

Will War Bring Peace To Jammu and Kashmir?

Assessing The Strategic, Human And
Economic Cost Vs. Benefits

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Introduction

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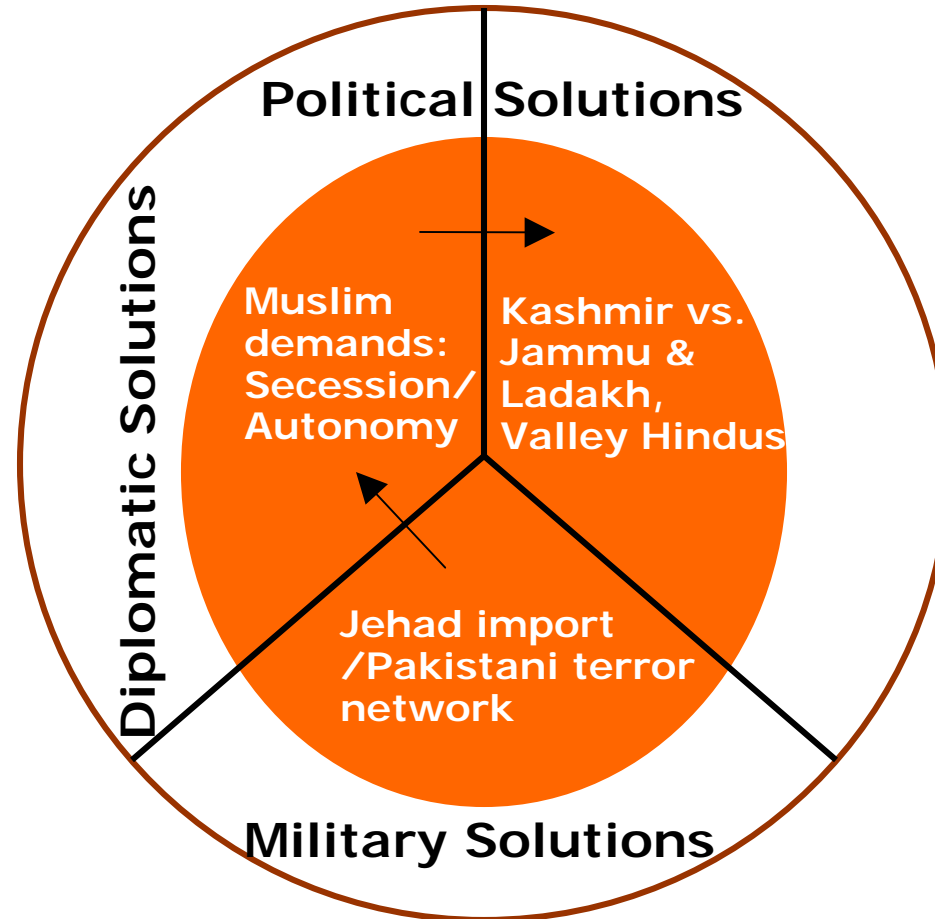


The Kashmir Issue

- Ø Jammu and Kashmir unresolved since 1947
- Ø Pakistani intervention in 1990 has turned it into a “Nuclear Flashpoint”
- Ø Any Indian attempts to defuse the situation – elections, ceasefire, talks – scuttled by Pakistani military and ISI
- Ø Lone killing, Continued killings of pro-India politicians
- Ø Post-September 11 events failed to end Pakistan's sponsorship of Kashmir terror



Issues Vs. Solutions



Political Options

1. LOC -> International Border
 2. Greater Autonomy to J&K
 3. Trifurcation/Quadrification
 4. Abrogation of Article 370, full integration of state with India
 5. Independence/Ceding to Pakistan
- Ø Intact Pakistan military establishment will never sign on to Option 1 through 4
 - Ø Option 5 will open the floodgates of secession movements and will provide Jehadis a new base for further invasion of India



Diplomatic Options

- ∅ Bilateral relations – embassy closings etc.
- ∅ Trade/treaties:
 - Indus Water Treaty – Pakistan may regard abrogation as act of war
- ∅ Third party intervention – US “facilitation”
- ∅ US unwilling to press Pakistan
- ∅ All options so far used have failed
- ∅ US, Britain have accepted that terrorism is central issue



