

PAKISTAN

The concept of a separate Muslim "qaum" (nation) is one of the basic principles expressed in the Kouran. Therefore, the idea of a Muslim state within India came as no surprise when it was first proposed in 1830. It was the poet-philosopher Muhammad Iqbal, who first suggested it. He believed that India's four northwestern provinces (Sindh, Baluchistan, Punjab, and the Northwest Frontier Province) could form such a state. In a 1933 pamphlet, Choudhary Rahmat Ali coined the name "Pakstan" (later Pakistan), on behalf of those Muslims living in Punjab, Afghan (North-West Frontier Province), Kashmir, Sindh, and Baluchistan, and said to mean "Land of the Pure."

The movement to create "Pakistan" derived from a basic fact of Indian history. For more than six hundred years, it was Muslims and not Hindus who controlled the subcontinent, despite the fact that they represented a small minority of the population. When the British "Raj" replaced them as administrators, this long tradition prevented Muslims from adapting to the new situation as readily as Hindus. One of the consequences of this was the bloody, but unsuccessful, "Sepoy Mutiny" of 1857, which put an end to hopes for a Muslim restoration once and for all. The "All-India Muslim League" was founded in 1906 to press for constitutional reform, as a counterpart to the Hindu "Indian National Congress".

When the British revealed their intention to grant self-government to India as a parliamentary democracy, Muslim apprehension increased. Democracy could very well mean the subjugation of Muslim India to a Hindu majority. Mohammed Ali Jinnah, a respected Muslim nationalist, became convinced that there was only one way to permanently preserve Muslim rights. A separate Muslim state must be established. In 1940, under his leadership, the Muslim League endorsed his call for an independent Pakistan. The Hindu nationalist movement was opposed to this. They believed that "Partition" would disrupt the economic and political unity built up during British rule. But Jinnah, the unchallenged leader of the Muslim community, refused to cooperate. Indian Hindus realized that without his support, independence was impracticable. They gave in. The state of Pakistan was officially founded in August 1947, with Jinnah as governor-general and Liaquat Ali Khan as Prime Minister. Since the Muslim community was concentrated in two areas, the country was divided into two distinct sections, West and East Pakistan, separated by more than a thousand miles of Indian territory.

The Consequences of Partition

The terms of the partition agreement passed the majority of the wealth and resources of the British "Raj" to India. Of all the well-organized provinces, only the comparatively backward areas of Sindh, Baluchistan, and the Northwest Frontier came to Pakistan intact. The Punjab and Bengal were divided, and Kashmir became disputed territory. In addition, the geographic split between East and West Pakistan made the nation's viability even more questionable. Economically, the situation seemed almost hopeless. The new frontier cut off Pakistani raw materials from Indian factories, disrupting industry, commerce, and agriculture. Partition became a rationale for ethnic violence and a settling of old scores. Terrible massacres and a vast migration of refugees between the two countries resulted. India remained openly unfriendly to Pakistan, leading to a virtual "blockade" of Pakistani-Indian trade. The dispute over Kashmir brought the two countries to the verge of war. India controlled the water supply to Pakistan's eastern "canal" colonies, causing further tension. Political friction prevented previous plans for sharing British assets from going into effect, further weakening the country's economy.

Things Get Worse

Liaquat Ali Khan was assassinated in October 1951, and was replaced as prime minister by Khwaja Nazimuddin, a Bengali aristocrat and a man of extreme personal piety. Nazimuddin had followed Jinnah as governor-general under an interim constitution. Ghulam Mohammad, a Punjabi, succeeded him as governor-general. Therefore, both West and East Pakistan were represented in the national leadership. With Nazimuddin in office, the "Ahrars", a fundamentalist group, called for a "purification" of national life. In 1953 they demanded that the "Ahmadiyah" sect be outlawed from the Islamic community. Rioting and arson broke out in Lahore and other Punjabi towns. Martial law was required to restore order. Nazimuddin had to go! Mohammad Ali Bogra became prime minister.

From the beginning, the link between the two parts of Pakistan was tenuous. In fact, their only true common interest was fear of Indian domination. Bengalis soon began to feel that they had no real power in Pakistan, that they were the "junior" partners in a lopsided regime. A general election was held in East Bengal (East Pakistan) in 1954 to choose a provincial legislature. It became a contest between the Muslim League and the "United Front", an oddly matched group of parties from the extreme (religious) right and extreme (Marxist) left. It resulted in a landslide defeat for the Muslim League. There were two leaders of this electoral tidal wave. One was the aged Fazl ul-Haq, with his "Workers and Peasants Party". The other was Hussein Shaheed Suhrawardy, with a new party, the "Awami League", a group advocating East Pakistani autonomy. The gulf between West and East Pakistan was growing.

Iskander Mirza replaced Ghulam Mohammad as governor-general in 1955. Mirza had no regional power base and little in common with other politicians. In spite of this, he somehow induced them to agree to produce a constitution in February, 1956. This embodied the Islamic provisions of the "aims and objectives" resolution of 1949 declaring Pakistan to be an Islamic republic. The national parliament would comprise one house, equally representing East and West. Seats were reserved for women. The prime minister and Cabinet were to govern according to the will of parliament, with the president exercising only reserve powers.

