

# INDO-PAK WAR 1965

## Looking Back 50 Years

ISHFAQ ILAHI CHOWDHURY

THIS month marks the 50th anniversary of the Indo-Pak War that formally began on September 6 in 1965 and ended with a ceasefire 17 days later on September 22. The war's 50th anniversary is being celebrated both in India and Pakistan. In Pakistan, September 6 is celebrated as the Defence of Pakistan Day and September 7 as the Pakistan Air Force Day. Incidentally, people of Bangladesh, then East Pakistan, played an important role in the war. The 1965 War became a catalyst for a series of events leading to the Liberation War of Bangladesh six years later.

Since the Indo-China border war in 1962, the Pakistani High Command realised that the military balance was shifting towards India. Since that war, Western powers, especially USA, UK and France, had been giving huge military assistance to bolster Indian defence posture. This was in addition to the weapons supplied by USSR, which was traditionally the main source of advanced weapons for India. The Pakistani leadership decided to apply military pressure on India to come to a negotiated solution to the long festering Kashmir problem. Pakistan's planning was based on the assumption that a limited incursion into Kashmir will not lead to an all-out war with India. The planning for the war was secretly hatched in the Pakistani Army Headquarters. Other than President Ayub and his young and flamboyant Foreign Minister Z. A. Bhutto, rarely anyone in civilian circles in Pakistan had much inkling about these plans. Even the Air and Naval Headquarters were brought on board much later.

In early August 1965, Pakistan launched a clandestine operation, code named Operation Gibraltar. The aim was to send infiltrators into Indian Kashmir to carry out insurgent activities there. Pakistan started a radio station called "Sada-e-Kashmir", purported to be the voice of the *mujahedin* fight-

ing for Kashmir's liberation. The Pakistani leadership expected that it would trigger a general uprising among the Kashmiris. Nothing of the sort ever happened, however. Most of the infiltrators were arrested or killed in encounters. By the end of August, Operation Gibraltar petered out; remnants of the so-called mujahedins tracked back to Pakistan. On September 1, 1965, Pakistan launched Operations Grand Slam when regular Pakistani troops crossed the cease fire line (CFL) and moved towards Jammu. The forces made quick advance in the next couple of days, and threatened to cut the Jammu-Srinagar road. On September 2, the air forces came in to play. PAF fighters shot down 2 IAF Vampire fighters in the first encounter. On the same day, the Indian PM issued a warning that unless Pakistan withdrew its forces across the CFL, India would respond "at a time and place of its own choosing". The Indian response came on the nights of Sept 5-6 when it launched attacks across Sialkot and Lahore. The Indian forces, besides threatening two key cities, poised to cut the vital road and rail links between Lahore and Islamabad. At this time, the first Battalion of the East Bengal Regiment (EBR) was deployed in defence of Lahore along the Bambawali-Ravi-Bedian (BRB) canal. The regiment held their ground despite repeated Indian attacks and in the process, inflicted heavy casualty to the attacking Indian Army. At the end of the war, this regiment had the honour of being awarded the highest number of gallantry awards among all the regiments of the Pakistan Army. The Regiment won three Sitara-e-Jurrat (SJ, equivalent to Bir Bikram), eight Tamgha-e-Jurrat (TJ, equivalent to Bir Protik), and medals and citations. 1 EBR were hailed as the saviours of Lahore. An Indian Army tank that the regiment destroyed in the war is displayed as a war trophy in Chittagong Cantonment.

In the air war that followed, Pakistan Air Force (PAF) had a qualitative edge over the IAF in terms of pilots and aircrafts, which, despite IAF's quantitative advantage, gave PAF

a slight edge in the end. While there was no ground action in East Pakistan, the IAF Eastern Command on September 6 launched a series of attacks against unused airfields of Kurmitola, Lalmonirhat and civilian airfields at Chittagong, leaving the only military air base at Tejgaon untouched; it was a major intelligence and operational failure on the part of the IAF. In the PAF counter attack launched from Tejgaon over the IAF base in Kalaikunda, a number of Canberra bombers were destroyed on the ground. PAF pilots of Bangali origin displayed exceptional professional skill and valour. Wing Commander Tawab, Squander Leader (Sqn Ldr) Alauddin (posthumous), Flight Lieutenant Saiful Azam and Flying Officer Hassan won SJ while Leading Aircraftman Anwar Hussain (posthumous) won a TJ. Sqn Ldr M. K. Bashar, who was a sector commander during the Liberation War and later became Chief of Bangladesh Air Force, won Tamgha-e-Basalat (Tbt), a high military award for flying the largest number of bomber missions into India during the war.

