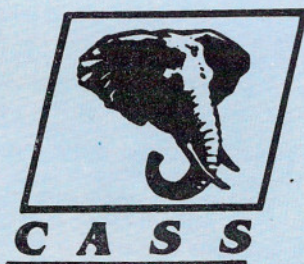

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INDIA 2020 :
AN AGENDA FOR THE NATION

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K.S. PENDSE

CENTRE FOR ADVANCED STRATEGIC STUDIES

Major General K.S. Pendse was commissioned into the Corps of Electrical and Mechanical Engineers of the Indian Army in 1953 and retired as Additional Director General, Financial Planning, Army Headquarters in 1988. He has the distinction of having stood first in the academic subjects while passing out from the Indian Military Academy as also having been a Directing Staff at the Defence Services Staff College as well as at the College of Combat. He has also done post-graduation in history because of his life-long interest in the subject.

The General is known for his thought provoking articles in professional journals and the media. An active member of the Centre ever since its inception, Major General Pendse is widely respected for his bold and forthright approach.

The views expressed in this paper are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the Centre.

FOREWORD

India regained its political independence nearly fifty years ago. But its current economic status and its place in the global order belie its vast potential for growth and prosperity. At the same time, the post-Cold War world seems to be caught in a fierce trade war which is living upto Michael Howard's quip about commerce being a continuation of war by an admixture of other means. A resurgent India that wants to win its war on poverty must identify its problems, and analyse their root-causes in order to respond creatively to these challenges through appropriate strategies.

The present paper by Maj Gen K S Pendse (Retd) is an attempt to view the Indian scene not at a national level alone but at a subcontinental level. Its main concern is with the future of all mankind, and especially with the deprived majority of the world, half of which is residing in the Indian subcontinent. That is justification enough for this paper's broad perspective.

It is hoped that the paper would generate a serious discussion leading to formulation of workable strategies for alleviating human misery in this part of the world. Hence the title of this paper : "India 2020 : An Agenda for the Nation", even though its scope is wide enough to contribute ideas for a global agenda to add to the sum of human happiness.

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INDIA 2020 : AN AGENDA FOR THE NATION

INTRODUCTION

India's progress since independence has been a substantial one, be it self-sufficiency in food, rising life-expectancy or technological achievements in the fields of space and nuclear research. But this has been negated by a phenomenal growth in its population and a consequent rise in poverty and illiteracy in absolute numbers, statistics about a steady increase in per capita income as well as consumption notwithstanding. As a result, the gap between the advanced countries and India has grown considerably, with India ranking rather low in the scale of human development. At the same time, the post Cold War world has seen an end to military bipolarism and an advent of economic multipolarism. A vigorous pursuit of economic interest by the advanced countries in a fierce trade war between nations and groups of nations is likely to dominate the world scene for the foreseeable future.

In its fight against poverty, India experimented with a command economy model for four decades. But the failure of Soviet Russia and the success of Chinese market socialism, added to its own debt-servicing problems, persuaded India to opt for a liberalised market economy, with a proviso that its reforms would wear a human face. This caution is justified, as it is this Western economic model which has polluted the eco-sphere and, through a pursuit of narrow national interests, stockpiled enough weapons of mass-destruction to exterminate almost all species from the surface of the earth. As the world, with 23% of its people commanding 85% of its income, approaches the end of the millenium, there is a population explosion occurring in its poorer countries while a technological revolution is taking place among the advanced nations. This, as observed by Paul Kennedy in his

book, 'Preparing for the Twenty-first Century', is a poor recipe for a stable world order. It is likely to trigger many conflicts all over the world for redistribution of people and resources, in an attempt to rectify the current disparities in income distribution, justifying that warning sounded by Arnold Toynbee many years ago, when he wrote, 'Mankind may have to choose between the two extreme alternatives of committing genocide or learning to live henceforth as a single family.' While addressing the UN on its 50th anniversary, the Indian prime minister had also stressed how global amity, cooperation, peace and non-violence with an espousal of all-round development were a primary need of a majority of the nations of the world. His appeal to the world body was obviously based on India's perennial values, marked by its holistic concept of all the world being one family.