West Pakistan's new leader, Khan Sahib, was faced with a revolt by the Muslim League immediately upon taking office. The whole fabric of West Pakistani politics began to unravel. Factionalism, regionalism, and sectarianism ruled. Khan Sahib found his hold over the West Pakistan legislature slipping, and asked the president to suspend the constitution. The East Pakistan legislature, concerned over apparent chaos in the West, voted unanimously for autonomy in all matters except foreign affairs, defense, and currency. When the country's first general election came in 1958, a dispute over constituencies brought a halt to the entire legislative process!

President Mirza had made no secret of his dissatisfaction with the workings of Pakistani democracy. On October 7th, he announced the abolition of all political parties, abrogated the constitution, and placed the country under martial law. General Mohammad Ayub Khan was named chief administrator. This first martial-law period was to be brief. A new constitution was quickly drafted. On October 27th, a new eleven member Cabinet that included three lieutenant generals was sworn in, with General Ayub as prime minister. That very evening, Mirza was bundled off to London and Ayub was president. The second martial law period lasted forty-four months.

Ayub wanted a government that reflected Islamic ideals and "basic" democracy. In the election held in January 1960, the "Basic Democrats", as they became known, were expected to endorse Ayub's presidency and to give him a mandate to frame a constitution, which they did. The constitution included notable reforms, especially the "Muslim Family Laws" Ordinance of 1961, ending

polygamy. Later, it was necessary to rescind this law due to the moral outrage it engendered! The Ayub regime was more successful at encouraging economic progress, however. From 1960 to 1965 the annual growth rate in West Pakistan advanced to more than six percent, the highest since independence. Development was particularly vigorous in the manufacturing sector. East Pakistan, on the other hand, was becoming poorer every year. The East brought in cash through the export of jute and tea, the West seemed to get all the benefits. An outstanding example of this was the Indus basin hydroelectric project. Vast amounts of US and European aid went into this scheme, from which East Pakistan saw no benefit whatever.

War With India

Almost immediately after partition, fighting broke out between Indian and Pakistani forces in the rich province of Kashmir. It began over the desire of the local Hindu Raja to make his realm part of India, despite of the fact that the majority of its population was Muslim. War continued there, off and on, until a UN cease-fire put the conflict on a back burner in 1949. But the situation continued to simmer. India's formal annexation of the province in 1957 raised tensions again, leading to a much more destructive outbreak of violence eight years later.

Tensions between India and Pakistan over Kashmir boiled over into open warfare in 1965. Both countries had been conducting regular raids into each other's Kashmiri territory for some time, but it was India that crossed the disputed border in strength on August 24th, and brought matters to a head. On September 1st, Pakistan launched "Operation Grandslam", a major combined-arms offensive toward Jammu. But the offensive gained little momentum and was followed by indecisive maneuvering by both sides, culminating in a large tank battle near Sialkot. By this time, both sides' supply system had begun to break down. Neither India nor Pakistan had planned for a prolonged war, and this was aggravated by an arms embargo against both sides by England and America. A cease-fire took effect on September 23rd. In a few months both sides returned to their pre-war positions. The ensuing "peace" lasted less than six years.

Defeat in the Kashmiri War in 1965 had far-reaching effects on Pakistan, and on Ayub in particular. He withdrew behind a curtain of dictatorship, becoming a remote figure in a bulletproof limousine. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the chief exponent of war with India, was removed from office in 1966. Mujibur Rahman (Sheikh Mujib), leader of the Awami League and a major force in East Pakistan, was arrested and accused of conspiring with India.

In 1968, an unsuccessful attempt was made on Ayub's life, which was followed by the arrest of Bhutto and other opposition leaders. When Ayub surprisingly withdrew the state of emergency under which Pakistan had been governed since 1965, the opposition refused to be placated. In February 1969, Ayub was forced to announce that he would not contest the next presidential election. Protests and strikes flared everywhere, especially in Bengal. On March 25th, Ayub resigned, handing over the government to General Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan. Once again the country was placed under martial law and Yahya assumed the title of president. He made it clear that his aim was an early general election, which took place in December 1970.

War (Again)

In this election, the Awami League gained the majority of seats in the Bengali National Assembly. The Pakistani Government responded by dissolving the assembly to prevent an expected vote for independence. After a short campaign of civil disobedience, Sheikh Mujib declared the independent state of Bangladesh on March 26th, 1971. Yahya Khan, ordered a ruthless suppression of this independence movement that created millions of refugees and resulted in 100,000 Bengali deaths. Yahya continued to negotiate a compromise in Dacca that would concede the substance of Bengali demands while retaining the tenuous ties necessary to preserve the name of Pakistan. But compromise proved impossible. President Yahya denounced Mujib and his men as traitors and launched a drive to "reoccupy" Bengal with West Pakistan troops. The attack inflicted heavy casualties, including many students. Mujib was arrested and flown to Islamabad. Most Awami League leaders moved to Calcutta, setting up a government-in-exile there.

Internal resistance was mobilized by some Bengali units of the regular army, notably by Major Zia ur-Rahman, who held out for some days in Chittagong before the town was recaptured by the West Pakistanis. He then retreated to the Indian border and began to organize guerrilla bands. Another resistance group formed around student militants, among whom Abdul Kader Siddiqi and his followers, the "Kader Bahini", acquired a reputation for ferocity and ruthlessness.