By the second week of the war, Pakistani forces were running out of ammunition and spares. US had imposed an arms embargo on both the warring sides, which hurt Pakistan badly because almost all her weapons were of US origin. Pakistan had no option but to accept a UN resolution for a ceasefire to take effect from September 22, 1965. An initiative by the Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin, resulted in a peace deal, known as The Tashkent Declaration, signed by the warring parties on January 4, 1966 in Tashkent. The declaration stated that both countries will pull back their forces to pre-war positions, will restore economic and diplomatic ties and will initiate orderly exchange of prisoners. The war had no clear victor or vanquished, but Pakistan suffered more on a strategic level. Pakistan's aim to force India to the negotiating table failed; India, on the other hand, succeeded in maintaining the status quo in Kashmir. President Ayub faced domestic and international criticism for his military adventure

with no gain to show. On the economic front, Pakistan suffered badly due to war. The third Five Year Plan (1965-70) was virtually in tatters. In order to quell domestic discontent, President Ayub declared a state of emergency and gave himself sweeping administrative and judicial power. Many opposition politicians, including Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, were put behind bars under Defence of Pakistan Ordinance 1965. Ayub also promulgated the Enemy Properties Act 1965 which forced many Hindus to

in the defence forces. The demands included shifting the NHQ to Chittagong, establishment of an ordnance factory and a paramilitary force to augment the defence of the eastern wing. Pakistani establishment saw in these demands a conspiracy to dismember Pakistan and increased its repression on the Awami League leadership. What followed is now part of history - a mass upsurge that saw Ayub's downfall by 1969.

The sacrifices made by the Bangali soldiers, sailors and airmen in the 1965 War are



Indian Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri and Pakistan President Ayub Khan at a meeting at Tashkent that resulted in a ceasefire followed by Tashkent Treaty.

PHOTO: THE WEEK

migrate to India. Indian rail and river transit through East Pakistan, which had continued since partition, came to an abrupt halt. East Pakistan was cut off from its western wing during the War. With only one infantry division, a squadron of fighters and virtually no naval assets, East Pakistan was more or less defenceless. This resulted in a deep sense of frustration in East Pakistan. In June 1966, the Awami League in its Six-Point Programme demanded greater defence investment in East Pakistan and a greater Bangali representation

now largely forgotten. Although many veterans of that war displayed the same valour in the Bangladesh Liberation War in 1971, their pioneering role remains unknown to the new generation. On the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of 1965 War, let us pay homage to those who went on to disprove the concept of "non-martial race" propagated by the Pakistani political and military elites.

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## Private education for public good

ABDULLAH AL MASUD

THE National Board of Revenue during the just concluded student movement explained that the tuition fees are inclusive of VAT. The VAT was imposed on private university tuition fees with an aim to expand the scope of revenue collection. This overlooks the fact that many of the private educational institutions in the country have been established to contribute to the development of the education sector and not as for-profit commercial entities. Education is essentially a public good which generates enormous social gains. When an individual receives education, they receive knowledge and skills and an ability to think critically. The benefit of education does not remain limited to the private productivity gains. Having educated individuals of the society creates a positive externality to the society, which results in overall social productivity. This provides the core rationale for public investment in education, which has been cherished as a public policy principle in almost all countries of the world.

In many countries like Bangladesh, where, due to fiscal constraints, public investment for education competes with other pressing social expenditures, private provision of education has been explored as an option. Private education there is considered an essential means to achieve public education goals. Such private provision of public good is an economically justified policy tool, not only in education, but also in other sectors to advance public policy goals. The government's noble goal to

turn Bangladesh into a developed country by 2041 would require the country to have skilled human capital and an educated citizenry. Countries which have achieved rapid growth are those which have provided quality education as the backbone for long term development. Hundreds of thousands of new aspirants who seek university education cannot be accommodated in public universities because of their severe capacity constraints. Where can these prospective students turn to and how will the government equip them with the knowledge and skills needed for national development? With no public funding and space in public universities, where the government provides more than 90 percent of education costs in the form of subsidies, a large number of these students have to spend money to gain education at either private universities or abroad. Shouldn't the government facilitate education of these young citizens who will be the leaders and drivers of the nation's enterprises and development efforts in the future?

Why create a dichotomy between private and public education? Private provision of education is only filling the void created by the absence of much needed public education infrastructure and plays an equally important role in achieving the goals of the country's human capital development. Thus, imposing a tax on the provision of education is a bad public policy.