This approach may appear to be utopian, but the forthcoming discussion in this paper will highlight its inherent pragmatism. Not only would it enable India and the subcontinent to survive with dignity but also help it attain its rightful place in the comity of nations. These macro-issues are discussed in the following sequence :-

- (a) An Analysis of the Current Environment.
- (b) Internal Dynamics of the Indian Subcontinent.
- (c) Imperatives at Global, Regional & National Level from an Indian Perspective.
- (d) A Vision for India & Strategies to Achieve it.

THE ENVIRONMENT

4. While analysing the current global system in their book, 'War and Anti-war', Alvin and Heidi Toffler have emphasised how the world is witnessing three civilisations existing side by side : a First Wave agrarian, a Second Wave industrial and a Third

Wave informational civilisation. Each of these is marked by a different way of producing wealth, has different survival needs, and apportions a varying importance to the concepts of national sovereignty and securing of national interest. These factors have prodded the global system to a state far from equilibrium, making it vulnerable to external influences such as a rise in oil prices, a surge in religious fanaticism or a change in the balance of military weapons. Such changes, should they converge at any point in time, can cause the system to break down completely, or to get reorganised at a higher level, as suggested by Ilya Prigogine in his work, 'Order out of Chaos'. Such a convergence of challenges to the very existence of mankind is already evident as pointed out by Ronald Higgins in the Seventies, in his book, 'The Seventh Enemy'. He had identified these as population explosion, maldistribution of food and water, depletion of vital resources like oil and minerals, degradation of the environment, misuse of nuclear power, a growing tendency for science and technology to escape human control, an inertia of the governmental institutions to react to these threats, and, worst of all, a human apathy towards this sorry state of affairs, despite mega-deaths in less developed countries as in Africa. A Western faith in their ability to find a technological 'fix' for every human problem has directed vast investments in talent and money towards fuelling a technological revolution that has sustained a Western economic model devoted to mass production for satisfying mass consumption of consumer goods, demand for which is generated by means of a massive investment in marketing of these products. That is how mega-profits are generated by trans-national corporations who owe little allegiance to any particular nation or its policies. That their pursuit of profit is wrecking the environment irreversibly, and is leading to catastrophes such as acid rain, global warming, melting of the ice caps and eventual submergence of vast coastal areas around the globe, as also denuding the earth of its non-renewable

resources without any thought for the needs of future generations matter little to the Western economic pundits and their disciples in developing countries. Small wonder then that such a global system is anything but rational in its behaviour, which is, therefore, nearly impossible to predict with any accuracy. However, some major trends as can help develop a holistic understanding of this complex environment, are mentioned below.

Techno-Economic Issues.

- a) Communication and information revolutions have made the world a global village.
- b) Economic multi-polarity is replacing Cold-War-era bipolarity.
- c) Advanced societies continue to support a technological revolution in order to sustain their rates of growth, but deny technology to the developing countries to maintain the income differential.
- d) A mindless exploitation of the earth's resources continues to support a Western economic model of wealth production with a disastrous effect on the ecosphere, adversely affecting long term security of mankind.
- e) A growing realisation of the need to balance expenditure on defence, development and domestic consumption is visible now. But at the same time, deficit financing and financial scams are exposing various national economies to the dangers inherent in promotion of rank consumerism.
- f) Post Cold War capitalism is marked by its resilience, complexity and its inter-dependence with modern technology, as well as the role played by the state in most countries as a facilitator of development.