Ten million Bengalis, mainly Hindus, had fled over the frontier into India both before and during the fighting. New Delhi viewed this with alarm. The Awami League, which they supported, was a moderate middle-class body. But, many guerrilla units were becoming fanatical leftists. Both the United States and China, for different reasons, were committed to a united Pakistan. India and the Soviet Union wanted an independent Bangladesh dependent on India. Something had to be done to end the confusion. On December 3rd, 1971, the Indian army invaded Bangladesh. A lightning campaign followed, which was characterized by rapid advances by lightly armed Indian "Mountain" troops. These had been transferred from Himalayan districts specifically for this purpose. Heavily defended areas and centers of resistance were bypassed. Local Bengalis assisted any way they could. On December 16th, less than two weeks after the invasion began, the West Pakistanis surrendered. Sheikh Mujib was released from jail and returned to a hero's welcome. He assumed the leadership of Bangladesh in January 1972.

(For more coverage of Pakistan's wars, we refer you to the chapter on India, elsewhere in this work.)

The Bhutto Regime

Accepting responsibility for defeat and the breakup of Pakistan, President Yahya resigned on December 20th, 1971. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, now the undisputed political power in West Pakistan, became prime minister under a new constitution adopted on April 10, 1973. His program of Islamic socialism brought few tangible changes, but his popularity was undeniable. He soon became increasingly autocratic, however. Criticism was suppressed and political opponents jailed. Extreme methods were used to pacify restive Pathans and Baluchis. In January 1977, it was announced that elections would be held within two months, promising sweeping land reform. Nine opposition parties hastily patched together the "Pakistan National Alliance" (PNA) and launched a campaign supporting an "Islamic way of life" in Pakistan. The run-up to the election was marked by violence. Opposition candidates complained of brutal attacks and unfair practices. The result was a sweeping victory for Bhutto's "Pakistan People's Party" (PPP), although it was denounced as fraudulent by the PNA. Mounting protest soon brought chaos to Karachi and other major cities. Bhutto was compelled to call out the army and proclaim martial law again. He tried to buy peace by offering concessions to the PNA leaders (most of whom were locked up), but they would accept nothing short of a new election.

Zia ul-Haq

To avoid chaos, the army chief of staff, General Mohammad Zia ul-Haq, took over as chief administrator of martial law on July 5th, 1977. Elections were to be held in ninety days. Bhutto, the opposition leader, was the only candidate with sufficient mass appeal to get elected, so he was arrested and charged with attempted murder and hanged on April 4th, 1979. Five months later, Zia announced the formation of a civilian Cabinet of administrators, technocrats, and some political leaders drawn from the Muslim League and various religious parties. The PNA was now split, with most elements forming an opposition that demanded early elections (again), withdrawal of the army from Baluchistan, and the introduction of undiluted Kouranic law. A zealous Muslim, Zia had already imposed certain Kouranic criminal punishments such as flogging and maiming, but declined to go further. On September 16th, 1978, he finally prevailed over his critics and was proclaimed president of Pakistan.

The Soviet Union invaded and occupied neighboring Afghanistan in December, 1979. A guerrilla war followed between Afghan mujahideen (freedom fighters) and Soviet occupation forces. As a result, millions of Afghan refugees fled into Pakistan. The mujahideen used a number of refugee camps and other areas inside Pakistan as bases for their activities. The conflict grew more "international" when the United States began supplying arms to the mujahideen via Pakistan. To guarantee their cooperation, the US program included a renewed Pakistan aid package worth US\$4.2 billion from 1987 to 1992.

Then, came the Islamic revolution in Iran. To prevent this sort of thing in Pakistan, Zia extended his own "Islamization" program. In addition to Islamic criminal laws, he instituted interest-free banking and other measures in keeping with traditional Islamic economic practices. A national referendum on Islamization was held in December 1984. In it, voters endorsed Zia's presidency for an additional five years. There was a sixty-two percent turnout. Ninety-eight percent of these went for both propositions. The opposition disputed this, claiming the turnout was only ten to fifteen percent.

National and provincial elections were held in 1985. Political parties were not allowed to participate, but there was a high turnout, despite a boycott by the opposition. Zia chose Muhammad Khan Junejo as prime minister, a Sindhi politician who had previously served in Zia's Cabinet. Martial law was lifted in December. In January 1986 Junejo announced the revival of the Pakistan Muslim League. Soon afterward, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's daughter, Benazir Bhutto, returned from abroad to re-form the PPP. She received an enthusiastic welcome, but her efforts to arouse popular protest met with little success.

In late 1986 Karachi, Quetta, and Hyderabad were rocked by riots between the Muhajir majority and minority Pathans, from the Northwest Frontier Province and Afghanistan. Ethnic violence continued through the early 1990s and spread to involve other ethnic groups and other Sindhi cities. In May 1988, Zia dissolved both national and provincial assemblies and dismissed the Junejo government. He alleged that it was corrupt, weak, and inept. He announced that elections (again) would be held within ninety days, but they were later postponed until November. In June, a caretaker government was set up, with Zia continuing as head of state.

