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STRATEGIC PROBLEMS OF THE ISLAMIC WORLD AND COLLECTIVE SECURITY

Today the World of Islam consists of almost 49 independent states* comprising a population of over 700 million people, spread primarily over Asia and Africa, from the Pacific, across the Afro-Asian† and Atlantic Oceans, apart from over 300 million Muslim minorities in other states.

Before any attempt is made to analyse and highlight their strategic problems, which in itself is no simple task and has a vast horizon, it is necessary to outline the nature and degree of threats faced by them. These threats could be classified under three headings i.e., first: *the ideological threat*, second: *the economic threat*, and third: *the military threat*. The study will confine itself primarily to the 49 states, although their co-religionists under alien rule, in many cases, also face ideological erosion and economic discrimination, and are denied not only freedom of worship, but are also denied freedom of equal opportunity and participation in various walks of national life and activity—something which could be rightly looked into by various International Human Rights organisations. Let us examine first:—

The Ideological Threat: The ideological centre of gravity of the Islamic World is the Holy Land of Arabia, around whose frontiers emerged nation-states of varying size, population and vital resources after First World War, including the creation of a centre of gravity of World Zionism. The 'fertile crescent' became a shatter zone of soft states; this "balkanisation" was repeated after the Second World War, again largely in the interests of the imperial powers. Memories of the Wars of the Crusades have continued to be the prevailing syndrome amongst western statesmen throughout the centuries. During the current century, it was only after the rise of an atheistic, militant, radical creed in

*Based on figures by Motmar-al-Alam-al-Islami.

†Often referred to as Indian Ocean, although it is dominated by the coastlines of Africa and Asia, hence more appropriately Afro-Asian Ocean.

Eastern Europe, that challenged not only the Orthodox but also the Christian and Jewish churches, as also the capitalist economies, that the pressure on the ideological centre of gravity of Islam was released to some extent. One could perhaps understand an ideological opposition from an *atheistic* militant, radical creed, which seeks to transcend international frontiers by overt and covert means, and thrives on local unstable political and economic conditions, but the present outcry against Islamic fundamentalism in the western press is backed neither by reason nor by logic. Islam has for almost 1400 years advocated the middle course, between what today are 'closed' societies on the one hand, and 'permissive' societies on the other; between excessive regimentation of the mind, and social exploitation of the body. It has all along advocated balance between economic dynamism and social justice; it upholds the dignity of Mankind. Which other religious creed can claim even slave dynasties as rulers, as in Egypt and Muslim India in the past? Therefore it seems an irony and a paradox that apart from the threat from an atheistic ideology, it should also be under pressure, specially in West Asia and Africa, from the other two, and older, of the world's great religions, which have almost the same birth place as Islam; whose followers are also People of the Book; with common prophets, common commandments and very similar codes of life. This antagonism could perhaps be due to political and economic factors. In any case it is a sad commentary on human affairs for which the western media and the clergy are largely responsible.

Nowhere is the ideological threat and struggle more evident than in the frontline countries of Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan in West Asia; in North Africa ranging from Somalia in the East, across North to West Africa; in Malaysia, Indonesia and parts of the Philippines.

The Economic Threat: The economic situation and problems in any two of the 49 Muslim states is not alike, and is largely a hangover of their oppressed, colonial past. Today, although almost half of the free world's oil is being produced by these states, accruing revenues to the tune of about 100 billion dollars, expected to reach one trillion in the next two decades, the average GNP per capita of these states, is only about \$ 550, as compared to the world average of about \$ 1900. 17% of the world's population living in the 49 states, produces only about 4% of the world's GNP. Of this 4%, almost 3% is shared by the rich, oil producing and exporting states. Even those countries which import 90% of this oil and all their raw material, like Japan, are economically