The imposition of tax raises the cost of education and reduces the funding available to private institutions which is needed for investment in quality teachers, scholarships, laboratories, classrooms and other infrastructural facilities. While a



segment of the student population enjoy affordable, almost-free education, the other segment who are no less a vital part of the nation's human resource, face a discriminatory tax on education in addition to the private cost of education. In developed countries, where private provision of education is widely prevalent (such as USA) or where high tuition in public universities is

charged to recover public university cost (such as UK), government backed subsidised education loans are available for students. The subsidies given to these government backed loan operations are part of the fiscal expenditure for public education. In Bangladesh, we have developed private provision of university education, but we have not developed mechanisms to facilitate

funding for the infrastructural cost of universities or students' tuition costs. It has been essentially relegated to the whims of market forces, ignoring the huge social gains that originate in the process of education.

If one considers how Bangladesh is benefitting through private education institutes, such as English medium schools and universities, one may look into how graduates are performing in the real world. For example, while there has not been any formal study on the relative performance of graduates from public and private universities in Bangladesh, anecdotal evidences suggest private university graduates are performing very well in the private sector and many of them have risen to corporate leadership. This is in sharp contrast to public perception, which data might support, that public universities usually attract superior quality students who outperform private university students in the real world. In the arena of post graduate qualifications abroad, private university students have gone on to earn research degrees in many of the world's leading universities in the form of Master's and Ph.D. degrees. Private universities have created space for many high caliber public university graduates and provided them an intellectual space for research and scholarship. Universities have channeled hundreds of crores of taka into infrastructural facilities with private money. The returns to these investments is not a story of private gain from public investment, rather it is a story of private and public gains from private money. If the government believes that

members of the Board of Trustees are making huge amounts of money though private universities, then it should ensure compliance of personal income tax laws and not penalise students who would eventually bear the burden of tax in the form of raised tuition fees or reduced quality, scholarships and facilities.

Moreover, if funds are available in private universities which could be paid in the form of VAT, then the government will be well-advised to introduce policy innovations which will ensure that the extra money is channelised in quality enhancement and infrastructural investment of private universities. In addition, the government should explore mechanisms to finance the huge infrastructural costs of establishing quality education institutions, for their academic, administrative and residential infrastructure, through government backed low cost financing and public private partnerships, particularly in areas outside Dhaka. A sprawling university campus and its supporting infrastructure accommodating the faculty, staff and students will add much vibrancy to the local economy.

As quality education provides the only sustainable and proven pathway to personal and social development, the government should ensure through regulatory mechanisms that no private profiteering enterprise in the name of education deals in certificate business and defies the noble goal of education.

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### A WORD A DAY

**AURORA**  
[ə' rōrə, ð' rōrə/]

Dawn

### CROSSWORD BY THOMAS JOSEPH

**ACROSS**  
1 Holography need  
6 Thin Cookie  
11 Companionless  
12 Delight  
13 Rita Hay-worth film  
14 "Divine Comedy" writer  
15 Slacker address  
17 Poker game  
18 Sink Problem  
20 "Lonely Boy" singer  
22 Eurasian deer  
23 Chicken choices  
26 Emanations  
28 Victorious  
29 Movie genre  
31 Groom's answer  
32 By way of, informally  
33 Paisley person  
34 Sore spot  
36 Blunder  
38 Temple text  
40 Geometry class challenge

**DOWN**  
1 Fall back  
2 Ring legend  
3 1951 Film based on Kipling stories  
4 Finish  
5 Enjoy a novel  
6 Tie the Knot  
7 Nome native  
8 2015 film based on comic books  
9 Words from Caesar  
10 Bassoon part  
16 Corn unit  
18 Poker Game  
19 Rake  
21 Very bright  
23 Tankard fill  
24 Commotion  
25 Espy  
27 Essentially  
30 Floor cover  
33 In a way, informally  
34 Physics bit  
35 Make up  
37 Oil gp.  
39 Suffers from  
41 Exalted poem  
42 Nourished

### YESTERDAY'S ANSWER

C	L	O	D	D	A	S	H	E	D
R	A	V	E	I	C	E	A	G	E
O	M	E	N	A	R	A	G	O	N
C	A	R	I	L	L	O	N		
L	E	I	S	C	O	F	F		
A	R	O	S	E	S	E	V	E	R
S	E	A							
A	N	D	E	S	A	G	R	E	E
P	O	S	S	E					
		P	E	T	E	R	O	S	E
H	O	A	R	S	E	C	R	U	X
I	N	C	I	T	E	I	D	L	E
P	A	T	T	O	N	A	S	K	S

### BEETLE BAILEY by Mort Walker

### BABY BLUES by Kirkman & Scott