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## FRONTISPIECE

The first Australian Imperial Force began its participation in the great battle of the Somme with a feint attack by 5 Division at Fromelles on 19 July 1916. In this ill-conceived operation the division lost 5,500 officers and men in one night's fighting.

Four days later 1, 2 and 4 Divisions launched the first of their long series of assaults on the immensely strong Poziers-Mouquet Farm area. Planned by the Army Headquarters controlling the operation as a series of repeated shallow advances on narrow fronts, these nineteen consecutive assaults in six weeks constitute the most terrible and costly battle in which Australian troops have ever engaged. Between them the three divisions suffered some 23,000 casualties and sustained a loss of confidence in the higher command which they never fully recovered.

In Australia the result of the battle touched off a bitter political controversy, the residual effects of which plagued Australian defence thinking for the next two and a half decades.

The picture shows an Australian 18 pr field gun in action during the battle.

# AUSTRALIAN ARMY JOURNAL

*A Periodical Review of Military Literature*

Number 141

February, 1961

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Photo Australian War Memorial Canberra

France, 1916

## AUSTRALIAN ARMY JOURNAL

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# MEDICAL RESEARCH

## IN THE ARMED FORCES

An address given by Major General A. J. Clyne, CBE, Director General of Medical Services, to the Defence Science Symposium, on 12 October 1960.

I MUST preface my review by saying that, although I will be referring mainly to the work of army doctors, who were the pioneers of the field, in recent years military medical research has been largely a combined effort on the part of the three Services with much assistance from research workers from universities and elsewhere. The assault on outstanding problems is a combined operation needing all the resources of the medical profession.

It should be unnecessary for me to explain that I am referring to military research generally and not to Australia.

### **The Scope of Medical Research in the Armed Forces**

Military service both in peace and war has always offered an enormous field for medical research. Military service brings together well-disciplined communities of healthy young adults who have been selected to meet the requirements of military service. It then exposes them to a variety of climatic and environmental conditions in various parts of the world, and in consequence to many unusual hazards and diseases. It also exposes them to the trauma, both physical and mental, of contemporary warfare while at the same

time looking after them when they become sick or injured with a highly organized medical service, equipped with all the modern facilities of medicine and surgery, with the opportunity carefully to watch, compare and assess the results of treatment. It is able to direct treatment along recommended lines in a way that would be impossible in civilian life and so to undertake large-scale trials and comparisons which have produced extremely valuable information.

I propose to indicate something of the scope of military medical research by highlighting a few of its more spectacular achievements to date, by describing some of the more important lines along which it is proceeding at present, and by indicating some of the problems on which we require urgent information in the future.

### **Past Achievements of Military Medical Research**

The enormous contribution of Service doctors to contemporary medicine and surgery is rarely appreciated outside the Services. Equally important has been their contribution to warfare generally, and it is no exaggeration to say that any form of modern warfare would be vir-

tually impossible without the knowledge which came from the study of, and led to the control of those diseases which devastated armies in the past. To illustrate this we have only to remember the Walcheren campaign in Holland in 1809 where, out of a force of 39,000 troops, 23,000 died in four months, of whom only 217 fell to the enemy. It was disease and not the enemy that halted operations in the Crimean war, and it was a dominant factor in the South African war and again at Gallipoli. Here the man power drain from disease was the decisive factor in producing the stalemate of the Dardanelles campaign. History is full of other examples.

Much of the work that has led to the control of the diseases which in the past crippled armies in the field — typhoid, dysentery, cholera, plague, typhus and malaria—was done by serving army doctors. This is a wide subject of considerable interest but in the time at my disposal I can only refer very briefly to some of their most important achievements. These are:—

- (a) The control of tropical diseases.
- (b) The control of epidemic diseases of military importance and the development of military preventive medicine.
- (c) The study of casualty surgery and the control of wound infection and surgical shock.
- (d) The appreciation of the effects of mental trauma on soldiers.

#### The Control of Tropical Diseases

It was in the British, the Indian and to a lesser extent the American regular armies that an organized medical service was first brought face to face with the problem of

tropical diseases, and because of this much of the pioneering work in these diseases was done by army officers. The widespread garrison commitments of the British Empire at the beginning of this century provided almost unlimited opportunities for army pathologists and clinicians.

India, Africa, the Mediterranean, the West Indies and the China stations all exposed British soldiers to a multitude of hitherto little known tropical and subtropical diseases and so presented army doctors with urgent problems to be solved. It is possible only to mention a few of the more spectacular results of military medical research in these fields.

In India in 1879, Major Ronald Ross of the Indian Medical Service, after much work under difficult conditions, demonstrated the female *Anopheles* mosquito to be the vector of malaria. A brass tablet in a small bungalow at Secunderabad in the Deccan commemorates where this pioneering work was done. The way was now clear for the ultimate conquest of malaria, although another 50 years of research, much of it by army doctors, was to pass before this disease ceased to be a serious military problem.

The first attack was made on the mosquito. Carrier species had to be identified, their life histories worked out and extensive malaria surveys made to determine their breeding habits and how and when they infected man. The virtual eradication of the carrier mosquito then became possible whenever military circumstances made this practicable. At first efforts were confined to destroying mosquito larvae by draining or oiling breeding places. Then

with the discovery of potent insecticides extensive spraying and the use of residual sprays became practicable. The most recent development in this field has been the use of anti-mosquito aerosols. At the same time the task of dealing with the reservoir among the indigenous population had to be tackled. By the beginning of the 1939 war the problem of malaria in static garrisons and cantonments had been solved, and impressive progress made in its treatment by drugs. The more difficult problem of dealing with the disease while fighting in tropical jungle and other endemic areas remained unsolved, although already the methods by which this could be done were known. The use of protective clothing, mosquito repellents and the regular taking of suppressive drugs enabled malaria to be almost entirely controlled, but only so long as discipline was rigid, and every precaution taken.

In the Panama, at the beginning of this century, Major Walter Reed of the United States Army and his associates proved the mosquito *Aedes aegypti* to be responsible for transmitting yellow fever. Applying this discovery, Major W. C. Gorgus of the US Army was able to eradicate yellow fever from the Panama Canal zone in 1905.

Again in India, Leonard Rogers of the Indian Medical Service, working on the epidemiology of cholera, showed how this ancient terror of armies could be adequately controlled as far as disciplined military forces were concerned. At the same time he laid down the principles of its treatment which greatly reduced its former high death rate.

David Bruce of the Royal Army

Medical Corps discovered the cause of Malta or undulant fever to be an organism harboured by goats and transmitted in their milk, and this ceased to be a major cause of illness among British troops in the Mediterranean. He gave his name to the causal coccobacillus, *Brucella melitensis*. Bruce also did important research on sleeping sickness.

Other RAMC research workers in tropical diseases included two subsequent Director-Generals. One was William Leishman who isolated the parasite of kala-azar and identified it with that causing oriental sore, thus establishing as one disease—leishmaniasis—two conditions with very different clinical manifestations. The other was William MacArthur who did important work on cysticercosis.

One of the latest tropical diseases to surrender to military medical research has been tick typhus. Careful surveys identified the carrying ticks and mites and revealed their habits. Protective clothing, repellents and insecticides, together with the spraying of areas known to be dangerous, much reduced the risk to troops operating in infected areas of scrub and jungle. This was helped by the curiously localised distribution of this disease. Then came the discovery that chloromycetin was an effective antibiotic against the causal rickettsial organism and this changed the clinical picture in those contracting typhus from that of a dangerous disease with a high mortality to a relatively minor illness.

#### Control of Epidemic Diseases

Apart from the tropical diseases already mentioned, other epidemic and infectious diseases have proved



a great drain on military manpower and much research has been done on their control in military populations, particularly under field conditions. This work has followed on general lines as follows:—

- (a) A careful study of their epidemiology with special reference to their spread amongst service personnel.
- (b) The formulation of rules for their control: ie, the science of military hygiene.
- (c) Control by preventive inoculation and vaccination.
- (d) Therapeutic research; the search for new drugs, their field trials and statistical analysis.
- (e) The development of suppressive and preventive drugs.

The results have been just as spectacular as in tropical medicine although much work remains to be done, and this is one of the most active current research fields in military medicine. It is proper at this stage to mention the pioneering work on preventive inoculation done in British Army laboratories under the direction of the Directorate of Pathology at the War Office.

The diseases especially affecting military populations are numerous and it is possible for me to indicate only those which have provided major military problems. These are:—

- (a) The typhoid group of fevers.
- (b) The dysenteries: bacillary and amoebic.
- (c) Cerebrospinal meningitis.
- (d) Influenza.
- (e) The venereal diseases.

Each of these is a story in itself. The practical results of their study and ultimate control have been of great military importance.

### Military Surgery: the Study of Missile Wounds and the Control of Wound Infection and Shock

The full contribution of military surgery to medical knowledge generally is only realized by those who have studied its history. The modern management of wounds and their complications has come almost entirely from the work of army surgeons. It was in 1770, in the campaign in Portugal, that John Hunter, then an army surgeon, with a penetrating intelligence and imagination far ahead of his contemporaries, who combined a passion for observation and experiment with a shrewd clinical judgment, developed an interest in wounds and their treatment which had considerable influence on his later teachings. It is significant that Hunter, who has become recognized as the father of British surgery, was later appointed deputy Director-General of the Army Medical Services.

But wound surgery still had far to go and it was not until the latter part of the 1914 war that the general principles of military surgery were formulated and the modern period could be said to have started. Blood transfusions, radiology, rehabilitation and the field laboratory all appeared for the first time in the army and military surgery changed from an ancient craft to a modern science. By the hard school of trial and error, techniques were developed which have stood the test of time and a start was made on the problems of controlling the two great killers of the wounded man, wound infection and haemorrhage shock.

The surgeons at the beginning of the 1939 war were therefore in a far better position than had been their

fathers' a generation earlier. Aided by the previous war experience of senior surgeons and by great technical advances, they were already in the era of contemporary surgery. With all the laboratory and experimental facilities of modern pathology behind them and with the help of research workers in the great chemical and drug houses, they started the war surgically well equipped. But much had been forgotten and had to be re-learned. 1939-45 carried wound surgery far forward. It saw the virtual control of wound infection and great advances in resuscitation and transfusion technique and in anaesthesia. Techniques were refined and the control of surgical shock was nearly at hand. The principles of casualty surgery were now established and subsequent experience has merely served to confirm their soundness. Wound mortality in the British Army has fallen from 16.7 per cent in the Crimea to 8.2 per cent in the 1914 War and to 4.5 per cent in 1945. During the Korean war the Americans further reduced it to 2.4 per cent although here circumstances were exceptional.

Since the war, the position of military surgery has been consolidated and further advanced. The best amount of war information has been sifted and digested and the limited wars in Korea, Malaya and Indo-China have provided the opportunity to apply improved techniques to principles already tried and established. The remaining great peril of the battle casualty, surgical shock, has been almost brought under control.

Results have been satisfying beyond expectation and the present

position may be summarized as follows:—

- (a) Wound infection has now been almost completely controlled. This has resulted from a careful study of the pathology of wound sepsis and of predisposing and aggravating factors. Once the mechanism was thoroughly understood it was possible to develop a successful technique for wound toilet, using adequate drainage and delayed closure, which produced dramatically improved results. The use of bacteriostatic sulphona-mide drugs combined with adequate surgery had already brought wound infection under control even before penicillin became available. Now, with penicillin available in unlimited quantity and with the broad spectrum antibiotics also available when needed, wound infection has become a thing of the past under normal battlefield conditions.
- (b) The clostridial infections, tetanus and gas gangrene, have changed from grave problems to comparative rarities. The development of an effective anti-tetanus serum and its use for passive immunization had greatly reduced the risk of tetanus during the 1914 war, and when to this was added active immunization in 1939, tetanus was rarely seen. Gas gangrene, though always lurking in the background, was relatively uncommon in the last war. Although an effective anti-serum had been produced, this was mainly the result of better surgical technique resulting from a careful study of its pathology.

With the powerful antibiotics now available, clinical gas gangrene should be a rarity in future wars.

- (c) Surgical shock, the last of the great killers of the battle casualty, is now following sepsis into the category of a potential rather than an actual cause of death, provided adequate preventive measures can be taken. Although still the main cause of death after wounds not immediately fatal, great strides have been made on its conquest since the second World War. The pathology of shock now is better understood than ever before and the means by which it can be effectively prevented and treated are clear. Much of the credit for this post-war work on shock goes to regular U.S. Army surgeons. Special shock research teams in Korea studied the amount of transfusion, by blood and blood substitutes, required for the various degrees and stages of surgical shock and this was found to be much more than previously appreciated. The technique of massive transfusions for desperate cases was evolved and radioactive tagging showed what happened to all this blood, which was sometimes greater than the total normal blood content of the body, where it went to and how it achieved its effects. They began to doubt the existence of so-called irreversible shock in any healthy young adult.