Socio-Cultural Issues

- a) Total autonomy of individual desire has replaced a sense of social responsibility, forcing Prime Minister Thatcher to admit that there was no longer any society, only individuals !
- b) Emergence of a knowledge society in the USA and an associated art of war as demonstrated in the Gulf War of 1991, have made US predominance for the time being a self-evident fact.
- c) An emerging global life-style resulting in the Westernisation of the developing world, which equates adoption of such a style wrongly with modernisation, has generated blind acceptance of Western concepts and unabashed materialism, damaged their psyche and lowered their self-esteem.
- d) A population explosion in the developing countries, combined with illiteracy, has made these people ignorant and mute witnesses to the pursuit of short term gains by their leaders, at the cost of these people's long term interests. As a reaction to this exploitation, some people are giving vent to their frustration through a cultural nationalism, or religious fundamentalism, or again, through self-empowerment to solve problems that inept governments have failed to do, all in keeping with increasing individual autonomy mentioned above.
- e) A declining respect for state-authority and increasing divisive tendencies in the form of sub-nationalism and ethnic fervour are manifesting in people's search for territorial identity.
- f) Internationally, there is a growing stress on global justice. However, it is based more on international distribution of

liberty rights than on welfare rights, and does not include the principles of obligation on the part of either the individual or the nations.

Politico-Military Issues

- a) As ideological affinity has weakened in favour of economic prosperity, the concept of absolute national sovereignty is being diluted, and the individual is having a greater say in the political process as also demanding an equitable standard of living.
- b) Leadership structures are being weakened due to their inability to comprehend fast-developing impact of issues at various levels, and narrow specialisations are becoming mandatory, even as such incompetent leaders strive to remain in power at the cost of those they govern.
- c) For want of a holistic view, bureaucracies are getting politicised, while politics is criminalised, and nation-states are forced to live from one crisis to another.
- d) Though the influence of the military in decision-making is on the wane, it is being called upon to restore internal security more frequently, due to a greater incidence of undeclared proxy wars and low intensity conflicts, exacerbated by cross-border terrorism and other support.
- e) Militarisation of space and of ether has led to the development of very sophisticated and costly military technology, whose products are becoming almost unaffordable for nations with limited defence budgets, thus reducing their overall military potential vis a vis richer nations.

- f) At the same time, use of dual technologies in the production of many weapon systems has made their horizontal proliferation more easy, with some terrorist organisations showing their ability to develop such weapons in the backyard !
- g) The military are unable to attract the right talent to man their modern weapon systems, just when their technology content demands a higher standard of intake, leading to a dilution of their capability.

In sum, these trends display sufficiently conflicting features to make one wonder whether man can overcome all the challenges that the 21st Century may pose to his existence. To better evaluate this situation, it is necessary to take a look at the current scene in the Indian subcontinent.

INTERNAL DYNAMICS OF THE INDIAN SUBCONTINENT

There exists a general awareness of the main features of the subcontinental developments in most of their aspects, including the fact that though politically divided by the British to serve their own geo-strategic interests, the nations of the Indian subcontinent are inextricably interlinked by virtue of a common past, and by the fact of their common destiny. It may, therefore, be adequate to highlight just a few salient features only of the current scene.

Geography

Geographically, the Indian subcontinent is separated from the Asian landmass by high mountain ranges, from which rise many snow-fed rivers that have made the Indo-Gangetic plains an agricultural paradise since ancient times. Even now, 80 per

cent its people depend on land for their livelihood, directly or indirectly, and may continue to do so for many decades to come. The monsoon rains feed rest of the rivers, making India's agriculture especially dependent on timely rains, particularly where there is no irrigation network, fed either by the snows of the Northern mountain-ranges or by reservoirs created by building dams across the monsoon-fed rivers. A population of over one billion increasing annually at more than 2%, needs vast amounts of food to survive, for which the sub-continent will have to take recourse to bio-technology, if there has to be enough food for all. Unless the people are well-nourished, they are unlikely to have any reserves of energy left in them to be active in their own self-interest.