Military Options – Pinpoint Strikes

- Ø Aim - Pinpoint strikes to destroy terror camps in POK
- Ø At best will displace camps temporarily
- Ø Pakistani terrorist infrastructure intact
- Ø Infiltration will continue
- Ø Few benefits, costs may be high – some danger of nuclear escalation



Military Options – Limited POK Incursion

- ∅ **Aim – Occupation of strategic areas in POK**
- ∅ Could cut off most infiltration routes
- ∅ Provide India with buffer zone
- ∅ Will leave Pakistani military strength intact for future adventurism
- ∅ Other routes may be found – through Nepal, Bangladesh
- ∅ Is achievable within few days before western powers intervene (?)
- ∅ Higher danger of nuclear escalation



Military Options – Full Scale War

∅ Aims

- Significant Degradation of Pakistani Military
- Possible fragmentation of Pakistan
- De-nuclearization
- Taking back of entire POK

∅ Comprehensive solution to terrorism in South Asia

∅ Could eradicate Al Qaida in concert with US action in Afghanistan/Western Pakistan

∅ Indian air superiority can be gained quickly, but ground action will lag

∅ Most difficult to achieve – may take too long to pre-empt international intervention

∅ Nuclear escalation is extremely likely

∅ While benefits are high, costs without US support are very high also



Escalation – At the Brink

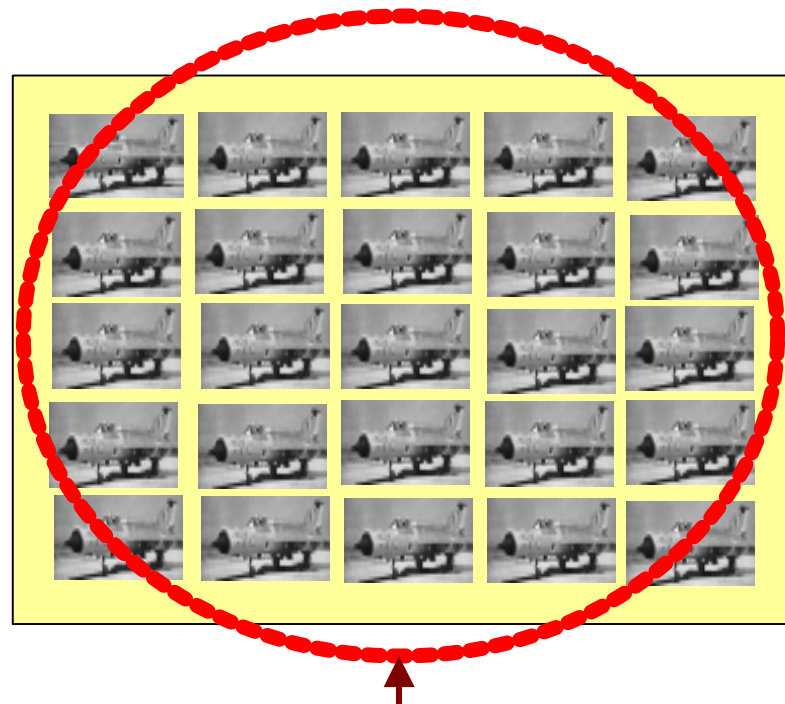
- Ø Limited incursion into POK appears to be the most effective cost-benefit option
- Ø Nuclear escalation is possible with any option, due to Pakistani doctrine
 - **What is nuclear escalation?**
 - **Why is India hesitant to use any military option?**
- Ø Nuclear delivery options
 - **Airplanes**
 - **Missiles**
- Ø Pak air force is weak, but missile armoury is not
- Ø Even without a nuclear exchange, Pakistani missile armoury can create significant losses to India within hours
- Ø Pre-emptive Pakistani strike strong possibility in next few years, esp. if J&K stays in India



