

# COVER FEATURE

## The Defense of Pakistan Sovereignty

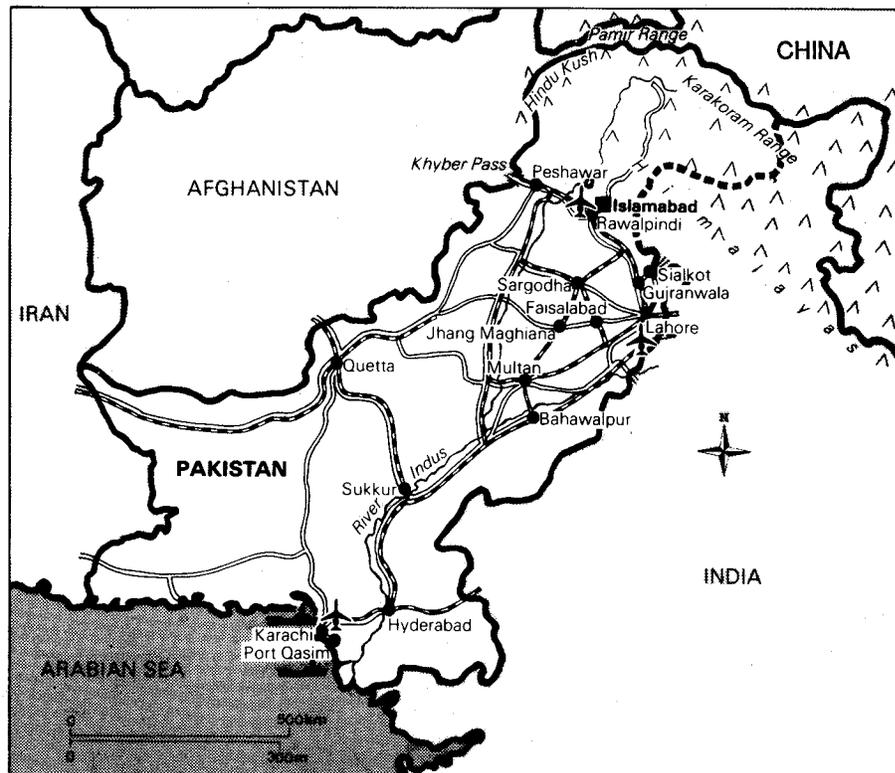
By

Lieutenant Donald F. Schlien, SC, USN

At a White House dinner on 17 July 1986 in honor of the visiting Prime Minister of Pakistan, President Reagan toasted him, saying, "We want you and the people of Pakistan to know, without doubt, that even in the face of increasing Soviet pressure, we stand by you in the defense of your sovereignty."

During the week-long visit last July, Prime Minister Mohamed Khan Junejo met with top-ranking members of the White House as well as Congress, discussing items of mutual concern ranging from nuclear proliferation and drug trafficking to security assistance. Throughout the discussions, the main theme was the increasing warmth of relations and cooperation between one of the world's oldest democracies and one of history's oldest civilizations.

The Islamic Republic of Pakistan, for the last nine years under the leadership of President Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq, has become a leading developing nation. This development, however, has been threatened by the Soviet invasion of neighboring Afghanistan, which has prompted an American effort to strengthen Pakistan's economy and defenses.



In 1981, the Reagan Administration, with the full support of Congress, committed itself to seek a \$3.2 billion, six-year economic and five-year military assistance program, split evenly between economic and military assistance. That program, which enters its final year in FY 1987, has been notably successful in meeting multi-year objectives. The Reagan Administration is now committed to seeking Congressional funding for a follow-up six-year package of \$4.02 billion for economic and security assistance. President Reagan has stressed that this unique multi-year program is tangible evidence of the "durability and continuity of the U.S. commitment to strengthen Pakistan's defensive capabilities in the face of Soviet pressure from Afghanistan." Prime Minister Junejo was reassured by Washington officials of U.S. support for the proposed new six-year aid package, which has been developed with the help of the U.S.-Pakistan Joint Commission and the U.S.-Pakistan Consultative Group.

In a recent speech at the Institute of International Affairs in Hyderabad, U.S. Ambassador to Pakistan Deane R. Hinton further identified reasons for U.S. interest in this part of the world. He stated that:

- The area is strategically located between the oil fields of the Middle East and the developing industry of the Far East;
- Pakistan is a growing economy in the region itself, with good prospects for both trade and investment;
- "Despite serious setbacks from time to time," Pakistan and other countries in the area are working toward democratic representation of the people;
- Close cooperation between the U.S. and the region will help to eradicate drug production and trafficking;
- The U.S. supports regional approaches to solving "vexing" problems, such as the threat of nuclear proliferation in S. Asia.