Indian Psyche

Because of a relative geographical seclusion, which was no barrier to successive waves of invaders over the ages, people of the Indian subcontinent tend to be inward-looking. Without a rapid spread of general education, they will remain immersed in local and sub-regional issues, and fritter away their energy and resources in 'fratricidal conflicts', while their future is being decided by Third Wave information societies of the developed world. Large parts of the Indian subcontinent remain unaware of this fact, in spite of a rapid spread of television network since the 1980s.

What such TV network has achieved, however, is exposing its viewers, regardless of their individual purchasing power, to a vast array of consumer goods, that are flooding the market, even though they may never be able to attain a Western life-style of affluence. Rising expectations and growing unemployment in an exploding population can lead to regional wars of redistribution

in which those few islands of affluence created by a liberalised economy may be swamped by a sea of misery. As forecast by the World Bank, almost every second South Asian is likely to be a hungry individual by the end of the century. Such poverty is most likely to breed further illiteracy, indiscipline and anti-social attitudes in majority of the people. Any 'Tigerisation' of the region may, therefore, remain a distant dream because of a neglect of education, absence of modern infrastructure, apathy towards upgrading of competence in order to secure a competitive advantage in the international market, and lack of sincerity all round because of resistance to change displayed by well entrenched vested interests.

Population

There are no Malthusian solutions to this region's population explosion because there is very little scope for its residents to migrate abroad, nor can it achieve such a spectacular growth in its export-earnings as would help it in importing its domestic needs to support its rising population which may overtake that of China by mid-21st Century. In case India alone out of the countries of the subcontinent does learn to manage its finite arable land and its monsoon dependent, water resource sensibly, as also apply bio-technology to its crops which have not benefited from the Green Revolution, it may manage to feed its billion mouths. That would only increase the flow of illegal migrants from its hungry, overpopulated neighbours into India! It is for such valid reasons that experts like Neville Brown describe India as a demographic colossus with feet of clay, while Dr. Henry Kissinger classifies it as a new-comer on the international scene, which is so absorbed by the struggle to feed its vast population, that it has yet to assume a role commensurate with its size and potential on the international political stage.

Polity

A society riven already by ethnic, religious, regional, linguistic, and caste considerations, has, thus, developed further fault-lines along economic differences in development/affluence, in these successor states of the British Raj which have perverted those institutions of governance that they have inherited from the British, through a four decade long rule of the elite, by the elite and for the elite. This is nothing but a psychological throwback to this land's feudal mores so deeply ingrained in a tradition-bound people. For instance, the Indian practice of a Westminster model of democracy has meant creation and sustenance of 'vote banks', by manipulating the relative insecurities of various castes and minorities, even though all political parties profess their faith in secularism, an essentially 'liberal' ideal. The urgency of building a nation out of a cultural conglomerate that was India before 1947 has withered with every general and local election. In fact, it seems that the Indians need an external threat like war with China or Pakistan to bring them together and force them to think of their common future, only because their very survival seems then to be at stake. What India and its neighbours lack is a national vision, capable of appealing to a majority of citizens in a manner as would force them out of those narrow grooves of thinking in which they are stuck, for want of an inspiring leadership.

Regional Co-operation

The partition of the subcontinent on a theocratic basis in 1947 has driven a wedge between the Hindus and the Muslims of this subcontinent, which for political reasons has been exploited by the so-called leaders of this land in an unthinking manner, when regional economic conditions demand a healing of the scars of that partition and an all-out cooperation among its constituent nations. All its member nations subscribe to this concept during

the deliberations of the SAARC summit conferences, but take very little follow-up action thereafter. The advanced countries as well as China have taken advantage of this compulsion of the current crop of political leaders in the Indian subcontinent, and have kept them divided over issues like Kashmir, when the very survival of one sixth of the human race residing in this land does depend upon their working towards achieving a better living standard for their people in a spirit of cooperation, harmony and mutual trust. Such mutual trust would enable them to undertake meaningful developmental schemes, say, in the river basins of the Indus, the Ganga and the Brahmaputra for the benefit of the peoples of Pakistan, Nepal and Bangla Desh besides India. That such harmony does not obtain even within India itself is evident from the Cauvery water dispute, basically because of an unremitting pressure of population on finite arable land and water resource, leading to a mini-war of redistribution within that country.

