

CENTRE FOR ADVANCED STRATEGIC STUDIES

The Centre for Advanced Strategic Studies (CASS), Pune was registered on 21st September, 1992 under the Society's Registration Act, 1860, and as a Charitable Public Trust on 28th October, 1992, under the Bombay Charitable Public Trust Act of 1950. The Department of Scientific and Industrial Research, Ministry of Science and Technology, Government of India has accorded recognition to the Centre as a Scientific and Industrial Research Institution. The Centre has also been granted exemption U/S 80G of the Income Tax Act, 1961, which gives fifty percent exemption to the donors.

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Published in collaboration with

Menaka Prakashan
(Publication division of MediaNext)
2117, Sadashiv Peth,
Vijayanagar Colony,
Pune – 411 030, Maharashtra

Email: sales@menakaprakashan.com
Webstore: www.menakabooks.com

For subscriptions: 9823 69 69 60

Printed at:
Vikram Printers, Parvati,
Pune – 411009

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Single issue price ₹ 400	Annual Subscription ₹ 2000 (Includes postage)	Please turn to last page for subscription form. To subscribe online, please visit www.menakabooks.com
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CASS Journal
Volume 4, No. 2, April–June 2017

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Editor's Note

"Mind is never a problem, mindset is."

- Prime Minister Narendra Modi

India is in transition. If this is to be India's century, we the citizens will have to change our mindset about many issues. Transparency and accountability will need to be woven into national fabric to ensure speedy removal of ills like corruption and age old dogmas. By 2020 India will be the youngest country in the world with many young Indian seeking jobs and livelihood. While the Government has announced programmes like 'Skill India', 'Start-up India and Stand-up India' and 'Make in India', all citizens will need to contribute in these national programmes positively to ensure their success. Or else India's demographic advantage will wither away. Although these issues reflect upon the social ethos of our country, these have an indirect bearing on societal wellbeing and in turn on the national security. Pune Dialogue on National Security (PDNS) is a platform initiated in 2015 to discuss all such and other aspects which impinge upon the internal and external; traditional and non-traditional aspects of National Security.

In the last quarter of 2016 the Centre was a partner in the second annual Pune Dialogue on National Security (PDNS-2016). This annual dialogue is jointly organised by Pune International Centre (PIC), The Tribune Foundation of Chandigarh, Policy Perspective Foundation of Delhi and our Centre for

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Advanced Strategic Studies (CASS). The dialogue was held under the Chatham House rules and was a great success. For the Dialogue in 2017 we hope to expand the attendance including some of the experts from abroad. Highlights of the report of PDNS 2016 are published in this issue of our Quarterly Journal.

Along with the PDNS 2016 report, this issue also carries 5 articles of interest in varied areas. With the change of Presidency in the US, there are indications of a possible realignment between USA and Russia, notwithstanding the issue of alleged Russian cyber interference in the US elections or Russia's continued occupation of Ukrainian territory. Closer home India is perceived to be tilting more towards the US than her traditional ally, Russia. In turn, for the first time since India's independence, the Russians may export weapon systems to Pakistan and more importantly may join the China-Pak Economic Corridor, about which India has major security concerns. Air Commodore SN Bal has written a very well researched article about the Russian role in world politics and also on Indo-Russia relations. There is an article by Shri Rana Banerji, an expert on Pakistan about the current situation in that country.

The issue also carries an article by Prof Ashok Soman on using merchant marine innovatively to beef up Indian Navy's fleet to increase the naval prowess. Shri Animesh Roul has written on the Islamic State entry into in the Af-Pak region. The journal also carries a book-review by Captain Paranjpe on the book written by Captain Dhonde on his solo voyage around the world in a sail boat. This is a 'first' by an Indian and reflects on author's grit and determination to make such a solo voyage.

I wish to thank all the authors, subscribers and the readers for your continued support.

Jai Hind.



(BN Gokhale)
Air Marshal (Retd)
Director, CASS

Date: 31st March 2017

Pune Dialogue on National Security 2016

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY & KEY RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