far better off, in spite of much greater population pressures. Due to lack of technological base and infrastructure, 83% of energy produced by these states is exported to industrialised nations for power generation—which is the most uneconomical and wasteful utilisation of the precious, limited oil wealth, even though alternate means of energy and power generation in the shape of solar and nuclear energy are now available. It is estimated that 10 million barrels of oil per year can fetch a nuclear power plant of 1000 MW, and there is no reason why countries like Turkey, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Iran, Iraq, Libya, Algeria, Egypt and Bangladesh who already have nuclear research and power stations should not further develop their nuclear technology and know-how. The economic threat is further evident in the rising tide of protectionism, in the disproportionate global burden of readjustment, lack of international commodity agreement, inadequate transfer of resources and technology, a higher degree of instability in exchange rates of major currencies, the underlying structural disequilibrium in the present international division of labour and in the international monetary and trading systems, foreign markets and their riders, tariffs and favoured nation clauses, unfavourable trade balances, debts, and unemployment. Only a new economic order being voiced by the majority of Third World countries of which 49 are Islamic states, can restore some degree of balance and economic justice.

Meanwhile, in spite of the new found wealth in some of these states, the gap between the rich and the poor in the Islamic World as a whole continues to widen. Whereas four states Kuwait, Libya, Qatar, and UAE with a population of only about 5 million people have a per capita income of almost \$ 5,000 while thirteen states comprising almost 200 million people have per capita income of less than \$200. Other states range in between.* Mankind has always been and

*PER CAPITA INCOME

Less than \$200 (196 million people) Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Comores Islands, Chad, Gambia, Guinea, Guinea Bisau, Mali, Maldives, Niger, Pakistan, Somalia, and Upper Volta.

\$200—\$499 (300 million people) Cameroon, Egypt, Indonesia, Mauritania, Nigeria, Senegal, Sudan, Uganda, Yemeni Arab Republic, Yemen People's Democratic Republic.

\$500—\$1,999 (153 million people) Algeria, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Morocco, Malaysia, Syrian Arab Republic, Tunisia, Turkey and Lebanon.

\$2,000—\$4,999 (10 million people) Bahrain, Djibouti, Gabon, Oman, Saudi Arabia.

\$5,000 and above (5 million people) Kuwait, Libya, Qatar and United Arab Emirates.

World Development Report, World Bank, August 1978.

is even today Islam's first concern; creeds and system of more recent origin have emulated this from teachings of Islam. In this grand act of salvaging humanity, the Islamic World should once again take the lead and match economic dynamism with social and pan-Islamic justice.

The Military Threat. Having briefly analysed the ideological and economic threats, let us consider the military threat against which appropriate military policies have to be evolved. Islam is a religion of peace, and contrary to misconceptions in the non-Islamic World, it was neither spread by the sword nor was the sword ever drawn for pure aggression or for the primary purpose of acquisition of wealth or economic and territorial gains as in the medieval and modern wars of industrialised nations. Similarly the concept of "Jihad"—one of the basic tenets of Islam, has been a misunderstood and often a misquoted and maligned word. Literally Jihad means an "effort"—or "striving". All the fighting injunctions in the Holy Quran are only in self-defence, and none of them has any reference to waging warfare for pure aggression, except to fight oppression and exploitation. As a matter of fact there are several passages in the Holy Quran which expressively forbid the taking of offensive measures, and enjoin only defensive wars. Indeed the astonishing spread of Islam from the Arabian desert to Spain and parts of France in the West, and to China and South East Asia was an outcome not only of its spiritual message, but also due to the hope and stimulus it gave to the poor and the oppressed of those times. In Iran Islam liberated and mobilised the masses from the powerful Zoroastrian priesthood, in Spain the peasantry from the feudal oppressors, in Africa freeing the masses from the paganistic clutches of the medicine man, the sooth-sayers and the witch-doctors. In South Asia and also South East Asia it loosened the masses from the shackles of the caste-systems of Hindu and Buddhist priesthood. In China it liberated the peasantry from the oppression of the feudal lords and mandarines.