Strategic Costs

Ø Missile attacks on air bases

Ø Air superiority can be neutralized in hours



900 X 900 feet,
~ 100 Parked
Fighter jets

*Source: Airbase
Vulnerability to Cruise-
Missile
and Ballistic Missile
Attacks, Eds. Stillion &
Orletsky,
Rand Corporation, 1999*

Destruction range of conventionally-armed (500 kg payload) Chinese
M-class/Pak Hatf missile



Human Costs

- Ø Hundreds of thousands could die in single nuclear attack on population center
- Ø Hundreds could die in conventional missile attack, but effects on morale would be devastating considering India has not built shelters for civilian population
- Ø After-effects of multiple nuclear attacks on cities would be catastrophic



Economic Costs

- Ø Successful nuclear missile attacks on Bombay, Bangalore, Delhi would set India's economy back by decades
- Ø Accurate conventional missile strikes on Bombay Stock Exchange, other economic assets would be disastrous
- Ø Economic and health effects could reverberate around the world



Lack of Informed Debate

- Ø After Persian Gulf War and attacks by Iraqi Scuds, Israel spent next decade building an effective missile defense system
- Ø The SDI-Star Wars debate in the US was sparked by a significant threat of Soviet ICBMs
- Ø Very little informed debate in India despite the clear and present danger from Pakistani missiles



Risk Mitigation – Options in Missile Defense

- ∅ No country has national missile defense
- ∅ Theater missile defense in place around Moscow and in Israel
- ∅ US forces use PAC-2/3 batteries
- ∅ Russian S-300/Antey 2500 anti-ballistic missile system deployed in India
- ∅ Moderate effectiveness ~60% per interceptor vs. 30-50% for PAC-2/3
- ∅ Israeli Arrow ABM system much more effective ~90% (?) per interceptor (not ready?)



Risk Mitigation – Options in Missile Defense



(Source: Israeli Aircraft Industries website)



Risk Mitigation – Options in Missile Defense

- ∅ Simplistic view of Theater Anti-Missile Defense (TAMD) architecture
- ∅ Percentage protection of each asset is function of interceptor effectiveness and number of interceptors assigned per expected enemy missile: $LR = (1 - P_k)^n$
LR = Leakage Rate, P_k = Probability of kill by interceptor, n = number of interceptors used per missile
- ∅ For example, might want to achieve 99% protection of population centers, 94% protection of air bases



Risk Mitigation – Options in Missile Defense

- Ø Assume Pakistan has ~100 missiles
- Ø For protecting Delhi, Bombay and Bangalore with 99% certainty, need 300 Russian S-300 interceptors, or 70 Israeli Arrow interceptors.
- Ø For protecting 10 air bases with 94% certainty, need 300 Russian interceptors, or 100 Israeli Arrow interceptors