Value System

At the same time, there are vestiges of a cultural homogeneity visible right across the Indian subcontinent, based on its perennial values such as a holistic world view (the world as a family), respect for all life and a preference for harmony with all of God's creation, a sharing and caring attitude, a sense of social responsibility in a functionally differentiated structure, and a moral code of conduct governing the life of an individual as a member of a family, a society, and a nation, from his birth to death, all guided by a belief in the Law of Karma and in reincarnation that enable one to learn one's lessons on the path of self-realisation. No doubt, neither Christianity nor Islam subscribe to the concept of reincarnation. And the influence of Western materialism is eroding these values and beliefs, but it has not turned this land into a spiritual wasteland as it has done in the

affluent societies of the developed nations, where progress is measured in terms of per capita income and consumption and not in terms of human happiness. This cementing strength of a common culture needs to be tapped for bringing its multi-ethnic society together in a quest for a better tomorrow.

Strengths

India and the Indian subcontinent are blessed with almost all the wherewithal of economic resurgence, inclusive of a talented population and those institutions of governance left behind by the British whose hundred-year old rule did bring India together administratively for the first time in its 5000 year-old history as a single entity. Its strategic location in the Indian Ocean, its large territory, an extended economic zone, a large population with the third largest technically trained reservoir of manpower in the world, mineral wealth, (except perhaps for crude oil), biodiversity, and enough arable land and water resources which, when combined with biotechnology, are capable of turning the subcontinent into the granary of the world, are this region's tangible strengths. An unstated cultural commonality, an untapped economic potential, against a background of an unbroken historical tradition based on righteousness and a holistic view of life, a respect for democracy, inherited institutions of state, an abundance of intellectual ability and a facility in English language are its intangible strengths, which need to be nurtured and put to a coordinated use in the service of the region and of all mankind.

Weaknesses

What is preventing this region's resurgence, is, primarily, a criminalisation of its polity and the rise of self-centred individuals to seats of power, who have frittered away much of its inheritance,

and displayed little wisdom to help the region realise its vast potential for self-help on the way to prosperity for its millions under the poverty line. Those nearly one billion Indians, for instance, who have allowed themselves to be led into a massive debt-trap in recent times, seem to be cowed down by a thousand years of slavery under foreign rule, and having lost their self-respect, beg to be left alone to lead their miserable existence away from the limelight. A loss of creativity in its responses to the challenges posed by the external and the internal environment, and this human apathy account for those suicidal traits of behaviour in this subcontinent, which Gunnar Myrdal characterised as 'double talk', 'double think', and 'a will-lessness to execute their own development plans'. Only an inspiring vision and a selfless leadership that can appeal directly to the hearts and minds of most people, like the 'Quit India' slogan of 1942, may wake them up sufficiently and induce them to work for their own benefit. This vision must be strong enough to create a national will-a will to power - so very necessary for any nation to live with dignity in this fiercely competitive and chaotic post-Cold War world. At the same time, it is evident that only that nation which is seen to practise at home what it wishes to preach abroad, can persuade other nations to accept continuous engagement and cooperation in place of competition as the route to human survival on earth.

IMPERATIVES

From the foregoing, it is clear that the Indian subcontinent in general, and India in particular need a few decades of undisturbed peace within and tranquility along the borders to ensure that the available resources are utilised for creating a strong and prosperous India. It would have to work consciously towards this aim, as the current set of five global powers, the US, United Europe, Russia, Japan and China would seriously contest India's

entry into this club of global players. Obviously, such a breakthrough cannot be achieved by military means alone. India and other nations of the subcontinent should increase their share of the world trade, which would ultimately enhance their say in global matters, and help them realise their potential.

Regionally, i.e. in the Indian Ocean littoral sans Eastern shores of Sub-Saharan Africa and Australia, India needs to help establish a 'co-prosperity sphere'.