What is the nature and degree of the military threat faced by the Islamic World? The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the life and death struggle being waged by the brave people of Afghanistan should leave no doubts in our minds, nor the concentration of 15 divisions, 4,500 tanks, and over 500 aircrafts not far from Iran's northern frontiers. In the confrontation and clash of the two super powers on the geopolitical and geo-strategic arena, the Islamic World occupies the middle belt of this globe, having the preponderance of the world's oil resources, raw materials, and markets for finished goods. It controls not only the

vital land and air bridges between Europe and Africa, between Asia and Europe, between Asia and the continent of Australia, but also controls the vital sea lanes, straits, and choke points of the Pacific to the Afro-Asian Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea. 71% of the globe's surface is covered with water; over 5,000 oil tankers and many more merchant ships ply in the sea lanes carrying essential commodities. Consequently navies with surface, sub-surface, coastal and deep-sea weapon systems and strategies have assumed strategic importance as instruments of projecting power in peace and war. Over 2,500 fighting ships and almost 300 nuclear powered submarines and other weapon-platforms are being maintained by the industrialised nations, a majority of which are deployed in the oceans and seas of Muslim littoral states. Of the 49 states, only six i.e. Afghanistan, Niger, Chad, Mali, Upper Volta and Central African Republic are totally land locked with no sea coasts. In this southern under-developed Islamic half of the world, almost 200 crises and conflicts have taken place in the last 30 years and a conflict for survival is raging in Afghanistan against a super power, the symbol of an atheistic militant ideology. With political institutions still evolving out of acephalous societies, and the presence of oil, raw materials, markets, and geo-strategic compulsions heightening super-power play and rivalries, the probability of this belt becoming the arena for more limited conflicts, is very high, in the future.

Defence Spending. In the present times, these states are heavily dependent on the advanced nations for their sophisticated weapon systems and on other friendly countries for trained technical manpower. Together they are spending something to the tune of 40 billion dollars annually to acquire some degree of deterrence and defence capability. Of these 40 billion dollars, only nine countries led by Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Iran (before the revolution), Nigeria, Turkey, Indonesia, Syria, Iraq and Pakistan can account for 85% of the total expenditure. Turkey ranks on top in size of forces, with Pakistan, a close second; Turkey has the largest tank and artillery strength, with Syria a close second; while Egypt's holding of armoured personnel carriers, and combat aircraft is the highest; Iraq has the greatest helicopter strength. Although in terms of force goals and strengths they could collectively claim to have greater standing regular infantry and artillery than even NATO, and also more combat aircraft and helicopters, there are severe handicaps caused by lack of back up support of maintenance and spares, and trained technical personnel, combat-experienced leadership, and a viable strategy, which could ensure some degree of security.

Considering the vast coastlines, sea lanes, choke points, territorial waters and maritime economic zones of these states, and in spite of the fact that the Arabs were once a maritime power, the size and type of naval forces in being appear wholly inadequate for the maritime roles they could be called upon to perform in a crisis or conflict.

Modern Forces. A brief analysis of what distinguishes a modern from a colonial defence forces is necessary. In colonial type of land forces, 80% or more of the fighting strength is infantry, whereas in a modern force, balanced all-arms-teams at various levels and echelons of command constitutes the combat strength in which the teeth-to-tail ratio is balanced by missiles, enhanced cross-country mobility with tanks and armoured personnel carriers, even vertical envelopment capability through helicopters and short take-off-landing transport aircraft. Formations and major weapon-systems of a modern force possess not only night-vision capability but also modern surveillance and intelligence-gathering systems like satellites, drones and robots. In the Navy of a colonial type, surface ships predominate; in a modern navy, and air arm for surveillance, anti-submarine warfare and interdiction are vital. Fast patrol boats, equipped with missile, sub-surface forces in the shape of submarines, and frogmen teams provide a new dimension to naval warfare just as helicopters and short take-off-and-landing aircrafts do to ground warfare. An integrated and modern command, control and surveillance system is a must. In a colonial type of Air Force, fighters, fighter-bombers and bombers predominate. In a modern air force, reliance is placed on different types of aircrafts and weapon systems for close support roles and for interception and air combat. An integrated anti-aircraft system based on missiles, radar, and satellites, is necessary for quick and correct response. Strategic airlift capability through long distance transport aircraft and mid-air-refuelling enhances both the reinforcing and logistic capability of the three services. An evaluation of the armed forces of the states under consideration, singly and collectively, against the foregoing, will indicate the actual force posture and readiness state of their defence services. To what degree they could cope with limited border wars and insurgencies will be largely determined by the other vital facets of military policy i.e., strategy, command and control, and leadership at various levels, and technology.

