to be kept in mind that diplomatic initiatives serve the interests of the government, the military as well as the general public. First, if the MoD takes an interest in launching such initiatives, they will reflect the efficient functioning of the government which would supplement its public diplomacy strategy besides enhancing credibility and integrity. Second, the emergent image of the government as a cohesive unit is expected to give confidence to the people about the nation's progress. The all-important 'connect' between the organs of the government and the people could help the former firmly hold the reins of power. Third, it would motivate the people to take up responsibility to work on environmental issues as normally the armed forces are considered a community worth emulating. In an organisation, if one person is in-charge of e-waste management and the others are not aware of it,

the overall benefits would not be felt. Similarly, the implementation of the government policies at the grassroots level would be facilitated by wider public participation. It is a time-tested fact that any policy of the government, when implemented, can reap benefits in a sustained manner only if the public is kept attuned to these policies as well as involved in a full-fledged manner; this would ensure that the 'fruits' of the policy may be 'consumed' in the future too, irrespective of the various uncertainties associated with the establishment. Fourth, these initiatives would encourage the people to view the military organisations from a larger and better perspective. They would not only be motivated to join the armed forces, but take pride in visualising a balanced leadership that gives similar importance to social responsibilities as it does to national security.

TAKE THE ROAD NOT TAKEN

The country is currently witnessing an anti-establishment wave on account of several corruption exposés, and inaction in the past year of 2010. This clearly reinforces the need for the government to adopt transparency as the supreme benchmark of governance and transparency can only be derived from sincere diplomacy. Diplomacy, on the other hand, should not be haphazard, and should be separated from propaganda, as much as possible. Propaganda can only further aggravate the existing tensions between the government and civil society. The military also needs to 'reach out' to the larger public at a time when it has been criticised as being callous by the human rights organisations. It is important for the people to know that the military is equally adept at handling human security that is mostly impinged upon by social and economic factors. It is the duty of the government agencies, including the military, to familiarise the public with the laudable tasks they accomplish in the social sphere, in a well-strategised manner.

The tradition of diplomacy that has always been one of the cornerstones of Western political thought, in both theory and practice, should be embraced in the Indian context. The time is ripe to get rid of the excess baggage that has prevented the country's progress to a great extent. The first step towards building expertise on any subject is to be aware of it completely. It must also be noted that the military

should not only be 'committed' to social and environmental goals, but also be in a position to gain mileage out of its efforts through measured diplomacy. Every military officer should be groomed to become a 'complete leader.' A truly civilised country is one in which the political class, the military and the civil society are appreciative of, and have trust in, each other.

IRAN'S NUCLEAR POSTURING

ASIF SHUJA

The elusive resolution of the Iranian nuclear stand-off continues to be the most serious challenge facing the world today. Since the assumption of office by the hardliner President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad in August 2005, the Islamic Republic of Iran has adopted an increasingly aggressive nuclear posturing. This stance of Iran, coupled with the US policy of containment, has caused an extremely complex dilemma, an urgent resolution of which is desperately warranted for the regional stability of the Gulf and consolidation of the non-proliferation regime.

By now, the pressure on Iran to stop its nuclear activity has attained an international legal character in terms of several resolutions of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) expressing concern about the Iranian nuclear programme and four rounds of economic and diplomatic sanctions by the United Nations Security Council. However, despite being cornered by these pressures and strong lobbying by the United States to stop its nuclear programme, Iran refuses to bow down. Instead of alleviating the prevalent apprehensions of the international community, Iran has been periodically issuing statements that emphasise the speedy progress of its nuclear programme.

Under the shadow of stringent economic and diplomatic sanctions, proceeding with such a costly nuclear programme is indeed

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surprising and defies common sense. However, its regional power aspirations, the domestic political compulsions and antagonisms with its nuclear adversaries such as the US and Israel, have the combined effect of compelling Iran to take the nuclear route despite all hurdles. Consequently, we witness a situation where all efforts to stop Iran's nuclear programme fail and all negotiations nose-dive, escalating the situation further.

THE CONTROVERSY SURROUNDING THE IRANIAN NUCLEAR PROGRAMME

Having its genesis in the last decades of the Shah era, the Iranian nuclear programme was neither controversial in its initial years, nor was it very attractive to the new clerical regime, which stopped the programme altogether after the Islamic Revolution of 1979. The controversy began soon after the revelations of the clandestine nature of the Iranian nuclear programme in August 2002 by an Iranian exiled group. Already labelled as an "axis of evil" by George W. Bush, this revelation proved an easy tool in the hands of the US, Iran's arch rival, to further isolate its foe in the international arena.

However, seeing the grave US mood, the moderate Iranian President of that time, Ayatollah Khatami, proceeded with detailed disclosures to the IAEA, acknowledging that while Iran had pursued the nuclear programme, it was purely for civil purposes, and Iran did not intend to pursue its military aspects. Anticipating further isolation on the international platform due to the concerns of the nuclear non-proliferation groups and the demands of the IAEA, he also decided to halt all uranium enrichment activities.

This action of Khatami was in accordance with his stated policy of rapprochement with the West and compelled by the prevalent international scenario, viz. the attack on Iraq by the US and its allies. However, Khatami's decision did not go down well in his domestic constituency, and was later fruitfully capitalised upon by the new hardliner President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, who made all efforts to discredit his reformist rivals by blaming them for having compromised Iran's national interest. Thus, Ahmadinejad started an era of nuclear nationalism by announcing the resumption of uranium enrichment activity immediately after assuming office

as the President in August 2005. This resulted in Iran's aggressive nuclear posturing, defying all persuasion from the international voices to backtrack.

CURRENT STATUS OF THE IRANIAN NUCLEAR PROGRAMME

Information on the Iranian nuclear programme is available mainly through the IAEA reports which have been periodically released on the basis of Iranian nuclear sites. Additionally, Iran's habit of occasionally announcing the latest developments in its nuclear programme also gives us some insights. Based on such information, it may be concluded that although Iran falls short of weapons grade enrichment, it is fast approaching attainment of such capability.

By now, Iran has to its credit a number of nuclear facilities, including the Tehran research reactor, Bushehr nuclear power plant, Esfahan nuclear power plant, Natanz uranium enrichment plant and Arak nuclear research reactor. Of these nuclear sites, the Natanz uranium enrichment plant is the main source of the current dispute, which, along with the Arak nuclear plant, was exposed by the Iranian dissident group in August 2002. The Qom uranium enrichment plant, built in an Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps base, is another important nuclear facility which has been revealed recently.

On the issue of the extent of uranium enrichment ability, the most conservative estimate says that Iran has already reached the 20 percent mark, a feat that was announced by Ahmadinejad on February 11, 2009, on the eve of the 31st anniversary of the Islamic Revolution and later confirmed by the IAEA. Nevertheless, opinion on how soon Iran can build a bomb, if it desires to do so, varies. While the Israeli sources put the benchmark on 2015, the US estimates put it sooner – within two years. It is, however, generally believed that Iran would need several years to make an atom bomb even if it enriches uranium to the weapons grade of 90 percent. While the additional sanctions have the potential of further slowing down the progress, other related technologies would also be required for building the actual bomb. These estimates notwithstanding, Iran has consistently denied any intention of building nuclear weapons. This has been confirmed not just by the statements of Iran's President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, but also

by its Supreme Leader Sayyid Ali Khamenei, who has reportedly issued a *fatwa* against nuclear weapons.

THE DECLARED AND UNDECLARED NUCLEAR POLICY OF IRAN

Iran maintains that it is proceeding with its nuclear programme only for medical purposes and for producing electricity so that its surplus oil and gas can be exported for additional revenues. While the economic imperatives have been emphatically articulated by its leaders, the strategic logic of going nuclear has not been clearly voiced. A statement of the former Iranian President, Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani in 2005, gives credence to the fact that, at the least, Iran wishes to develop the technology so that if it ever decides to opt for nuclear weapons, it should be able to do so quickly.

Nevertheless, going by the geo-politics of the Gulf region, one might conclude that Iran does have a strategic logic for going nuclear. Iran shares an antagonistic relationship with the US and Israel, both of which are nuclear states. The strategic compulsion has been further intensified after the fall of Iraq and Afghanistan, which has caused Iran to be surrounded by heavy US military deployment. Apart from this, Iran aspires to be a regional power in competition with Saudi Arabia, and the nuclear route could be the surest way to achieve its dream of regional hegemony.

As evidenced from its inception, which occurred towards the end of the Shah's period, the nuclear route was sought with the help of the US to acquire a high standing in the region. Since Iran's hydrocarbon riches were already proved by that time, it can be assumed that the Shah had opted for the nuclear programme to develop Iran into a major regional power. Nevertheless, the nuclear progress was halted after the Islamic Revolution and was not revived until 1985. The strategic necessity of nuclear capability was perhaps later realised by the new clerical regime due to its experiences in the eight-year Iran-Iraq War in which Iraq had extensively used chemical weapons against Iran.

WORLD'S PERCEPTION OF THE IRANIAN NUCLEAR AMBITION

In a situation where Iran's nuclear programme is shrouded in controversy despite its consistent denial of building nuclear weapons while, at the same time, refusing to stop the programme even under immense pressure, it becomes imperative to assess how the world perceives its intentions. The primary reason for the world's doubts over Iran's intentions is the clandestine nature of the programme which it has pursued despite being a signatory to the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). Further, the vitriolic remarks of Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad against the US and Israel in recent years have given credence to the opinion that it is prudent to stop Iran from progressing further with the programme lest it builds nuclear weapons and creates havoc.

Since the time of the Islamic Revolution, Iran has shared a relationship of animosity with the US and Israel. It considers the US as the "Great Satan" and Israel as the "Little Satan." Time and again, Iran has indulged in such rhetoric against the existence of Israel and sees the US as the greatest threat to its Islamic regime. Similarly, the US rhetoric has made it clear that the Islamic regime cannot be engaged in any substantial talks. Under such a scenario, the threat of an attack from either the US or Israel looms large over Iran. Further, most of Iran's neighbouring countries have US military bases in addition to the massive US military presence in Iraq and Afghanistan. Hence, Iran might find the attainment of nuclear capability a guarantee for its national security and a bargaining chip against the international powers.

It is worth mentioning here that despite heavy economic and diplomatic costs, Iran is compelled to stick to its nuclear programme. Under the prevalent domestic environment of the country, any one agreeing to grant concessions to the Western powers would be treated high-handedly by the hardliners, as evidenced during the last years of Khatami's presidency. When his government decided to halt the nuclear enrichment activity, the hardliners censured him and accused the reformers of having sold the Iranian national interest to the Westerners. Under such heated domestic politics, any government that talks about concessions

or halting the nuclear programme faces a similar threat and risks losing domestic legitimacy. Having started due to economic and strategic imperatives, the Iranian nuclear programme has become an issue of domestic pride and this complicates the matter to an insurmountable extent.

MERITS OF THE WORLD'S APPREHENSIONS

The geo-politics of the Gulf region, the prevalence of Islamic extremism of a global scale and the possibility of further proliferation of nuclear weapons suggest that there is merit in the apprehensions and concerns of the international community that Iran might want to develop nuclear weapons and, therefore, sincere efforts should be made to stop it from doing so. However, the flawed nature of the current non-proliferation regime dictated by the NPT poses serious challenges in that direction. Since a signatory of the treaty has the right to develop a peaceful nuclear energy programme, the irony of the situation is that the same technology may well be used for building nuclear weapons. Given that Iran is fast building its nuclear capability, the only way to judge whether it would develop nuclear weapons or not is by assessing its compulsions and motivations to do so and evidently Iran has both which is what makes the situation so grave. Nevertheless, it must be emphasised that Iran's stated policy has always been against developing nuclear weapons and so far, IAEA inspections have been unable to provide any evidence which might suggest that there has been any divergence from that policy.

Although it is premature to determine the repercussions of a nuclear Iran, there are fears that this might lead to further nuclear proliferation in the Gulf. The quest for regional hegemony between Iran and Saudi Arabia leads one to believe that Saudi Arabia might opt for the nuclear route if Iran does. This fear has gained further ground after a recent speech by Saudi Prince Turki al Faisal, delivered at a North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) base in the United Kingdom, in which he indicated that if Iran built an atom bomb, Saudi Arabia would follow suit. This trend has the potential of further weakening the nuclear non-proliferation regime.

POPULAR MYTHS PROVING TO BE HURDLES IN SOLVING THE NUCLEAR STAND-OFF

For any successful resolution of the Iranian nuclear stand-off, we need to break some common myths related to Iran. The most common myth is that the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic is formulated illogically by naive clerics whose decisions are based on their whims. On the contrary, the ruling clerics have been highly calculative and do their own cost-benefit analysis before reaching any conclusion on policy related issues. This is, however, based on their perception of the threats to the Islamic regime and Iran's national interest. That the maintenance of the Islamic regime often takes precedence over the larger interest of the Iranian people and its national interest, is however, another matter.

Consequently, a degree of pragmatism is witnessed in the Iranian foreign policy. Be it in seeking Israel's help during the Iran-Iraq War, the suspension of uranium enrichment in 2003, or the acceptance of the Turkey-Brazil nuclear fuel swap deal, the pragmatism is there for all to see. Despite Israel being considered as "evil" by the Iranians, they sought its help to fight their immediate enemy – Iraq – which culminated in the scandal popularly known as the "Iran-Contra affair." In 2003, when the IAEA pressed Iran for suspension of its uranium enrichment activity after the revelation of the clandestine nature of its nuclear programme, anticipating the Security Council sanctions and further international isolation, Khatami decided to suspend all enrichment related activities. The resumption of the enrichment activity was done by his hardliner successor Ahmadinejad to score a point over his reformist rivals and for successfully strengthening his domestic constituency.