#### **The Study of the Effects of Mental Trauma in War**

An appreciation of the effects of mental trauma imposed by condi-

tions of stress of various degrees of intensity has been one of the most important contributions of the scientific approach to medico military problems. This wide field is still very incompletely developed and offers much scope for future work. No subject has been less understood, more obscured by prejudice and ignorance nor more brutally mishandled in the past. It was not until the 1939 war that shell shock and battle fatigue became generally accepted as medical rather than disciplinary problems. The unfortunate casualty from stress neurosis in 1914 was lucky if he was recognized in time and put on an L of C job. If he broke down in the front line he was likely to be branded as a coward and ran the risk of severe disciplinary action. Some who forced themselves to stick it out until their breakdown came in the face of the enemy had been shot. Even a brief account of the work which led to an appreciation of the true nature of this problem and the right way to tackle it militarily, is beyond the scope of this review. The fruits of this work may be summarized as follows:—

- (a) The mental and emotional make-up of a young adult population varies as widely as its physical make-up. Many individuals because of inborn mental inadequacy, anti-social traits, or emotional instability implanted at an early age, are totally unfitted for military service. There is nothing to be done about this except to reject them as recruits and any who manage to get into the armed forces should be got rid of as soon as possible. Others again, of lesser degree, have a

limited military value but only if suitably employed.

- (b) All normal individuals if subject long enough to severe mental trauma will break down. Some will break down sooner than others but none is immune. It is essential therefore to recognize the signs of this before it happens, because prompt removal of the cause can give a quick return to normality, whereas once breakdown has occurred it is too late.
- (c) Mental resistance against battle stress is just as amenable as physical strength to development, and training in this is a vital aspect of military preparedness. Morale, motivation, emotional stability and personal courage are all aspects of mental health which can be cultivated positively by suitable training in much the same way as can be athletic skill.
- (d) Once the symptoms of battle fatigue show themselves clinically, *immediate action is imperative* if the man is to be saved as a useful soldier. Early cases usually respond well to proper treatment and can be quickly returned to combat duty. But once breakdown reaches a certain point it is doubtful if he will ever be a useful soldier or even a fully normal individual again.

#### Current Military Medical Research

Considerable work is being done by all three services, particularly in the United States and in Britain. Subjects under investigation include:—

- (a) Drug suppression of diseases of military importance. Although

paludrine suppression of malaria has been highly successful, isolated reports of break-throughs of malaria among troops who were supposed to have been protected have called for a careful investigation of the circumstances of these cases and for trials of alternative suppressive drugs. In most of the break-throughs investigated, the evidence has suggested that the suppressive drug was not in fact being taken with the strict regularity essential. As regards the dysenteries, drug suppression presents special problems and although the sulphonamide drugs will suppress the bacillary type there are considerable doubts as to the safety of giving them for prolonged periods in adequate suppressive dosage.

An effective suppressant of amoebic dysentery awaits discovery.

- (b) Therapeutic trials of new drugs. This line of research is continuous and requires no special comment.
- (c) The production and trial of improved immunizing sera and vaccine. Here the need is to reduce the number of protective inoculations required by producing combined vaccines, and to obtain the maximum protection with a *minimum of local or general reaction*. The recently introduced intra-dermal technique for TAB—anti-tetanus inoculation is an example of this line of research. At the same time an attempt is being made to assess the degree and duration of the protection obtained, a very difficult matter in practice.

- (d) The investigation of unspecified short term fevers. Although much work has already been done in identifying and sorting out the causes of short term fever in tropical and sub-tropical areas, there still remains a number of these unidentified troublesome infections. Although rarely severe, they are disabling at the time and an important cause of hospital admission among troops in such areas. These fevers provide a useful field for clinical and pathological research by regular army doctors, both in identifying known causes of fever and discovering new types. Many of these are rickettsial, others virus infections, possibly of the sand fly type, others influenzal. The recent identification of the coxsackie virus as the cause of an important sub-group of these fevers is an example of the type of work being done. The Middle East and Malayan commands provide important fields for this work in the British Army. There is a considerably unexplored field here in North Australia and New Guinea.
- (e) Blood storage. Methods of increasing the useable life of blood stored in blood banks are of obvious military importance and a considerable amount of work is going on in USA and England on this subject.
- (f) The physiological effects of abnormal environments, the problems and nature of acclimitization, and the development of survival techniques in extremes of climate are receiving current attention. The necessary ability of armed forces to operate successfully without environmental casualties under conditions ranging from arctic to tropical makes this an interesting branch of research.
- (g) Biological effects of neutron radiation. Although a good deal is known of the effects of short wave electromagnetic radiation on living cells, extremely little is known about the biological effects of neutrons which recent thermonuclear techniques have introduced as an added hazard in nuclear warfare. This subject is being investigated both in England and USA.

#### Army Medical Research in the Future

I will conclude by indicating what I consider some of the more important problems requiring solution in the near future:—

- (a) A successful technique for long term blood storage so as to permit blood in a frozen state to be stockpiled and kept indefinitely.
- (b) The discovery of the perfect anaesthesia for field service and mass casualty work. This must be simple to administer by relatively untrained personnel and with a wide margin of safety. It must be non-inflammable, capable of prolonged storage and not require replenishment in cylinders. And it must fit in generally with the overall plan of resuscitation and surgical management.
- (c) The use of metabolic depressant drugs to prevent or delay the onset of surgical shock and to extend the time available before

- surgical treatment becomes imperative. This could enable gravely wounded cases to survive evacuation to appropriate surgical centres and give a chance of survival to some cases that would otherwise be hopeless.
- (d) Improved methods of personal protection against toxic chemical spraying and radioactive dust.
- (e) Multiple immunization techniques which would give protection against a wide range of biological warfare agents and methods for the rapid production of effective vaccines.
- (f) Research into the effectiveness of low temperature storage and preservation of perishable medical supplies such as sera, antibiotics and those drugs which slowly deteriorate when stored in the ordinary way.
- (g) Some drug or chemical grouping which when administered to the body would counteract the dangerous biological effects of radiation.

I hope that this brief review of a large subject will have given you an idea of the scope offered by the armed forces in the field of medical research.

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Let us add one more altar—to the unknown leader—that is, to the good company, platoon or section leader who carries forward his men or holds his post, and often falls unknown. It is these who in the end do most to win wars.

—Field Marshal Lord Wavell.

# MEN APART

Captain E. M. McCormick,  
Royal Australian Infantry



UNTIL the raising of the Special Air Service Company, which is not a paratroop unit in the true sense, there were no parachute units in the Australian Regular Army. The art of parachuting was kept alive by the conduct of courses by the Parachute Training Wing, to train parachutists. Apart from certain physical and age requirements there was no bar on anyone becoming a parachutist. This situation was used to reinforce the argument of the anti-paratroop school of thought, which claims that any infantryman with a modicum of training could carry out the paratrooper's role in battle, and which in general decries the need for paratroops at all. These people triumphantly pointed out that the Parachute Training Wing itself said, "Parachutists are not supermen." They lost sight of the fact that the only similarity between a parachutist and a paratrooper is that both used para-

chutes, and that the Parachute Training Wing is a specialized unit teaching only parachute technique, producing parachutists and not paratroops. This resulted in a waste of time and money, in that many people totally unsuitable as members of a paratroop unit were trained as parachutists, but in view of the situation at the time was perhaps unavoidable. Many qualities, more important than the ability to parachute, are required of the paratrooper which are not required of the parachutist. Just as the parachutist is not a superman, the paratrooper is an elite soldier who uses his parachute purely as a means of transport to battle.

The aim of this paper is to show that the paratrooper is an elite soldier whose role in war cannot be carried out by any infantryman, although he can carry out the traditional tasks of the infantry. There is a future for such troops and they

would be an asset to the Australian Regular Army.

Baron von der Heydte, a German parachute commander in Crete, says in his book, *Daedalus Returned*, that the basic difference between normal and parachute infantry is that "in infantry combat each situation develops from the previous one. The infantryman is gradually brought to the point of close combat via a series of prepared situations. He has the opportunity of observing both the terrain and the enemy before the assault and is sometimes even able to reconnoitre the opponent's position. In attack the tanks and artillery, with which he works in close contact, force the way forward. In other words, they assault in the only direction from which he needs to expect to encounter the enemy. The paratrooper is taken on a short flight direct from his base camp, and without any middle act is plunged straight into close combat with his adversary. Without intimate reconnaissance or close contact with other forces or formations, he jumps into absolutely unknown territory. He does not fight on a single front but on all sides. Fundamentally therefore, he is fighting in a situation which most infantry commanders regard as hopeless, for he has ventured voluntarily into total encirclement."

Even if the paratrooper of today has much greater support available, this basic difference is still essentially as true as it was in 1941. In addition there are other factors which underline the difference between the two types of soldier. In most operations, owing to transport breakdowns, over-wide dispersal, or aircraft casualties prior to the drop,

the paratrooper may have to carry out his task with a force much smaller than that originally estimated as an adequate minimum. The attack on the Merville Battery in France is an example of this. In many other operations his own fighting ability is not the final factor in his success and survival. In operations such as Arnhem he must in the end depend on the normal ground troops breaking through to him if he is to survive. Such factors possess a great psychological impact, and not everyone possesses the qualities required of the paratrooper in such situations.

What qualities are required of the paratrooper? The first that comes to mind is willingness to do the job. Knowing all the dangers and drawbacks he must still personally possess a desire to fight in such a manner. In other words, he must be a volunteer. Having decided he wants to do the job he must be capable of doing it. This requires a first class soldier, well trained, well disciplined and physically fit. He will need stamina, endurance and a cheerful disposition in the face of adversity. He will need complete confidence in himself and the ability of his comrades and his unit. In other words, a high morale and a feeling of invincibility which can only come from the knowledge that he is a first class soldier, highly trained and part of a unit of the same calibre. He must be intelligent and possess a high degree of initiative, so that he fully understands the aims of each operation and can carry on when bereft of recognized leaders through casualties or other causes. He must also be a parachutist.



So, the paratrooper must be a volunteer, a first class highly trained soldier, physically fit, well disciplined, with great powers of endurance and a high morale. He must also be intelligent and possess a high degree of initiative. Lastly he must be a parachutist. This is obviously no run of the mill soldier but the best type of soldier available. It is interesting at this stage to note that ability to parachute is well down the list and without evidence of the other qualities required, an ability to parachute is of no advantage.

During World War II the qualities outlined above were demanded by the majority of nations using paratroops or airborne forces, and the very high standards achieved are now history. If we look at such actions as 9th British Parachute Battalion in the attack on the coastal battery of Merville, the German parachute regiments in Crete, the Japanese 1st Parachute Brigade in Sumatra, the American parachute units in Europe and the Pacific, it is obvious that such formations were amongst the elite of their various armies. It cannot be just mere coincidence that this fact should exist in four major armies. What Field Marshal Montgomery said of the British paratroops can equally apply to the American, German and Japanese, "They are, in fact, men apart—every man an emperor."

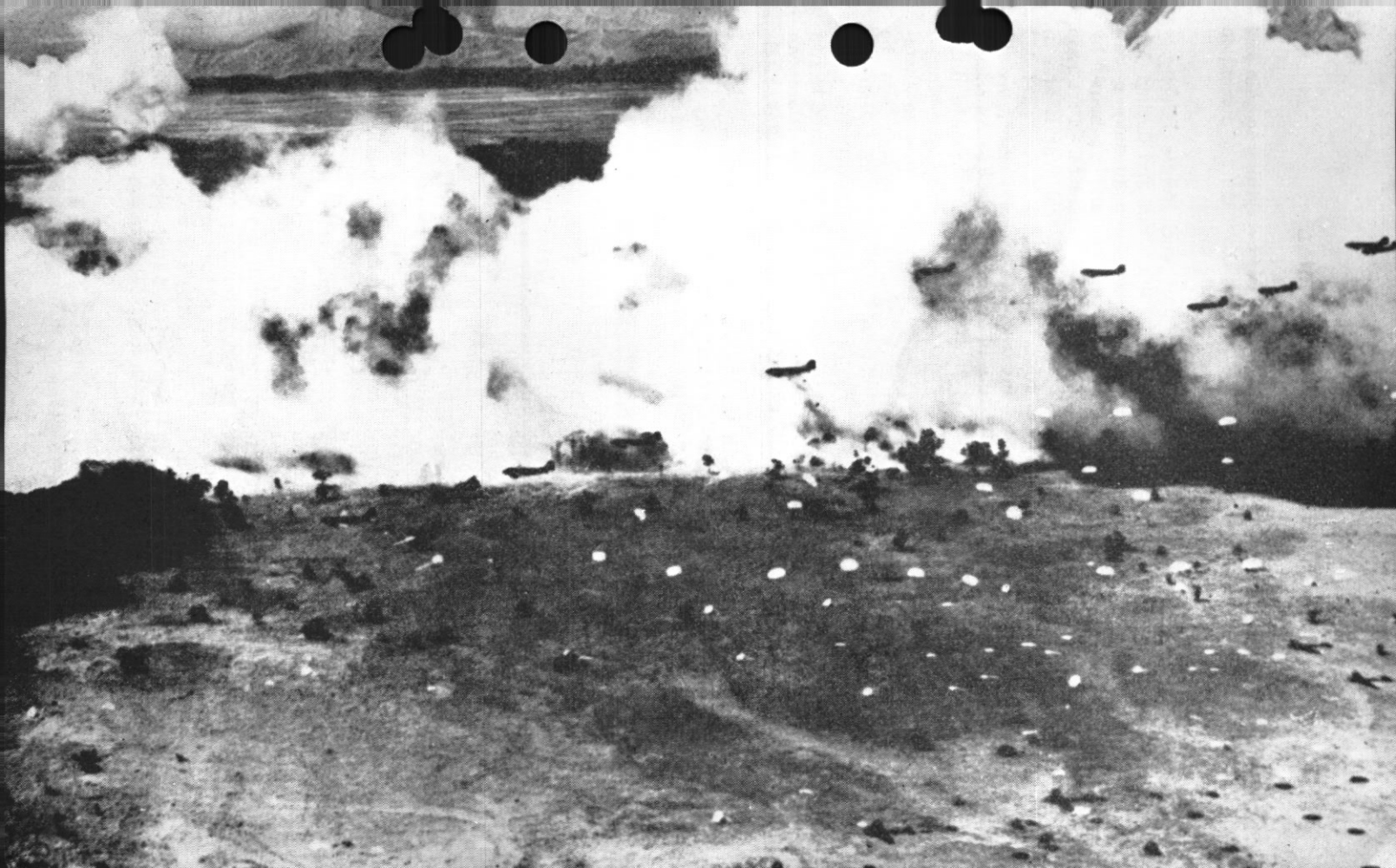
The use and value of paratroops during and after World War II is evident to anyone who cares to read about their exploits, but it may now be well to ask if they have a future. In the early 30s the Russians were conspicuous as pioneers of airborne assault yet in actual war they failed