If an objective research and analysis was carried out of the major wars fought by some of these states in West Asia (4 Arab-Israel Wars) and in South Asia (4 Indo-Pak Wars), some pertinent and useful lessons

could be drawn for future military policies. These are:

Technology. In modern times technology has become the most vital input of defence strategy. It is science and technology that have solved riddles of centuries like the splitting of the atom, the deciphering of the genetic code and the composition of the lunar surface. There are also definite key areas of technological threat, and positive steps will be necessary to safeguard against technological surprise in any future conflict, whether the surprise involves use of new technology, or known technology, and systems, upgraded in performance. The more recent Ramadhan War of 1973 provides several examples of technological surprise. Electronic warfare was used on the battlefield rather than above it; the new SA 6 and a low altitude anti-aircraft gun proved more effective than visualised, as also the Sagger missile. In any future conflict the premium will be on quick response; the conflicts will be short, violent and dominated by advanced technology. Surprise will be delivered, in spite of spy satellites, at the very doorsteps of the adversary.

The first battle may well determine the final outcome of the engagement. There will be little or no time for mobilisation, and raising of production, which means that readiness state of the armed forces under combat-experienced leadership at all levels, will be more vital than inherent, potential capability, under peace-experienced military managers. Microelectronic development is gaining momentum with far reaching revolution in electronic warfare, aircraft and weapon-guidance systems, surveillance communications and data processing. The advent of the micro-compressor is having far reaching effects. New technology has come in both carriers and warheads of armaments with a quantum increase in effectiveness against the thickest armour plating of fighting vehicles. The third and fourth generation of composite materials is effecting the whole science of aerostructure designs and metallurgy. New chemicals for missile propulsion and latest designs of compressors are evolving new propulsion capabilities with greater efficiency and performance.

Space Conflicts. In spite of the Outer Space Treaty of 1967 banning nuclear and mass destruction weapons from earth orbit, future wars may well be fought in outer-space as well as on the globe. Over 75% of satellities launched so far are for military purposes. Their uses range from strategic and tactical communications, early warning, navigation, geo-detic, meteorological, photographic, reconnaissance, interception, destructive, and oceans surveillance. Military missions with reusable space

shuttles, charged-beam technology, sensors in space are shapes of new dimensions in warfare. Lasers may be airborne weapons and communications system of future conflicts. Are the research and development organisations and strategy planners and analysts of the Islamic World giving adequate thought and resources to these key areas of technology to close the gap and catch up with the advanced nations? The Arab Organisation for Industrialisation (AOI), presently under pressure of fragmentation, founded by a treaty between Egypt, Saudi Arabian, Qatar and UAE in 1975 with an initial capital of \$ 1.04 billion, and primarily defence-oriented has made substantial progress although a lot remains to be desired and achieved. Projects in jet fighter and trainers, air defence radar and missiles systems, turbo-shafts helicopters assembly manufacture, anti-tank missiles, and armaments and vehicles are making headway, as also some projects in other Muslim states. The crying need of the hour is close cooperation amongst the states in research and development.

The projected establishment of an Arab Institute for Aerospace Technology is a step in the right direction as also the Islamic Institute of Defence Technology, established, recently in London under the Islamic World Conference. There is a lot of ground to cover and time is against us in transfer of technology, in which the gap is increasing at the rate of 12 years every year, although resources are not a constraint.

Before an analysis is done of the other facet of military policy i.e. strategy, it is necessary to have a closer look into the various areas and their geo-strategic compulsions. These areas are *South East Asia*, *West Asia* and *Muslim Africa*.