Similarly, the Turkey-Brazil nuclear fuel swap deal in May 2010 was accepted by Ahmadinejad because of the fear of further sanctions of the United Nations Security Council. A similar deal, backed by the United Nations, was earlier rejected by him due to the domestic opposition and this delaying technique allowed the Iranian nuclear programme to proceed further. It is evident that the delaying technique has paid off well in terms of the progress of the nuclear programme. Despite four rounds of sanctions and international isolation, Iran has reached a point of no return in terms of its nuclear progress.

Another popular myth related to Iran is the magnified power of the Iranian President. This distortion in the hierarchy of power often clouds our judgement and causes us to get carried away by the war of words between an aggressive West and a hawkish Iranian President. For any breakthrough in the Iranian conundrum, one would do well to know that it is the Supreme Leader, and not the President, who wields the ultimate power in all spheres of the Iranian political system and its foreign affairs. Although the President's wishes constitute a factor in deciding the course of the policy, he can in no way change the basic essence. Consequently, one can find a degree of consistency in the Iranian foreign policy. An essential element of that policy is the perpetual antagonism to the West, which was deliberately maintained by the Islamic Republic's founding father and first Supreme Leader, Ayatollah Khomeini and the same has been carried forward by his successor, the current Supreme Leader, Ali Khamenei.

The fact that as a President, the reformist Khatami failed to change the status quo, illustrates the degree of power exercised by an Iranian President. Notably, the power and status of the current President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad is projected out of proportion, which is simply the result of the excessive media byte on which opinions thrive these days. While such efforts do serve sectarian vested interests, they do not help in solving the real problem. As in case of the Iranian foreign policy, the decisions related to its nuclear programme are also eventually made by the Iranian Supreme Leader. Although, the decision of the Leader is often based on a consensus among the major power centres, the ultimate arbiter is the Leader himself.

The third and final popular myth related to Iran is that since the Iranians vie for freedom from the clerical shackles, democracy can be facilitated from outside. Although the Iranians do need liberation from an increasingly oppressive clerical regime, the notion of nationalism still runs through their veins. Any real or perceived interference in their country's affairs from outside is not tolerated by the Iranians. It is this sentiment that has been manipulated by Ahmadinejad to rally the Iranian people around him by intertwining the nuclear capability with national pride, so much so that any attempt to diverge from the

nuclear progress is now considered anti-national and this situation poses the ultimate challenge to those who wish to halt or slow down the Iranian nuclear programme.

THE WAY AHEAD

It is commonly believed that the idea of attacking Iran is fraught with the danger of further destabilising the Gulf region, which is already in a state of flux. Any 'surgical' attack on its nuclear facilities would further convince Iran to appreciate the rationale of going nuclear. Under such a situation, the US faces a tough choice. While at one end, it is facing pressure from Israel and the Arab Gulf countries to show assertive action, on the other, it is finding it difficult to come up with any kind of compromise with the Islamic regime. Iran experts, however, agree that the only solution to the current nuclear stand-off could be found by engaging the Islamic regime.

Since the Islamic Revolution, the relationship between Iran and the US has been characterised by deep suspicion and this is the primary cause of the present impasse. The apparent immunity of Iran from the "Arab spring" and further enhancement of its regional power after the fall of Iraq and Afghanistan have placed it in a better position to bargain with the US. Iran is now enjoying this new found power and intelligently using its oil and gas to woo friends amongst the US competitors. Consequently, Iran's cherished dream of becoming a regional power and the prevalent great power game being played in the region have further escalated the situation and serve as major causes to sustain the Iranian nuclear posturing.

Under such a situation, the only solution in sight is a rethinking of the US foreign policy towards Iran and engaging the country through dialogue. Only a deeper appreciation of the Iranian domestic compulsions, its regional aspirations and the big power play in the Gulf region can help in finding a long-term solution to the current Iranian nuclear dilemma.

AFGHANISTAN: INDIA'S INTERESTS

A. V. CHANDRASEKARAN

INTRODUCTION

Because of its geo-strategic location between the Persian Gulf, Central Asia, and the Indian subcontinent, Afghanistan has been significant in world politics. From a geo-political standpoint, Afghanistan's location at the crossroads of South and Central Asia has always been critical. Afghanistan, in Indian eyes, is not part of Central Asia but part of the Indian subcontinent. It is linked organically to India on account of the record of empires past. In the early 20th century, the famous Indian poet, Muhammad Iqbal, described Afghanistan as "the heart of Asia," while India's Viceroy, Lord Curzon, called it the "cockpit of Asia". Throughout its history under Britain, it was a buffer against Czarist Russia's expansion that stopped in Central Asia at the River Oxus.

Ten years after it was launched by the sole superpower jointly with the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), Operation Enduring Freedom has not achieved its desired objective of militarily finishing off the Taliban and Al Qaeda. As insecurity and violence in Afghanistan intensify, New Delhi has indicated the need for a strategic shift in thinking from a military to a political solution to the Afghan War. With

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the reemergence of the Taliban and the return of the Pakistan factor in the politics of the Afghan War, challenges that haunted India's foreign policy in the 1990s have reappeared, albeit in a more complex form.

India has a strong strategic interest in Afghanistan. In fact, it is much more than Pakistan that has been busy destroying the cohesion of Afghan society. In fact, the strategic interest goes beyond Afghanistan. It stretches to the Strait of Hormuz and the Persian Gulf in the west, even the eastern coast of Africa as the westernmost border of this strategic space; to the east, it includes the Strait of Malacca and extends up to the South China Sea; to the north, it comprises Central Asia; and to the south, it reaches out to Antarctica. Africa is a significant link to all these areas. Viewed broadly, India's interest in Afghanistan is just one element within India's larger desire to be able to protect its interests well beyond South Asia. India understands its strategic interest and is silently and diplomatically working systematically to safeguard it in the long run.

INDO-AFGHANISTAN HISTORICAL RELATIONS

Indo-Afghanistan relations date back to Ancient Hindu Kingdoms that existed during the time of the military conquests of Alexander the Great. After Alexander's retreat, in 323 BC, Chandragupta Maurya, founder of the Mauryan Dynasty, turned his attention to northwestern India (modern Pakistan and Afghanistan), where he defeated the satrapies left in place by Alexander. **The British partition of India in 1947 resulted in the interposing of the new Islamic state of Pakistan between Afghanistan and India. The Indians and Afghans enjoyed warm and cordial ties even during the British colonial rule.** Afghanistan has been an independent state for nearly 200 years and its independence pre-dates that of Pakistan and India. The Afghans are an extremely proud people who value their traditions and ancestry with reverence. They are yet to forgive Britain for demarcating Afghanistan, using the Durand Line in 1893 to mark the limits of the Afghan rule; and most Afghans still have not reconciled to Pakistani rule over 30 million Pashtuns across the border.¹

1. Subash Kapila, "Afghanistan: India has Legitimate Strategic Interests in its Stability", Paper 3149, www.saag.org, accessed on July 01, 2011.

India traditionally had strong links with various governments in Kabul throughout its history except for the brief period between September 1996 and 2001 when Afghanistan was ruled by a rabidly pro-Pakistan and anti-Indian Taliban radical government. India's relations with Afghanistan gained momentum after the fall of the Taliban for a number of reasons. The relations between India and Afghanistan are not governed by any borders unlike Pakistan. Traditionally, India's support for the Northern Alliance against the Pakistan-backed Taliban in the 1990s strengthened its position in Kabul after 2001 as many Alliance members came to hold key governmental or provincial posts. New Delhi has also done its best to restore the balance in its engagement with a range of different ethnic groups and political affiliations in Afghanistan and has used its vocal support for President Hamid Karzai, an ethnic Pashtun educated in India, to demonstrate its keenness to revive its close ties with the Pashtuns, on the one hand, and to support the Afghan government and the country's economic and political restructuring, on the other.²

GEOGRAPHICAL LIMITATIONS

Apart from the political uncertainty in Afghanistan and India's own resource limitations, the Indo-Afghan relationship is constrained by its geography and the Pakistan factor. The fact that India, having lost out portions of Jammu and Kashmir to Pakistan, does not share a border contiguous with Afghanistan puts India into a dependency mode. Pakistan's refusal to provide overland transit facilities for Indian humanitarian aid for Afghanistan and trade further to Iran and the Central Asian markets has led to India taking a longer and a circuitous sea route. Ironically, Pakistan allows Afghanistan to transport its goods bound for India. The delicate nature of the ongoing political process in Afghanistan and the fractious nature of Afghan polity, coupled with Pakistan's intransigence in facilitating Indo-Afghan trade, are likely to test the resilience of Indo-Afghan ties.

2. Harsh V. Pant, "India's Changing Role: The Afghan Conflict," *The Middle East Quarterly*, Vol. xviii, No.2, Spring 2011.

INDIA'S DILEMMA

India has faced many significant security challenges since the Taliban controlled Afghanistan in the 1990s. Since the USSR's invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, the United States promoted, protected and aided Pakistan to raise and support several militant groups such as the Lashkar-e-Tayyeba, Harkat-ul-Mujahideen, Harkat-ul-Ansar and Harkat-ul-Jihad-al-Islami, among others, which also target India. Radical *jihadi* terrorism from Pakistan increased drastically in India after the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan in 1989. India does not want Afghanistan to fall into the hands of Islamic fundamentalists again and become a safe haven for terrorists.

Consider an Afghanistan that falls under the Taliban's sway, and threatens to create a succession of radicalised Islamic societies from the Indian-Pakistani border to deep inside Central Asia. This would be, in effect, a greater Pakistan, giving Pakistan's Inter Services Intelligence (ISI) Directorate the ability to create a clandestine empire composed of the likes of Jalaluddin Haqqani, Gulbuddin Hekmatyar and Lashkar-e-Tayyeba — able to confront India in the manner that Hezbollah and Hamas confront Israel. Conversely, an Afghanistan at peace and governed more-or-less liberally from Kabul would give New Delhi the ability to extricate itself from its millennia-old historical nemesis on its northwestern frontier, as well as to challenge Pakistan on both its western and eastern borders. That is why, during the 1980s, India supported the Soviet installed regime in Kabul of Mohammed Najibullah, which was secular and even liberal compared with the pro-Pakistani Islamist Mujahideen trying to topple it. For the same reason, India now supports Hamid Karzai's government.³

The developments in Afghanistan and Pakistan greatly influence not only India's national security, particularly internal, but also its social fabric. India boasts of a proud heritage of religious tolerance and secularism. The prolonged Pakistan-sponsored terrorism has caused the majority in India to believe that Pakistan wants to fragment India, using terror as a tool. This feeling, in fact, has given birth to a rapidly increasing Hindu nationalist movement that seeks to paint

3. Robert D. Kaplan, "South Asia's Geography of Conflict," Centre for a New American Security, August 2010.

all Muslims as anti-Indians. In a way, Islamist terrorism is mainly responsible for the growth and prospering of Hindu nationalism and its violent auxiliaries.⁴

China has made great inroads into Afghanistan and has assured an amount of US\$ 2 billion as aid. Further, its interest in developing the Aynak copper mine in Longar province would tantamount to the single largest foreign direct investment in Afghanistan. China is also planning to deploy People's Liberation Army (PLA) forces in the near future which would enhance China's presence in South Asia. A Pak friendly China in Afghanistan would be detrimental to India's foray into Central Asia. Its very competition and fixation with China forms an element of this. India's rivalry with China, which we now consider, is not like the one with Pakistan at all: it is more abstract, less emotional and (far more significantly) less volatile. And it is a rivalry with no real history behind it.

The Afghan elites in Kabul have close social and family kinships with Peshawar. The Afghan economy is dependent on imports from Pakistan. Pakistan has influence over Taliban groups and unlike in the past, it has also cultivated the non-Pashtun groups of the erstwhile Northern Alliance. It also should not be forgotten that more than 80 per cent of NATO supplies for the war in Afghanistan pass through Pakistan.

INDIA'S INTERESTS IN AFGHANISTAN

India as a responsible regional power in the Asian continent nurses a legitimate and genuine interest in ensuring security and stability in its neighbourhood. Its non-interference in the internal affairs of Nepal despite the invitation by certain quarters in that country, and using all its clout to bring about peace in Sri Lanka despite overwhelming odds all stand testimony to this objective. So India's genuine concern in the affairs of Afghanistan is widely recognised by all and contested only by Pakistan.

India has both strategic and economic interests in Afghanistan and its sole objective is to support a peaceful, stable, democratic, and a vibrant Afghanistan, which should never be allowed to become a haven for terrorists working against both Indian and international

4. Y. C. Halan, "India's Strategic Interest in Afghanistan," *The Sentinel*, July 28, 2011.

interest. India's aid programme amounting to \$ 1.2 billion for reconstruction of the war ravaged country has been recognised by all the major powers and it has made New Delhi, one of the largest donors for Afghanistan. India's imprint is visible across the country. A total of 400 buses and 200 minibuses gifted by India ply in major towns and cities. Afghanistan International Airlines has restarted its operations with three Indian Airbus aircraft. A couple of Indian Advanced Light Helicopters (ALHs) have also been gifted to the Afghan government. Five Indian medical teams provide medical cover to Afghans across the country. The Indira Gandhi Hospital in Kabul, which was destroyed by the Taliban, has since been recommissioned.