Zia ul-Haq died in a plane crash, together with his leading generals and the US ambassador to Pakistan on August 17th, 1988. There was suspicion that the "accident" was actually a KGB assassination, but nothing was proved. Ghulam Ishaq Khan, chairman of the Senate and long-standing Zia supporter, took over as temporary president. One of his first acts was to announce that the November election would go ahead as planned. In this election, the PPP, led by Benazir Bhutto won a substantial majority of parliamentary seats. However, support for Bhutto in Punjab, the most populace of Pakistan's provinces was weak, making her mandate incomplete. This forced her to make major policy concessions in important areas. Pakistan's commitment to the Afghan mujahideen continued, and the army retained its strong political position. In December 1988, Benazir Bhutto became the first woman prime minister of an Islamic state.

More Unrest

But hers was an office with the appearance, but not the substance, of power. Her image was one of progressive reform but she attempted few fundamental changes. Distrusted by the president and the military, she was ousted after only twenty months and succeeded in November, 1990 by a Punjabi industrialist, Nawaz Sharif. Relations between Sharif and President Khan were also tense. Sharif was dismissed in April 1993, accused of mismanagement, corruption, and leading a "reign of terror." Khan then dissolved the National Assembly, promising new elections. The Supreme Court overturned this action and reinstated Sharif and his government. The struggle reached a deadlock in July. Both Sharif and Khan resigned under pressure from the army chief of staff, General Abdul Waheed. An interim government took over, and elections were scheduled for the fall (That's fourteen so far!). In October the PPP won a majority of seats in the National Assembly, and Benazir Bhutto was elected prime minister again. Her position remained tentative, however, since her party had not won an outright victory. It is important to note that this election was the third in only five years, reflecting dissatisfaction among the electorate. It was also marked by considerable violence. Twenty-seven people were massacred in a single election-related gun battle.

Social and economic conditions remained much as they were at the end of British rule forty-six years earlier. Agriculture continued to dominate the economy, with great landowners dominating rural society. Hundreds of thousands of Pakistanis had gone overseas looking for work, first to the United Kingdom and later to the Persian Gulf states and Libya. The annual income in 1993 averaged US\$400 per person. The illiteracy rate stood at seventy-five percent. Many children never went to school at all. Pakistan's population increased by 3.2% in 1993 alone, one of the highest rates in the world. National bankruptcy was a distinct possibility.

During 1994, the daunting task of providing homes, schools, hospitals, food, gas, electricity, employment, and infrastructure to meet the needs of Pakistan's ever increasing population became overwhelming, forcing Bhutto to substantially abandon her ambitious social reform program. On the positive side, her liberal coalition proved stable despite bitter public feuding with her mother, who argued that power should be held, not by her, but by her brother. Bhutto kept coalition partners in line by patronage. She diluted tax reform to appease business. But, her primary survival tactic was to avoid direct confrontation with the religious right.

In August, unrest erupted in Karachi. Hundreds of political activists were arrested, and many were imprisoned without charge. Political and ethnic violence continued throughout the fall, resulting in one hundred thirty-five deaths. Fierce clashes also broke out in the north, where fundamentalists once more demanded the introduction of Kouranic law. Pakistan continued to support Muslim Kashmir, in the face of strong Indian opposition. From 1990 through 1994, approximately 8,000 people, mostly civilians, were killed there. Many others, according to human rights groups, were raped, tortured, or otherwise abused.

For much of 1995, the government remained under siege, as ethnic and sectarian violence took its toll nationwide. In Karachi alone, over 2,500 people were dead by late October. Government forces continued to battle militia forces of the "Mohajir Qaum Movement" (MQM). This group, made up of Muslims who fled India during the partition, had never been truly assimilated and conflict between them and the native population had been going on almost continually since 1947. Peace talks were initiated, foundered, restarted, and deadlocked. At year's end both sides were hurling accusations at each other, but were still talking. Despite all the

violence, Bhutto continued to enjoy the backing of General Abdul Waheed Kakar. In October a coup was attempted by a group of senior Islamic fundamentalist military officials. There were thirty-six arrests. The arrested officers claimed they were disgusted at Waheed Kakar's backing of Bhutto.

1996 was another tumultuous year. Clashes between the MQM and native Sindhis continued unabated, but with far fewer casualties than in 1995. The death toll in the first ten months of 1996 was just under eight hundred. Despite this improvement there was increasing pressure for Prime Minister Bhutto to step down as widespread corruption, rising unemployment, and economic mismanagement became rallying points for the opposition. On November 5th, Bhutto was charged with promoting these crimes and removed from office. On February 3rd, 1997, Pakistanis went to the polls for the fourth time in eight years to elect a new government. The result was a crushing victory for the "Pakistan Muslim League" (PML), with Nawaz Sharif returning to the office of prime minister.

Nawaz Sharif

Sharif's landslide put him on a collision course with President Leghari. In April the new government used its majority in the parliament to amend the constitution, abolishing, among other executive powers, the president's power to dismiss an elected government. Sharif's administration also abolished the "Council for Defense and National Security", which formalized the military's role in Pakistani politics. In August, Sharif charged Bhutto with illegally amassing wealth in Swiss bank accounts. Bhutto denied the charge, but admitted that she and her family had long held Swiss accounts. The government said some, if not most, of the money had been collected either as bribes or as proceeds from drug trafficking involving Bhutto's husband, Asif Ali Zardari, who was in jail facing corruption charges.