South East Asia. This region of heterogeneous expanse of more than 15,550,000 square miles extends some 2,200 miles from east to west whose population in Malaysia and Indonesia is around 150 million and increasing at almost 15 million a decade. It is endowed with a variety of important raw materials like rubber, oil, gas and tin. Comprising over 3,000 islands, Indonesia, with Malaysia, controls the sea lanes connecting world's largest Pacific Ocean, with the world's smallest, but strategically partially enclosed, Afro-Asian Ocean, around whose periphery lie only under developed countries of Asia and Africa. Almost 50% of Asia's population and about 46% of Africa's population is in the littoral states of the Afro-Asian Ocean. South East Asia is the only tropical area enjoying a high degree of accessibility by sea due to the 'shatter' nature of the land, creating islands, peninsulas, straits, gulfs and deltas. Not far is located Australia, an island and a continent, second in size to China, the richest

nation in proximity of the area, and above all an advanced outpost of western civilisation and strategy. In the midst of Malaysia and Indonesia is located Singapore, the regional nerve-centre of a highly sophisticated, capital-rich technology intensive country, with world's third largest port, the third largest oil refinery, and a sophisticated ship-building and repair industry controlled by UK, USA and Japan. Navies of both the superpowers call at Singapore. In the last 38 years South East Asian region has been the scene of three major wars involving a super power and imperial powers, and over 40 crises, and conflicts involving the armed forces. Malaysia was the scene of an insurgency which took over a decade to control. Even today the Pacific Fleets of USA and USSR with their nuclear submarines, patrol and shadow each other for influence and supremacy. Security has been a major concern and the last thirty years has witnessed the creation of as many as *seven* collective security systems, some of which remain, while others have either become ineffective or disappeared.*

The Malaysian peninsula and Indonesian archipelago with over 3,000 islands, and tropical forests and vegetation pose multidimensional strategic, defence and security problems and vulnerabilities to not only land, sea and air threats but also to geophysical or environmental warfare, in which natural or physical conditions can be manipulated by chemicals for hostile purposes, as was done to Vietnam's vegetation during the long conflict. Greater emphasis will be required towards the "marine" type of forces with not only amphibious but also helicopter and airlift capability to ensure fast reaction on land and water. Fast Patrol Boats, armed with long range missiles, and sub-surface vessels for the vital straits, together with all-weather tactical and strategic communications would ensure greater security and surveillance of the isolated islands and vital sea lanes and also of territorial waters and economic maritime zones. The concept of Joint Defence and Collective Security between the two countries in defence production, weapons acquisition and training, concepts and doctrines are necessary for maximum utilization of resources, for flexibility of reaction and for concentration of effort in critical times and areas. Due to the distance from West Asian Islamic centres of defence research and production—almost 5,000 nautical miles

*The collective security systems :

ANZUS (1951), SEATO (1954), ASA (Association of S. E. Asia) 1961, Maphi-Indu (1953), ASPAC (1966), (Asia and Pacific Council), ASEAN (1967), ANZUK (1971).

of the Afro-Asian Ocean with possibilities of air and naval interdiction, Indonesia and Malaysia and possibly Bangladesh (although regarded more as a South-Asian State) will have to acquire a large degree of collective self-sufficiency in strategic policies.

West Asia. Although both Afghanistan and Pakistan are geographically regarded as a part of South Asia, for purpose of this paper they will be considered in West Asia also referred to as the Middle East.

These states of West Asia cover almost 2,700,500 square miles from East and almost 2,500 miles East to West and almost 2,000 miles from North to South, covered largely by deserts and semiarid mountainous zones. River and canal irrigated valleys, fertile coastlines and oases, support the greater part of the 240 million people located around the Arabian Sea, the Red Sea, and the Oil Gulf which open out into the Afro-Asian Ocean.

The Arabian and the Turkish peninsulas provide the land and air bridges between Africa and Asia and between Europe and Asia. Vital sea lanes connect the Mediterranean and Red Seas through the Suez canal; and the Oil Gulf opening into the Arabian Sea provides outlet to almost 90% oil for the world's third economic giant—Japan, and about 60% of oil for Western Europe—the fourth economic giant. The Oil Gulf and the Arabian Sea are now barely 300 miles from the Asian superpower—USSR.

In spite of relatively poor harbour facilities the region is served by merchant fleets of the world. Over 20,000 ships a year ply the Afro-Asian Ocean. Some 15 modern air terminals provide air routes between Asia, Europe and Africa and between the Northern and Southern hemispheres.