As far as the Indian sub-continent is concerned, the SAARC process needs to be accelerated, and SAPTA & SAFTA made a reality. Establishment of a SAARC parliament and introduction of a common currency should be a part of the collaborative process.

At the national level, India's key result areas are :-

- a) Nation-building on the basis of a common ideology, high character, and stable institutions, so as to help create a strong and powerful India.
- b) Population control & economic growth.
- c) Empowerment with a view to ensure social justice & equity while stressing excellence.
- d) Developing a diplomatic clout backed by a visible military capability for peace-keeping and peace-making.

A VISION FOR INDIA 2020 & STRATEGIES TO ACHIEVE IT

Concept

These imperatives can become a reality if the people of the Indian subcontinent are inspired by a common vision of their future. In its introductory remarks, the Club of Rome report, titled 'The First Global Revolution', states : "Our aim must be essentially normative - to visualise the sort of world we would like to live in, to evaluate the material, human, and moral resources available, to make our vision realistic & sustainable, and then to mobilise the human energy and political will to forge the new global society." A vision for India and its neighbours in the coming century has, also, to be informed by a similar thought, and be in harmony with the larger global vision, without ignoring the specifics of the Indian national imperatives as outlined already. A peculiarity of the current global crisis has to be borne in mind while evolving a vision for India 2020 A.D. Just as a passive, self-protecting attitude towards defending one's nation allows massive threats, both external and internal, to build up against its very survival, so also an apathetic approach evident at present to those converging threats to a continued existence of mankind on this earth has allowed them to reach a critical stage in which every minute lost in combating those threats now, would make the final disastrous outcome that much more certain.

At the same time, it must be appreciated that a 'national vision for India' is a contradiction in terms. What is India but an outcome of many different visions and of the struggle for dominance between them ? Secularism is always less potent in its appeal than fanaticism. be it based on religious, ethnic or monetary interests. It may not, therefore, be enough to appeal to the Indian people's vision of a common future implicit in Ernest Renan's

definition of a nation, advanced in 1882 by him at the Sorbonne, when he said, "What constitutes a nation is not speaking the same tongue or belonging to the same ethnic group, but having accomplished great things in common in the past and the wish to accomplish them in the future". A fractured society, enjoying a tenuous common cultural affinity, may react better, should such a vision not only encompass everyone's economic well-being but also satisfy most factions nurtured by the current politics of patronage that has evolved in this region since 1947, in a style reminiscent of India's feudal past. Anything less universal in its appeal may well lead to a million mutinies and turn the Indian subcontinent into many Somalias, thanks to an easy access to lethal weapons all over the region.

But a vision, as commonly understood, does have an idealistic underpinning. And what better ideal can India pursue than that of 'One World' implicit in its age-old precept of VASUDHAIVA KUTUMBAKAM (All the world, a family), which must have inspired Mahatma Gandhi to remark, "I feel in the innermost recesses of my heart that the world is sick unto death of blood spilling. The world is seeking a way out and I flatter myself with the belief that perhaps it will be the privilege of the ancient land of India to show the way out to the hungry world."

This mission for India as envisioned by Mahatma Gandhi, when tempered by a pragmatism as expounded in the Bhagavadgita which stresses the need to punish the evil while protecting the good as a primary aspect of good governance by a warrior-king, provides an appropriate conceptual framework for evolving a vision for India in 2020 A.D. Inherent in such a vision is its applicability to the whole of the Indian subcontinent, whose common destiny can no longer be denied by any except those who prefer to remain blind to the converging threats to the future of all mankind.

In sum, a vision for India 2020 must inspire the people of the Indian subcontinent to build nations that are politically mature, socially well-knit, economically vibrant, technologically advanced, psychologically confident, culturally sane, diplomatically adroit and militarily well-prepared to dissuade and deter any naked aggression and defeat any internal insurgency. Emergence of a strong and prosperous nation that will exhibit such characteristics is naturally dependent upon generation of a national will equal to this task of building a new nation out of the current chaos, which, in turn, will demand an exercise of an abundant 'will to power' rooted in supreme self-confidence. One such vision is implicit in the following resolve which the people of India, for instance, must make now, preferably along with their neighbours in the subcontinent.