In 1998, Pakistan's economic picture remained dismal. Inflation remained high. Foreign debt climbed to US\$50 billion. In July, Pakistan expanded its privatization program, putting more government-controlled banks, industrial plants, and utilities up for sale. In October the government devalued the rupee for the second time in eleven months. Pakistan's GDP stood at US\$61 billion and the country remains one of the world's poorer nations, with an annual per capita income of just over US\$423. Pakistani nuclear tests in May provoked western economic sanctions that brought the country's fragile economy to its knees. Growth was at a standstill, exports dropped precipitously, and inflation grew rapidly as a result of ever increasing government debt.

Pervez Musharraf

In October 1999, political unrest and nagging financial instability forced yet another suspension of Pakistan's constitution and the assumption of power by General Pervez Musharraf. Military authorities dismissed the Nawaz government on charges of creating dissension within the army and endangering the state. Musharraf's government was quick to reaffirm previous commitments regarding nuclear restraint and tight nuclear export controls. But, it was already common knowledge that Pakistan had conducted nuclear tests in May, 1998 and had no intention of stopping a program that the country perceived as a source of national pride as well as military deterrence.

After the coup, the United States and its Western allies shunned Musharraf. That changed when he abandoned support for the Afghan Taliban and joined the US-led war on terrorism after September 11th, 2001, allowing America to use bases in his country and helping track down Taliban and al-Qaeda fugitives seeking refuge in Pakistan. Political commentators have said Musharraf has skillfully used his position as the linchpin of the war against terrorism to shore up his position at home without criticism from Washington or other major capitals. "The impression in Pakistan is that while the Americans are speaking about democracy, Musharraf is also being talked about as a key ally and that perhaps more pressure is needed to encourage its return."

FOREIGN WEAPONS

Type 59/59M, Type 63, Type 69, Type 85, "Red Arrow" ATGM - CH; Crotale - FR; 120mm M43, 122mm BM-21, T-54, T-80 - RU; RBS-70 - SW; 40mm L/60, 6lbr ATG, 17lbr ATG, 3" Mk1 Mortar, 25lbr, 5.5" Howitzer - UK; All other foreign weapons - US

TABLES OF ORGANIZATION AND EQUIPMENT

PAKISTANI FORCES: 1965+

Generation: II, Air Superiority Rating: 60, Class: Conscripts, Base Determination Factor: 30%

Infantry Company:	3xTL2 Infantry(A), 1xTL2 Infantry Support, 0-1x75mm M20 <u>or</u> 106mm M40 RcR
Recon Company:	3xM24 Chaffee[R] <u>or</u> 3xM113 (Cav)[R]
Tank Squadron:	4xTank
Anti-Tank Company:	4xM36 Jackson Tank Destroyer <u>or</u> 3x6lbr ATG/Truck <u>or</u> 3x17lbr ATG/Truck
Infantry Battalion:	1xTL2 Infantry(A) HQ, 3xInfantry Company, 1x106mm M40 RcR/Jeep, 1x81mm M1 Mortar(2)
Armored Regiment:	1xTank (HQ), 3xTank Squadron
Recon Regiment:	1xM24 Chaffee[R] HQ, 3xRecon Company
Armored Regiment:	1x"Tank" (HQ), 3xCavalry Squadron
Mortar Battalion:	2x120mm M43(3)/Truck <u>or</u> 4.2" Mk1(3)/Truck
Artillery Regiment:	3x105mm M101(3)/Truck <u>or</u> 3x25lbr Mk2(3)/Truck
Artillery Regiment (SP):	3x105mm M7(3)
Medium Artillery Regiment:	3x155mm M114(3)/Truck <u>or</u> 3x5.5" Howitzer(3)/Truck
Anti-Aircraft Regiment:	3x40mm/L60 "Bofors"/Truck
Infantry Brigade:	1xTL2 Infantry(A) GHQ/Truck, 3xInfantry Battalion, 1xMortar Battalion
Armored Brigade:	1xTank (GHQ), 2xArmored Regiment
Artillery Brigade:	3xArtillery Regiment, 1xMedium Artillery Regiment
Infantry Division:	2-3xInfantry Brigade, 1xArtillery Brigade, 1xRecon Regiment, 1xArmored Regiment, 1xAnti-Tank Company, 0-1xAnti-Aircraft Regiment
Armored Division:	2xArmored Brigade, 1xArtillery Regiment, 1xArtillery Regiment (SP), 1xAnti-Aircraft Regiment

Available Support Units: (One or more of these units or parts thereof, may appear in a particular action at your discretion.)

Engineer Battalion:	9xTL2 Engineer/Truck
Heavy Artillery Battalion:	3x155mm M1(2)/M4 Tractor
Super Heavy Artillery Battalion:	3x203mm M1(2)/Truck

- Notes:**
- 1) 81mm M1 Mortars may be replaced by British 3" Mk-1 mortars if you wish.
 - 2) Available Pakistani tanks include M4A3E8s, M47s, M48s.
 - 3) T-54 & Chinese Type 59 tanks may be added after the 1965 war with India.
 - 4) The M24 Chaffee was only in limited use by 1970 and was being replaced by the M113.
 - 5) One stand in each Infantry Brigade may contain an attached "Cobra-1600" team(MP).
 - 6) All tank stands in a Regiment and the Regimental "HQ" stand must be the same type.