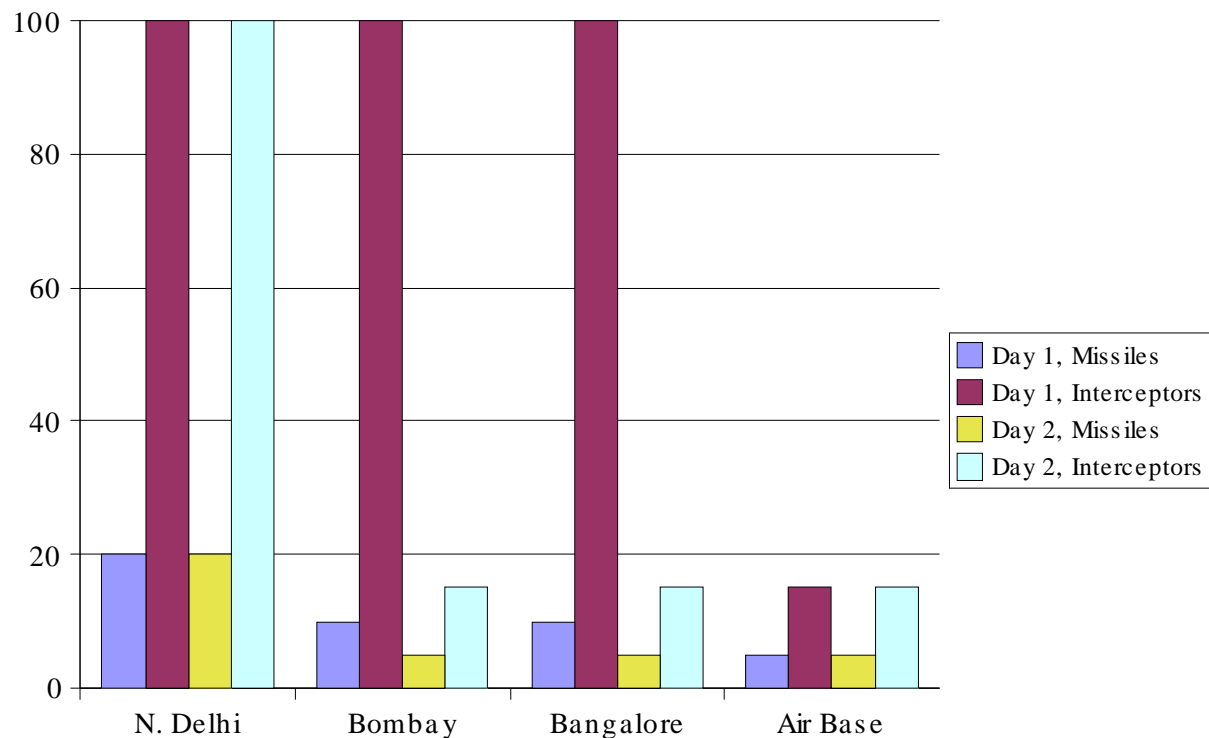
Risk Mitigation – Options in Missile Defense

Asset	Leakage	Interceptors/missile
N. Delhi	0.01	5
Bombay	0.01	5
Bangalore	0.01	5
Air Base	0.06	3



Risk Mitigation – Options in Missile Defense

Sample Theater Missile Defense Architecture



Source: Theater Ballistic Missile Defense, Eds. Ben-Zion Naveh & Azriel Lorber, American Instt. Of Aeronautics & Astronautics, 2001

Assumptions:

First day:

- . 20 missiles fired at N. Delhi
- . 10 missiles each at Bombay, Bangalore
- . 5 missiles each at ten air bases

Second day:

- . 20 missiles fired at N. Delhi
- . 5 each at Bombay, Bangalore
- . 5 each at ten air bases

Leakage Rate allowed:

0.01 for population centers
0.06 for air bases

Interceptors per enemy missile:

5 for population centers
3 for air bases



Risk Mitigation: Missile Defense Cost Comparison

- Ø For such a sample TAMD deployment the cost is ~\$600 million for Russian S-300 or ~\$200 million for Israeli Arrow-2 system
- Ø Compare to hundreds of millions of dollars spent on deployment and counter-insurgency operations per month by India
- Ø Goal is not to arrive at exact figures, but to generate a debate on what it will cost India to protect itself and to break Pakistan's terrorist stranglehold of J&K

Sources:

Ariel Center for Policy Research: The Arrow System – Concept and Data
www.acpr.org.il//publications/policy-papers/pp032-xs.html

Center for Non-Proliferation Studies: The Russian S-300PMU-1 TMD System
<http://cns.miis.edu/research/cyprus/s300tdms.htm>

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Conclusions

- Ø Kashmir problem is a set of complex issues, but root is in the terrorism/fundamentalism export from Pakistan
- Ø Political solutions are more suited to local Muslim demands vs. aspirations of Jammu, Ladakh, and Kashmiri Hindus
- Ø “Facilitation” will not solve the issues
- Ø Terrorism solution is unlikely without military action



Conclusions

- Ø Pakistani ballistic missiles expose India to grave nuclear and conventional threat, neutralize India's air superiority
- Ø Lack of informed debate in India on immediate need for theater anti-missile defense is troubling
- Ø Cost may be in hundreds of millions – compare to continuing costs of J&K counter-insurgency and Pak confrontation
- Ø **TAMD may be answer to Pakistani nuclear blackmail and a crucial component of military action to end Kashmir terrorism**



Web References:

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Q & A