to use their parachute troops with any conspicuous success. If paratroops have no future in the nuclear age it would be logical to find they have disappeared in the Russian Army, instead of finding that they possess the strongest airborne forces in the world. In 1952 the Russian Army took over control of the airborne forces from the Air Force and by 1955 they had reorganized them and under Colonel General Gorbachev had seven active divisions with three more being completed. They now have ten highly trained divisions, and they consist of elite troops of above average intelligence, equipment and training. It would appear that the Russians think the airborne force has a decided future and in this we must agree.

In both limited and global war parachute units have their uses. In the limited war parachute troops can be moved quickly to any area of disturbance. They can be used to swiftly show the flag in any trouble spot, or immediately stamp on a small fire before it assumes the properties of a major conflagration. Even in limited war we cannot expect always to be able to fly in airmobile troops to just where we want them.

The airfields or landing areas may well be under enemy control. Here paratroops can be used to seize and hold the landing areas required by the airmobile brigades. In pursuit of insurgents they can be used to block his axis of retreat. They can be used

Opposite page:  
American paratroops landing at  
Nadzab, New Guinea, in Sep-  
tember, 1943.



for coup-de-main attacks on headquarters. In defence they can be sent to aid our beleaguered allies and by their timely appearance do much more to prove our willingness to help than promises that a ground force is on its way, even when such a force is required to do the job.

In a global or nuclear war the parachute soldier again is in the forefront of the picture. Such a war demands dispersion and mobility to allow quick concentration. The airborne force has this characteristic. Indeed such a war offers great scope for the traditional paratroop role. In attack they can be used to secure key points and by disrupting the enemy thus aid the attack of conventional forces. In pursuit, in co-operation with armour, the possibilities are immense. In defence, again they can be used to quickly reinforce areas where conventional reinforcement is impossible, and in all phases they can be used in attacks on headquarters, communications centres, rocket sites and other such targets. The knowledge alone that the capability is present will have a great effect on the enemy and cause him to employ forces which could be put to greater use in other areas.

In many cases future war may preclude the use of large airborne armies but there is great scope for the regimental, battalion and smaller size units, so that a country which cannot afford large airborne forces can still get a great return from small units. When it is realized that parachute units are capable of acting as normal infantry, as was proved by the operations of the German parachute formations at Cassino, in the battle of Germany and by 2 Independent Parachute Brigade in

Italy, there is everything to gain and nothing to lose from the formation of parachute units.

To apply such forces effectively we must use vision and daring. We must be prepared to take a calculated risk and not be bound by safe conventional ideas. Paratroop operations in World War II and in minor wars since have exploded many of the theories restricting the use of such units, eg, the Americans proved that paratroops can be dropped on top of a firing anti-aircraft regiment with little loss to themselves. Again paratroops can be used on the majority of terrains as long as the prize is worth the risk.

Paratroops must be trained to live off the country. In Malaya European officers in the Royal Malay Regiment eat, on operations, the same rations as the Malaya members and suffer no ill-effect. If enemy troops can exist on dried fish and rice so must ours if the situation demands it.

We may well ask are paratroop units of use to Australia and is it feasible to raise them within present Army structure. We have in this paper already proved their use, so let us now examine the question of feasibility. The Army has recently changed over to the peacetime organization. This organization is extremely adaptable. It is already air mobile and has a very small administrative tail. There is every reason to believe that this will be a suitable organization for parachute infantry battalions. The paratroop can, as required, carry out the tasks of the normal infantry battalion so there is no need to raise a force of a purely specialist nature with a special organization.

Some changes would undoubtedly be required and, although of a minor nature to the army as a whole, they would be of great importance to the paratroop unit. One of the most important of these would be the raising of a small unit to carry out the selection tests required to ensure recruits of the standard desired. When it is realized that the majority of candidate failures among members applying for service with the British Airborne Forces occur at this stage, the importance of such a unit cannot be overstressed. Its job would be to ensure that all candidates, officers and men, possess the basic qualities required of a paratrooper before being allowed to proceed to the parachute training wing. This will save time and money by ensuring that unsuitable candidates are weeded out before commencing parachute training, as well as ensuring that only the best get to the unit itself. It is essential that the conditions apply to all ranks, if first class troops are to be given first class leaders. Such a unit would not require a large staff and could be part of the Parachute Training Wing or near to it.

The term of service with the unit must also be laid down. If service until such time as a member is unfit is impossible in a small army, then a term of six years or so would be required. This is necessary if the unit is to reach a peak of efficiency and if officers and men are to get to know one another, work as a team and have confidence in each other.

A parachute battalion raised on

these lines would attract the best type of soldier and it would also attract the better type of recruit from civilian life. Every candidate must firstly be a trained soldier. This would not preclude recruitment from civilian life, as the recruit could be enlisted with the proviso that he must reach the training standard required before joining the paratroop unit. To ensure the standards are maintained the Commanding Officer must have the power to RTU unsuitable soldiers without recourse to higher authority.

All in all, no revolutionary reorganization would be required to raise a paratroop battalion. A small selection unit will be required and probably some expansion of the Parachute Training Wing. The project is feasible. There should be no major difficulties in raising a paratroop battalion in Australia.

In conclusion let it be said the paratrooper is a man apart, an elite soldier. He can carry out the task of the normal infantryman but his task cannot be done by any infantry unit. Paratroop units have proved their worth in the past and have an even brighter future. The raising of one such unit in the Australian Regular Army is feasible and would involve no major reorganization. It would be of great benefit to the Army and the country so long as the troops were selected with care and the high standard was maintained. Perhaps we shall see such a unit in the not-too-distant future. It is at least worth some consideration.

# Strategic Review

## REVIVING THE ALLIANCE

Reprinted from the August 1960 issue of "An Cosantóir," Eire.

IN September of this year the Deputy Supreme Allied Commander of NATO forces in Europe, General Gale, will retire after two years in the appointment. He will be succeeded by General Sir Hugh Stockwell, Adjutant-General of the British Forces.

General Gale, who was recalled from retirement to succeed Field-Marshal Montgomery as Deputy SACEUR in 1958, viewed his appointment in a different light to that of his predecessor. He was unwilling to accept the role adopted by Field-Marshal Montgomery—that of grand strategist and planner of future warfare and weapons—and co-operated whole-heartedly with the Supreme Commander in the necessary business of maintaining the efficiency of the organization.

To him must go the credit for the concept of the NATO "fire brigade." This is a small international task force complete with its own transport, tactical air support and naval support and armed with nuclear weapons. The battalions composing the force will stay with their national armies but will assemble together from time to time for training and exercises. The unit will be highly mobile and will have a high combat

efficiency. Because of this it may be effective out of all proportion to its size and can be used for immediate action in any trouble spot in NATO territory.

Apart from this and other practical contributions to NATO, General Gale has obviously repaired the rather strained relations that existed between SACEUR and his former Deputy and has smoothed the way for his successor.

### The New Man

General Stockwell served in World War II in places as far apart as Norway, India and Burma. In 1954 he was appointed commander of the British First Corps in Germany and, two years later, he commanded the British Land Forces in the Suez Canal operation. Subsequently, he was Military Secretar

While the new Deputy SACEUR may find his position *vis-a-vis* his colleagues in a satisfactory state he will take up office in an organization beset by difficulties and attacked by its enemies—without finesse, but none the less ruthlessly.

### The Summit

It is difficult to believe that the West approached the Summit Con-

ference in a spirit of expectation. The Soviet record since the end of World War II has been clear to all but those who would not see. The Summit could only have resulted in either Western concessions which could be spun out by the Soviet Union in interminable discussion, as the disarmament talks have been, or else in a breakdown, with the blame for failure neatly laid at the door of democracy.

In fact, the U2 flights made the task of disrupting the Summit an easy one. The unprecedented step taken by the President of the United States in accepting responsibility for an act of espionage was a diplomatic disaster and was joyfully seized upon by the Soviet Premier who used it effectively, if crudely, to belabour the NATO alliance.

#### **The Bulwark**

In spite of Soviet deprecation, NATO, since its inception, has been the main bulwark against Communist expansion in the West. Soviet efforts to divide the alliance have been numerous and are an indication of its actual effectiveness in Soviet eyes. However, it has suffered the decline which must inevitably occur in any international alliance which has existed untried so long a period. Political and economic undercurrents have eroded what at best was an edifice held together by a common fear. Soviet sabre-rattling threats against United States bases abroad have created new fears among the weaker members of the alliance, with the result that NATO has reached a crossroad in its existence.

#### **European Command**

In the European Command Gene-

ral Norstad is faced with constantly shifting problems. The settlement of the Cyprus dispute with the emergence of Cyprus as a republic, has apparently ended one point of difference between Southern Command allies Greece and Turkey, but Turkey's role in NATO has become less certain with the overthrow in May of the Menderes Government. Granted her undoubtedly sincere pro-Western attitude, her internal problems must take precedence over her NATO commitments. At the moment there is no sign of an early settlement of these problems; it is less difficult to overthrow an established government than to erect a satisfactory substitute. Turkey is vital to NATO; should she again become the "sick man of Europe" her loss to the alliance would be irreparable.

In the Central European sector SACEUR is faced with an additional cause for anxiety. The situation in the Republic of the Congo—at present the world's trouble spot—has reacted unfavourably on NATO in Europe. Belgium's morally enforced pledge to withdraw her remaining troops from the Congo by the end of August has sadly coloured her attitude to her allies in NATO. The issues at stake in the former Belgian colony are not pertinent here but, rightly or wrongly, Belgian public opinion was outraged by the action of the United States and Great Britain in voting in the Security Council with the Soviet Union against their ally. Furthermore, considerable pressure to withdraw was brought to bear by other members of the alliance and Belgian reaction was bitter.

A disgruntled Belgian Premier, Mr. Eyskens, in announcing the Bel-

gian withdrawal, declared *inter alia* that it was intended to review Belgium's commitments to NATO. Although he hastened to add that this did not mean complete disassociation, he implied that Belgium's two NATO divisions might be withdrawn from their advanced bases in Germany. Belgium, too, will cancel an order for two hundred *Starfighters* for her Air Force.

In time, Belgium may modify her attitude but she has been disillusioned and her enthusiasm for NATO will for some time be replaced by a cautiously negative approach. Whilst her military contribution may not be a great deal, the loss of her moral support will further weaken the Atlantic alliance.

#### Central Africa

Events in Turkey and the Congo merely serve to aggravate an already unsatisfactory position. The reluctance of some of the NATO members to fulfil their commitments has naturally thrown the burden on the country most immediately concerned to have the alliance militarily strong—Western Germany. Still divided and without a peace treaty, the Federal Republic lacks the status of an independent state. Her position is invidious; theoretically she is a defeated nation but she is saddled with the obligations of an equal partner and her foreign policy is of necessity tied to that of NATO.

#### Germany

West German reluctance to rearm was overcome by considerable pressure from NATO. Now her wholehearted co-operation in the military sphere is causing misgivings among some members of the

alliance—in particular, Norway and Denmark. Considerable opposition to German rearmament is apparent also in Great Britain. This reluctance on the part of her allies has created a need for constant reassurance and has led to considerable coat-trailing on the part of the Federal Republic. This, in turn, results in incidents like the current East-West Berlin crisis.

Apart from her fear of a German military revival, British enthusiasm for the Western alliance is now tempered by the prohibitive cost of the arms race. The abandonment of the *Blue Streak* long-range ballistic missile, and the substitution of a "wait and see" policy, was a tacit admission that British contributions to Western defence will be on a more modest scale for the future. Even the British manpower commitment to NATO is uncertain, as the abandonment of national service has cut off the obvious source of supply for British forces, and volunteer recruitment has been discouraging.