PAKISTANI FORCES: 1991+

Generation: III, Air Superiority Rating: 70, Class: Conscripts, Base Determination Factor: 25%

Infantry Company:	3xTL3 Infantry(A)/Truck, 1x81mm M252 Mortar(1)/Truck
Mechanized Infantry Company:	3xTL3 Infantry(A)/M113A1, 1x81mm M125(1), 0-1xM901/TOWII
Recon Company:	2xTL3 Infantry(R)/M113A1, 2xJeep/LMG[R] <u>or</u> 4xType 63[R]
Tank Squadron:	4xTank

Infantry Battalion:	1xTL3 Infantry(A) HQ, 3xInfantry Company, 1x106mm M40 RcR/Jeep
Mechanized Infantry Battalion:	1xTL3 Infantry(A) HQ/M113A1, 3xMechanized Infantry Company, 1xJeep/LMG[R]
Armored Regiment:	1xTank (HQ), 3xTank Squadron
Recon Battalion:	1xTL3 Infantry(R)/M113A1 (HQ), 3xRecon Company
Artillery Battalion:	3x25lbr(3)/Truck <u>or</u> 3x105mm M101(3)/Truck
Heavy Artillery Battalion:	3x155mm M114A1(3)/Truck <u>or</u> 155mm M198/Truck
Artillery Battalion(SP):	3x155mm M109A2(3)
Heavy Artillery Battalion(SP):	3x203mm M110A2(3)
MRL Battalion:	3x122mm BM-21(12)
Anti-Aircraft Battalion:	3xAnti-Aircraft Gun/Truck

Armored Brigade:	1xTL3 Infantry(A) GHQ/Truck, 2xArmored Regiment, 1xMechanized Infantry Battalion
Mechanized Brigade:	1xTL3 Infantry(A) GHQ/Truck, 1xArmored Regiment, 2xMechanized Infantry Battalion
Artillery Brigade:	3xArtillery Battalion, 1xHeavy Artillery Battalion, 1xAnti-Aircraft Battalion
Artillery Brigade(SP):	3xArtillery Battalion(SP), 1xHeavy Artillery Battalion(SP), 1xMRL Battalion, 1xAnti-Aircraft Battalion

Infantry Division: 3xInfantry Brigade, 1xArtillery Brigade, 1xArmored Battalion, 1xRecon Battalion

Armored Division: 2xArmored Brigade, 1xMechanized Brigade, 1xArtillery Brigade(SP), 1xRecon Battalion

Available Support Units: (One or more of these units or parts thereof, may appear in a particular action at your discretion.)

Engineer Battalion:	9xTL2 Engineer/M113A1
Anti-Aircraft Missile Battery:	1xCrotale
Attack Helicopter Squadron:	3xAH1S "Cobra" <u>or</u> 3xSA-330 "Puma"

- Notes:**
- 1) One stand in each Infantry Battalion and one in each Mechanized Company may contain an attached RBS-70 team(MP).
 - 2) After 1995, RBS-70s may be replaced by "Stingers"
 - 3) One stand in each Infantry Battalion may contain an attached "Cobra-1600" or AT-3/"Red Arrow" team(MP).
 - 4) Pakistani armored units may be equipped with "Type 59M", "Type 69", "Type 85", T80U, or M48A5 tanks.
 - 5) All tank stands in a Regiment and the Regimental "HQ" stand must be the same type.
 - 6) Anti-Aircraft Guns include 23mm, 30mm, 35mm, 37mm, 40mm, 57mm types.
 - 7) One Pakistani Mechanized Brigade served with UN "Coalition" forces in the 1991 "Persian Gulf" war.

TACTICAL NOTES

The 1965 India-Pakistan War was fought primarily in the "Great Indian Desert". This means your scenarios should look a lot like those of WWII North Africa. Infantry units will primarily be concerned with holding ground, not taking it. Although the front line didn't move very far during the course of the fighting, there was a considerable amount of maneuvering. The battle at Sialkot was particularly large and ferocious and involved nearly a full armored division on each side. As a matter of fact, the whole area, bounded on the West and East by the Jhelum and Rav Rivers and including four large cities; Jammu, Sialkot, Jellum, and Lahore, saw considerable action. There are even some valuable oil fields just to the south. A complete mini-campaign could be built around the battles fought here.

In the 1971 war, most of the important action was in Bengal, and included quite a few contested river crossings and rapid advances. Although the fighting in the Punjab was not decisive, it was still quite desperate and hard fought. There were major actions around Srinagar and south of Amritsar and, of course, the Sialkot-Lahore corridor got pasted again. Both the 1st and 6th Pakistani Armored Divisions were involved and there were many tank losses.

The Pakistani Army is actually quite well organized and trained. It does have its weaknesses, however. In the past, standard practice has been to fight "in place" with little thought of maneuver once the main forces are in contact with the enemy. This has changed recently, however. Although Pakistan continues to plan for a defensive war, it has embraced the idea of the "Riposte". Previous experience has shown that Indian forces have generally outmaneuvered the Pakistanis and destroyed their units piecemeal. Pakistan's future plans include holding back its armor and counter-attacking "en masse" to blunt any Indian offensive.

This doctrine appears sound and could be very effective. I say "could" because it would require much closer cooperation between Pakistan's army and air forces. Years of military rule, specifically by army generals, has created pro-army favoritism and inter-service "bad blood". Keep this in mind when designing scenarios. Pakistan's Air Force is large and well equipped, but effective close air-support should be rare.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

The manufacture, use, and export of narcotics have become a fact of Pakistani life during the past two decades. It has been calculated that the world's greatest single source of heroin is the Afghanistan-Pakistan border region. Annual production of Pakistani opium is said to exceed two hundred metric tons in some years. It has also been estimated that more than a million Pakistanis were addicted to heroin in 2001 and that this estimate is a conservative one.