In the recent past the desert of Sinai has been the scene of four Arab-Israel wars. By virtue of their low density of population, spares flora and fauna, and the physical and climatic nature of the terrain, such regions offer quicker recovery from the efforts of nuclear blast, heat and radiation. Deserts have served as testing ground for atomic weapons in the past. Israel—centre of gravity of world Zionism has reportedly acquired or produced nuclear weapons, at its top-secret Dimona desert establishment and jointly tested it with South Africa in September 1979 at sea. According to the recent book *Israel—The Embattled Ally* by Prof. Safran of Harvard, Israel threatened to use nuclear weapons during the Ramadhan War of 1973 unless the USA came to their rescue with intelligence and logistic support. The Middle East Peace Treaty may have partially diffused the situation but the

underwriting of Israel's security by US, and the expanding nuclear arsenal of the former has introduced a new strategic element in the area, which other states of the region cannot overlook. For well over two decades now, staff and map exercises in a nuclear environment, employing tactical and strategic nuclear weapons in this region are being conducted by super and nuclear powers in their training establishments.

The unresolved aspects of Arab-Israel dispute, North and South Yemen, and Kashmir, during the last 30 years, the geostrategic importance of Turkey, crisis and conflict in Iran and Afghanistan, threats to Pakistan, all situated next to the Soviet Central Asian Republics, makes West Asia a region of high tension, and potential conflict between the superpowers. Since 1945 almost 50 crises and conflicts involving the armed forces have taken place in this region. Issue like the right of transit, access to oil, spheres of influence, and a desperate attempt to extricate cornered naval units from the Oil Gulf, Red Sea or eastern Mediterranean could tigger off or escalate a conflict.

Peace and security continues to be a major concern of the area as highlighted by the events of Khana-e-Kaaba and Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979. This explains the creation of collective security organisations in the past like the Arab League, Baghdad Pact and CENTO (wound up) and RCD and the confederation of seven gulf Sheikdoms in the shape of United Arab Emirates, and highlights the necessity for collective security of the Islamic World.

Muslim Africa. Although Africa is the second largest continent covering 1/5th of the earth's surface, Muslim Africa, with a population of over 200 million, stretches almost 4,600 miles from Senegal in the West to Somalia in the East, with extensive seaboard on Afro-Asian Ocean, Mediterranean Sea and the Atlantic Ocean, three of the world's busiest water expanses.

The eastern part of Muslim Africa, particularly the States of Somalia, Tanzania and Mozambique are located astride the vital shipping lanes of the Gulf of Aden, and the 1,000 miles long and 250 miles wide Mozambique Channel, respectively. Mozambique's port of Nacala is the best deep water port in East Africa and can accommodate the largest fleet of the zone. Mozambique, together with the Comores Islands located in the northern and of the Mozambique Channel can interdict super tankers and shipping using the Cape-of-Good-Hope sealanes.

The western seaboard of Muslim Africa projects into the North

Atlantic Ocean, and its coastline, straits and channels do not suffer from the extreme climatic hazards of West European ports. Casablanca, Dakar, Lagos, Free Town, Conakry and Tamara Islands are anchorages, naval and air bases on the western bulge of Africa no less important than those on the eastern coast of Africa in Sudan, Eritrea, Somalia, Djibouti, and Mozambique. With increasing size and tonnage of aircraft-carriers and super-tankers, and nuclear-powdered marine engines, the western coastline of Africa is assuming greater strategic significance.

Northern Africa, washed by the Mediterranean, the most of Southern Europe, has been a historical route of conquest for Carthagians, Romans, Vandals, and Arabs, and in recent times of Axis and Allied armies in World War II.

During the last 30 years Muslim Africa has been the scene of over 70 crises and conflicts involving the Armed Forces. It has even served as a testing ground of French nuclear weapons. NATO and WARSAW Pact countries can be outflanked through North Africa, and the Mediterranean Sea, which is almost 2,300 miles long, and 300 miles wide, and in which over 5,000 ships, carrying various commodities ply annually.