#### France

General de Gaulle clearly intends to have an equal voice with the United States and Great Britain in the formulation of Western policy. America's present vulnerability to Soviet nuclear weapons has changed the general situation. There is fear in France, and indeed among other European members of NATO, that the United States might not be prepared to use her retaliatory nuclear weapons in the defence of Europe. General de Gaulle wishes to be prepared for all eventualities: he does not intend to be entirely at the mercy of decisions taken by the

United States. Until France possesses her own deterrent, or is given complete control of all nuclear warheads on French soil, her co-operation within NATO will not be entire. From the French viewpoint this is realistic and understandable. At the same time France has at the moment little to offer NATO: her army is still committed in Algeria and its equipment is either obsolete or out-of-date.

### The Deterrent

Apart from all these problems there is no general agreement, even within the military councils of individual members of NATO, as to whether the emphasis should be placed on the nuclear deterrent or on the so-called conventional forces equipped with tactical nuclear weapons. Reasonable arguments can be mustered for each contention but at present the discussion is academic, since it is certain that the conventional forces at the disposal of General Norstad are utterly inadequate to the task for which they were earmarked.

### Economic Rift

Finally, the economic rift in Europe has placed a considerable strain on the NATO alliance. The division of Europe into two rival economic groups has had a profound effect on political relationships. The probability of the economic integration of Germany and France has resulted in a political union that was inconceivable at any time since World War II. It is the first effective step towards a United States of Europe and, as such, unacceptable to Great Britain, where the progress of the Common Market to its present position was never seriously

contemplated. The success of the Six, however, caused a reappraisal of the situation and inspired the Free Trade Area (or the Outer Seven). NATO countries are now grouped in an economic opposition that contains more than a trace of bitterness.

It must be clear to the West that only a united front can ward off eventual disaster. For more than a decade NATO has answered the needs of democracy but times have changed since the foundation of the alliance in 1949. NATO can be adapted to meet the altered circumstances but the adaptation must be thorough and immediate.

### Reform Possible

The failure of the Summit has undoubtedly caused a re-awakening of collective responsibility in Western circles and may have a directly opposite effect to that which Mr. Khrushchev intended. The time is ideal for reform. It is, of course, impossible to avoid friction in a multiple alliance but so far NATO has managed to weather them and her present difficulties are by no means insoluble. Both the Turkish and Belgian situations can be overcome with tact and patience and it is significant that a further attempt is now being made to resolve the economic differences between the Common Market and the Free Trade Area. The solution will not be easy and certainly it will take time, but even an attempt to bridge the gap is promising at this stage.

It is now becoming clear to most realistic thinkers, even in the United States, that the attitude of Big Brother no longer suffices now that the "bully" across the way can at



least hold his own. The smaller members of the family must now be given weapons with which to defend themselves and the handing over to NATO of the control of nuclear warheads is a preliminary step which can no longer be delayed. The sharing of nuclear information with individual allies who require it must also follow, since the Soviet Union is at least as far advanced as the United States in this field; it is unrealistic to withhold such secrets, particularly since France, to name but one, will eventually acquire such information through her own research.

#### Demands on NATO

But all the concessions should not

be required of the United States. NATO must become in fact a supranational organization and all its members must be prepared to sacrifice national sovereignty for the common good. If unity is to be maintained and strengthened a co-ordinated policy must be found and followed, and not only by the smaller members.

If political co-operation and equality exist, smoother military planning and preparation will inevitably follow and soldiers of proven ability, like General Stockwell, will be in a better position to fulfil their important tasks in the organization without the hindrances which stem from international rivalries.

—R.G.E.

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Percentages by themselves, however accurate they may be, can be definitely misleading. It is said that a British temperance organization once advertised the fact that of a certain famous regiment which was sent to Africa, 25 per cent. of those who drank alcoholic liquors failed to return, whereas 100 per cent of the teetotallers returned safely. It turned out, however, that there was only one teetotaller in the regiment.

# LAOS

## COUNTRY OF CONFLICT

Lieutenant V. C. Hotchkiss  
Australian Intelligence Corps

LAOS is an independent kingdom, governed by a constitutional monarchy. It is a country of conflicting terrain, possessing both high mountains and deep valleys, as well as rolling plains and arid plateaux.

An example of maladministration and disinterestedness, it stands today on the brink of another crisis, in a time, during the past six years, of innumerable crises.

Under the terms of the Geneva agreement which followed the termination of the Indo China war, Laos was to retain its independence. The former French colonial states of Annam and Cochin China, now known as North and South Vietnam, were ultimately to be unified by "peaceful means." However, the nature of the administrations of these countries has so far prevented unification.

To understand the situation in Laos it is necessary to glance first at its people and their culture and traditions.

### Early History of Laos

Originally descendants of the Thais and Kmers, the Laotians emerged as a distinct people in the fourteenth century when they estab-

lished a kingdom of their own with its capital at Luang Prabang. About a hundred years later the Vietnamese invaded the kingdom, but were driven out after a hard struggle. For the next two hundred years rival war lords fought for supremacy, and in 1707 two separate kingdoms were established, one with its capital at Luang Prabang and the other at Vientiane. In the early 19th century Laos was overrun by the Siamese, and the only kingdom to retain any measure of autonomy was the one with its capital at Luang Prabang. However, this kingdom paid heavy tribute to the Siamese in return for its continued existence.

A Frenchman, August Pavie, was instrumental in establishing order in this region in 1885. The means he used were simple yet effective. As Vice-Consul for France at Luang Prabang, he charted the exact boundaries of Laos and established the claims of the various princes and families in Laos. By his courage and tact he earned the friendship of various princes and settled the feuds of the small kingdom. On 3 October 1893 Siam renounced her claim to Laos, and the Laotians asked for the protection of France. With the exception of a few frontier squabbles, peace reigned in Laos from 1899 until 1941.



When the Japanese occupied Laos in 1941 many Laotians supported the resistance movement organized by the French. The pro-Japanese government set up by the invaders enjoyed neither public support nor confidence.

From 1946-49 Laos was in a state of turmoil, firstly because it was occupied by Chinese troops who tried to disarm the Japanese, and secondly because of the activities of a group of highly ambitious Laotian feudalists who formed the Lao-Issarak Movement, and who took advantage of the prevalent chaos in order to stake their claim to management of the country. One by one these elements were removed and under the terms of the Paris treaty of 19 July 1949 Laos was granted full independence within the French Union.

**Population**

Laos has a population of about 3,000,000, made up of three main ethnic groups—

**Lao**—who number most of what we know as Laotians—lowlanders.

**Kha**—of Indonesian descent, inhabitants of the mountain sides.

**Meo**—a tribe of Chinese descent, dwellers of the plateaux.

About 93 per cent of the population is engaged in rural pursuits and lives in small village communities or muongs, each with a village council and chieftain.

Most of the people of Laos are Buddhists and abhor violence, except when it is unavoidable.

A peculiarity of the country is the fact that very often family affiliations count far more than ability

in securing managerial or official positions. Consequently the expansion of the educational system has led to much discontent among people whose family connections are not strong enough to secure for them remunerative employment.

**Political**

Laos is an independent nation and a member of the United Nations. It is a parliamentary monarchy and the Chief of State is the king, His Majesty Savang Valthan.

Until recently a feature of Laotian politics was the numerous political parties arising from the family relationships and personal ambitions of the party leaders. At present, however, there are three main parties:—

- (a) CDIN (Committee for the Defence of National Interests). Created June 1958.
- (b) RPL (Lao People Rally). Created June 1958. Leader, Prince Souvanna Phouma.
- (c) NLHS (former Pathet Lao—now the Neo Lao Haksat). Formed at the end of 1957. Leader, Prince Souphannouvong. This party is now outlawed.

In addition to these parties, there were three minor parties:—

- (a) Democrat Party, led by Kou Voravong.
- (b) Lao National Union, led by Bong Souvannavong.
- (c) Santiphab Party, led by Quinim Pholsena.

In January 1959 the state of these various parties in the National Assembly was as follows:—

- (a) RPL . . . . . 36 deputies
- Democrat . . . . . 3 deputies
- Lao National Union 2 deputies

- Santiphah . . . . . 7 deputies  
 NLHS . . . . . 9 deputies
- (b) The President, Phoui Sananikone, had as his Cabinet a coalition consisting of six RPL members, one Lao National Union and five non-deputies, four of whom belonged to the CDIN. Thus it is apparent that the political structure of Laos is without parallel in Western countries.

The policies of the governments in the past three years have been singularly alike, yet singularly without success.

Government proposals have been:

- (a) Eliminate corruption.
- (b) Increase medico-social aid, eliminate illiteracy.
- (c) Balance the budget.
- (d) Be strictly neutral, and remain aloof from regional squabbles.

The political apathy of the population, the divergence of opinion between leaders of opposing political parties, and the Pathet Lao problem have all contributed to the rather shaky state of the political foundations in the country.

Laos has a minority problem. By neglecting the needs of the Kha and Meo minorities, and to a lesser extent the needs of the Vietnamese and Chinese communities, previous governments have given the NLHS an admirable political weapon which the party has used to advantage, as evidenced by the number of deputies they succeeded in having elected in 1958.

#### Events Since January 1959

The year 1959 saw growing dissatisfaction within the CDIN at the

way the affairs of the country were being handled, and culminated in the seizure of power by the Army and the dissolution of the Assembly. A caretaker government was appointed in January 1960, comprising mainly RPL and CDIN members, and elections were scheduled for April 1960.

Although the NLHS leaders had been under arrest for a month they ordered their candidates to stand for election. When they failed to win a seat they claimed that the election had been rigged. In May a predominantly CDIN government, more pro-Western than any previous government, headed by Tiao Somanith, took office.

The new government ordered a more vigorous anti-Pathet Lao campaign, but when the NLHS leaders escaped from custody towards the end of May the political cauldron again boiled over.

After an uneasy period of nine weeks an unknown parachute battalion commander, Captain K Lee, effected a coup d'état while the Cabinet and the members of the Assembly were attending the funeral of the late king.

After many moves and countermoves, and with the Pathet Lao providing the unknown quantity in this struggle for power and prestige, Laos has once again emerged with a coalition government, more nationalistic and less pro-Western than its predecessor, and faced with a problem that is now four years old—how to cope with an active Communist terrorist force on the one hand and an apathetic community on the other.

# THE PAKISTAN ARMY

By a Pakistan Army Officer

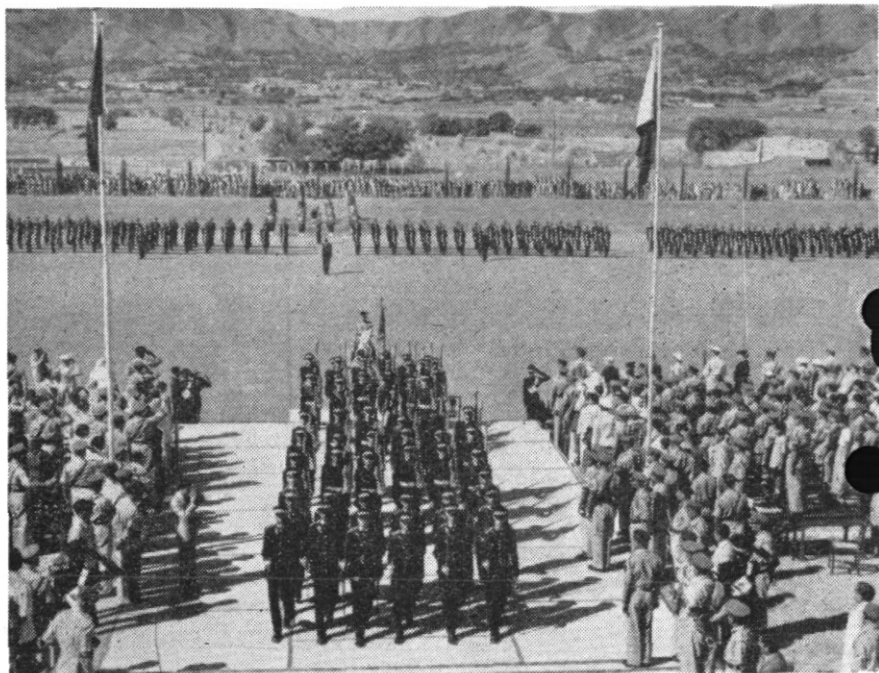
Reprinted from the British Army Review by permission of Her Majesty's Stationery Office. United Kingdom Crown copyright is reserved.

THE Pakistan Army came into being at the same time as the new state of Pakistan was born on 14 August 1947. Although young in years, it was heir to a long and glorious history. The men and units that came together to form this new Army had served and fought in the Army of British India, many of the units for almost a hundred years. The men, mostly Punjabi Mussulmans and Pathans, belonged to the well-known martial races of the Indian sub-continent. In the World Wars I and II they had fought alongside and against the best fighting men in the world, and earned respect for their soldierly bearing, courage and bravery. The first VC ever awarded to the old Indian Army was won in France during World War I by Subedar Khudadad Khan of the Baluch Regiment, now a regiment of the Pakistan Army. Reaching back through the centuries, this new Army is the spiritual heir to the armies of Islam, that in their sweep conquered the Indian sub-continent and established the mighty Muslim empires.