Ambassador Hinton also stated that the U.S. considers the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan the gravest threat to the stability of the region and "must be resisted by all freedom-loving persons."

Since its birth on August 14, 1947, as a result of the British partition of India, the U.S. has recognized Pakistan and supported its right to exist. In 1954, Pakistan became a participant in both CENTO [Central Treaty Organization] and SEATO [Southeast Asia Treaty Organization], and the U.S. responded by providing economic and military assistance. When India and Pakistan went to war in 1965, the U.S. halted military assistance to both countries. Pakistan felt that this hurt it more than India and U.S.-Pakistan relations cooled.

Changes in Pakistan's government and policies brought about an improvement in relations with the U.S. so that by 1975 the U.S. arms embargo was lifted. Developments in Pakistan's nuclear program, however, have caused political differences and strained relations. In 1979 President Carter invoked Section 669 (the Symington Amendment) of the Foreign Assistance Act, to prohibit new economic and military assistance to countries with unsafeguarded nuclear facilities. This cut off all new aid commitments.

That same year, false news reports from Iran and Moscow said that the United States had participated in the seizure of the Grand Mosque in Mecca. In response, an enraged mob attacked and burned the U.S. Embassy in Islamabad, resulting in four dead. Relations had again reached a low point.

With the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the U.S. restated its support for a strong and independent Pakistan. In 1981 the U.S. Government, citing overriding national interests, sought Congressional legislation permitting a waiver of the Symington Amendment as it pertained to Pakistan and offered a \$3.2 billion aid program to be distributed over a six-year period. The money was to be equally divided between economic and security assistance, including Foreign Military Sales (FMS) financing.

The general foreign policy and security goals of U.S. assistance to Pakistan, as stated in the Fiscal Year 1987 *Congressional Presentation for Security Assistance Programs (CPD)* presented by the White House, is:

- To deter and combat aggression.
- To enhance Pakistan's confidence in the face of Soviet pressures.
- To promote domestic and regional stability.
- To modernize Pakistan's conventional defense capabilities.
- To encourage movement toward a more representative government.

The specific objectives of the security assistance program for Pakistan, as identified in the CPD, are:

- To continue modernization of the armed forces in air defense, firepower, mobility, anti-armor, and sea defense.
- To improve readiness through a broad range of operational, technical, and professional military training.
- To suppress narcotics production, processing, and trafficking.
- To foster economic development and help fund needed imports.