India has constructed the road from Zaranj to Delaram in Afghanistan linking the Garland Highway to the Iran border through the Milak Bridge. India has also helped Iran in building Chabahar port in its Sistan-Baluchistan province. A 200-km road connecting Chabahar with Afghanistan is also being constructed with India's help. It will provide Afghanistan a valuable alternative and shorter route, saving 1,000 km or so, to the seaport across. It is likely to facilitate its imports and exports to and from Central Asia in addition to other countries.

Indian engineers from the Power Grid Corporation have constructed a 220 KV transmission line to Kabul across rugged mountainous terrain, despite sporadic terrorist attacks, and extreme cold weather conditions. Indian telecommunication engineers have digitised and restored the telecommunication networks across eleven provinces in Afghanistan. Over 2,000 Afghan nationals have undergone training in India in diverse fields. The Indian assistance programme is internationally recognised as cost effective and people oriented.

Security Interests

India seeks to prevent the restoration of any form of a resurgent radical Taliban regime in the country. Moreover, India seeks to limit Pakistan's influence over any emergent regime in Afghanistan and to ensure that no regime emerges there that is fundamentally hostile toward India. As has been seen in many studies of the Afghan Taliban and the militant groups that have thrived within

Pakistan, one major imperative of Indian policy in Afghanistan is to prevent the rise of the brand of Islamist militancy that has been prevalent over the past six decades. Still fresh in the memory of the Indian public is the dubious role played by the Taliban in ensuring and facilitating the hijackers of IC-184 to escape to Pakistan. It is, therefore, a central concern of India to foster good relations with the Pashtun majority in Afghanistan, especially now, when that majority holds at least nominal power in Kabul. This is not simply to influence the Afghan ability to prevent a reemergence of an anti-India militant milieu. The rise of Islamist militancy on both sides of the Durand Line also correlates strongly with the rise in militant capabilities in Kashmir and across the Line of Control. The Islamist militant groups supported by Pakistan, at least its clients such as, *inter alia*, the Lashkar-e-Tayyeba and Hizb-ul-Mujahideen, are well known to coordinate training, resource allocation and logistical support with groups operating out of northwest Pakistan. Thus, as long as central control and legitimacy continue to elude Kabul, the conflagration in Kashmir will have a ready supply of tinder. India's security and diplomatic concerns in Afghanistan are, therefore, well-founded. India aspires to develop a sufficient diplomatic and intelligence network within the country to be able to monitor Pakistan's activities within Afghanistan and, if necessary, to work to curtail them. India's growing presence and influence in Afghanistan undercuts the Pakistani military establishment's long-term obsession with the quest for "strategic depth" against India. This quest, which has its origins in Pakistan's disastrous defeat in the third Indo-Pakistani conflict in 1971, is not one that Pakistan's military establishment will easily abandon. Consequently, it will relentlessly work, and go to considerable lengths, to undermine a cordial Indo-Afghan relationship and threaten Indian officials and personnel within Afghanistan. It is hardly surprising that the United States identified Pakistani involvement in the suicide bombing of the Indian Embassy in July 2008.

Economic Interests

India is seeking to develop long-term diplomatic ties and economic arrangements with a stable, popular and pro-India regime in

Afghanistan, which then enables India to leapfrog Pakistan and build robust strategic and economic ties with the energy rich states of Central Asia. In what Stephen Blank characterises as a “great game” strategy, India’s goals reflect the desire to control the overland routes to maritime ports for Central Asian resources by denying both China and Pakistan the ability to threaten Indian assets in the region. As discussed below, even if its involvement in Afghanistan disconcerts Pakistan, it is highly unlikely that India will curb its activities, humanitarian or otherwise, any time soon. This is primarily due to the fact that for the first time in recent history, the interests of India and the United States in Afghanistan dovetail. Both states seek a peaceful, secure and non-Talibanised Afghanistan. It was recently reported that in order to further these goals, the United States has agreed to directly mediate back channel talks between India and Pakistan regarding the regional war on terror and “the establishment of a ‘fair bargain’ between India and Pakistan over their respective interests in Afghanistan.”

It is, therefore, interesting to note, and important to underscore, that unlike the Cold War years, India has no neurotic hostility toward either the American role in Afghanistan or the presence of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in the country. Indeed, were it not for Pakistan’s deep-seated anxieties about any Indian activity within Afghanistan, many in India’s policy-making circles would not be averse to an Indian military presence within the country.

PITFALLS FOR INDIA

India has suffered abductions and killings of its workers engaged in reconstruction work, by the Taliban. This was despite the presence of Indo-Tibetan Border Police (ITBP) personnel providing round the clock security. Further the embassy bombing at Kabul by the Taliban at the behest of the ISI which killed both the High Commissioner and the Defence Attaché were serious setbacks. The Indian workers employed on various projects in Afghanistan continue to be vulnerable to such attacks.

The current scenario of a reemerging Taliban saw Iran, Russia and even Turkey giving no credit to India’s role. The US has not gone beyond the ritual statements on the constructive role India

has played in Afghanistan. In fact, much of the West does not even consider India's role as critical to the revival of the Afghan state and economy. The US and its European allies, in their bid to secure Pakistani 'cooperation' in their Afghan mission, have acknowledged the past role of India but quietly ignored its role in any future set-up being worked out with the help of Islamabad. Thus, deeper engagement with Pakistan is now part of the larger US strategy in the South-Central Asian region. Where and how India should position itself in this complex web of diverging interests of various actors and powers remains a critical challenge for India's Afghan policy.

THE PATH AHEAD

India will have to ensure that its past support to the Tajik dominated Northern Alliance against the Pashtun dominated Taliban does not serve as a convenient propaganda tool against its interests.

India should adopt an innovative strategy of engaging all, including the Pashtuns. There is no harm in cultivating amenable groups amongst the Pashtuns and convincing them of Indian intentions.

There is no doubt that the Taliban in its present form should not be the future of Afghanistan; at the same time, it is evident that they cannot be physically eliminated. They are Afghans and part of the Afghan polity. If categorisations like 'good' or 'bad' Taliban help in weakening, splitting and splintering them, so be it.

India can try to explore the possibilities of forging a consensus with regional countries like Russia, Iran, and Turkey to train the Afghan National Army (ANA) in a third country. India can contribute military instructors and trainers, and the Russians can equip the army.

Despite problems, India should continue to put emphasis on more such projects, for there are numerous other benefits. For example, the above project led to other smaller projects at the request of the local population; the villagers requested the Border Roads Organisation (BRO) to construct feeder roads to small villages, canals for irrigating fields and ponds and water storage tankers. Also, as a result of project execution, the Dah Afghanistan Bank opened a branch in Zaranj, thus, providing the region with its first bank.

The Salma Dam project undertaken by the Indian government at a cost of Rs 858.44 crore is scheduled to reopen in September 2011. The Indian government should hasten its completion and once completed, the hydroelectric plant would produce 42 megawatts of power in addition to providing irrigation for 75,000 hectares of farmland (stabilising the existing irrigation of 35,000 hectares and development of irrigation facilities to an additional 40,000 hectares of land).

India should break the nexus between narco trafficking and insurgency which it helps sustain and take up a more active role in training the police force and judiciary in particular – at present, both institutions are mired in corruption – both of which are state institutions which affect the lives of the common citizen. India should use its leverage with friendly Muslim majority nations to prevail upon Afghanistan to accept a larger Indian role post American withdrawal.

During his visit to Kabul, the Indian Prime Minister Shri Manmohan Singh stressed that India's commitment to Afghanistan was "for the long term". India was not going to abandon the Afghan people. Neither terror attacks on its embassy in Kabul nor on its personnel in Afghanistan would intimidate it into leaving. The Indian government should be able to sustain this policy.

India can try strengthening its ties with Tajikistan as a counter balance to Pakistan's entry into Afghanistan. India and Tajikistan were on the same side during the Afghan civil war in the 1990s. Both opposed the Taliban regime in Afghanistan and backed the Northern Alliance. In the late 1990s, India set up a 25-bed hospital at Farkhor, near Afghanistan's northern border, where injured Northern Alliance fighters battling the Taliban were treated. The significance of this region for India's security is immense. It is close to areas where scores of camps for *jihadist* and anti-India terrorist groups are based, and it is in the proximity of territory where Pakistan and China are engaged in massive military cooperation. Besides, Tajikistan is in Central Asia, a gas-rich region in which India has growing interests. The Russians would have to be taken into confidence to achieve this.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

India and Afghanistan have enjoyed a long history of friendship and harmony since the friendship treaty of 1950 which continues till date except for the spell of misrule under the Taliban. India being the power it is and a champion of world peace is genuinely interested in a peaceful Afghanistan which would largely stabilise the volatile Af-Pak region. A Talibanised Afghanistan automatically becomes the breeding ground for anti-India terror groups. A Pakistan under check by a non-friendly Afghan regime would serve India's strategic interests well.

THE FUTURE OF ARMY AVIATION

RAJIV GHOSE

The entire Army Aviation (AA) in India is being modernised, in order to achieve a set of planned capabilities. These relate to directions given by military leaders based on the threat perception of India. Whilst numbers may not seem to be relevant on first thought, they have to be in consonance with the desired set of capabilities that the Indian armed forces seek to achieve. The numbers would preferably conform to a requirement that fulfils the total helicopter force that would be required by the armed forces, keeping in mind, of course, that some specialised type of aircraft may be required. Our national policy does not support aggression in any form and, currently, we do not envisage deployments as expeditionary forces in any country. Whilst we do have missions under the auspices of the United Nations that are deployed and maintained by us, full scale support of foreign land forces in an out-of-area contingency is not currently envisaged in our plans. The role and employment of the rotary-wing aircraft has also undergone certain changes. Technology has contributed immensely both to, and as, a force multiplier. The helicopter forces of the Indian armed forces should, hence, be augmented and modernised with the above as background.

Classic set-piece wars between states seem to have become a thing of the past, and over the years, have been influenced by many

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forms of warfare. These developments give us reason to rethink all our theories of not only of war and peace but also of the role and employment of the different corps and branches of the armed forces. What has been realised is that a comprehensive build-up of capability of the integral aviation arm of the land forces can eventually cater for all possible contingencies.

Reminiscing on the ways to confront a changing world, Gen Dwight David Eisenhower had said that one cannot face the future simply by walking backwards, into the past.¹ Since Army Aviation requires being at the forefront in the development of new methods for defeating adversaries of the future, incorporating lessons learned, adjusting force structure, evolving procedures and continued absorption of technologies will become ever so essential to enable Army Aviation to meet the current and future demands.

Issues that will have focus and a major share of attention in this writing, as a prelude to the current expansion phase of Army Aviation are:

- The nature of developments having a bearing on current trends in Army Aviation with respect to operational and technological advances.
- The requirements for adaptation.

NATURE OF DEVELOPMENTS AND TRENDS

Operational Trends

Army helicopters were sent to Vietnam to increase mobility and local fire, and improvement in the concept of holding static defensive positions.² Developments in guided missiles led to the combat role of the army from the air, including the facet of air-to-air combat. This was concurrent with providing infantry a platform to operate from the third dimension.

The essence in application of force during the 1980s in Afghanistan was heavy reliance on aerial warfare, airborne troops and extensive use of armed helicopters. However, night and adverse weather

1. See Elsie Gollagher, ed, *The Quotable Dwight D. Eisenhower* (New York: Droke House, 1967), p. 83.

2. Andrew F. Krepinevich, Jr., *The Army and Vietnam* (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 1986), pp. 113-114.

operations were almost never attempted, even when air support was badly needed by troops in difficulty.³ They were also used in conjunction with conventional weaponry consisting of tanks (T-72) and artillery guns (152 mm self-propelled howitzers). The experience in Chechnya was somewhat different from the erstwhile concept. Helicopters were now increasingly being utilised mainly for non-combat missions⁴ and approximately 90 per cent of the wounded were evacuated by helicopters.⁵ This gave enough evidence of the inherent potential to execute combat support operations, including medical evacuation duties, and combat search and rescue.

Operationalisation of the rotary-wing aircraft brings in the advantage of close contact operations in confined spaces and aerial observation. However, mere target acquisition by air observation posts lost relevance soon after World War I.⁶ Artillery ranges increased and it is evident that observation even now, with optical aids, is not meeting expectations. So it was with the pace of operations where, first, the bulk of artillery pieces could not match the run of armoured formations even during World War II,⁷ and where it has now matched the pace, with technology and ingenuity, the observation capability to enable direction of artillery fire is evidently becoming secondary and almost irrelevant except perhaps in the mountains where suitably placing observation posts is still an arduous task to achieve during operations. This is so because of the extraordinary ranges at which artillery can strike with accuracy without the intervention of the human eye.

There are enduring images of the Korean War when helicopters

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3. J. Bruce Amstutz, *Afghanistan, The First Five Years of Soviet Occupation* (Pennsylvania: DIANE, 1994), pp. 171-172
 4. Sean J. A. Edwards, *Mars Unmasked: The Changing Face of Urban Combat* (Santa Monica: RAND, 2000), p. 88. According to the Russian Army Aviation Commander, Gen Pavlov, normally 65 to 70 per cent of helicopter resources are used for combat (assaults, convoy scouts, CAS), but in Chechnya, only 17 percent was used for combat missions.
 5. G. D. Bakshi, "The War in Chechnya: A Military Analysis," *Strategic Analysis*, Vol. xxiv No. 5, August 2000; also available at http://www.ciaonet.org/olj/sa/sa_aug00bag01.html#txt5
 6. The British Royal Air Force had taken approximately 14,678 air photos and helped range artillery onto another 9,539 targets. Arnold D. Harvey, *Collision of Empires: Britain in Three World Wars, 1793-45* (London: Continuum International Publishing Group, 1992), p. 404.
 7. Dr Ian Gooderson, *Air Power at the Battlefield: Allied Close Air Support in Europe, 1943-45* (London: Routledge, 1998), pp. 59-84.

evacuated the wounded and landed at the Mobile Army Surgical Hospitals (MASH)). In sharp contrast, the Chinese and North Korean medical evacuation systems nearly collapsed by early 1951 because they relied on road and rail which was delay-prone and immensely time intensive.⁸ Today, an enormous amount of air effort is dedicated by the Indian Army Aviation in evacuating wounded soldiers in the Siachen, in Jammu and Kashmir (J&K), and the insurgency-prone northeastern states.