On 14 August 1947, when Pakistan came into being and her Armed Forces assumed responsibility for the defence of her frontiers, the

Pakistan Army was far from being a well-organized operational force. The approximate strength of the Army was 150,00 officers and men, but none of the major units, after the removal of their non-Pakistani elements, was left with more than half to three-quarters of its active strength. A large proportion of these officers and men, who were to form the nucleus of the future Pakistan Army, were left in India. Considering the chaotic conditions prevailing at that time, it was clear that the command and control of the Army had to be organized immediately to put it in a state of readiness.

As a first step towards this end, General Headquarters was set up in Rawalpindi, where the Northern Command Headquarters of the British-India Army was formerly located. This headquarters immediately began the task of re-organizing and giving a workable shape to the troops under its command. Although there was no dearth of men for the new national Army, a big and effective force could not be organized without adequate and modern equipment, which the country did not have. None of the old Indian Army ordnance factories was located in Pakistan, nor were there any ordnance stores available



**Passing Out Parade at the Pakistan Military Academy, Kakul**

in the country, and in addition there were little or no facilities for the training of officers and men. Yet after only ten years the Pakistan Army today can claim to be one of the most efficient and strongest armies in the entire South-East Asia and the Middle East.

#### **Organization and Manpower**

The basic organization and administration of our Army is very similar to that of the British Army. The rank structure and chain of command are almost identical. The training methods, dress and equipment also vary little from those of the British Army. In its system of recruitment, however, the Pakistan Army is different from the present British and quite a few other armies, in that it is a one hundred per cent

voluntary force consisting of professional soldiers, who take up military service entirely of their own accord. There has never been military conscription of any kind in Pakistan. The number of volunteers who present themselves for military service has always been much more than the Army needs. There are areas where soldiering is considered the noblest of all professions; the Punjabis, the Pathans and the Baluchis are well known for their innate soldierly qualities. The Bengalis, who never had the chance of serving in the old Indian Army in any sizeable number, are already showing their mark in the Pakistan Army.

#### **Role of the Army**

The defence commitments of the

Army are both national and international. Pakistan is a country with very long frontiers. The two wings, East and West Pakistan, are separated by nearly 1200 miles of foreign territory. The national defence of Pakistan, therefore, requires not only constant vigilance on the part of the Army, but also continuous research in the development and organization of the country's defence set-up, equipment and training methods.

In the international field, Pakistan is extensively committed, being a member of the British Commonwealth, as well as a member of the Baghdad Pact and the South-East Asia Treaty Organization. Her defence interests are thus varied and wide, and therefore she must keep pace with world developments. Even though the resources of the country bind her to a state of austerity, Pakistan cannot afford to be static in her military outlook. A progressive outlook in military doctrine, organization and equipment is essential not only for her own sake, but in the interest of world peace.

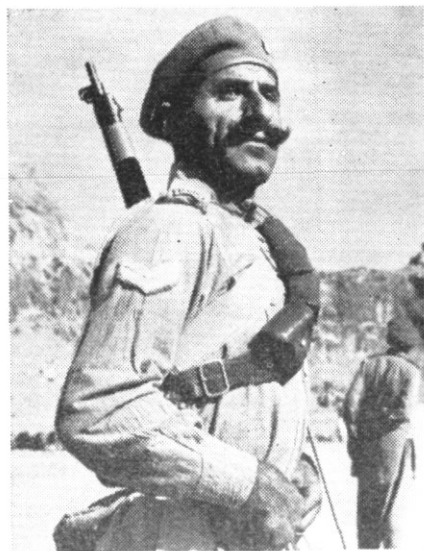
General Mohammad Ayub Khan,\* the first Pakistani Commander-in-Chief, realized that the Army, as inherited, was neither commensurate with the country's needs nor suited to its peculiar conditions. He summed it up by saying, "We must make up in skill of fighting what we lack in material affluence." Before this goal could be achieved, however, old methods of training, organization and procedure had to be overhauled. He, therefore, set up a planning board to study and analyze these problems. This board initiated a radical programme of reorganiza-

tion which, in the short space of three years, effected large savings and resulted in far greater efficiency. The formations have been stripped of superfluous, particularly in manpower, and have as a result acquired increased mobility and combat efficiency. These savings have made possible the undertaking of fresh projects and schemes aimed at making the Pakistan Army a still better striking force.

### Training

A serious handicap which the Pakistan Army faced in the early years of its existence was the lack of proper training institutions. The Planning Board, therefore, gave top priority to this problem.

Two of the most important training institutions are the Pakistan Military Academy and the famous Staff College at Quetta. The Academy was established at Kakul in January 1948 for the training of



A Naik of the PISHIN Scouts

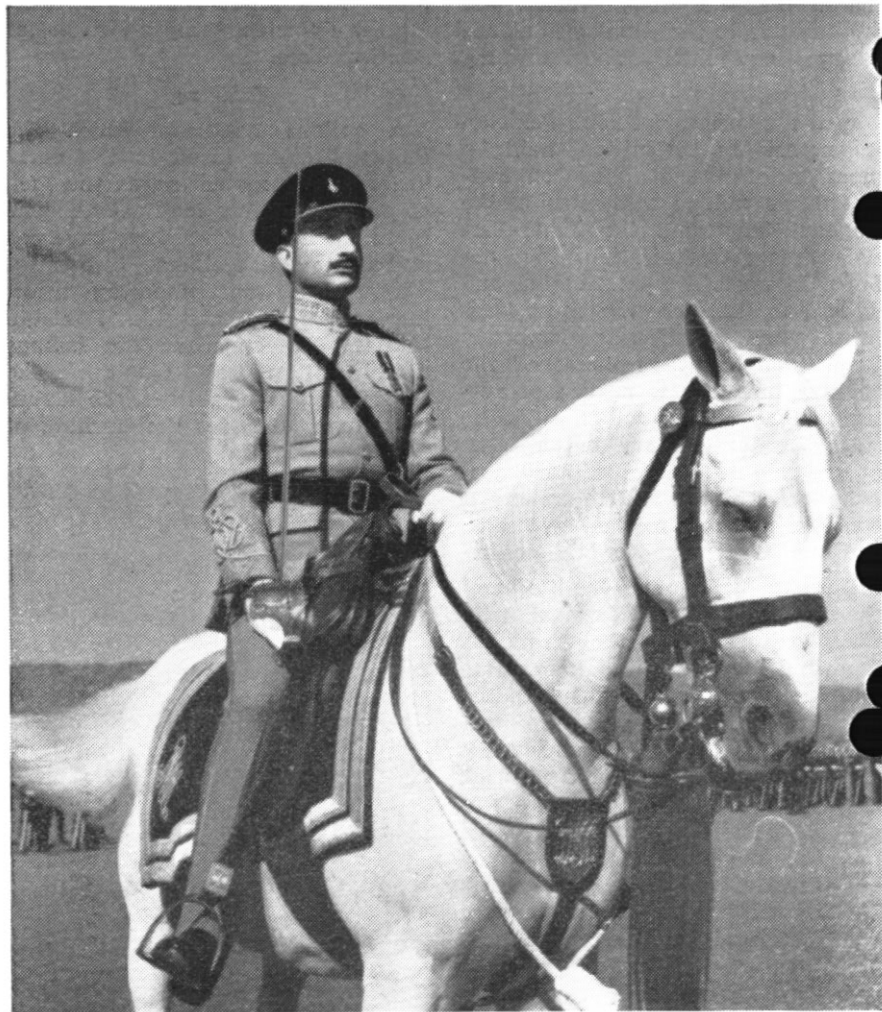
\*Now Field Marshal.



officer cadets; it has already earned a reputation for sound and progressive training. The majority of junior regular officers now serving have passed through this institution. At the Staff College a special feature is the inclusion amongst its Pakistani trainees of officers from Com-

monwealth countries, the United States and other Allied and friendly powers.

Sons and wards of officers and men, together with a number of selected students from civil life, are educated at the Military College at Jhelum. Appropriate technical



The Adjutant of the Pakistan Military Academy

training facilities are available for all specialist arms and an Army School of Education has been established.

At the Army School of Administration, a unique institution raised in September 1956, officers are trained in unit peace administration, junior commissioned officers and senior clerks in supervisory duties, and stenographers in shorthand and typing.

Another step towards the modernization of the Army was the opening of the Army School of Apprentices in 1957. The school has been designed to turn out 250 technicians each year, after a four-year course, to fill the various categories of appointments in the technical arms and services.

#### Recent Changes

During 1956, one of the most important steps in the reorganization of the Army was taken when the Infantry Regimental Centres—some of them with a history of over a hundred years—were amalgamated and reorganized into larger groups and their numbers reduced by more than half. Many old names long familiar to the Army, like 14, 16 and other Punjab Regiments and Frontier Force Rifles, no longer appear in the Pakistan Army Order of Battle. Their places are taken by the Punjab, Baluch, Frontier Force and East Bengal Regiments. The regimental centres of other corps and services have remained unaltered.

#### Conclusion

The Pakistan Army is young in years, but old in history and traditions, having its spiritual and historical roots reaching far into the



A Lance Naik of the Frontier

past. In more recent times, its units and soldiers, as part of the Armies of British India, have won battle honours in places far and wide. Since the creation of Pakistan the Army has been, time and again, called upon to perform various tasks in the services of the country; for these services it has earned an honourable place in the heart of the nation. Starting its existence amidst a host of crushing problems, it has struggled through the difficult formative years to emerge as a tough, efficient fighting force; one of the best armies in Asia. Confident in itself, the Army has willingly assumed the burdens imposed by national defence and international treaty obligations. Commanded by young and forward-looking officers, it is an Army that is proud of its past, sure of the present, and eager for the honour and glory that the future may bring.



Staff Sergeant P. G. Gittins  
Royal Australian Engineers

## PART 2—COMMUNISM IN ACTION

### **Communist Subversive Activities in Ceylon**

OVER the past few years the Ceylonese economy has been crippled by a series of strikes, labour disputes, political disturbances, and inter-racial riots.

In May-June 1958 communal rioting, in which at least 158 people were killed and 12,000 left homeless, was only one example of the slow erosion of democratic government, weakening of the national economy and destruction of the way of life based largely on Western values. Foreign diplomatic and Sinhalese sources believed the Soviet and Chinese Embassies were responsible for the propoganda and spreading of these riots.

They were also believed to be responsible for the provision of financial assistance for the key strikes

in the Port of Colombo during 1958-1960. One of the biggest artificial harbours in the world, Colombo has a key position on the main trade routes between Australia and the Far East, Africa and America. In 1959 the labour situation became so bad that many ships by-passed the port, and the handling of cargoes (which normally provides considerable revenue) dwindled, because shippers could not tolerate the delays which were all too frequent on the Colombo waterfront.

There are some eleven unions recognized in the port, and like almost all the unions in Ceylon, they are political playthings. The main unions are controlled by the Communist Party or its rival, the Trotskyite Nava Lanka Sama Samaj Party.

In November 1959, during one of the many political disturbances, the Ceylonese Communist Party was

linked with the assassination of Mr. Bandaranaike, the late Premier. Naturally there were strong denials and many counter-accusations. These, coupled with yet more labour and political disputes, have done nothing to stabilize the country's government or economy.

### Communist Subversive Activities in India

The Communist Party in India has gone further than any other Communist Party in Asia in professing "full democracy and socialism by peaceful means," an easy promise to make when in opposition, but one which is entirely disproved by its conduct in Kerala, the one State in which it holds power. And though the Indian Communists did make considerable gains in the 1957 General Elections, their influence is still very unevenly spread. The Party admits that it is strong only in three States—Kerala, Andhra and West Bengal—and weak in all the other eleven States.

Administration in Kerala is being undermined through infiltration by Communists and their sympathizers, while young boys and girls are being indoctrinated through new textbooks sponsored by the Communist State Government. They are trying to strengthen their hold by intimidation and violence, which has resulted in the deaths of a number of workers of the opposition party and serious injury to others. B. G. Verghese, a well-known commentator, reported in the "Times of India":—

"The Communists in Kerala have (themselves) committed no sin unknown to Congress régimes in the State or elsewhere — corruption,

nepotism, support to party unions, political pressure on the independent officials, extortionate collection of funds for the Party . . ."

The Indian Communists are clearly exploiting the dissensions within the ruling Congress Party. The main resolution at their 1958 Party meeting declared that the "gap" created by the decline in the influence of Congress should be filled by "leftist forces."

Calcutta is India's problem city. It is the toughest stronghold of Communism outside of Kerala, and the scene of constant political and social ferment. Poverty has made it a breeding ground for disease and unrest. In the general elections of 1957, 18 out of the 28 seats from Calcutta in the West Bengal Assembly went to the Communists or their allies. The Communists have been particularly active among the hundreds of thousands of Hindu refugees from East Pakistan. The Government has accused them of encouraging the refugees to leave the camps and squat on the city's main station platforms, where it is estimated that 7000 people are living in squalor.

In Madras strikes have been called by the Communist-dominated All-India Port and Dock Workers' Federation, and there has been much concern over the hunger strikes and civil disobedience campaigns that are being used to achieve political aims.