## THE MILITARY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM

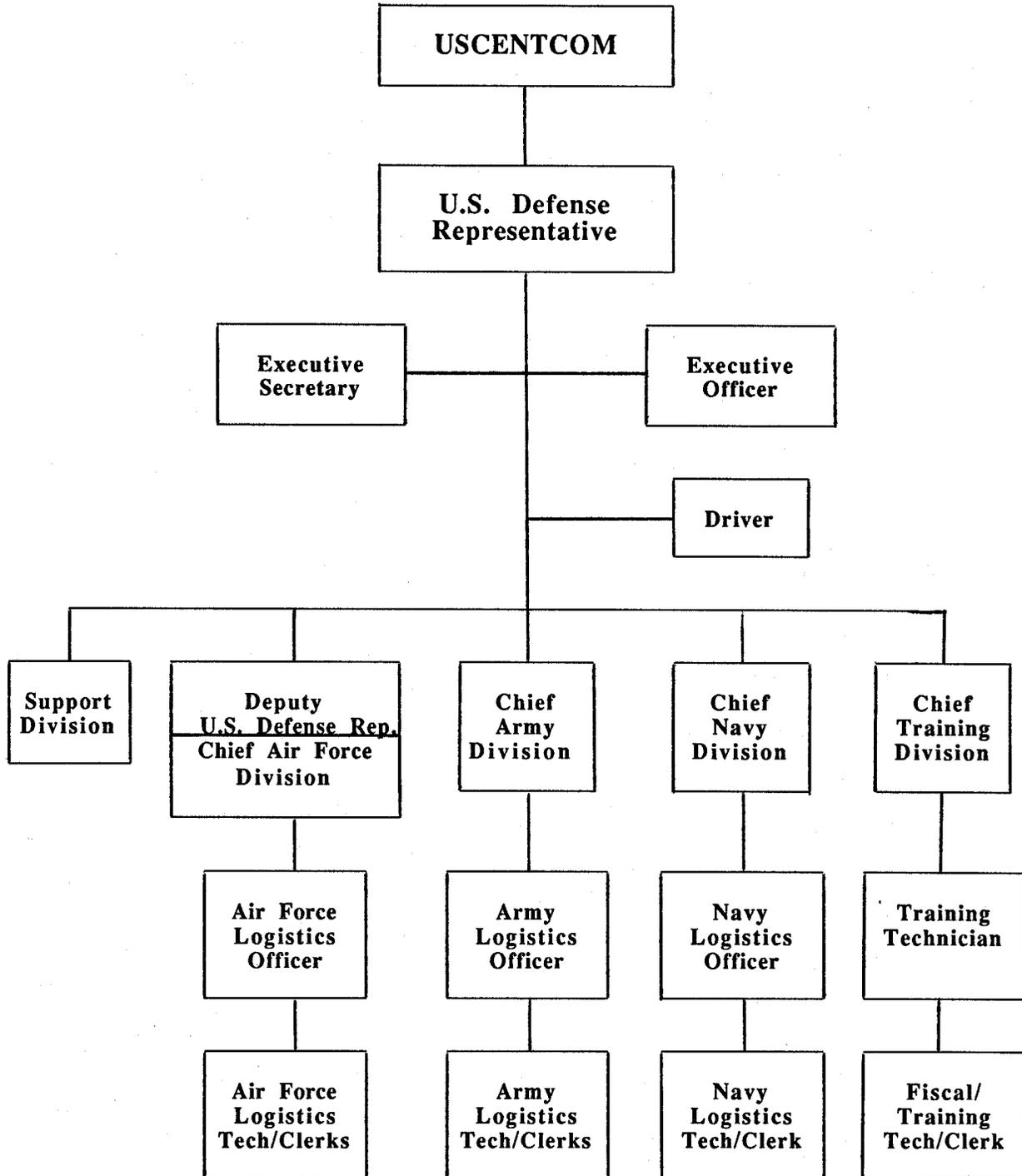
The U.S. military assistance program in Pakistan is carried out by the Office of the Defense Representative to Pakistan (ODRP), currently headed by Brigadier General George M. Baxter, USA. ODRP is a 25-member team of 11 military personnel and 14 civilians.

Based in the capital city, Islamabad, ODRP has two offices: one is at the U.S. Embassy, where BG Baxter and his staff coordinate activities with other elements of the Embassy; another office complex is two miles away, where the day-to-day work of the Army, Air Force, and Navy sections is carried out.

The mission of ODRP is as follows:

The management of the security assistance program between the United States Government and the Government of Pakistan. ODRP also provides advice and assistance on military matters as requested by the armed forces of Pakistan and in accordance with the United States State Department and Department of Defense directives.

**OFFICE OF THE DEFENSE REPRESENTATIVE TO PAKISTAN  
ORGANIZATIONAL CHART**



**Pakistan FMS Program**

(As of 20 Aug 86)

(\$ in millions)

	<u>Army</u>		<u>Navy</u>		<u>Air Force</u>	
	<u>Cases</u>	<u>Value</u>	<u>Cases</u>	<u>Value</u>	<u>Cases</u>	<u>Value</u>
Open	106	956.2	70	249.1	138	1,332.8
Offered/Pending	57	104.2	15	5.0	36	84.6
Total	163	\$1,060.4	85	\$254.1	174	\$1,417.4

**Training FY86**

	<u>Dollars</u>	<u>Students</u>
IMET	885,000	107
FMS	<u>1,500,000</u>	<u>68</u>
TOTAL	2,385,000	175

**ODRP Budget**

FY86	\$1,660,700
FY87	\$1,892,800 (Est.)

The Army Section has a large program, with over 106 active FMS cases at a total cost of \$956.2 million. The U.S. has provided the Pakistan Army with Cobra helicopters, M48 tanks, howitzers, armored vehicles, a variety of missiles and ammunition, radars, and supply support and training. For the post-1987 security assistance program, enhanced ground-based air defenses, upgraded tanks, and improved anti-armor capability are under consideration.