The concept of air mobility has, ever since, remained attractive to armies the world over. The concept of tactical mobility is a cardinal feature of any military doctrine. It calls for extensive use of helicopters to transport both airborne and infantry units, together with supporting equipment, either across or along the edges of the battlefield. Armies all over the world have directed substantial efforts in improving their rotary-wing inventory and resources towards this end. The US apparently regards the chief function of the medium-lift helicopter as being carriage of equipment and weapons, Germany looks at troop-lift operations of one battalion per corps in one operation.⁹

Attack helicopters have been designed keeping anti-tank roles as the foremost ones so that they may counteract any overwhelming numerical superiority of armour on the battlefield. The strategy to counter armour is not always with attack helicopters, in particular where a favourable combat ratio exists. They are also to perform the infantry support role. However, in mountainous terrain, the entry, route and exit of such aircraft can be predicted with a fair degree of accuracy because when valleys are followed, the dangers increase, as also in any attempt to be close to the mountains for camouflage. Future battles can see unison of irregulars with conventional forces.¹⁰ Therefore, low and slow flying operations over hostile terrain against an adversary, whether in urban or mountainous terrain, will have to be weighed adequately against the vulnerabilities in such employment.

8. Richard A. Peters, Xiaobing Li, *Voices from Korea* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2004), pp. 41-42.

9. Extract from White Paper on the Security of the German Armed Forces, English version, pp. 142-143, available at www.informaworld.com/.../content~content=a791149874~db=all~order=page, accessed on June 27, 2009.

10. "Pak Taliban Pledge to Join Forces in Fight Against India" at <http://www.indianexpress.com/news/pak-taliban-pledge-to-join-forces-in-fight-against-india/393825/0>

Technological Advances

The use of actual aircraft has become constrained by battlefield safety concerns.¹¹ This becomes more evident with rapid urbanisation and, thus, in the context of, and direct relation with, the conditions under which future warfare is going to surface and be contested.¹² While survivability will be a requirement for any moment, a high level of attrition may seem a reality. During Operation Iraqi Freedom 2003, over Karbala, 32 AH-64D Longbows were attacked in a classic ambush, by the Iraqi Medina armoured division. The outcome was significant when nearly all the aircraft were hit by ground fire. The United States (US) Army has also lost more than 120 helicopters in the 'war on terror,' about 25 percent of them due to enemy engagements, resulting in 172 deaths, or about 5.5 percent of total American deaths since the conflict began in March 2003.¹³

With technological advances, it is becoming exceedingly practical to utilise aircraft simulators to train certain critical skills before launching man and machine in actual operations. Rapid development in sensor and information technology is transforming Intelligence, Surveillance and Reconnaissance (ISR) capabilities, leading to greater effect-based operations. Reduced pilot workload, increased lift, better protection and enhanced survivability figure prominently in the cue to technological trends. The upgrades look into features of fly-by-wire flight controls, full authority digital engine controllers, enhanced cockpit displays, while adding more horsepower, and allowing additional lift during external lift (sling load) operations.¹⁴

Flying under the cover of darkness is the preferred mode of operation. Therefore, there has been a pressing need for increased and more effective means of battlefield target acquisition by night and all-weather conditions. As a result, night vision systems, both Night Vision Goggles (NVG) and Forward Looking Infrared (FLIR) systems, have become commonplace requirements. These devices offer the

11. Flying over urban terrain is imposed with a host of restrictions. It is expected that once the oil prices begin their upward inevitable spiral within two decades from now, there would be necessary restrictions on training flying hours.

12. It is envisaged that for India, future wars and conflicts are going to be contested either in the mountains or in urban areas.

13. <http://defense-update.com/newscast/0207/analysis/analysis-100207.htm>

14. <http://www.tectrends.com/tectrends/news/urn:newsml:prnewswire.com:20090325:NE88996:1.html>, accessed on October 15, 2008.

ability to 'see' down to levels of illumination two orders of magnitude below the capability of the human eye and, thus, have a considerable potential to contribute towards target acquisition by night.

The high cost of purchase, and the operative and maintenance costs favour the utility of fixed-wing aircraft and had increased the attractiveness of its usage in Army Aviation. Communication, troop carrying and photography missions are routine application for such fixed-wing assets. This led to the development of tilt rotors that aimed at harnessing the advantages of both fixed and rotary-wing aircraft. The reviews of tilt rotor V-22 Osprey aircraft were encouraging till weighed against their slow descent, limited protection, manoeuvrability and a bill of \$100 million per unit.¹⁵ This does not favour investment in such assets by a country like India, at least till the middle of this century.

Neutralisation of approximately 2,400 bombs and capture of some 141 planters without a single casualty on friendly forces in Afghanistan and Iraq, have substantiated the focus on the decentralised option towards the result oriented response of the *manned-unmanned* team.¹⁶ This has gained prominence after the success of Task Force ODIN (Observe, Detect, Identify and Neutralise).¹⁷ However, in the field of target acquisition from the air, there would at times appear little, if any, prospect of advances in technology providing means for penetrating the denser forms of natural cover except possibly in rather special cases where the target itself emits some helpful form of radiation. Urban terrain which is likely to be the arena for the battles of the 21st century, offers great opportunity for such cover and defence.

REQUIREMENTS AND ADAPTATION

Army Aviation is working on several material changes to its current and future aviation platforms. By far, the focus has been on acquiring platforms to replace the aging fleet. These costly acquisitions are expected to perform for a minimum two to three decades with

15. Bradley S.Klapper, "Marines in Iraq Give Osprey Solid Reviews" at http://www.militarytimes.com/news/2008/10/ap_osprey, accessed on October 12, 2008.

16. Kris Osborn, "US Aviators, UAVs Team Up Against IEDs," *Defense News*, January 21, 2008, pp. 1&9

17. *Ibid.*

suitable upgradation. Upgrades and key modifications that will need attention include the requirement to incorporate Army digital network-centric connectivity. Without this, AA will become a stand-alone force incapable of fully integrating into the joint battlefield environment.

Optical recognition¹⁸ and non line-of-sight communications are key areas which will determine the way AA is able to deliver in the future. A self-protection suite, observation and targeting systems to include high definition imaging turrets, enhanced day and night capable helmet mounted displays, and night vision goggles are inevitable requirements.

Management of dense air space will remain a complex challenge. The dense air defence over the battlefield environment necessitates tactical data links over voice control. Ground-based air defence batteries and aircraft should now be able to exchange digital information sufficiently and rapidly to fight the air-land battle. The multitude and capability of air defence systems to detect and down low flying aircraft has achieved phenomenal magnitude. Also, large scale deployment of anti-aircraft weapons by both field units and fixed installations by own troops and adversary will lead to a highly intensive and 'saturated' air space where the Identification, Friend or Foe (IFF) system and coordination of air movements will increase exponentially. This will necessarily have a direct bearing on the aspects of survivability, target acquisition and engagement of hostile elements for neutralisation.¹⁹

The command and control structure of Army Aviation should be able to furnish the prerequisites of participation in rapid response and small unit operations. The tendency to adapt present structures in the conventional mode to evolving challenges tends to provide only linear improvements to an organisation. Countering terrorism and managing internal security has become a reality for the armed forces. "Every combat arms unit should have a limited, yet focussed capability to meet such challenges,"²⁰ as was expressed by Gen Deepak

18. Computer-based vision algorithm to detect movement.

19. It does not necessarily mean a high rate of attrition but it would certainly make target acquisition more difficult and sorties would be limited to not only low-level but only one pass.

20. <http://www.expressindia.com/latest-news/Paratroopers-will-meet-NSG-manpower-needs-Army-chief/410661/> accessed on October 10, 2009.

Kapoor, Chief of the Army Staff. The country will continue to rely on the Special Forces (SF) of the three Services to tackle the threat from terrorists. Army Aviation has the potential to enhance the capability of SF and develop interoperability with the other Services, and National Security Guards where required. The Indian Army modernisation and expansion plan had envisaged a dedicated aviation wing for the SF way back in 2001. An internal exercise to examine various proposals from different agencies to get the maximum advantage seemed to have been truncated and shelved.²¹

Low cost and low maintenance fixed-wing aircraft operating with ground troops have their advantages. However, operations from the field imply having to be concerned with tactical dispersion, camouflage, enemy situation, assembly area security, ground-to-ground as well as ground-to-air communication issues, and maintaining aircraft in a field environment. Factors that contribute to the operational attractiveness of these aircraft are associated with air base infrastructure and potential threats near forward and remote aircraft landing grounds. Whilst there are several existing ones, many will need activation and some additional ones will have to be created.

Modernisation and technology will catapult the demand for additional expertise. Multi-track training programmes may require to be formulated where within each individual aircraft qualification course, there is a hierarchy of required skills, levels of simulation and individual training aids. As advanced electronics and systems packages get incorporated, the workload on the aircrew increases in terms of acquiring qualification and maintaining currency in the advanced expertise. So, either a new discipline of aircrew needs consideration or the present methods of specialised training need to be reworked to achieve the desired level of proficiency. This will have to be balanced with the state of availability of aircrew in units, their operational familiarisation/utilisation and, rest and relief.

Armoured carriers with Nuclear, Biological and Chemical (NBC) protection have been evaluated as useful but the ability to transport both troops and weapons in a nuclear battlefield with fair speed and be able to concentrate from dispersed landings is also a feature to be

21. Saikat Datta, "Army to Focus on Modernisation" Posted: March 10, 2003 at <http://www.indian express.com/=19909>, accessed on October 10, 2009.

acknowledged while considering tactical mobility in affected areas.²² Troop movement and application in a nuclear battlefield has been thought through the years to be better executable with helicopters than any other mode when time is at a premium.²³ There will be a requirement to focus on this aspect given the fact that India has two neighbouring countries which are nuclear powers.

The aviation logistics system has fielded the level of automation that is allowing commanders to see the logistics demands, movement and set conditions for success. To achieve the next step to 24x7 operational capability of a combat arm, the flexibility to plug into, and unplug from, a dedicated logistics network will be required. This may become more sustainable with the introduction of a modular maintenance package as it eliminates the ills of centralised and multiple level structures but retains the ability to meet the pace of modern warfare.

In summary, Army Aviation in India is undergoing one of the most significant initiatives in its history. It is an extremely crucial and exciting time as it tackles numerous challenges in its modernisation and transformation. Its capability to restructure, leverage technological improvements in current and future systems will allow the Army to respond better in a more effective and sustainable manner. Areas of special focus and structures have certainly been given due thought and action initiated in a highly professional manner but the workable recommendations have to be deliberated upon more deeply to complete the ambit of true and real integral aviation support to the Army.

22. Walter J. Boyne, *Air Warfare* (Santa Barbara: ABC CLIO, 2002), pp. 304-305. The United States featured the above in their military establishment as a means to deal with the problems of the nuclear battlefield. See also, Harold G. Moore and Joseph L. Galloway, *We Were Soldiers Once...And Young* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1993), pp. 11-13.

23. David M. Glantz, *The History of Soviet Airborne Forces* (London: Taylor & Francis, 1994), p. 351. The Soviets practised their airborne mobility drills in this light.

THE INDIAN ARMY AND ITS ARTILLERY

DEBALINA CHATTERJEE

It is with artillery that war is made

— Napoleon Bonaparte

The term artillery refers to machines designed to propel missiles or projectiles of any kind. The Kargil War in 1999 was an eye-opener for the Indian Army to realise the importance of artillery. However, in spite of its importance in the battlefield, the Indian Army has shown lackadaisical interest in modernising its artillery. Artillery has been regarded as the “God of Warfare” or the “King of Battle” throughout history. It has revolutionised siege warfare. This paper aims to analyse the importance of artillery and also the limitations of its modernisation in India.

At the time of independence, the Indian artillery comprised field, air defence, counter-bombardment, coastal and air Observation Post (OP) branches.

At present, the Indian artillery comprises towed field artillery, self-propelled artillery and multi-barrel rocket launchers.