The Chinese revolution, which is one of the mightiest convulsions in human history, is like a volcano which has its periods of quiet and then its periods of eruption. The incursions on the Indian border, although stirring up a great deal of

internal unrest within India, were most probably due to the momentum of the expansion into Tibet. But they may well be small probing operations into the long, wild borderland which for centuries has never had a fully settled and recognized frontier. Red China, with its population growing faster than its capacity to produce goods, is undoubtedly expansive and aggressive, and in such a state constitutes a grave menace to Indian and Pakistan security. For the first time, and suddenly too, the Indian people have realized that the mighty Himalayas are not a natural and impenetrable defence against invasion from the north.

Both India and Pakistan share a common apprehension over the network of roads being built by Russian engineers in Afghanistan, and by the Communist Chinese in captured Tibet. One road, newly built by the Chinese, allegedly with Tibetan slave labour, cuts directly across the disputed territory where Indian and Chinese troops have already clashed. The road runs from China's Sinkiang Province to Tibet through the towering Himalayas, where any road at all is a major engineering feat. It, like the Russian-built roads in Afghanistan, points south, towards the heart of India and Pakistan. Russian and Chinese airfields also dot the area. The Communists are thus employing a policy of military might and fear as yet other weapons in their struggle to dominate India and Pakistan.

Late in 1959 the 300,000-strong Communist Party of India was split into three groups as a result of the border disputes. Communist rebels, led by Mr. S. A. Dange, demanded a more "nationalist" line in the face of the official Party policy of re-

maining "impartial" over the border dispute while pressing for negotiations between India and China. The "nationalists" want to strengthen Communism within India, even at the expense of criticizing China, whereas the extremist group puts the international solidarity of Communism above everything else.

China believes that India's policy of neutrality implies a lack of courage, yet she has frequently accused India of helping the Tibetan "rebels" in the North-East Frontier Agency, and of launching an anti-China campaign. These accusations have been strongly supported by the Indian Communist Party.

In October 1959 the former Viceroy of India, Earl Mountbatten of Burma, told a gathering in Charleston, South Carolina, that India was "adequately strong enough to hold her own in a military sense, but that the danger lies, as always, in subversion. From that point of view," he went on, "it is much less since Indian independence." The withdrawal of Britain had strengthened India's ability to destroy Communist cells and Communist propaganda. They could put down the Communists, whereas the British couldn't without arousing the Indian's sympathy for the Communists.

#### **Communist Subversive Activities in Pakistan**

The Communist Party of Pakistan formerly set up front organizations among youth, students, and labourers. Front organizations on the labour front, however, have been defunct for years and the only organizations which are now active are those operating among students and youth. Special emphasis is being

given by these front organizations to the encouragement of neutralism and to the condemnation of regional defence pacts.

From the middle of 1954, when the Communist Party of Pakistan was banned, until March 1956 there was little contact between the international Communist fronts and Pakistan students and youth organizations. In July 1956 several of these organizations received invitations to send observers to the Fourth World Student Congress, which was held in Prague in August 1956. These invitations marked the international Communist front organizations' resumption of activities among Pakistani youth and students' movements. As an example, the East Pakistan Youth League (EPYL) came into existence as a non-Communist organization but was infiltrated by the Communists and is definitely now under Communist control. This league has been in close contact with other communist organizations abroad.

Apart from student and youth organizations, several other Communist-sponsored bodies have played a role in furthering Communist objectives in Pakistan. Among these are the Cultural Film Society, the Pakistan Soviet Cultural Society, the Pakistan China Friendship Society and the Peace Committee. A number of students and young intellectuals have been attracted to these organizations.

Efforts of international Communist front organizations to gain a foothold in Pakistan have not been successful. The currently active student and youth organizations have failed to win substantial support. The majority of Pakistani students

are anti-Communist, and attempts made by the Communists to "unify" student organizations have failed. The Communists, however, have continued their efforts, and their persistence is marked by the number of invitations received by student and youth bodies in Pakistan to attend international Communist front meetings.

#### Communist Subversive Activities in Burma

There are still several thousand diehard professional insurgents waging a campaign of terror aimed at the disintegration of the Burmese Union. A year ago a dozen or more minority groups were in open armed revolt against the Central Government. Today, these groups have dwindled to four—but they are extremely difficult to deal with. They are:—

- (a) Karen separatists, still vigorous and aggressive because they actually enjoy guerrilla fighting.
- (b) "Red" Communists and "White" Communists whose waxing and waning are, no doubt, nicely controlled by either Moscow or Peking.
- (c) A rabble of brigands operating in the wilder parts of the Shan States. They call themselves Nationalist Chinese because it is fashionable in Asia today for any criminal gang to fly political colours.

Whatever the rebels call themselves, their activities follow the set tedious pattern. They ambush and murder travelling Government officials, they shoot and rob travellers, they frighten farmers out of the fields, they raid villages and extort money, food, clothing and medicines.

If the villagers resist they are beaten up and their houses burned.

The insurgents operate from circuits of bases hidden in dense grassland or jungle. They are continually on the move, living on rice levied from the village stocks and the wild game in which the country abounds.

The Communists get their supplies of arms and ammunition and medicines deviously from Chinese Communist sources. The Karens use the proceeds of their robberies to buy from gun-runners or backyard arms manufacturers. They and the so-called Nationalist Chinese are deeply involved in the illicit manufacture and sale of opium.

The dilemma of the present Government is difficult to solve. It must persuade or coerce the communities to resist such rebel minorities or it must resign itself to a shadow-chasing campaign that may last for years.

In Burma the use of Communist front organizations has been intense. A leading role on the political level is being played by the Burma Workers' and Peasants' Party, which in effect is only a slightly camouflaged "legal" front for the Communist Party. The BWPP has recently been extremely active, chiefly through its controlling function in the Burmese Peace Committee, in mobilizing parliamentary and public support for a "soft" Government policy towards the Communist insurgents. So far the Government has rejected all proposals for "negotiating" with the rebels.

Communist front activities are also widespread among Burmese

youth and labour groups and are also projected through Burmese branches of cultural and friendship associations with the USSR and China. Front activities in general are supported by a large flow of Communist bloc films, books, and other propaganda disseminated through Communist missions in Burma.

The great significance of the recent Communist Chinese-Burmese boundary agreement lies in its propaganda value to the Communists, both in China and other parts of Asia. They will now be able to flourish the agreement and treaty of friendship and non-aggression which Premier Chou En-lai and General Ne Win signed, and tell the world, "You see—we are a very reasonable people." The friendship and non-aggression treaty that Chou and the general signed also talks of "everlasting peace, cordial friendship, independence, sovereign rights, territorial integrity, economic and cultural ties, mutual benefit, co-operation and peaceful co-existence"—agreements and words which in many cases have been the prelude to either military take-over or internal revolt fostered by the Communists.

On 8 July 1959, Aleksandr Yurievich Kaznacheev, an informant officer of the Russian Embassy in Burma, was granted political asylum by the United States Embassy. In a statement to Burmese newsmen later, he said, "The main occupation of all Soviet Embassy staff in Rangoon is to spy. Russia and Red China co-operate closely in espionage activities in Burma, but my personal opinion, based on my knowledge, is that the main role is played

by Red China." So much for the treaty of friendship and non-aggression, and "peaceful co-existence"!

### Communist Subversive Activities in Thailand

At the end of World War II there came into existence in Thailand the Saha Asheewan Kamarkorn, a central labour union. This union was soon infiltrated by Communists and became a Communist labour front. The Student Association of Thailand was established by the Communists at about the same period. The two front organizations did not prosper because of the Government's anti-Communist policy, and in 1947 both associations were dissolved. A Peace Committee was then established, but after some arrests were made in 1952 for violating the anti-Communist law, this too ceased to function.

As in other countries where the Communist Party has been outlawed, however, front activities come and go, but seldom cease entirely. The Peace Committee showed renewed signs of life in 1957 when the ex-members of the Committee, following their release from prison, formed a group called the "Peace Lovers" and the "Socialist United Front," the latter to contest the general election.

In 1957 Communist sympathizers took over the presidencies of the Press Association, the Reporters' Association, and the Press Club.

Communist attempts to gain control of university students have failed, since the majority of the students have chosen not to engage in political activities.

Thailand is the key state in South-East Asia, a military dictatorship, but the anchor of SEATO in

Asia. It has toughened its anti-Communist measures under Marshal Sarit, a man whose health may be failing but whose resolution is hardening correspondingly. He has never pretended to be a liberal democrat, and he knows that in Asia today an immature democratic apparatus, operating prematurely under a weak government, is the easiest and most effective springboard to power for "democratic" Communism.

In October 1958, Sarit ordered Mr. Khairullam Shalkharov, a Soviet Embassy attache, to leave the country. He had been charged with "activities most dangerous to the security and peace of the country." Later in the same month, some 1000 Left-wing Chinese journalists, politicians and MPs were detained in a move to suppress subversive activities. This was followed in February 1959 by the closing of 27 Communist or pro-Communist newspapers and magazines. Later on he banned all imports from Communist China on the grounds that a large percentage of the finance involved was finding its way to the Communist underground movements.

Where they are illegal, as in Thailand, the Communists denounce their governments as "reactionary" or "pro-imperialist," and make every effort to work up popular feeling against them. Front organizations have to be more careful. Normally they concentrate on praise for the Soviet Union and Communist China, avoiding too much open criticism of their own countries. Being declared illegal does not stop the Party from organizing underground, or from carrying out terrorist activities, or from infiltrating existing organizations. The Communist Party will



use: any; means' whatsoever to add to its territorial and political power at the expense of free nations.

### Communist Subversive Activities in Malaya

From a ruthless, well-armed, well-clad and well-supplied force of about 11,000 guerrillas, the terrorists in Malaya have been reduced to a tattered band of die-hards whose efforts are devoted almost solely to staying alive, and one day's march ahead of the Security Forces. The Communists launched their rebellion in June 1948. Their first aim was to close down the country's tin mines and plantations, and they established a bloody reign of terror, murdering and burning their way through the countryside. There is now little or no communication between the terrorist bands of three or five or twenty wandering through the jungle. They are cut off from their leader, Chin Peng (living on the Thai border), and they have no arms or ammunition, and often very little food.

Having failed to seize power through armed struggle, the Communists sought to end "violent" tactics in 1951 in return for a charter to engage in "open and legal struggle." The Federation Government rejected this proposal but the Malayan Communist Party, while continuing the "armed struggle," has nevertheless intensified its efforts to infiltrate and subvert political parties and groups, trade unions, and students' organizations, and has made some progress in the subversion of Chinese schools in the country.

In November 1957, when the Federation Government decided to dismiss over-age students from

schools to facilitate better maintenance of discipline, thousands of Chinese students demonstrated against the decision. Some of the students arrested during these demonstrations were found to be members of Communist study cells.

Subversion activities in schools and education centres is not a new problem at all. In his notable study, "The Chinese in South-East Asia" Victor Purcell observes that:—

"By the beginning of the 'thirties, the Malayan Governments were fully aware that the Chinese vernacular schools were claiming the great proportion of Chinese boys and girls at school, and that unless something was done to provide a counter-attraction the Chinese population of Malaya (including Singapore) . . . would irrevocably be drawn within the sphere of Chinese nationalism, and would tend to look, not to Malaya as their country, but to China. Such a happening would vitiate the whole declared official policy, which was to create a Malayan spirit and sense of communal nationality as the prerequisite of self government. . . . But nothing was done. . . . Some schools were not educational institutions at all but merely centres of Communist propaganda, especially the Hai Night School for Adults, where Marx, Engels, Lenin and other Communist authors were studied."

Today, the power and authority of Communist China exerts an even stronger emotional pull on many of the overseas Chinese, especially on the impressionable groups of student age. This influence is not, in origin, or perhaps even essentially Communist, but takes the form of a new and intensified upsurge of Chinese

nationalism, which the Communists have been quick to exploit for their own ends. It is the inspiration—and the propaganda—provided by Communist China (together with penetration and subversion by local Communist organizations) which is responsible for the frequent acceptance by Chinese students of Communist ideas and methods.

The present "peaceful policy" proposed by the Malayan Communist Party—itsself almost entirely Chinese—is clearly intended to exploit this situation. According to one of their directives:—

The important tasks of students, women, and youthful Party members in urban areas is not to support the Party and the army directly and openly, but to set up or control certain organizations of a grey colour, such as study groups, old boys' associations, students' associations. . . .

"In such organizations, Party members should take upon themselves the task of leaders and vanguards and (become) the backbone of these organizations, or at least become the Communist elements in such organizations."

In February 1959 security police pre-dawn raids throughout Malaya arrested 119 men and women for alleged Communist subversion. Those arrested included politicians, labourers, students, and teachers. A Government statement issued later said that most of those arrested were believed to have been involved in a secret Communist organization called the "Malayan Races Liberation League."

In the following month a senior police special branch officer, Lee Heng Fong, said that the Malayan

Communist Party had planned to make the country a Red Republic. He said that now the Communists had lost the "open" conflict, they were seeking more "constitutional means" of taking over the country. He predicted that the Communists would infiltrate into political parties without revealing their identity. They would then influence these parties and form a united front to overthrow the lawful government. Their intention is that they would then form a Communist Republic of Malaya.