Kashmir (Again)

Tension over Kashmir and the three wars fought with India since independence, have made it impossible for Pakistan to feel confident about reducing military spending. In fact, military expenditures have remained the largest item in the Pakistani annual budget throughout its fifty-year history. High levels of Indian military spending were a considerable source of alarm in Islamabad in 2000-2001. No detailed breakdown of Pakistani defense expenditures is available for those years, since military spending is entered as a single line item in their annual budget. This has generated much debate, with legislators calling for greater transparency. For the foreseeable future, however, reforms are unlikely.

Kashmir was back in the news between late 2001 and the summer of 2002. It would be impossible to properly describe every move and counter move involved within the limitations of this work. Therefore, we will limit ourselves to the salient events. On October 1st, 2001, Muslim gunmen made a devastating attack on the Kashmiri assembly in Srinagar. Thirty-eight people were killed. The chief minister of Indian Kashmir, Farooq Abdullah, called on the Indian government to declare a state of war against the Kashmiri militants and attack their training camps in Pakistan. On December 13th, another group of Kashmiris attacked the Indian parliament building in Delhi, leaving fourteen people dead. The attack led to a dramatic build-up of troops along the India-Pakistan border and raised fears that a general war was imminent.

On May 14th, 2002, thirty people are killed when Muslim militants opened fire on a busload with Hindus near Jammu, in Indian Kashmir. A nearby Indian army camp at Kaluchak was also attacked. The dead included many women and children as well as the three attackers. On May 18th, India announced the expulsion of the Pakistani High Commissioner, Ashraf Jehangir Qazi, following Indian accusations that Pakistan was behind the attack on the Kaluchak army camp. On May 22nd, tensions increased as both India and Pakistan amassed troops along their common border. India announced it was moving five warships to the Arabian Sea. Pakistan called for negotiations, but said it was prepared to defend itself.

On May 25th, Pakistan carried out a series of tests on its new medium range ballistic missile, amid growing concern over the potential for war with India. The tests were proof of Pakistan's ability to deliver nuclear or other missiles deep inside India, but Islamabad denied any connection with the current crisis. On May 27th, President Pervez Musharraf told his people that Pakistan had no intention of provoking a war with India. He accused India of creating "war hysteria", blaming Pakistan for terrorist attacks and insisted that no infiltration was taking place across the "Line of Control" in Kashmir.

On May 29th, UK Foreign Secretary Jack Straw met Indian leaders in Delhi in an effort to avert war between India and Pakistan. He said the international community expected "action, not just words" from Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf. President Bush gave his strongest warning yet that Pakistan must stop supporting militants attacking Indian targets. The president stressed international efforts of apply pressure to both parties to agree to face-to-face talks, in an attempt to defuse their dispute. Indian and Pakistani leaders were attending a regional summit in Kazakhstan, but refused to meet directly. Hopes for a resolution to the crisis in Kashmir were dashed as Indian and Pakistani leaders traded angry statements. The Indian Prime Minister accused Pakistan of breaking its promise to prevent cross-border infiltration by militants while the Pakistani President censured India for failing to resolve the dispute.

On June 7th, US peace envoy, Richard Armitage, said the crisis between India and Pakistan over disputed Kashmir seemed to be easing. The US Assistant Secretary of State held talks with the Indian prime minister in Delhi and the Pakistani president in Islamabad. On June 13th, US Defense Secretary, Donald Rumsfeld, visited India and Pakistan trying to defuse tension between the two sides. In Islamabad, he suggested al-Qaeda militants operating in Kashmir were partly responsible, but Pakistan emphatically rejected the suggestion. Next day, a vehicle packed with explosives was detonated just outside the US consulate in Karachi killing eleven people, including the attacker. The White House condemned the suicide attack, describing it as a "vivid reminder" of the dangers Americans face in the war on terror. After this, things began to quiet down and the "war hysteria" that so delighted the international press community began to fade.

Throughout this period, there were long-range artillery duels, fighter aircraft were scrambled, armored units shifted position, a considerable amount of ammunition, large and small, was expended, and there were serious casualties. However, there were no significant pitched battles or ground taken by either side. Shots have been traded back and forth since, but the situation appears stable. Pakistan and India have come to a sort of stalemate. Pakistan understands that is simply not strong enough to defeat India in a conventional war. India understands that if they push Pakistan to far, a horrific nuclear exchange is a distinct possibility. The situation is hauntingly similar to the classic NATO/Warsaw Pact "Cold War" standoff. The game is the same, only the players have changed.

Pakistani Politics: 2002

On August 22, 2002, Former Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, urged Washington to do more to steer President General Pervez Musharraf "onto the path of democracy." Bhutto said Musharraf's constitutional amendments, granting him the power to dismiss parliament, establish a "National Security Council" to oversee the government, and extend his term by five years, effectively make him "emperor" of Pakistan. "The United States is a very great democracy and people in my country want to see the United States speak out unequivocally for the rights of the people of Pakistan," said Bhutto. At the time she was challenging new laws barring her from running in upcoming parliamentary elections.