WHY ARTILLERY IS IMPORTANT FOR THE INDIAN ARMY

Historical Lineage

The importance of artillery may be traced back to the Mughal era,

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when Emperor Babur introduced it in India for the first time during the Battle of Panipat in 1526. The types of artillery used by Babur were heavy artillery, light artillery, artillery of the stirrup, and fortress artillery. ¹ Artillery was used to “silence the enemy’s guns” and once the artillery had done its part, the infantry and cavalry would advance.² However, guns had been used by the Bahmani Kings in the Battle of Adoni in 1368 and also by King Muhammad Shah of Gujarat in the 15th century. In 1526, during the Battle of Panipat, the artillery overwhelmed the forces of Ibrahim Lodi. It was also of great importance to the Marathas, Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan, and many other rulers. The first regular company of artillery was set up by the East India Company. A famous linguist, Weer Rajendra Rishi, has concluded that artillery was introduced in Europe by the Roma (Gypsies), who were the Jats and Rajputs of India. These gypsies left India during the invasions of Mahmud Ghaznavi and Mohammad Ghori between the 10th and 12th century AD. In fact, the Hungarian Romas of the 16th century possessed good knowledge of fabricating artillery.³ In Vedic literature, artillery played an important role during the Battle of Kurukshetra. Cannons were called *shataghnee* – a weapon that could kill one hundred men at once.⁴

Valour and Prestige

The British used the Indian artillery during World War II. During the Battle of Bir Hachiem, Sir Winston Churchill had eulogised the Indian artillery for their valour and determination against Rommel’s Panzer Army. The Indian artillery won a Victoria Cross, one George Medal, 15 Military Crosses, two IOMs, five Order of the British Empire (OBEs), one Member of the Order of the British Empire (MBEs), three Officer of the Order of the British Empire (BEMs), 13 Burma Gallantry Medals, and 467 “Jangi Inams”. In 1945, the Indian artillery got the title “Royal”. Artillery proved to be a battle winning factor during the 1947-48 War against Pakistan. It also gave a daunting performance during the Sino-Indian War in 1962.

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1. Romesh C. Butalia, *The Evolution of Artillery In India: From the Battle of Plassey to the Revolt of 1857* (New Delhi: Allied Publishers Limited, 1998).
 2. Ibid.
 3. “War in Ancient India”, www.hinduwisdom.info/War_in_Ancient_India.htm
 4. Butalia, n. 1.

Revolution in Military Affairs

Mark D. Mandeles mentioned the concept of “military technology revolutions” which has become a burning issue, analysing the state-of-the-art-weapons which would give the military an opportunity to avail “advanced weapons systems”.⁵This would enhance combat capability. In his analysis of warfare, Bloch identified an ongoing “military revolution” which includes “a set of technologies, weapons, tactics, and organisational structures” which “transformed the nature and character of warfare”. Artillery modernisation is an important aspect of the Revolution in Military Affairs (RMA) which would increase the “lethality and power of defence”. According to Bloch, “Magazine rifle, smokeless powder, flat trajectory bullet, smaller rifle bore, quick firing artillery, and high explosive artillery shells would create a fire swept zone, making a frontal assault on an entrenched defence suicidal”.⁶ India’s artillery is enhancing its network-centric capabilities. Under Project Sakthi, the Artillery Combat Command and Control System (ACCCS) is a major division of the Tactical Command Control Communication and Intelligence (Tac C3I) system.

Providing Support to the Infantry

Throughout history, it has been seen that artillery provides support to the infantry without which it would not be able to win a war. Napoleon used his artillery as a “mobile force, employing it as a whole at the decisive time to create a ‘gap’, thus, enabling his manoeuvre elements to defeat the enemy”. According to a common saying, “The artillery conquers, the infantry occupies”.⁷ Hence, artillery has always been regarded as a weapon to gain decisive results. India needs its artillery to “destroy, neutralise or suppress the enemy”. This could be achieved with the help of field artillery. Firepower is always important to “suppress and weaken the defence; however, decisive results require closing with the enemy”. This could be improved by implementing new technology which includes improved integration of artillery into the defence plan. Infantry would infiltrate forwards,

5. Mark D.Mandeles, *The Future of War: Organizations As Weapons* (New Delhi: Manas Publications).

6. Ibid.

7. David Jordan, James D. Kiras, David J. Lonsdale, *Understanding Modern Warfare* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

by using cover and concealment to close the distance with the enemy; then, firepower would be used with the support of quick firing artillery and machine guns, which would weaken the defence before closing in with cold steel. Infantry could easily succeed in “taking the first line of enemy defences” with effective artillery. Storm battalions are organised with light machine guns, mortars, flame throwers and light artillery.⁸ Artillery gave great support to the infantry during the Sino-Indian War in 1962. The guns of 116 Mortar Battery, 34 Heavy Mortar Battery, 5 Field Regiment, 22 Mountain Regiment, and 6 Field Regiment helped to support the infantry units of 4 Mountain Division. During the Kargil War, artillery provided covering fire to the infantry, thereby enabling the infantry to clandestinely make its moves without the knowledge of the Pakistani soldiers. Pyrotechnics are used to control artillery barrage. Firewalls can enable flexible artillery support to the infantry. High explosives enable artillery to cause greater destruction and also reduce the number of casualties in the infantry during an assault.⁹ Improved Conventional Munition (ICM) shells carrying anti-personnel grenades and lethal “air-burst” ammunition can be “dispensed” over soft targets such as administrative bases, rations and fuel-storage dumps, headquarters and rest areas.¹⁰ Multi-Barrel Rocket Launchers (MBRLs) would provide intense precision during war. They can fire at targets which would be well beyond the reach of the infantry. The Smerch and PINAKA are evidence of India’s prowess.

Needed for Fighting Limited Conventional Warfare

Limited conventional warfare remained the most “acceptable category of limited war in the nuclear age”.¹¹ India has been involved in limited warfare in the past few decades. Artillery is a key element in limited warfare and in spite of the fact that the Indian military has realised it, the modernisation process has been at a snail’s pace. India needs artillery systems that are light, manoeuvrable and provide accurate support fires for fighting limited wars. India should concentrate on the

8. Ibid.

9. Gurmeet Kanwal, *Artillery: Honour and Glory* (New Delhi: Lancer Publications and Distributors, 2002).

10. Gurmeet Kanwal, “Artillery Guns for New Weapons”, *India Strategic*, May 2008.

11. Swaran Singh, *Limited War: The Challenge of US Military Strategy* (New Delhi: Lancer Books, 1995).

155mm ammunition as this would enable the swift destruction of the intruding forces quickly so that the aggression may be prevented and peace in the international border restored. India needs to concentrate on towed field artillery like the 105mm light field gun, the 105mm Indian field gun, 122mmD-30 towed howitzer, 130mm M-46 field gun, 155mm Bofors FH-77B, 155 M-46 field howitzers, 75mm mountain howitzers. India also needs to improvise its self-propelled artillery and multi-barrel rocket launchers. The PINAKA MBRL, for instance, was used during the Kargil War where it was able to neutralise the enemy positions on mountain tops. Since then, it has been inducted into the Indian Army. Artillery firing could reach enemy targets through indirect firing. One of the major advantages of artillery is that it can be operated in any terrain. The Indian field guns and the Bofors guns showcase the prowess of the Indian artillery. Laser guided artillery shells can destroy bunkers, bridges, and small buildings with a high single shot kill probability.¹² Improved conventional munition shells which carry anti-personnel grenades and lethal "air burst" ammunition can be "dispersed" over soft targets like administrative bases, rations and fuel storage dumps, headquarters and rest areas.¹³

Better Conventional Arm Prowess

Napoleon once said, "God fights on the side of the best artillery". This means that the result of warfare would be determined on how efficiently artillery is used in the battlefield. For more than 550 years in the modern era, artillery had dominated the battlefield in India. Since India is involved in limited conflicts, it is always necessary to improve its artillery in order to have better conventional weapons. This would enable the Indian military to achieve success in the battlefield. Even in the thermonuclear phase and when tanks and aircraft are being used to fight battles, artillery retains its importance and provides the "bulk of firepower in tactical fighting".¹⁴ This would be important as India follows a "Cold Start Doctrine" and there would be a need to improve all forms of conventional arms. If the artillery in India is not modernised, this could lead to serious implications during situations of conflict when the doctrine would

12. Kanwal, n. 9.

13. Ibid.

14. Butalia, n. 1.

be in force. Artillery can also be used to fight insurgencies. There are three phases in insurgency operations: Phase I which is called the phase of contention; Phase II which is called the guerrilla phase; and Phase III which is called the mobile warfare phase. Artillery would be used in the third phase even though it is not required in the first and second phases.¹⁵

Better Manoeuvrability

Manoeuvre constitutes the movement of forces to achieve an advantageous position.¹⁶ Artillery is essential for better manoeuvrability. Effective manoeuvre would involve placing "one's forces in positions of advantage relative to the enemy".¹⁷ This is done by providing devastating firepower on units which would come into contact with the manoeuvre forces. These manoeuvre forces would coerce the enemy forces to attack. At the same time, the artillery would then be used to destroy the enemy forces. Modern-day warfare is about manoeuvre warfare which is more than just movement, but a movement related to the enemy. Artillery fire support in manoeuvre warfare is important as it would need to keep moving with the moving forces in order to provide rapid suppression fires. In manoeuvre warfare, artillery would be used to divert the enemy's attention and enable India to take decisive actions during warfare. This would be done by direct support, reinforcing and general support. The direct support, reinforcing and general support will usually be involved in counter firing operations. Artillery could enable manoeuvre to inflict attrition which could be done by "placing forces in positions to fire upon the enemy more effectively or as a means of gaining surprise".¹⁸

Combat Power

Artillery has graduated from a "supporting" arm to a "full-fledged combat arm" dominating the battlefield with its "inherently destructive firepower".¹⁹ The role of the artillery

15. Major J.S. Dill, "Artillery: A Different Perspective", *Global Security*, CSC 1989.

16. Jordan, et al, n. 7.

17. Ibid.

18. Ibid.

19. Kanwal, n. 9.

is also to enhance the combat power. This would mean a destructive force that a military unit would apply against the enemy country at a particular time. Artillery provides close support fire, counter fire and interdiction fire.²⁰ Artillery would divert the attention of the enemy, reveal his weakness, create gaps within his surface, and shatter his cohesion. It would also help to create dangerous tactical events which would ultimately affect his observation, orientation, decision and action loop. The tactical function of artillery is to “achieve fire supremacy on the battlefield” in such a way that the enemy can neither interfere with the operations nor be able to develop his own effectively.²¹ This is carried out by “destroying or suppressing the enemy’s ground and air weapons, by causing casualties to his troops and equipment and by harassing the enemy continuously over a period of time, allowing him no rest”.²² Artillery would influence the battlefield by providing indirect fire support. It also provides systemic surveillance, accurate target acquisition and subsequent destruction, thereby frustrating the enemy forces and weakening their will power to fight longer and victory could be achieved with the help of artillery.

Artillery Provides Security and Takes the Enemy by Surprise

Artillery usually would not permit the enemy to acquire any unexpected advantage and would frustrate the enemy by timely and accurate delivery of fire. This takes the enemy by surprise as it is usually not prepared for it. This was seen during the Kargil War, when the Bofors guns frustrated the Pakistani enemy. Artillery can launch unprepared strikes and there is usually instantaneous delivery of fire without warning. Artillery may be fired from long distances both during the day and night, regardless of the weather conditions and the visibility. An aircraft usually makes a lot of noise before it approaches, thereby giving the enemy adequate time to hide. An artillery attack could surprise the enemy and catch him unawares.

20. Dill, n. 15.

21. Kanwal, n. 9.

22. Ibid

Offensive and Defensive Roles

Artillery is usually never held in reserve and it enables the soldiers to attack the enemy throughout the battlespace. This helps to neutralise enemy forces and destroy them completely. For offensive roles, artillery would be used to “soften up” an opponent before engaging with assault troops such as infantry, cavalry and mechanised artillery. Artillery modernisation would also enable India to enhance asymmetric firepower. It also enables the army to destroy the enemy’s war machine from a stand-off distance, and, hence, it is a battle winning arm. In a defensive role, artillery is used to inflict destruction upon the enemy attacker. Sometimes, during an offensive action, suppressive fire could be “difficult to coordinate between units, particularly between the artillery and infantry”.²³ With the invention of quick firing artillery, the zone of death between armies has intensified to a considerable extent.

Surveillance and Target Acquisition

The exact location of the enemy guns and mortars has to be identified before they can be destroyed or neutralised. It is important to trace the hostile batteries before destroying the enemy’s artillery.²⁴ The Surveillance and Acquisition Branch of the field artillery does this job with the help of “gun and mortar locating radars, sound ranging and flash spotting”.²⁵ They are also involved in counter bombardment and counter mortar. Counter bombardment would involve attacking and defeating the enemy’s artillery, except the mortars. SATA could enable effective deployment of precision guided munitions and make it possible to ensure that “every artillery round can be made to count and utilised to gain advantage on the modern battlefield.”²⁶

High Altitude Warfare

Many territories of India are in the high mountains, one of them being the Siachen Glacier. Therefore, high altitude war-fighting is not new to India. During such situations, India has optimally employed artillery which is of adequate potency and of the right calibre to form

23. Jordan, et. al., n. 16.

24. “Target Acquisition and Counter Battery”, <http://nigef.tripod.com/tgtacqcb.htm>

25. Kanwal, n. 9.

26. Ibid.

a tactical situation for success. Artillery faces challenges in getting deployed in the mountain regions when roads are steep and have sharp bends. Batteries are, hence, dispersed into sections. Each position would have one or two guns. Guns are positioned on terrain folds and reversed slopes. Mountain warfare is not an easy task as the terrain is not linear. Hence, it takes a lot of effort to mobilise the artillery in the mountains and then at the warfronts. But, it is one of the best weapons to fight mountain warfare. Tanks and other armoured equipment cannot be mobilised in the mountains. Air power is of limited use in high altitude operations. The howitzers are ideally suited to follow the infantry through rough terrain.