The greatest political danger now is posed by the powerful Chinese minority, which makes up almost 40 per cent of the population, and controls much of the nation's economy. Nevertheless the Malays control the army and the police, and Malayan law requires that four out of five civil servants be Malays. Racial tension has been kept in hand during the two and a half years of independence. The Government's argument is that if the nation is bent on the tasks of development, racial animosities will be left behind. The same might be said of subversion.

#### Communist Subversive Activities in Singapore

Singapore has been a major target for Communist front activities, particularly among labour groups, but also among political parties and students' organizations. The People's Action Party (PAP) was supported by Communists at the time of its formation in 1954 and since then concerted efforts have been made to control this Party. The arrest of Communist elements in the PAP in October 1956 has evidently failed to deter continued political agitation. Communist strength in the Party was

reflected in the results of the elections to the Municipal Council in Singapore in December 1957.

Communist front activities in the Chinese middle schools in Singapore have provided a classic example of Communist infiltration and exploitation of student groups. These activities centred in the Chinese Middle Schools' Students' Union which was originally organized to protest against the Government's conscription of students for national service. It soon was dominated by Communists and engaged in a widespread programme of subversion of Chinese students through the mechanisms of Communist study groups and cells. It supported left-wing labour unions and indulged in a political agitation in defiance of the Government's orders and regulations. It was suppressed in 1956, but efforts to revive a similar organization have persisted and Communist influence, particularly in the middle schools, continues to present a serious problem.

Today the PAP Government of Singapore is facing a long, bitter internal struggle over the sacking of Melbourne-educated Ong Eng Guan, the Minister for National Development. The Government claims that Ong tried to destroy the Party's "collective leadership" by openly challenging Cabinet decisions. At the Party's Central Executive Committee meeting early in June 1960, Mr. Ong's electorate branch called on the Government to ask Britain for a new constitution to "meet the demands of the people." The present year-old constitution, under which Britain keeps control of defence and external affairs, has been approved by the PAP. Next talks for a fuller measure of self government are not scheduled until 1963.

In July 1960 Mr. Ong asked the party to accept a list of Left-wing resolutions, including the release of political detainees. Speaking in Hokkien, to the predominantly Chinese crowd, Mr. Ong said:—

"The people of Singapore dream to see the return to its revolutionary fervour and take on the same firm anti-colonial stand."

Workers, farmers, hawkers, peddlers, cab and taxi drivers, and local musicians all supported him.

Ong's tactics are to win the Left-wing union leaders' support, if possible, while at the same time building mass support for himself. The Left-wingers don't want Mr. Ong, whom they regard as over-ambitious and a lone wolf, but they realize that his new platform has a deep appeal to Singapore's Left-wing and overwhelmingly Chinese electorate. Unless the situation drastically changes, Mr. Ong cannot hope to topple the Government, but he has placed it in a position vulnerable to Left-wing pressures.

The PAP's obedience to democracy (which has served it well), constitutional limitations of the Government's power, and the need for revenue from Singapore's capitalist exertions, have so far kept the Government from open intolerance toward those who do not share its ideals. In private Government Ministers recognize the dangers of organized idealism. But one said recently:—

"Why should we always leave it to the Communists to exact discipline and inspire hope? As Socialists, we believe in democracy. Why can't we do it?"

However, the Government makes

no secret of its intention to make life for Singaporeans who share its ideals much more interesting than for those who do not. The attitude of the Singapore Government is dogmatic and disciplined. It has an intellectual conviction of right and wrong, and an emotional distaste for the easy living habits of the "colonialists."

### Communist Subversion in Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam

Laos, a tiny kingdom, is geographically and literally a wedge driven sharply through the heart of South-East Asia.

For the past ten years this country has been the target for sustained aggression by the Communists from North Vietnam. The Communist Pathet Lao, supported at least morally by Communist China and North Vietnam, has been waging a guerrilla rebellion. This aggression was "the result of a carefully laid plan to abolish the existence of my people and my country," the Laotian Foreign Minister, Mr. Khamphanh Phoua, told the UN General Assembly on 1 October 1959.

Efforts to create some political stability in Laos, as a prelude to dealing with the Communist problem, are making little progress. On the other hand, if they have the patience to wait, the Communists seem likely to get the country by default. They will win the country, not with bombs but with ballots.

In the aftermath of the 1959 crisis the West was not optimistic enough to believe that it could help to create a government capable of quickly taking over the administration of all Laos. What it looked for and encouraged was the establish-

ment in Vientiane of a cohesive, if extremely limited, administration, capable of meeting the Pathet Lao political challenge in areas not too seriously affected by Communist subversion.

Of Cambodia's 31,000-man army, the best that can be said of it is that the Communists have so far been kept out of it. But on 18 July 1960 Cambodia warned that it would negotiate military aid from its Chinese and Russian "friends" unless America provided it with arms. It was particularly interested in jet fighters from Russia. This warning came from the Cambodian Head of State, Prince Norodom Sihanouk. He said he feared "aggression from traitors who had the support of South Vietnam and Thailand."

If Cambodia did become a Communist-sponsored wedge between Thailand and South Vietnam—both allies of the West—the SEATO Powers would be faced with a grave problem.

The real difference between Khrushchev's talk of "peace" and Communist Chinese practice can be seen in South Vietnam, where a nasty little jungle war has been going on almost since "peace" was agreed to in the Geneva Convention of 1954.

After consultation with Peking, the North Vietnam Politburo called a full Party Congress in April 1960 to "discuss plans for the liberation and unification of all Vietnam." Today, the South Vietnamese Government faces the threat of a Communist renewal of the civil war.

The last Party Congress—in 1961—approved the policy which resulted in the expansion of the Indo-

Chinese war, the final defeat of the French at Dien Bien Phu, the invasion of Northern Laos, and the division of Vietnam. The announcement of this congress has resulted in increased guerrilla terrorism in South Vietnam's southern and western provinces. The guerrillas, estimated at 3000 to 5000, have new arms, ammunition and material smuggled from the Communists encamped across the Laotian and Cambodian frontiers. They are operating a Malaya-like campaign of hit and run, murder and looting, raids on farms, rubber plantations, hospitals and isolated villages. They are attempting to terrorize Government officials in the outlying villages, and have staged several "people's trials" of headmen and landowners, who have been publicly executed. Captured documents and military orders at guerrilla camps indicate that the Communists are committed to a remorseless intensification of the terrorist campaign.

#### Communist Subversive Activity in Tibet

In 1950 the Chinese Communists, with virtually all of China proper subjugated, turned to the lands along the fringes of their country and the need to "protect special areas within the Chinese boundaries." Tibet was one of these "special areas," and in the following year a show of force was made by Chinese Communist troops.

The Dalai Lama, who had fled to the Indian border, returned to Lhasa, and the most religious and least materialistic of living human societies came under the jurisdiction of non-religious and materialistic Communism.

A Tibetan delegation was despatched to Peking in 1951, and in May of that year an agreement was reached with Peking, granting Tibet "national regional autonomy under the unified leadership of the Central People's Government," promising not to alter "the existing political system of Tibet" and to "respect religious beliefs and protect the monasteries." The Dalai Lama's status and powers were not to be altered. The agreement also promised that matters relating to reform there would be no compulsion on the part of the central authorities."

The agreement appeared satisfactory, and the Chinese took care to exercise power through the normal Tibetan channels in the initial stages of their occupation. Chinese troops were stationed at various parts of Tibet, particularly on the southern border passes. Their rationing and accommodation strained Tibetan economy, but in general Chinese pressure was not oppressive and was applied with extreme caution.

Today, in 1961, just eleven years after the commencement of the "protection" of Tibet, little news trickles out of the mountain-ringed jail that the Communist Chinese have made of it, and no reporters are allowed.

Eleven months ago a nine-member committee of the International Commission of Jurists began sifting through Communist Chinese documents and broadcasts, intelligence reports, and refugee interrogations, in an effort to separate fact from rumour, to discover what was really going on.

Since crushing the Tibetan rebellion in 1959, the Committee reported, the Communist Chinese have

made their chief objective an effort to separate the Tibetan people from their Buddhist religion. In relentless pursuit of this policy, they have ruthlessly "killed religious figures, because their religious belief and practice was an encouragement to others, and have forcibly transferred large numbers of Tibetan children to a Chinese materialistic environment in order to prevent them from having a religious upbringing."

The jurists coldly dismissed the plea that the Communists had "liberated" the Tibetan people from oppressive overlords. They found that the considerable economic and industrial development that had taken place was "directly related" to the needs of the 500,000 Chinese settled in Tibet. The Tibetans had only grown poorer. Acts of genocide had been committed in an attempt to destroy the Tibetans as a religious group. The Chinese Communists had violated most of the human rights in the universal declaration of human rights, including the right of life itself. So much for Communist "protection" and "liberation."

### **Communist Subversive Activities in Hong Kong**

Communist China, Hong Kong is the only trade outlet to the Western world. Because of this, Hong Kong continues to exist. British officials call Hong Kong a "calculated risk." They think that, given normal circumstances, there is a fair chance that the colony will survive to the end of this century when the lease expires on the new territories which claim five-sixths of Hong Kong's total area and without which the colony could not exist.

Just as Quemoy and Matsu are probably more useful to the Communists while occupied by the Chinese Nationalists, so Hong Kong offers immediate advantages to Peking in its present role of dollar earner, intelligence listening post, and colonial whipping boy.

There is no reason to think that Peking seriously wants to challenge or change Hong Kong's status quo in the near future; nevertheless there has been some considerable effort on the part of the Communists to organize internal disorder and subversion.

There have been many anti-British and anti-American demonstrations, accusing the British of "brutality and of violating Chinese territorial sovereignty" and the Americans (from the American Seventh Fleet) of being spies and saboteurs, "savage and vulgar as wild animals, getting drunk and robbing taxi drivers, assaulting residents, and raping women."

The Hong Kong Government, resolved that excesses of organized young hoodlums in Singapore's wealthy Chinese schools would not be repeated in Hong Kong, have banned several "Schools Exhibitions and Sports Meetings," which the organizers had planned to convert to anti-American demonstrations. The Government has been denounced for having authorized legislation which empowers officials to close subversive schools and dismiss troublesome teachers.

There has been evidence of systematic Communist infiltration, not only among school teachers, but among Hong Kong's so-called "trade unions."

Down the Pearl River from Canton each day come scores of Chinese junks, laden with pigs, poultry and other food for Hong Kong's huge hungry market. Proceeds go into Communist banks operating in the colony and help materially to build up China's foreign reserve.

#### **Communist Subversive Activities in Formosa**

Very little information has been made available as to the organization and extent of Communist subversion in Formosa. However, there have been several reports of the capture and subsequent execution of Communist Chinese agents, the last such incident being reported in September 1959, when a Colonel Chang Chun-sheng was unmasked as a double agent passing secrets to the mainland.

#### **Communist Subversive Activities in South Korea**

Korean students in April 1960 ended the tyranny of Syngman Rhee and brought for the first time this century a real sense of freedom to this unhappy divided land. It is still far from certain whether they also brought stability or whether, in the absence of firm rule, the country will disintegrate under factional political strife and ferment within its 650,000-man army.

The South Koreans are digging ever deeper into the macabre past of the Rhee administration. They are looking into the mass wartime slaughter of South Koreans accused of being Communist sympathizers. They are questioning American aid and the uses to which it was put. Prodded by an intense propaganda campaign from Peking, they have

begun to wonder what is the future of the American position in Korea.

The Government of South Korea will have a hard time trying to rebuild the country against the interferences and propaganda of the Communists in the north. Hundreds of Communist agents, well equipped with both military weapons and finance, have been sent across the 38th parallel to foment strife and internal unrest and discontent.

Opium has become the major means of financing the North Korean Communist espionage operation in South Korea. In May 1960 Cho In-Kyu, chief of the anti-espionage section of the Seoul Prosecutor's Office, announced that he had definite information that at least 106 pounds of opium had been smuggled into South Korea by Communist agents since 1953. Market price for the opium is about £260,000. He said also that 300 out of 1200 North Korean agents arrested since July 1953 confessed they had brought opium with them. The North Korean "opium offensive" is not only providing agents with funds, but is also fomenting social evils in South Korea.

Other Communist agents have been given United States dollars and South Korean hwan currency and being sent to South Korea.

During the election held towards the end of July 1960 Communist tactics were much in evidence. Police reported violence in eight districts, many ballot papers and unopened ballot boxes were burned, more than 60 police injured (seven seriously), attacks made on police stations, and communications were disrupted.

### Communist Subversive Activities in Japan

In 1954 the Chinese Communists opened a "cultural offensive" in Japan, with the following objectives:

- (a) Withdrawal of recognition from the Nationalist Government on Formosa.
- (b) Elimination of American bases in Japan.
- (c) The undermining of the United States-Japanese alliance.
- (d) To secure additional trade concessions and further trade agreements.

perhaps instructive to elaborate some of the groupings used to push these objectives in connection with the trade agreement breakdown in the spring of 1958.