The Western and Eastern approaches of the Mediterranean are controlled by North African coastline, straits, and choke points. During the Ramadhan War of 1973 over 100 Soviet naval vessels and almost 70 U. S. shadowed and confronted each other. The islands of Malta, Sardinia, Sicily, Crete and Cyprus are important naval and air bases in the Mediterranean, providing staging posts to north-south naval and air movement. Of these, Cyprus with its naval and air bases and presence of Turkish, Greek, British and now American defence personnel and equipment is perhaps the most important strategically.

Although collective security systems like the Arab League, Organisation of African Unity and the Maghrab Link most of the states of Africa, there are unresolved border and territorial disputes which flare up occasionally and disrupt the essential unity of this region. Political institutions, still evolving out of tribal or nomadic societies suffer from instability in some of the newer states. Some have been witnessed the penetration of atheistic militant ideologies under the garb of economic and political liberation, and intervention by foreign troops. Economies of most of these states are fragile. Only about 1/3 of these states have achieved their development targets.

Elements of National Power. Having considered the military threat, and defence spending of the Muslim states, the critical role of modern

technology in strategy, and the geostrategic compulsions of the three regions *i.e.*, South East Asia, West Asia and Muslim Africa, it is proper to focus our attention on the military policies and strategy requirements for the peace and security of the Islamic World. A military policy is the product of both domestic politics and international politics. Domestic policies are a composite of the various elements of national power *i.e.*, geography, demography, technology, economics, social psychology, Armed Forces, administrative competence, political institutions, foreign policies and public leadership. A brief reference and analysis has been done in the foregoing paras of some of these elements of national power, the others will be covered in the following. Let us first examine the most controversial and fearful element in modern strategy—nuclear capability and its conversion to strategic advantage.

Nuclear Strategy. The western media and the Indian press particularly the military analysts and writers, have been focussing undue attention bordering on paronia, about the so-called "Islamic bomb", thereby attempting to give a perfectly peaceful transfer of nuclear technology, a religious and aggressive colour. When U. S. dropped their bombs on Japan and destroyed two cities, in 1945 they were not "Adventist" bombs, but a strategic weapon-system par excellence ; when USSR and China developed this capability they were not referred to as "agnostic" bombs. When South Africa developed this capability, it was not a religious device, but a means of protection from the hazards of majority rule ; when Israel, located in the midst of Arab lands, managed to acquire this capability by stealth from 10,000 miles away, (!) it was not a "Zionist" device but a desperate act of survival ; when India exploded a device in 1974 for "peaceful purposes" not far from Pakistan's borders to drive home a threatening lesson, it was not referred to as "Brahmin or Hindu bomb", but a peaceful experiment in large scale excavation !

One wonders as to who is threatening whom in the international systems, while preaching liberty, equality, and fraternity. The argument that nuclear technology in the hands of some leaders of the Islamic World is fraught with dangers of irresponsible behaviour is hardly plausible. Indeed, purely on record basis it were leaders and strategists of our western democracies who plunged the world in a series of world wars, twice in the course of one generation, again sacrificing the flower of their manhood in expensive and irresponsible adventures in Korea, and Vietnam with disastrous results for Asia. Nuclear forces in substantial quantities are today deployed by both superpowers. While

one is acquiring more nuclear weapons than it needs, the other is evolving a strategic doctrine for a first strike counter-force capability. Even limited nuclear war as a realistic foreign policy option is seriously under their consideration, and new weapon systems are being designed and the public being prepared for conventional use of such weapons in the battlefield at tactical level. Against this scenario of this century, is the possibility of an "Islamic bomb", however remote, an irresponsible or a religious policy?