LIMITATIONS TO INDIA'S ARTILLERY MODERNISATION

Late Realisation of the Indian Army

The Indian Army realised the importance of artillery very late. Gen V.K. Singh had said that India was late in its artillery modernisation process which would enlarge the gap between the "forerunners" and the "laggers". The Ministry of Defence (MoD) has shown an "extreme risk-averse" attitude when it comes to modernising the artillery. The modern weapons of India's artillery are already in the process of replacement in the developed countries. It was only after the Kargil War, when artillery played a vital part in winning the war, that India realised its shortcomings. The Indian Army decided to modernise its artillery but this modernisation process was slow compared to that of China and other countries. The major acquisition of towed gun-howitzers comprised about 400 pieces of 39 calibre-155mm FH-778 howitzers from Bofors of Sweden in the mid-1980s. There is a need for light weight towed howitzers of 155mm calibre in case warfare takes place in mountainous regions. This is because it would be difficult for the Bofors to operate in high altitudes. The government also needs to procure the M-777 as an immediate replacement to modernise the artillery.

Budget Allocation and Modernisation Dilemma

It has been observed that the defence budget has increased over the years and the Indian Army gets the maximum share. However, most of India's military modernisation process started so late, that

there is now a dilemma over what to modernise first. This would involve prioritising the most important sector for modernisation. Though artillery supports conventional non-mechanised manoeuvre elements, it fails to support a mechanised force employing the concept of manoeuvre warfare in a high mobility environment.²⁷

Bofors Syndrome

The artillery has faced several accusations regarding the Bofors scandal. Under the Field Artillery Rationalisation Plan which was finalised in the 1980s, the Army sought to acquire 3,200 to 3,600 155mm/52 cal and 155 mm/39 cal “towed, wheeled, tracked and light howitzers for 180 of around 220 regiments” by 2020 to 2025. But this acquirement procedure has been delayed due to allegations of corruption. There have been controversies regarding the Soltam rifle too.

Competition with China’s Artillery

China has always been a cause of worry for India. India has numerous border disputes with China and the two countries fought a war in 1962. Analysts have predicted that there would be only low intensity conflicts in the South Asian periphery, in which artillery would play an important role. China has already started modernising its artillery. The People’s Liberation Army (PLA) possesses a large inventory of artillery pieces which include towed field artillery howitzers, self-propelled howitzers, and multiple rocket launchers. The PLA artillery is increasing in numbers and has a greater share of self-propelled artillery in service. If India needs to deter China, it has to modernise its artillery so as to prevent China from indulging in any kind of low-intensity conflict.

Lack of Effective Modernisation

Artillery has to be modernised to an extent that its manoeuvrability is enhanced to the maximum. It has to complement the mechanised forces so as to provide responsive and rapid support and immediate artillery firing. India’s artillery has not been modernised adequately and this might pose problems during warfare because if artillery fire is not responsive when it is required to be, it would not be of any

27. Dill, n. 15.

use. If artillery is not adequately modernised, then a fast moving mechanised task force could outrun its supporting artillery in the movement to “contact phase”, “exploitation phase” or in an attack to seize deep objectives, such as landing force objectives. If autonomous artillery operations are required in support of manoeuvre warfare, it would not only demand technical, but also tactical excellence, with detailed planning, continuous training and vigorous execution. For this, India needs an adequate number of howitzers. India’s towed artillery is in a bad state due to lack of effective competitors. The three competitors – Bofors FH-77 B05, Soltam TIG 2002, and Denel G5/2000 – failed to cater to the needs of the Indian artillery in 2003. In 2004, all the three companies improvised their guns. Soltam was rejected after its barrel burst during the field trials. Denel too was rejected by the Indian government on the grounds of corruption. Modernising of artillery has become even more important as Pakistan has started developing sophisticated artillery. It has acquired the M109A5 from the US at a cheaper price.

CONCLUSION

However, a ray of hope can be seen in the artillery modernisation process. India now has \$4 billion worth of projects to modernise the artillery by purchase of 155mm howitzers. In 2009, India had picked ST Kinetics’ “Pegasus” semi-mobile light howitzer. The 155mm/39 calibre Pegasus SLWH is not as light as BAE systems’ M777. However, it has an unusual feature that allows the towed gun to be moved to a limited distance at 12km/hr, under its own power. India has already acquired the Smerch MBRL from Russia. This would enhance the Army’s long range fire power capabilities. This would enable India to hit deep into Pakistan’s bases successfully. India also plans to induct the extended range rocket which would enhance the weapon systems’ range. Serial production of the PINAKA MBRL is also in progress. India also possesses the M-46 130mm field gun in towed artillery which can be used for indirect fire and also as an anti-tank gun. The system is supported by the Indian light field gun. The M-46s can be heli-lifted into combat even in mountainous terrain. The BrahMos supersonic cruise missile can be launched from the TATRA truck and it is the fastest cruise missile in the world. There are also

plans of acquiring land attack cruise missiles. India also has shown keen interest in modernising the tube artillery. The Indian Army had felt the necessity of improving its command and control systems under the "Shakti" project.

The Defence Research and Development Organisation (DRDO) has also started to develop its own indigenous artillery systems for the Indian Army. The 155mm calibre howitzers are an example. Under the Rs. 20,000 crore modernisation plan of the Indian Army, the induction of the howitzers is of major focus.

India is also planning to acquire the RWG 52 and the RTG 52 guns. RWG 52 is the Rheinmetall wheeled gun and is a highly mobile 6x6 artillery system for flexible fire support operations. This is a 48 ton vehicle which has a maximum road speed of 80 km/hr, and can reach speeds of up to 70 km/hr when it operates off road. Its strategic range is 700 km and its tactical range is 300 km. It has a built-in tyre pressure management system which enhances the vehicle's off road performance. Its accuracy may be further enhanced by the addition of a precision guided kit. The system could provide continuous fire support for an hour, firing 75 rounds. It also has a Multiple Round Simultaneous Impact (MRSI) capability. This enables the system to fire five rounds to hit the target zone.

India should concentrate on improving the aircraft which would act as flying artillery and enable the creation of an operational-scale systemic shock. If air power is given the capacity to "deliver very heavy, precise and rapid firepower at long or short range, then it provides a low risk destructive or coercive tool that could also perform the functions of armour and artillery."²⁸ Airborne OPs would enable India to enhance the directing fire of artillery regiments. This was done by the Krishak fixed-wing aircraft initially and then later by the Chetak helicopters.²⁹

28. David, et. al., n. 16.

29. Kanwal, n. 9.

THE UAE'S STRATEGY AGAINST IRAN

SHELLY JOHNY

The United Arab Emirates (UAE) has a dispute with Iran over the ownership of three islands in the Gulf which began at the same time as its formation in 1971. Iran took over the three islands of Abu Musa, Greater Tunb and Lesser Tunb on the eve of the formation of the UAE. That this issue was considered serious enough was understood when the Sheikdom of Ras al-Khaima, which had controlled the two Tunb Islands before they were occupied by Iran, joined the federation of the UAE on the condition that retrieving the islands would be the most important foreign policy objective of the new state.¹ While the dispute between these two states at first sight would appear to be over the control of the three islands, the issue at stake is the future security of a small Gulf state in the face of expansionism by a regional power. The strategy of any state, irrespective of its size or capabilities, would be to counter threats from rivals or otherwise counter the influence of rivals by using whatever resources it has at its disposal. Did the UAE have a strategy against Iran? If so, what capabilities did it have in the face of a major power like Iran and how did it use them?

It has to be kept in mind that the UAE is geographically a much smaller country than Iran. At the same time, it is the third largest oil

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1. Christopher M. Davidson, *The United Arab Emirates: A Study in Survival* (Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc., 2005), p. 50.

exporter among the Gulf countries² and has financial capabilities at its disposal, which it is capable of using to check the spread of Iran's influence in the wider region. The aim of this paper will be to mainly understand the UAE's strategy to counter Iranian influence in the Gulf region and beyond. It will not look into the UAE's attempts to improve its own defence capabilities to meet a possible direct Iranian military threat in the region itself as it has often been discussed in relation to the overall defence of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) states in the face of Iran's increasing influence. The UAE's wider strategy against Iran has to be looked at in a timeframe extending from the 1970s to the present day, and includes several events which occurred at the wider regional level that did not directly involve the UAE.

THE IRANIAN REVOLUTION AND THE 1980S

The context in which Iran imposed its control over the three islands during the Seventies was very different from the post-1979 period. Iran was a military power in West Asia and a Cold War ally of the US. The West regarded Iran as a bulwark against 'radical' regimes like Iraq, Syria and Egypt. In the wake of Britain's withdrawal from the Gulf, the US saw Iran as a guarantor of security in the region.³ Iran was actively involved in protecting other less powerful conservative governments from Arab nationalist and Communist threats. It sent troops to Oman to help the Omani government fight the Communist insurgency in the southern Omani province of Dhofar, bordering Communist South Yemen.⁴ Despite the beginning of oil production, the UAE had not yet earned its strategic value in the eyes of the US which did not see Iran's action of grabbing the islands as a destabilising event. Iran, on the other hand, because of its military capabilities which were buttressed by military hardware from the West, was strategically important because of its role in countering Soviet influence in West Asia.

2. Duane Chapman and Neha Khanna, "The Persian Gulf, World Oil Resources, and International Security", *Contemporary Economic Policy*, Vol. 24, No. 4, p. 515

3. Donette Murray, *US Foreign Policy and Iran: American-Iranian Relations Since the Islamic Revolution* (Routledge, Oxon, 2010), p. 5.

4. Patrick Clawson and Michael Rubin, *Eternal Iran: Continuity and Chaos* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), p. 84.

There was a drastic change in the situation with the Iranian revolution of 1979. The nationalist monarchy of Muhammad Reza Shah Pahlavi was replaced by an extremist Shia Islamic theocracy led by Ayatollah Khomeini which was virulently anti-US and anti-Israel. The revolution was a big blow to the strategic game plan of the United States in West Asia. A regional power which had been supported by Western military and economic aid for more than two decades had become the biggest opponent of the US in West Asia. In 1980, Iran and Iraq began fighting a war over a border dispute which lasted till 1988. Looking at the situation from today's perspective, it would appear that this was an opportune movement for countries like the Saudi Arabia and UAE to portray Iran as a threat to Sunni governments in the region. However, at that time, the Iranian government tried to present itself as a defender of Islam everywhere, irrespective of sectarian differences. Khomeini viewed Islam as a revolutionary ideology which could be used to defend the rights of oppressed Muslims all over the world.⁵

The old Arab Cold War between radicals and conservatives was now replaced by one between radical Islam led by Iran and conservative Islam led by Saudi Arabia. The Gulf monarchies came in for special criticism by Khomeini who accused them of not implementing an Islamic theocracy in their respective countries and not following religious strictures in their personal lives. They were also attacked for their close relations with America and West European countries.⁶ Iran was now not just a military or strategic threat to the Gulf Arab monarchies but was capable of weakening the political legitimacy of these states. Far from being able to incite an effective Sunni response to the Iranian challenge, the 1980s comprised a period when the Gulf states adopted a defensive posture with regard to Iran. The Gulf countries provided \$ 40 to 50 billion in economic aid to Iraq, most of it given by Saudi Arabia and Kuwait.⁷

The UAE at this time sought to position itself along with other Gulf states in a subordinate position to Saudi Arabia and Kuwait in aiding Iraq. This was because the Saudis and Kuwaitis who shared

5. Shahram Chubin and Charles Tripp, *Iran and Iraq at War* (London: I. B. Tauris & Co. Ltd.) p. 158.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 159.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 154.

borders with Iraq would be more sensitive to an Iranian threat if Iraq was not able to hold it back. Saudi Arabia and Kuwait were also economically in a better position to aid Iraqi efforts as they produced more petrol than the other Gulf states. The Gulf states which had common political and economic characteristics combined in 1981 to form a political and military alliance called the GCC against threats like Iran and Iraq. In one way, the GCC is a microcosm of the UAE.⁸ The seven Emirates had united in a federation and pooled their resources as none of them had the capability to survive alone. While the federation itself was the first line of defence, the GCC was the next though the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in 1990 proved that the latter was not completely effective. When the Iran-Iraq War spilled over to the Gulf region with attacks against shipping, the Gulf states sought the naval protection of the United States.

THE SUNNI-SHIA RIVALRY

The beginning of the 1990s once again saw a major shift in the situation in the Gulf. The destruction of Iraq following the Gulf War of 1990-91 helped Iran to rebuild its capabilities and reemerge as a major power in the region. At the same time, the 1990s was an ideal time to give a sectarian colouring to the rivalry between Iran and Saudi Arabia in the Islamic world. This opportunity arose in a theatre away from the Gulf. But before looking into this aspect, it is important to look at the position of the UAE in the Gulf during the 1990s. The UAE was able to emerge as a politically and economically stable country by the 1990s despite the apprehensions about its very survival at the time of its formation. It had become the third biggest producer of oil in the Gulf after Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. Dubai became the business and commercial centre of the Gulf region. While it did not have military capabilities to directly take on Iran over the issue of the three islands, what the UAE could do at the minimum was to use its financial means to counter Iran when an opportunity arose.

A Sunni-Shia competition was an ideal opportunity for the UAE to use its limited resources against Iran as it could ally with the bigger Sunni states in any anti-Iranian move. It has to be noted that any such

8. Philip Robins, *The Future of the Gulf: Politics and Oil in the 1990's* (Dartmouth: The Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1989), p. 66.

move taken by the UAE to counter Iranian influence was not directly against Iranian territory or Iran's armed forces because of the surety of massive Iranian retaliation. Such an event would harm the UAE's image as a destination for international business and investment. The purpose has been always to deny Iran any advantage in a rapidly changing political setting near Iran's borders. The areas to the west and south of the Iranian border can be divided into two major portions. One is the northern tier of West Asia, located to the west of Iran. It extends from Iraq and Turkey in the west of Iran to Egypt and includes Israel, Syria, Jordan and Lebanon. The other major portion to the south of Iran is the Arabian peninsula and, more particularly, the Gulf region. The UAE, because of its size and limited resources, has not had much influence in the northern tier of West Asia. The Gulf, on the other hand, is regarded by the UAE as its security zone and any destabilisation in this sub-region is seen as a threat to the UAE's national security.