The Air Force program is the largest with over 138 open cases valued at more than \$1.3 billion. Its primary task over the past six years has been to acquire 40 F-16s for the Pakistan Air Force (PAF), and to provide flight training, maintenance, and technical and parts support at a cost of \$1,332.4 million. It also provides logistics support for Pakistan Air Force C-130, T-37, T-33, and B-57 aircraft. The next few years will see purchases of new weapons systems and electronics, along with more aircraft to increase Pakistan's air defense.

The Navy Section, primarily concerned with maintaining and upgrading six Gearing-class destroyers purchased by Pakistan, has expended manyfold with aircraft, new weapons systems, and possible new ship acquisitions. Future programs will be aimed at increasing the Pakistan Navy's anti-submarine warfare role and air surveillance of the Arabian Sea.

The Training Section manages the IMET program and assists the other sections in FMS training. The IMET program over the past five years has provided 689 courses at a cost of \$4.4 million.

The daily workload cannot be measured in dollar amounts or number of cases. It takes years of work, meetings, travel, and disappointments before a case comes to fruition. And setting up the case is a small part of the job; once in place, the real work of ODRP begins in the assistance role. A wide variety of tasks are performed by ODRP to accomplish its mission. These include making travel arrangements for teams to visit remote military bases in Pakistan to discuss supply/ support, maintenance problems and installation procedures, and providing English language tests for enlisted men preparing to go to the U.S. for training.

Brigadier General Baxter also serves as the U.S. Central Command Representative in Pakistan which, in turn, provides administrative support to ODRP from its base at MacDill AFB, Florida. This job involves arranging the visits of VIPs to the area and serving as liaison between the Pakistan Armed Forces and USCENTCOM.

ODRP members are in touch daily with their counterparts, providing assistance and advice. Their various military specialties provide an important role, whether it is artillery, flying F-16's or Cobra's, or advice on the fastest way to order a needed part for a downed tank. The fact that each member of the team is experienced in one or more areas adds to ODRP's credibility, and makes it a superb representative of the U.S. Armed Forces.

## LIVING IN PAKISTAN

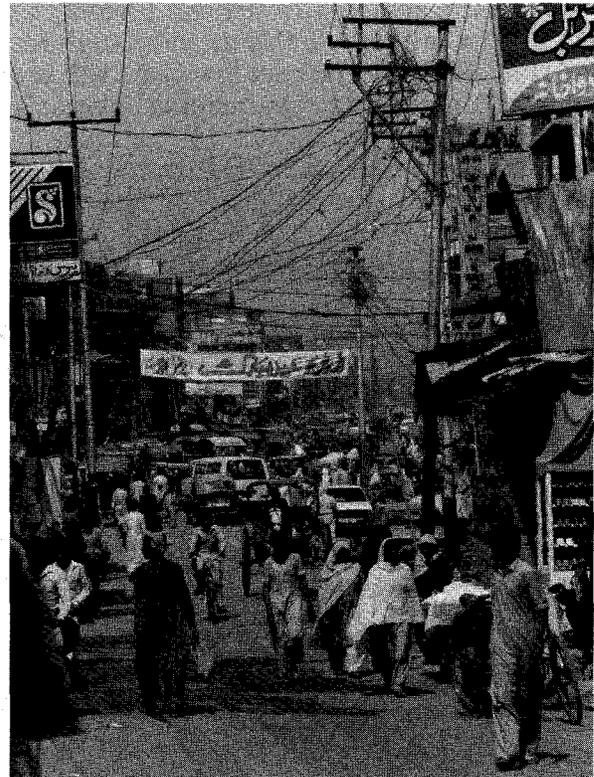
Islamabad, the capital city of Pakistan and the location of ODRP, is an oasis of modernity in this ancient land, having been created from an architect's blueprints drawn up in the late 1950s. The first capital was located in the economic center of Karachi, on the Arabian Sea, when Pakistan became a nation on 14 August 1947. But the government felt it should find an area more central to both the provinces and different tribes, and after much research a site was chosen at the foot of the Margalla Hills in the center of what was then known as West Pakistan. Six million seedlings were planted in the area, changing the landscape from near-desert to a park-like setting.

Islamabad today is graced with beautiful homes and impressive government buildings, starkly white against the backdrop of greenery and hills. To visitors, this modern city is not what they expect; yet one can travel five miles in any direction outside the capital's city limits and find villages which have remained substantially unchanged for the past 500 years.