Islamic Strategy. The prevailing popular misconceptions regarding the Islamic World could perhaps be dispelled to some extent by enunciation of a military policy and doctrine, based on the concept of collective security of the Umma, as enunciated by the President of Pakistan, General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq, earlier this year. This century has witnessed the enunciation of a number of doctrines and policies of peace and security under various names and at various times, namely the Monroe Doctrine, the Eisenhower doctrine, the Nixon doctrine and the Brezhnev doctrine. In their own way they have attempted to fulfil certain regional and national interests, but above all the interests of the superpowers. What is needed now is a military policy and doctrine based on the concept of collective security of the Umma, embracing national and regional interests of the Islamic World. The time has come to translate the concept of Jihad into wholesome military policies and strategies that would safeguard the ideological, economic and military interests of the Umma. There has to be a pragmatic and not entirely an idealistic approach, based on research and analysis. Enquiry, research, analysis and acquisition of knowledge is enjoined by our Prophet (peace be on him). Preference has to be given to applied as opposed to fundamental research. It is worth reflecting that the Islamic civilisation that produced thinkers, scholars and strategists like Al-Farabi, Al-Masudi, Ibn Sina, Al-Biruni, Ibn Khaldun, to name a few, and which had centres of higher learning, research and analysis like the *Bait-al-hikmah* (House of Wisdom) in Baghdad, the *Dar-al-Ilm* (House of knowledge) in Cairo, the Qarawiyan of Fez in Morocco, and Al-Azhar at Cairo and various 'madaris' in Nishapur, Najaf, Jerusalem, Samarkand, and in North Africa and Granada, should today be lacking in adequate centres of research, analysis and development that could translate the concept of Jihad into strategic terms for various regions and countries. A start should be made in the Islamic Secretariat by creating a research analysis and publications centre that should study the overt and covert threats to the ideological, the economic and military interests of the Umma, identify and

define the degree and nature of such threats, area and region wise. This will create an awareness of the need for collective efforts and the necessity of pooling our spiritual, intellectual, moral and material resources and energies towards ensuring greater security for the Umma in a crisis and conflict ridden world. In force structure, weapon systems, military doctrines and strategies, command, control and leadership, qualitative improvement over quantitative, is necessary, since tomorrow's operational capability is the end product of years of research and development. A balance has to be kept between short-term security and defence needs, and long-term trends and compulsions. The resolution of boundary disputes, stability of political institutions, a smooth and uninterrupted system of succession of political leadership, administrative competence based on modern management techniques are some of the major issues and hurdles in the way of full generation of national power in many Islamic states and the Umma. The requirements of command and military leadership have to be met by formal higher military education, by distinguishing between peace-time managers and war-time commanders, by giving combat experience its due place, and above all by a system of evaluation based on the achievement and not ascription, criteria.

If political and strategic conditions favour a small state, and its people are psychologically and militarily determined to extract an unacceptable heavy price in men and material from a potential aggressor, the most credible deterrence has been forged. Such a deterrence is even more true in the case of those states which are the residues of former great powers, as most of the Islamic states are.

Conclusion. The strategic problems facing the Islamic World are multi-dimensional; they are as much an outcome of the ideological, economic and military threats facing these countries, as of the geo-strategic compulsions of their regions and the clash of superpower interests. Ideologically the threat is the greatest from atheistic militant, ideologies; economically from the unjust world economic order; militarily from states that seek to back up their foreign and economic policies by the threat, or use of force, built around advanced technological and nuclear capabilities. Instability of political institutions, internal disunity, absence of institutions that would guarantee smooth succession of political leadership, unresolved frontier disputes between neighbours, and international disunity, lack of credible military deterrence, have all contributed towards making the Islamic belt, stretching across the southern hemisphere of the globe, the scene of over 200 crises and conflicts in the last forty years. The crying need of the hour is the concept of collective security to face the threats

from an atheistic militant ideology, and Zionism.

There are no cut-and-dried ready-made, push-button solutions to these problems. Firstly it is necessary to carry out in depth, detailed analysis of the various facets of these problems and threats. This could best be done by a suitable research and analysis centre in the Islamic Secretariat and under the world Islamic Council and its branches in Asia, Africa, Europe and the Americas. Thereafter a coordinated effort to resolve identity and define these threats and problems and find solutions should commence.

Time and technology are at a premium. The one big lesson from the past is that disunity and internal dissensions in the ranks and fold have always been the cause of decline and defeat.

Finally, I will close this brief analysis with these words of Hazrat Ali, one of the greatest statesmen and strategist of his time:—

“The decline of a state shows itself,

In loss of principles,

In attachment to trifles,

In bad men getting the upper-hand,

In the meritorious being kept down.”