Till the 1990s, Iran's attempts to gain influence in the Islamic world could not be portrayed as a Sunni-Shia competition. The Hezbollah in Lebanon, supported by Iran, was mainly fighting against Israeli forces in southern Lebanon rather than targeting Lebanese Sunnis. The situation was different in the areas to the east of the Iranian border and this is where the UAE first got the opportunity to counter Iranian influence. When the Sunni fundamentalist movement, called the Taliban, with support from Pakistan, captured Kabul in 1996 and Mazar-i-Sharif in 1997, it was officially recognised by Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates.⁹ The UAE's action in recognising the Taliban has often been attributed to Saudi pressure which is seen as having a hegemonic influence in the Arabian peninsula. This opinion does not take into account the desire of the various Gulf monarchies to maintain their autonomy. Because of historical, political and economic reasons, Bahrain has been most amenable to Saudi influence. The same cannot be said of the other Gulf monarchies. While some of the Sheikdoms of the UAE like Sharjah and Ras al-Khaima have close relations with Saudi Arabia because of political and religious-doctrinal reasons, it has been in the interest of Abu Dhabi, which heads the UAE, to maintain an

9. Ahmed Rashid, *Taliban* (London: I. B. Tauris and Co. Ltd., 2010), p. 58.

independent foreign and defence policy. This is a matter that will be further explored in the next section on the clash of interests within the UAE. It is also not in the interest of the Western powers that Saudi Arabia has overwhelming influence over all the Gulf states as each of these states is of vital economic and strategic importance to the West. Accordingly, the armed forces of all the Gulf states have been sufficiently developed to protect them from not just threats from the Gulf but also from each other.

The UAE has had very close relations with the Pakistani state. It is well known that the Pakistan Army and the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) are the most powerful elements of the Pakistani state, whether in complete political control or otherwise, and have most influence over Pakistani foreign policy. The Pakistan Army, in order to protect its long-term interests within Pakistan, has been beholden to its powerful or rich patrons like the US, China and the Gulf states even at the cost of compromising the sovereignty of the Pakistani nation. The Pakistani government has offered land to the Gulf states for agricultural purposes.¹⁰ In the period immediately following the assassination of Osama bin Laden in Pakistan, there were also reports on the Shamsi air force base in the troublesome Pakistani province of Baluchistan having been leased for hunting purposes to the royal families of the UAE.¹¹ Top politicians of the main political parties in Pakistan also have strong relations with the ruling families of the Gulf states, including the UAE. Through its relations with Pakistan, the opportunity was provided to the UAE to support a project against the spread of Iranian influence. It is an irony that the UAE did not get such an opportunity in the northern tier of West Asia to which it was geographically closer. It merely reveals the influence that even small Gulf states like the UAE can have in the South Asian region through a client like Pakistan.

The Taliban who were religious students or *talibs* were products of the radicalised *madrassas* or religious schools along the Afghan-Pak border region. They were heavily influenced by the Wahhabi or *muwahiddun* (roughly translated as unitarian) doctrine due to Saudi

10. Ashfaq Bokhari, "Buying Foreign Land for Food Security", *Dawn*, December 15, 2008, accessed from <http://archives.dawn.com/archives/154885> on August 14, 2011.

11. "Shamsi Airbase", *Dawn*, July 2, 2011, accessed from <http://www.dawn.com/2011/07/02/shamsi-air-base.htm> on August 14, 2011.

financing of the Afghan *jihad* and had, therefore, developed strong anti-Shia sentiments. The Taliban were predominantly Pashtun, the main ethnic group of Afghanistan, and the Northern Alliance which opposed them, consisted of other ethnic minorities of the country, including Tajiks, Uzbeks and Hazara Shias. Iran naturally supported the Northern Alliance along with Russia, India and Central Asian states.¹² The funding provided by Saudi Arabia and the UAE began to pay dividends when the Taliban overran almost the whole of Afghanistan. The Taliban also proved to be a challenge to Iran's influence in Afghanistan. They murdered eight Iranian diplomats and an Iranian journalist in Mazar-i-Sharif in 1998, sparking off tensions with Iran.¹³ As a part of its involvement in Afghanistan, it is suspected that the UAE developed close relations with Al Qaeda as well during the 1990s. In 1999, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) made plans to conduct a cruise missile strike against a hunting camp set up by Osama bin Laden in Helmand province. But it was noticed that a transport plane with UAE markings had landed on the camp's airstrip. The attack was called off and later the former Director of the CIA testified that if the strike had gone ahead, half of the UAE royal family would have been killed.¹⁴ It is not specified if it meant all of the royal families of the UAE or of any one Emirate. It has to be noted that this was at a time when the relations between Saudi Arabia and Bin Laden was strained. The 2001 attacks against the United States by Al Qaeda led to the US attack on Afghanistan, the collapse of the Taliban regime and the continuing insurgencies in Afghanistan and Pakistan.

While looking at the UAE's support to the Taliban, it should be understood that the Sunni identity is not as important to the UAE as Saudi Arabia or other conservative Sunni states as it has got one of the most liberal societies in the Gulf region because of its international trade and business linkages. This is not to say that elements which support radical Islamist activities are totally absent in the UAE. But, the Iran that took over the three islands in 1971, was under a secular

12. Rashid, n. 9, p. 5.

13. Mohsen M. Milani, "Iran's Policy Towards Afghanistan", *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 60, No. 2, Spring 2006, p. 245.

14. Christopher M. Davidson, "Dubai and the United Arab Emirates: Security Threats", *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 36, No. 3, December, 2009, p. 443.

and nationalist monarchy and was not the Shia theological Iran of the present time. The UAE understands that the dispute with Iran is mainly territorial and political. It has got nothing to do with religious doctrinal differences. But countering Iran as a part of the Sunni-Shia contest gives greater legitimacy to the UAE in the Sunni camp and support from bigger states like Saudi Arabia and Pakistan. After the US invasion of Iraq and the collapse of Saddam's regime in Iraq in 2003, Iran began supporting the Shia political organisations in Iraq. Fears began to emerge among the Sunni governments of a Shia arc extending from Iran to Lebanon, with Iranian influence in Iraq, Syria as an Iranian ally and the Hezbollah in Lebanon.

As stated earlier, the UAE did not have much influence in the northern tier of West Asia to influence events in Iraq. But, the opportunity to counter Iranian influence in the name of Sunni-Shia rivalry emerged in the Gulf, with the outbreak of demands for greater democratic freedom in the countries of the Arab world in the beginning of 2011. Protests were organised in Bahrain by the Shia majority against the ruling Sunni al-Khalifa ruling family. The Bahrain government used brute force to suppress the protests. Saudi Arabia and the UAE together sent one thousand troops as a part of a GCC task force across the Saudi-Bahrain causeway to support the Bahraini ruling family. This was the first time that the GCC was actively responding in defence of a member against a domestic threat. The majority of the Bahraini Shias reject the theocratic model of Iran.¹⁵ But the GCC states feared the consequences of the overthrow of the al-Khalifa family in Bahrain as they all have Shia minorities in their territories. The UAE actively responded in this situation as it sensed an opportunity for Iran to intervene in the crisis. While the UAE has made use of all opportunities to counter Iranian influence, there is difference of opinion between the different Emirates on policy towards Iran because of their varied interests.

CLASH OF INTERESTS WITHIN THE UAE

When it comes to relations with Iran, Abu Dhabi and Ras al-Khaima adopt a hardline position against Iran over the issue of the three

15. Yitzhak Nakash, *Reaching for Power: The Shi'a in the Modern Arab World* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2006), p. 66

islands. At the same time, Dubai and Sharjah preferred closer relations with Iran, their main trading partner and the place of origin of many of their expatriate merchants. Being the leader of the federation and responsible for its foreign policy, Abu Dhabi has tried to ensure that the UAE adopted a united front against Iran. During the Iran-Iraq War, Abu Dhabi has often been embarrassed and faced pressure from Saudi Arabia and other Gulf states over the relations that Dubai and Sharjah had with Iran.¹⁶ The case of Sharjah is quite peculiar. While having relations with Iran, Sharjah is also politically close to Saudi Arabia that bailed it out during a financial crisis in 1989. Because of its close relations with Saudi Arabia, Sharjah has adopted a conservative social demeanour.¹⁷ When Iran faced economic sanctions after the revolution, Dubai built up its reexport trade with Iran.¹⁸ Dubai favours diplomacy and trade with Iran rather than containment. Dubai's trade with Iran has grown substantially in recent decades. But this has changed following the 2008 global economic crisis. Oil-rich Abu Dhabi bailed out Dubai to the tune of \$ 10 billion, giving Abu Dhabi political and economic clout over Dubai, which includes limiting Dubai's relations with Iran.¹⁹

In the post-2001 period, the UAE has not openly sided with radical Sunni movements and groups in the Afghanistan-Pakistan area possibly due to the US pressure. But evidence has emerged that financial backing for the Taliban and other radical groups have been received from wealthy patrons in the UAE. It is reported that Al Qaeda personnel have met with wealthy Arab businessmen during the Tabligh Jamaat annual meeting in Raiwind, Pakistan, which attracts one of the largest concentration of Muslims after the Hajj.²⁰ While the identities of such individuals or charity associations are not clear, there are elements in the UAE which could have facilitated such support. After the Wahhabis subjugated the Qasimi rulers of Ras al-Khaima and Sharjah in the 19th century, the latter adopted the

16. Davidson, n. 1, p. 206.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 109.

18. Malcolm C. Peck, *The United Arab Emirates: A Venture in Unity* (Colorado: Westview Press, Boulder, 1986), p. 114.

19. Karim Sadjadpour, *The Battle of Dubai: The United Arab Emirates and the US-Iran Cold War* (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, July 2011), p. 10.

20. Seth G. Jones, "Pakistan's Dangerous Game," *Survival*, Vol. 49, No. 1, Spring, 2007, p. 25.

Wahhabi doctrine and the Hanbali school of Islam which is prevalent in the Najd region, the homeland of the Saudis.²¹ Tribes of the Al Ain oasis region in Abu Dhabi territory had also accepted the Wahhabi doctrine and the Hanbali school. The tribes of Abu Dhabi and Dubai follow the Maliki school of Islam. At the same time, it has to be stressed that in the UAE, the differences between the Hanbalis and Malikis are not great. The Hanbali Muslims of the UAE are also not as austere as those in Saudi Arabia.²² But a facet of the Wahhabi or *muwahiddun* doctrine is its missionary zeal to win converts among Muslims and there is the propensity among rich Wahhabis to fund *jihad* in different parts of the Islamic world.

It is not clear if the funders of the Al Qaeda in Dubai are Hanbalis from other parts of the UAE or Muslims who have been influenced by the Wahhabi doctrine. Financial institutions in Dubai are known to have routed funds to the Al Qaeda.²³ The UAE government perhaps prefers to condone the funding to the Taliban and other radical Sunni militants as part of its policy to counter Iranian influence. But it is facing pressure from the US to curtail such activities. The UAE has also begun receiving threats from radical Islamist groups.²⁴ In the long run, the strategy of supporting radical Islamist organisations for political and strategic benefits can backfire as happened in the cases of Pakistan and Saudi Arabia. The UAE has so far tried to use the Sunni-Shia sectarian conflict to check the power of Iran. But such conflicts can quickly spiral out of control as in Iraq and even engulf the entire region. Considering that there are considerable Bahraini Shias, Shias of Iranian origin and even a large number of Iranian expatriates in Dubai and other parts of the UAE, such an eventuality will not be good for the long-term prosperity and development of the Gulf countries.

21. Patricia Risso, *Oman & Muscat: An Early Modern History* (Kent: Croom Helm Ltd., 1986), p. 173

22. Peck, n. 18, p. 60.

23. Christopher Davidson, "Dubai: The Security Dimensions of the Region's Premier Free Port", *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 25, No. 2, p. 156.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 157.

AIR POWER IN THE FOREIGN POLICY OF NATIONS

JASJIT SINGH

Consider the following:

Four hijacked unarmed airliners changed the sole superpower's foreign policy after "nine-eleven"

Four MiG-21 fighters scored a direct hit on the building in Dhaka where the meeting chaired by the Governor of East Pakistan was in progress on December 16, 1971, directly leading to the decision of the Governor to immediately surrender and end the war.

India's foreign policy would have taken a different route if the IAF Dakota had not landed the troops at Srinagar airfield on October 27, 1947, before the Pakistani invaders could capture it.

These and hundreds of other examples indicate the role that air power plays in the foreign policy of nations. On the face of it, the theme of air power in the foreign policy of nations might appear to be strange. This is partly because we have not paid attention to this issue, especially from the perspective that I am going to place before you. But the roots of this concept lie in the basic precept

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that military power is an instrument of the state and must (when properly employed) serve a rational political purpose. Clausewitz had argued that war—an activity undertaken by military forces—is an instrument of politics by other means. If the essential role of military power is to serve rational political goals, then those goals will need to be viewed under the headings of defence of the state, its sovereignty and territorial integrity at one level, and to support the country's foreign policy to safeguard and sustain national interests through international relations, at another. The last is undoubtedly pursued through diplomacy. But diplomacy gains in strength and substance when it can rely on the availability of usable credible force which may or may not be actually employed. Most modern nation-states normally treat military power as part of the total diplomatic package available for the pursuit of foreign policy.