First, the Japan-China Friendship Association. Peking reported on 11 June 1958 that it had instructed its branches and "affiliated organizations" to launch a great mass movement to force the Kishi Government to change its policy on the four points listed above. The Association called for greater contact with trade unions and other popular organizations.

Second, there were three organizations which negotiated the Fourth Trade Agreement in Peking; Japanese Student Members' Union to promote Japan-China trade, the Japanese International Trade Promotion Association, and the Japan-China Import and Export Association of Japan. These private organizations from Japan dealt directly with Central Government officials in Peking when they signed the Trade Agreement on 5 March 1958. The subsequent breakdown resulted from the fact that Peking had forced

them to mix up their legitimate trading interests with political issues, such as their agreement to grant the equivalent of diplomatic immunity to a Chinese Communist trade mission in Japan.

Third, stemming from the Japanese Socialist Party's goodwill mission to China, the Chinese were able to inject the China trade and recognition issue into the election campaign in Japan by having the Socialists become champions of their position against Kishi.

Fourth, in addition to the holding of trade fairs in both countries, there have been, with appropriate build-up, the exchanges of art exhibitions, athletes, etc., between the Chinese mainland and Japan, despite the fact that Japan does not recognize the Communist regime.

Chou En-lai assured Susuki (of the Japanese Socialist Party) when he visited Peking on 14 December 1957:

"The important thing is not for the Governments to sign documents on recognition, but is for the peoples to conduct interchanges with each other by all practical means."

Unosuke Ohta, a specialist on China affairs, writing in the June 1958 issue of the Japanese magazine, "Seikai Orai," felt that the effectiveness of this Chinese campaign should not be under-estimated:—

"Communist China is imitating the Soviets in propaganda and other methods and activities. In recent years it has resorted to so-called 'invitation diplomacy.' Japanese sympathizers and progressive elements are all invited to Communist China from time to time for inspection of New China and for cultivating friendships. In view of this un-



usual effect, it must be regarded as marking a significant success for Red China's diplomacy."

Peking's demands for normal trade and the establishment of normal diplomatic relations have helped the Chinese Communists promote their line that Japan is really not a sovereign state but under the corrupting influence of "American imperialism."

This "cultural offensive" opened up by the Chinese Communists and ardently supported by the Japanese Communists did not prove to be of any great success. In 1959 the Communists' campaign took a new turn. Communist China took over control from the Soviet of the Japanese Communist Party and all subversive activity in Japan.

Maoist revolutionary methods are now being increasingly used to exploit Japan's confused pacifist desire to shake off all military ties and commitments—even those essential for national security. The militant Asian Cominform line under Peking direction prevailed in the recent organized demonstrations in Tokyo against the United States Security Pact. These successful disturbances should be recognized as a first Communist exercise in systematic violence in Japan.

In a secret report to the Government in July 1960, Japanese security authorities said that the explosive force in Japan today is the so-called "Gakushu" group of about 300 Japanese Communists who have all been rigorously trained in Maoist revolutionary technique at the annexe to the People's University in Peking. These agents are in their forties or late thirties. Most were

"detained" as promising recruits when the Communists seized power in China. Others were smuggled from Japan into mainland China after the peace treaty. They returned openly to Japan about two years ago, when regulations governing "illegal travel" had lapsed. They are now dispersed among key Party cells, mainly in Tokyo.

Although clearly a new elite in the local movement, they officially hold posts of secondary rank in District Committees of the Japanese Communist Party. Their influence, Japanese security authorities are convinced, now overrides the long-established influence of Soviet-trained elements who still technically preside in top Party administrative posts.

There are about 150 top level Japanese Communists who were trained in Moscow. This former high command is still dedicated to the policy of "making Japanese Communists a lovable Party." It is alarmed at the excesses of the Zengakuren Nihilist students.

A Japanese security officer stated in July, 1960:

"We have witnessed here inside the Japanese Communist Party a localized version of the conflict between Maoism and Soviet Communism. Both schools seek to bring Japan into the Communist sphere. The Soviet line has been to abstain from violence. The Chinese line is to provoke the direct violence on appropriate issues. We certainly know which line has prevailed."

The motives behind Communist China in supplying not only the inspiration but the hard cash to promote the recent outbreaks in Japan

have been plain for a long time. They are political and military only as ultimates. An immediate purpose is to shatter Japan's powerful and growing industrial strength by paralyzing its still immature democratic structure. An equally important motive is to break the ties which bind Japan with the United States and the free world. The stakes in that struggle are enormous—the economic penetration and domination of all South-East Asia. In that area are all the elements that Communist China needs to grow into stupendous power. Without these resources and markets, it must be dependent on the Soviet Union.

#### Communist Subversive Activities in the Philippines

Although the Communist Party is illegal in the Philippines, it does not stop the Philippine Communists from organizing underground, or from carrying out terrorist activities, or from infiltrating existing organizations.

In June 1958 President Carlos Garcia of the Philippines in newspaper articles printed round the country, blamed the Communists for most of the nation's problems. He

“The Reds have abandoned the idea of frontal attack and are making headway through infiltration and economic subversion. In the past three months there have been more fires in the country than at any other time for a similar period since 1946. Intelligence reports systematic arson. Fires bring misery and push up prices of essential commodities and building materials.”

He said that arson was just one form of subversion used by the

Communists. Counterfeit coins, notes and stamps, and “whispering” campaigns against authorities to sow unrest are others.

The Communist Party of the Philippines in the past succeeded in forming a number of front organizations, notably the Frente Popular, League for the Defence of Democracy, Friends of China, Youth Congress, the Congress of Peace and Collective Security, the Democratic Alliance, the Philippines Newspaper Guild, the Philippines Students' Union, the Congress of Labour Organizations (CLO) and the National Peasants' Union (PKM). These organizations have either become defunct or, as in the case of the CLO and the PKM, have been dissolved by order of the Philippine Government.

#### Communist Subversive Activities in Indonesia

The Indonesian Communists have considerable influence as a major party (dominating East and Central Java), with the President, the Cabinet and the National Council.

The Communist Party has achieved this position of influence both by its consistent backing of nationalist objectives (notably in the campaign against the Dutch) and by the powerful apparatus of “mass organizations”—trade unions, ex-servicemen's associations, women's and youth groups—which it can bring to bear in support of these demands. Moreover the Party has skilfully played down its revolutionary objectives, posing instead as a genuinely patriotic and progressive movement.

Three of the four slogans for the Communist

in 1959 illustrate this point. They are the "struggle for an independent and democratic Indonesia"; improvement of "united front" with other parties and groups, as well as further "isolation of the die-hard forces"; "strengthening the international united front against colonialism and war"; and, finally, "carrying on the construction of the Party throughout the country, so as to strengthen further the close relations between the Party and the masses of the people, and further consolidate the Party ideologically, politically and organizationally."

Party work is the basic factor. Over two years ago a Party directive called for the establishment of "good neighbour associations" in the villages. Preparatory committees, it was stated, should consist of people with progressive ideas, and be drawn from wide circles, so long as control remained in the hands of Party cadres.

The Indonesian Communist Party has over one million members and nearly eight million voters. It controls some two million peasants, three-quarters of a million youths, and over half a million women, as well as the major trade union federation of industrial and plantation workers, and at least 200,000 ex-servicemen, former fighters in the struggle for independence, who are trained for any "emergency."

In Indonesia acute political instability has provided fertile ground for Communist front activities, which are supported by the largest legal Communist Party anywhere in South-East Asia. These fronts are most active among labour, veterans', students', and women's groups. The power of the Communist labour

front, SOBSI, has been demonstrated by the manner in which this organization led the campaign against Dutch enterprises in Indonesia. The numerous front organizations in Indonesia are affiliated with international Communist organizations and regularly send delegations to international congresses and conferences. Front activities are supported by an uninhibited flow of Communist propaganda and literature.

The President, hero of the revolution against the Dutch, has presided over the Indonesian scene with great skill for years. His popularity has been unquestioned, and the Indonesian Communists have clung close to him. Now, however, the Communists sense trouble, and are detaching themselves from the President, while at the same time remaining friendly with him.

This is a difficult task. Communist Secretary-General Aidit denied some time ago (July 14 1960) that his Party had been undemocratic in accepting a bloc of seats in the new "parliament." The Party had opposed the new parliament, he said, but it was taking part because "any parliament is better than none at all."

The Communists are attacking Soekarno's Government for "failure to increase supplies of food, clothing, promised a year ago." The Communists also demand a harsher approach to Dutch New Guinea and criticize the guarantee given Australia that Indonesia will not use force against the Dutch.

#### Communist Subversive Activities in Sarawak

In November 1958 came the first reports made public that the police

had uncovered evidence of Communist activities directed from outside Sarawak. Sir Anthony Abell, the Governor, said: "These activities include fomenting Labour unrest for political ends and indoctrination of the young with Communist philosophy."

In July 1960 a White Paper was issued giving further details of this "insidious infiltration." It included excerpts from documents said to have come into the Government's possession, providing "abundant evidence" of the organization's activities.

#### Communist Subversive Activities in the Islands of the Pacific

Over the last four years, from 1956 to 1960, there have been several cases of labour unrest in Fiji, Noumea, Borneo, Tahiti, and New Caledonia.

Although perhaps none of these incidents of civil unrest can be positively proved against the Communists or Communist sympathizers, it is as well to remember a statement written in a Malayan Communist Party document captured by the security forces:—

"Our comrades and revolutionary workers should enrol in such yellow (non-Communist) labour unions. They should have the outward appearance that they are non-Communist. Yellow unions should be preserved."

Communists are skilled at deception. They attempt to penetrate political organizations, trade unions, and youth groups, in particular, by the use of under-cover agents, secret Communists who do not reveal their identity.

#### Conclusion

The Communist plan of world conquest involves the subjugation of the

free world, one country at a time, by non-military means as far as possible, but by armed force if necessary. The success of the plan would mean an end to real freedom in the world. The plan of aggression is an ingenious one that does not follow the lines of any previous plan of world conquest. The plan is, rather:

To maintain, if possible, the surface appearance of peace, that is, to make the rest of the world believe that Communism has only peaceful intentions; to trade on the basic desire for peace that exists in most parts of the world, that is, to allow the Communists to infringe on the rights of individual nations without receiving more than an angry protest or a motion of condemnation in retaliation, but, at the same time, to fight a cold war during which the free world would be conquered bit by bit and reduced to helplessness by essentially non-military means.

A six-pronged Communist campaign of aggression, threats, and subversion is already in operation in the Far East today. Summarized it may be set out as follows:—

- (a) The re-opening of border disputes by Communist China.
- (b) Diplomatic pressure being brought to bear on weak states by Communist China and Soviet Russia.
- (c) The intensification in "vulnerable areas" of the subversion campaign.
- (d) Constant threats to use rockets and missiles against states in which free world bases exist.
- (e) Fresh military pressure being brought to bear on Formosa and Korea.
- (f) Moscow and Peking are seeking to foment disunity and dissatisfaction at every opportunity.

Communist operations in many countries in Europe have already succeeded. In Asia, China is overrun by the Communists, North Vietnam is under Communist control, and many other countries of the Far East are faced with subversive elements or armed rebellion. The pattern is clear enough—world domination by the Communists.

The economic problems facing Asian countries are grave. Communism appears to offer a solution, but a Communist economic development is based on the deliberate exploitation of the peasantry and the working class, an exploitation for which there is no redress. It is not the people that decide under Communism, but the Communist Party.

There is a strong pressure of opinion in Asia against the imposition of an alien doctrine. Traditional cultures, religious beliefs and the desire for national independence all militate against Communist influence. But if economic problems cannot be solved by present methods, and if law and order cannot be maintained, then Communism may still provide an alternative. Basically then the creation of a just and prosperous free society is the best antidote to Communism.

Life is a struggle, a bitter struggle. The end of the struggle is selection. The strong must conquer, survive and reproduce; the weak submit, perish and disappear. Thus it is ordained by nature, and under this law man is no exception.

But the current challenge is not aggression but subversion, the persuasion of people's minds. The American aid programme in the Far East today is costing thousands of

millions of pounds each year. The Colombo Plan is costing hundreds of thousands of pounds each year. But we are concentrating too much on temporary expedients and not enough on future planning.

It is impossible to set out a blueprint covering the type of aid we ought to send to every country, but by and large the haphazard contribution of rolling stock to Cambodia and street-cleaning equipment to Burma and buses to Ceylon miss the point. Wherever possible aid ought to assist the country concerned in the development of its administration or its economy.

Giving wheat to hungry people will relieve their hunger, it's true, but only temporarily. Tomorrow they will be just as hungry again as they were today. The establishment of an agricultural college, where they may be taught to grow their own wheat, would be much better. If we had concentrated all the money we have spent on capital equipment and put it into small technical, agricultural and medical schools, we would have performed a better service both for Asia and ourselves.

Events in Asia have moved less rapidly than many of us anticipated four or five years ago. But instead of taking advantage of this opportunity we are marking time, the Communists, despite major problems in China, are still subverting and consolidating.

There is a new awareness of the Communist threat in Asia. The challenge is primarily economic, social, and political, and unless this is recognized and understood by the West, all the SEATOs, 7th Fleets, and SAC bombers will not prevail.

(Concluded)