Vision

'We, the people of India, shall build a sane, strong and a resurgent nation by 2020 A.D., that shall work with like-minded nations of the world, to achieve an assured, common future for all mankind, based on global amity, cooperation and co-prosperity.'

Grand Strategy

In order to influence and reshape its external and internal environment for achieving this vision, India should adopt a grand strategy aimed, as advised by Bajpai and Sahni, at "opposing war, terrorism, fundamentalism, discrimination and hegemonism, and promoting negotiation, democracy, secularism, universalism and equality" and think through its immediate, mid and long term implications, in its politico-socio-economic, technological, cultural, psychological, diplomatic and military fields of endeavour. Such a grand strategy shall provide a conceptual basis for the

most effective deployment of all the resources for making India's vision a reality by 2020 A.D. While working out the details of each strategy does need great deliberation, some broad guidelines are offered below:-

- a) **Socio-Cultural Field** : Population growth rates in the Indian subcontinent that negate economic gains can be curbed in the long run through a social restructuring that would give the people a stake in their own and their nation's prosperity. At the same time it is necessary to set a visible target for stabilising this subcontinent's population. Therefore, socio-cultural strategies must concentrate upon educating the people of the Indian Union and, through their example, those of the sub-continent, to control population at less than two billion by mid-21st Century, and to retain and strengthen those holistic, eternal values of this ancient land, while absorbing a Western work-ethic that stresses quality, punctuality and self-discipline, and, above all, to generate a national will for achieving the stated vision.

- (b) **Techno-Economic Field** : To achieve a regional resurgence by 2020 A.D. its nations must aim at annual GDP growth rates of 10 to 12%, and achieve a per capita income of over US \$ 2000 per year. This will demand greater scope for individual and private sector enterprise, free from bureaucratic curbs, except for those that ensure an eco-friendly and sustainable growth in view of the earth's finite resources, a parameter whose global relevance may imply a slowing down of the global economy and an acceptance of a simpler standard of living than the one currently prevalent in the affluent sections of many societies.

- (c) **Politico-Military Field** : As the world travels from an era of ambiguous challenges and of national endeavour in pursuit of narrow, selfish interest to one of universal goodwill, cooperation and coprosperity through an acknowledgement of a global interdependence for the survival of mankind, it will move to a world that is better than the one before, but never become a paradise on earth. In pursuit of such an improved world, there is a need to strengthen world bodies like the UNO and the WTO and their affiliates, for defusing conflict situations that may lead to an overt or a covert use of force to settle real or perceived disputes between nations, communities and religions, and, further, for resolving these by military means, when necessary, all through a universal acceptance of global governance.

CONCLUSION

The issues highlighted in this paper and the guidelines suggested for adopting the right strategies need to be discussed thoroughly in order to form an action plan for India and its neighbours to play their legitimate role in building a better future for themselves and for all mankind. As Alvin Toffler had remarked while writing about the Third Wave civilisation, "To ask larger questions is to risk getting things wrong. Not to ask them at all is to constrain the life of understanding. In a time of exploding change, asking the very largest questions about our future is not merely a matter of intellectual curiosity. It is a matter of survival."

This paper is an attempt to ask such questions that affect the survival with dignity and honour of one-sixth of the human race, living in the Indian sub-continent. At best, it can provide food for thought. It cannot provide a panacea for the ills of the world in general, and of India in particular. But it does offer a basis for a

vision of its future and how to achieve it. Success in this venture depends upon the ability of India and its neighbours to generate a national will, a strong will to power in Nietzschean terms, without which this vision may remain a distant dream. Educating India and its neighbours for effective governance, so as to promote such a national will, is their first priority task fifty years after independence.

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