Opposition leaders condemned Musharraf and said changes to the constitution could only be made by parliament. They accused him of seeking to perpetuate a dictatorship under the guise of democracy. Musharraf argued that the changes were necessary for stability and accountability in a political culture marked by decades of military government and civilian misrule. "Pakistan is passing

through a very crucial transitional period," Musharraf said. State Department spokesman, Philip Reeker said the Bush administration believed Musharraf "wanted to develop strong democratic institutions in his country". However, they were concerned that his recent decisions could make that more difficult.

On November 16th, Musharraf was sworn in for a new five-year term as president, shortly before the country's parliament was due to meet for the first time in three years. At the time of this writing (November 21st), the new national assembly elected on October 10th, is due to convene in two days, even though rival parties have yet to agree on a coalition government. The general election was similarly controversial since key figures, including Nawaz Sharif and Benazir Bhutto, were barred from running. The pro-military Pakistan Muslim League secured most seats, but not enough to rule alone. It has been trying to form a coalition with an alliance of six right-wing Islamic parties that ran on a strong anti-US platform.

The entire region, including Pakistan, India, Afghanistan, Iran, China, and Khazakstan is one enormous powder keg ready to go off at the slightest spark. Anything we say here concerning the current situation may very well be out of date by the time you read this. Frustrating though this is, there is nothing that can be done about it. When you add the US war on terror and Muslim fundamentalist fanaticism to the mix, literally anything is possible!

Weapons

In 1996 Pakistan began reassessing the viability of its "Al Khalid" MBT program. Budgetary constraints and huge cost overruns have delayed the deployment of this weapon for eight years so far. The Al-Khalid was developed with Chinese assistance from their own "Type-85" MBT and is armed with a 125mm gun. In the meantime, China has supplied large numbers of Type-85s to Pakistan at a reduced price. In 1997 Pakistan received its first delivery of Ukrainian T-80Us out of a total of over three hundred ordered, but there is concern over ammunition problems with both the T80U and Type-85. There have been reports of an alarmingly high failure rate among Pakistani manufactured 125mm armor piercing shells used by these tanks. The tungsten/cobalt alloy used has proved difficult to handle during manufacture. For political reasons, Pakistan cannot purchase replacement ammunition from either Europe or China.

Production of the "Baktar Shikan" ATGM system since 1996 has made it available in large numbers throughout the Pakistani Army. This system, similar in appearance to the Chinese "Red Arrow 8", has a range of 3,000 meters and a reported 90% hit probability. The Al Zarrar (Striker) MBT, which made its first appearance in March 2000, is an upgraded Chinese "Type-59" with improved armor, mobility, and firepower. The effort to combine the "Al Zarrar" program with one to build 1,200 US M-113 APCs in Pakistan has been delayed by sanctions connected with Pakistan's 1998 nuclear tests.

2002 PAKISTANI ARSENAL

Vehicles:	15+"Al Khalid", 320xT-80U, 200x"Type 85", 200xM-48A5, 250x"Type 69", & 1,200x"Type 59" MBTs, 100x"Type 63" Light Tanks, 5xAML-60 & 90x"Ferret" Scout Vehicles, 800xM113, 45xUR-416, & 120xBTR-70 APCs
AT Weapons:	200+"Cobra 1600", 600+ "Red Arrow", 5,500xTOWI/II, & 250+"Baktar Shikan" ATGMs, 8x90mm M36 "Jackson" TDs, 75mm "Type 52" & 106mm "M40" RcRs
Artillery:	180x85mm "Type 56", 1,000x88mm (25 lbr), 275x105mm M101, 30x122mm "Type 54", 60x155mm M114, & 124x155mm M198 Towed Howitzers, 12x105mm M7, 150x155mm M109A2, & 40x203mm M110 SP Howitzers, 40x122mm BM-21 MRLs, 107mm & 120mm Mortars
Anti-Aircraft:	400xRBS-70, 6xSAM-2, 100x"Stinger", 36x"Crotale", & "ANZA" MkII (SA-7) AAGMs, 60x40mm, 15x90mm, 23mm, 30mm, 35mm, 37mm, 57mm, & 3.7" AAGs,
Combat Aircraft:	150xF-7P, 32xF16A/B, 61x"Mirage III", 98x"Mirage 5"
Helicopters:	20xAH-1S "Cobra", 34xSA-330 "Puma", 10xBell 206, 10xMi-8, 15xMi-17, & 24xAlouette III Helicopters
Small Arms:	9mm Walther P-38 Pistols, 9mm H&K MP5 & Sterling Submachineguns, 7.62mm G3 & AKM Rifles, 7.62mm RPD, MG1A3, 12.7mm Type 54 & .50 cal Browning M2HB Machineguns

Notes:

- 1) A total of 300x"Al Khalid" MBTs are to be delivered by 2007.
- 2) An unknown number of BMP-1/-2s are on order.
- 3) TOW ATGM systems include 24xM901 ITVs.
- 4) 600 AT-11 ATGMs are on order.
- 5) The "Cobra 1600" ATGM is similar in appearance and performance to the Soviet AT-2 "Snapper".
- 6) The "Red Arrow" (Hong Jian) ATGM is a Chinese manufactured AT-3 "Sagger".
- 7) An additional 38x"Mirage III", originally slated to be used for spare parts, have been refurbished and are held in reserve.
- 8) An additional 40xF7s from the Peoples Republic of China should be delivered by the end of 2002.

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