An examination of the subject of foreign policy of nations would indicate that its primary objectives are the pursuit and servicing of national interests. These interests can be broadly categorised under two themes: those related to economic interests, and/or, those concerning the security and safety of the country. The first aspect, of pursuit of economic and trade interests as a major component of foreign policy, has been assuming greater salience in recent decades largely due to the globalisation processes going on in the world. Many countries, in fact, name their foreign policy establishments as "foreign and trade" departments. Geo-economics has always been a key component of the foreign policy of nations. Colonial empires were established across the world with military power in search of economic resources and the right to exploit them for the national good. Interestingly, it was military power that was used to expand and control the empires in order to draw the maximum economic benefit. The problem has been that we in India have tended to look at military power almost completely in the context of military goals, roles and missions, and have paid scant attention to the foreign policy linkage that military power and its employment has. This is in spite of the fact that military power, especially air power, has actually played a crucial role in support of foreign policy goals and objectives over the past six decades.

For example, take the case of UN peace-keeping operations across the world since the Korean War five decades ago. India has firmly believed that promotion of international peace and security, and peaceful resolution of conflicts, wherever they take place, are in India's national interests. More and more UN peace-keeping operations now include air power components, making it more effective and efficient, especially in developing countries and regions where transportation infrastructure is far from satisfactory. The classical case of UN peace-keeping operations, including combat air power in the early years was the operation in Congo in 1961-62 where No. 5 Squadron of the Indian Air Force (IAF) equipped with Canberra interdicator light bombers was deployed 8,000 km from home base after rebel factions decided to seek separate nationhood and the UN ordered a peace-keeping mission to ensure the integrity of the state.

INSTRUMENT OF NATIONAL POWER

The foreign policy of nations requires that all instruments and components of national power be employed in an optimal way and synergised to pursue national interests. Historically, there is a number of elements that go to make up a country's total national power: size, population, economy, geography, military power, etc. It is inevitable, therefore, that each and all of them would have an influence and role in the optimisation of the foreign policy of nations. Military power today is composed of many components, depending largely, though not entirely, on technological strength and any competitive advantage it confers on the nation, and the reach of the military. The greater the reach, the greater is its ability to influence events farther away from homeland. This is the reason why the United States maintains a military capability that has a global reach in keeping with its definition of its global strategic and national interests.

Technological changes in recent decades have led to the situation where air power (and space capabilities) has become the prime instrument of military power. This thinking is deeply embedded in US policy and performance. The Chinese Central Military Commission, the ultimate authority for employment of military power, for example, has concluded that air power and precision strike are now the primary means of conducting warfare, with ground operations remaining

secondary.¹ It is inevitable, therefore, that the comprehensive national power of nations would give increasing importance to building and using air power and space capabilities in the coming years.

Similarly, international air exercises among air force of countries not only train allies, but have increasingly become a foreign policy tool to support better relations and confidence building among nations. At the same time, exercises like those conducted by the IAF with the United States Air Force (USAF) in February 2004 (Cope India 04) also demonstrated to the Americans the high quality of the professional capability of the IAF. This has resulted in greater respect for the country in the corridors of power of the world, while no doubt making the USAF rethink its operational evaluation of our Air Force. The ability of IAF fighters to fly across these continents for an exercise in Alaska in July 2004 clearly demonstrated the strategic reach of our air power, and also the professional acumen of our officers and men.

Another classical case of our air power being employed in support of our foreign policy goals without firing a shot was the strategic airlift from the Middle East in 1990-91. Nearly 300,000 Indian citizens living and working in Iraq/Kuwait suddenly became hostage to the 1990-91 War in Kuwait and the Gulf region. It was obvious that our national interest required that at least all those who were willing to be evacuated could be transported by road to Jordan and accommodated in refugee camps while a massive airlift plan for their evacuation was put into place. In the three-odd weeks during which the airlift operation was going on, 171,824 persons were airlifted in our transport fleet without a single incident. This was perhaps the biggest strategic airlift since World War II. More important, it demonstrated that India could airlift such a large number of its citizens from a very difficult war zone in an extremely efficient manner with indigenous capabilities. Not surprisingly, this attracted more attention in the West than in India! There is also an obvious role for air power that becomes critical for foreign policy: access to landlocked countries like Afghanistan. For most of six decades, the only physical contact to

1. The PRC's Central Military Commission concluded in December, 1995 that the ground battle was now secondary to the air battle. See Mark Stokes, "China's Missile, Space, and Conventional Theatre Missile Development Implications for Security in the Taiwan Strait," in Susan M. Puska, ed., *People's Liberation Army After Next* (Carlisle Barracks, Pa: Strategic Studies Institute, US Army War College, 2000), p. 109.

pursue bilateral relations between Afghanistan and India has been by air. The main method of contact between the Central Asian states and India continues to rely on aircraft, some of which have been gifted by the Indian government to Afghanistan for the purpose.

There are also negative sides which actually prove the rule. Intelligence in all its diverse dimensions constitutes a key foundation for all foreign policy measures. In the recent past, we have witnessed the impact of intelligence failures with respect to the Iraq War severely complicating the UK's and USA's foreign policy goals of stabilising the country after the war since the intelligence failures had deprived them of any legitimacy for having launched the war in the first place. Much of the national intelligence relies heavily on air power and space assets.

AIR POWER AS A COERCIVE INSTRUMENT

There are numerous occasions and requirements when foreign policy goals may require coercion to be applied as an instrument of state policy. Coercion, of course, is a fairly common term without an agreed meaning. Perhaps the best definition of the term comes from a RAND study which stipulates, "*Coercion is the use of threatened force, including the limited use of actual force to back up the threat, to induce an adversary to behave differently than it otherwise would*"² (emphasis in original). And very often, air power becomes the prime instrument of coercion because it has some unique attributes that allow it to play a major role in three salient areas, contributing to successful coercion: achieving escalation dominance, defeating the adversary's military strategy, and magnifying third party threats

Going back in history, one can find numerous examples, the most widely applied being the use of air power after the end of World War II when air power was employed by Great Britain for surveillance and air control of huge territories in the Middle East and in the northwest of India with minimal ground forces. This was a period when air power was still a fledgling force, but it also had the advantage of its psychological shock effect since the tribals on the ground were helpless against the bolt from the blue.

2. Daniel L. Byman, Mathew C. Waxman and Eric Larson, *Air Power as a Coercive Instrument* (Santa Monica: RAND Project Air Force, 1999), p. 10

According to a seminal study, the US employed coercive military force without necessarily leading to war in 215 incidents between 1946-75.³ The Soviet Union employed it for nearly as many. In the case of the United States, land-based air power was used in 103 incidents. Naval forces were used in another 100 incidents (which in most cases included the employment of naval air power). And even when naval power and land forces were used, air power constituted a key element in that process. The sailing of the mega aircraft carrier USS *Enterprise* (Task Force 74) into the Bay of Bengal was a notable example of the attempt at coercion, targeted this time at India during the 1971 War for the liberation of Bangladesh. Ground combat forces were used by the United States over three decades for a coercive role in only three incidents out of the total 215 incidents recorded for the period.

India has itself used air power to coerce another country in pursuit of its foreign policy goals. As the *Enterprise* task force was sailing toward the Bay of Bengal, the IAF engaged in heavy attacks on all the airfields in East Pakistan, making them unfit for possible use for landing US forces which would have complicated India's policy choices. The air strikes by a formation of MiG-21 aircraft carrying out a rocket strike at the residence of the Governor of East Pakistan in Dhaka when he had called a meeting to discuss the current situation during the 1971 War is another case. The highly successful strike led to an immediate decision by the Governor to surrender.

Sixteen years later, the escalating ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka had led to a situation where the Sri Lankan forces had practically laid a siege to Jaffna in the north and the people, many of them Indian citizens among the majority Tamil population, had started to suffer heavily due to food shortages and lack of other amenities caused by a virtual economic blockade by the Sri Lanka military. Relief supplies were despatched by a flotilla of the Indian Coast Guard. But its progress was blocked by the Sri Lankan Navy, narrowing the Indian option where a direct military conflict with Sri Lanka was not in our interest. Finally, rice and food supplies were dropped from the air by An-32 transport aircraft escorted by Mirage 2000 fighters in June

3. Barry M. Blechman, Stephen Kaplan et. al. *Force Without War: US Armed Forces as a Political Instrument* (Washington DC: Brookings Institution, 1978), p. 40.

1987 in an operation that came to be known as the “rice bombing” of Jaffna. This led directly to the July 1987 Indo-Sri Lanka Accords and the withdrawal of the Sri Lankan Army from the northern region and Jaffna.

SUPPORTING FRIENDLY REGIMES

Air power has been invaluable in emergencies, whether man-made or triggered by natural disasters, requiring rapid response both within the country as well as outside it. India has pursued a foreign policy to support friendly countries and to provide assistance to eliminate threats to the sovereignty, integrity and viability of legitimate governments. One of the incidents which led to the defining of the framework of future bilateral relations is the now almost forgotten incident arising out of the Ranas’ revolt in Nepal in the late 1940s. The King of Nepal sought Indian assistance when things became untenable for him in 1950 and even his life was in danger. A single DC-3 Dakota transport aircraft was despatched to evacuate the King which was done successfully and peacefully, even though there were some tense moments during the process. The revolt died down and the King was restored to his throne. Therein lies the genesis of the Indo-Nepalese Treaty of Friendship which has guided the bilateral relations and foreign policy of the two countries since then. The immediate support to the Maldives in 1988 in restoring the rule of the legitimate government threatened by terrorist groups is another example.

NATIONAL DEFENCE

In almost every war that we had to fight, air power tilted the balance of success between victory and loss in our favour except in one. Our land forces (and naval forces in 1971) have performed admirably in wars often against severe odds. But we need to recognise that air power played a key role in each and every one of them, mostly providing the critical factor that created the opportunities for land forces to defeat the aims of the enemy. This reality is often ignored even by the Air Force itself. In most cases, this role was performed not so much by combat air power, but by airlift.

One only has to look at the empirical evidence to grasp the reality that the defence of Srinagar (and, hence, Jammu and Kashmir – J&K)

would not have been possible if the transport aircraft had not managed to put some troops down on the airfield on October 27, 1947. Whether this was made possible by the delay of the Pakistani forces in reaching the airfield is not the issue here. If they had understood the role of air power, or bothered to read the history of World War II, the airfield at Srinagar would have been their first objective. If the airlift had not made the landing of the troops possible, Kashmir would have been lost before we gained it. It is quite likely that the course of history of the subcontinent and our foreign policy would have run a different course.

Subsequent history of the airlift to Leh only repeated the same scenario except under even more exacting circumstances. Poonch was another crucial episode where transport aircraft flown by young pilots had even to cut the engines on final approach at night to ensure they could land in the restricted field constantly under hostile artillery fire. Attempts to support Skardu unfortunately remained weak for a variety of reasons. But it also proves the point that adequate airlift could have made the crucial difference in saving Skardu, and today's map of J&K would have been totally different. Chushul in 1962 is another case in point of successful defence in the nick of time. Similar situations arose in the defence of Siachen and its maintenance since 1984 till date.

COMBAT AIR POWER

Combat air power came to play a key role in the 1947-48 war in J&K. Its use does not seem to have been seen as escalatory or in any way inviting adverse reactions from any quarters. One can even argue that unless we look for it, the use of combat air power in that longest war that we fought might even go unnoticed!

Very often, we need to look at failures to arrive at valid reasons for future policy. During the 1962 Sino-Indian War, we used air power only for transportation of troops and logistics and the very small helicopter capability for casualty evacuation. Combat air power was not employed in the war. The actual reasons have not been easy to discern. But one thing is clear: a major factor for not employing combat air power was the concern that our cities could not be defended (due to paucity of air defence capabilities) in case China used its air

power. The realities of the limitations on the Chinese Air Force due to the need for operating from airfields on the Tibetan plateau, the limited payload that the short range combat aircraft of their air force could carry, etc. do not seem to have received the type of attention they deserved. The overall failure of the higher defence system to cope with the dynamics of the war added to the problems where the fighting men paid for the failures of planning and higher direction of war. In substance, India was self-deterred by the assumed air power of China and failed to use available capabilities to at least reduce the negative impact of the Chinese use of force.

SOME CONCLUDING REMARKS

What emerges from the study of the history of air power is that it makes a definitive contribution to the foreign policy of nations, though in negative terms in some cases where it has not been employed appropriately. For far too long we have focussed almost entirely on the kinetic shock effect of air power to the detriment of a better understanding of its psychological shock effect. Kinetic effect is unquestionably crucial. Without it, the political psychological shock effect itself would lose much of its impact since it provides the physical evidence of the impact. Management of the public information system and embedded media may enhance the psychological impact, but if the kinetic effect is at very low levels, it would be difficult to create the impressions merely by manipulating information.

NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

Articles submitted to *Defence and Diplomacy* should be original contributions and should not be under consideration for any other publication at the same time. If another version of the article is under consideration by another publication, or has been, or will be published elsewhere, authors should clearly indicate this at the time of submission.

Each typescript should be submitted in duplicate. Articles should be typewritten on A4/ Letter paper, on one side only, **double-spaced (including the notes)** and with ample margins. All pages (including those containing only diagrams and tables) should be numbered consecutively. There is no standard length for articles, but 3,000 to 4,500 words (including notes and references) is a useful target. The article should begin with an indented summary of around 100 words, which should describe the main arguments and conclusions of the article.

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