Twenty miles from Islamabad is the city of Rawalpindi, the historical setting for many romantic stories of the British Raj era. Teeming with life, the crowded streets and bustling bazaars exhibit the diversity of the country. Evidence of British occupation lives in the architecture and contrasts with the elegance of the Indian culture.



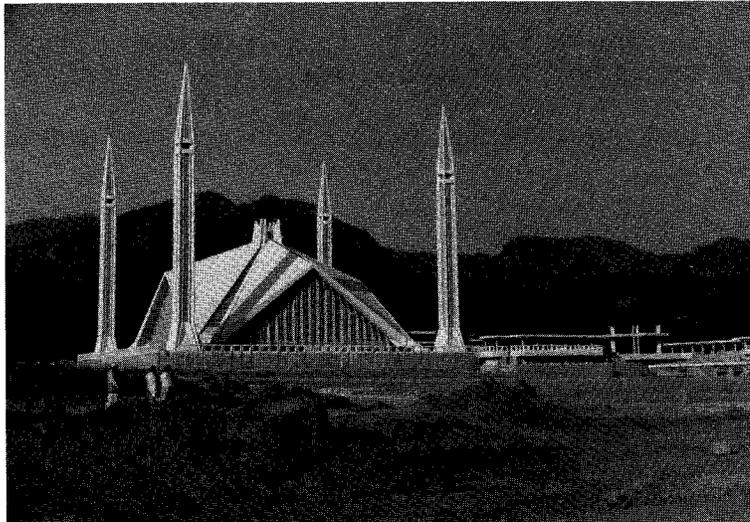
**Brigadier General and Mrs. George Baxter attending the Pakistan Armed Forces Day Parade in Rawalpindi, March 23, 1986.**



**The teeming streets of Rawalpindi are in stark contrast to the quiet serenity of nearby Islamabad.**

Running through the heart of Pakistan is its critical lifeline, the Indus River. North to south, from the majesty of the Himalayan Mountain Range into the desert of the Sind Province and on into the Arabian Sea, the Indus provides water for the world's largest irrigation system, and hydro-electric power for many of Pakistan's 100 million population.

Pakistan is bordered to the west by Iran and Afghanistan, to the north by China, and to the east by India. Despite the natural borders of the Hindu Kush and Himalayan Ranges to the north, Pakistan is joined almost exclusively by its religion. Almost 98% of the population professes to be Muslim, and it was this issue that drove the split from Hindu-dominated India. Ethnic diversity within Pakistan is due largely to the many indigenous tribes inhabiting the region.



The Shariat-e-Faisal Mosque in Islamabad will house 15,000 worshippers inside and 85,000 outside upon completion in late 1986.

Even today, the country is divided into four major provinces, Punjab, Sind, Baluchistan and the Northwest Frontier Province. The rural areas are further divided into tribal cells, often as small as a village.

In January of this year, Pakistan left nearly ten years of martial law behind and stepped into representational government once again. General Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq, while maintaining his mantle as Chief of the Army Staff, remains as President based on an earlier referendum of support by the people. The constitution was reinstated, and elected representatives of the provinces began meeting in the newly-constructed parliamentary building in Islamabad.

ODRP members and their families enjoy many opportunities to travel from their homes in Islamabad. Shopping in the bazaars of Peshawar, near the Khyber Pass, taking camel caravans through the Cholistan Desert, touring the Himalayas in an open jeep at altitudes exceeding 26,000 feet--the opportunities for adventure are endless.

For the shopper, Pakistan is a paradise. Great buys are to be had in Afghan carpets, brass, wood products, semi-precious stones, and fur and leather goods if you are willing to argue down the price.

Living conditions in Islamabad are excellent. Families find their homes significantly larger than what they are used to, with relatively inexpensive servants to help the ODRP members live "the good life." There are drawbacks, however; water must be boiled and filtered before drinking,

and all produce carefully washed and treated before eating. During especially dry times, the utilities will systematically cut off electricity for several hours a day to conserve power. A wide variety of seasonal fruits and vegetables keep the diet from being boring; beef and mutton are the most common meats, but fish and seafood from Karachi can be found at reasonable prices when in season.

The American community is nearly 600 strong in Islamabad, and enjoys an often hectic social calendar. Lasting friendships are formed in this overseas post along with lasting memories of having lived in one of the most interesting countries in the world.

### **ABOUT THE AUTHOR**

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Photographs accompanying this article were provided by Mrs Karen Schlienz, wife of the author.