1. The second annual Pune Dialogue on National Security (PDNS) was held in Pune on 7 and 8 September, 2016. Conceived by Dr. Vijay Kelkar, Vice-President of the Pune International Centre (PIC), the dialogue was organised jointly by the Pune International Centre, the Tribune Trust of Chandigarh, the Policy Perspectives Foundation of Delhi and the Centre for Advanced Strategic Studies, Pune. An overview of PDNS was presented by convener of the conference, Air Marshal Bhushan Gokhale (Retd.) and the inaugural address was delivered by Deputy National Security Adviser (Dr.) Arvind Gupta.
2. The aim of this Dialogue is to provide inputs for formulating a comprehensive National Security Policy and to deliberate upon important matters of national security with a holistic approach. Approximately 80 experts, drawn from different professions and different parts of the country, took part in the deliberations. Their names are listed at the end of this paper. The discussion was candid and under the Chatham House rules, which ensured free flow of ideas.
3. The issues discussed at length during PDNS 2015 included the National Security Policy Framework; External Dimensions to India's Security; Federalism and National Security (Internal Dimensions); Impact of National Resources on National Security; New Technologies and the

ISSN 2347-9191 print

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CASS Journal, Vol. 4, No. 2, April-June 2017, pp. 9-52

- Emerging Perspective for National Security, The Fourth & Fifth Estate.
4. The discussions during PDNS 2016 centred on India's Nuclear Deterrence & Doctrine; Challenges & Opportunities in Cyberspace; Maritime Security; Countering Radicalisation & Violent Extremism; River Basins & Sharing of Water and Civil – Military Relationship.
 5. This report contains a summary of the discussions of each of the six sessions and the recommendations of each panel. Of these, some of the key recommendations in the six subject areas covered in PDNS 206 are further summarised in the Executive Summary.

KEY RECOMMENDATIONS

Session on: Cyber Space - Challenges and Opportunities

1. The Central as well as most of the State governments in India are rapidly adopting Cyber technology and asking their departments to go online. While certain States have developed robust capabilities many states are just beginning to realise its importance. The overall cyber security standards are very poor. This needs to be addressed urgently.
2. India is lagging in the creation of a workforce of IT security professionals. The best age to find a good security professional at the base level would be around 18–22. People of this age–group are needed to work on cyber security 24x7. In India, all bright IT students end up working in the IT industry doing routine jobs rather than sitting and experimenting with hardware and software. From a security perspective, universities and Institutions need to introduce courses in defensive and offensive cyber capabilities.
3. India can accelerate her cyber security journey from 20 years to 10 and from 10 to 5 by creating cyber security clusters. At least 3–4 cyber security clusters need to be built with cooperation between the government, industry and academia. Pune with its vibrant ecosystem of IT and Cyber Security companies, academic institutions, defence and government labs is willing to take the lead and has already established such cluster. Government funding and technology support is required to develop this first nascent cluster so as to establish a national template for further replication.
4. India has a huge potential in cyber space and can create a culture by organising the best cyber security competitions, hackathons and cyber fests. One such event involving various scenarios was held in Pune on 3rd September 2016 with about six schools and 300 students.

5. India needs to have a Cyber Deterrence Doctrine. On Nuclear issues, we have the doctrine of deterrence, of No First Use. Do we have some kind of cyber deterrence against cyber-attacks from other countries? Iran came up with very good cyber capabilities after it was hit by Stuxnet. China has the People's Liberation Army units where the personnel sit in uniforms and make high quality malware. Other countries need to be aware of our cyber offensive capabilities as part of the Cyber Deterrence Doctrine.

Session on: Countering Radicalisation and Violent Extremism

- 1 A multi-faceted response, involving the Central Government and its agencies and the State Governments and their agencies, as also Civil Society at various levels and in various sectors is required to counter Radicalisation and violent extremism.
- 2 A concerted effort is necessary to ensure that alternate means of funding and resourcing Islamist terror groups and radicalisation activity is pre-empted and stopped. Criminal organisations and individuals involved in the narcotics trade, human trafficking, gold smuggling etc. need particularly to be acted against, as these are reportedly also drawn upon for purposes of the Islamist agenda against India.
- 3 Comprehensive reforms of the Police Forces need to be undertaken by all State Governments. These need to embrace not merely the emoluments, housing and service conditions of police personnel, but also training, orientation and management practices. Police reforms are a necessity for National Security, especially towards tackling effectively the alarming dimensions of the problem of Radicalisation and Violent Extremism.
- 4 Islamic radicalisation and violent extremism runs increasingly on the basis of propaganda disseminated via channels of mass communication, particularly cyberspace. The Government of India and the State Governments need to encourage and facilitate on war-footing, the development of cyber-warfare capacity under official aegis, as well as in Civil Society, to combat the Islamist narrative, propaganda, training, and orientation. Necessary prior training and orientation of the official personnel involved in such work, is essential. Financial and technical resource allocation necessary for the purpose would need to be provided on high priority.
- 5 The development of an authentic and authoritative ideological counter-narrative is of utmost importance, to refute and negate the narrative

propagated for radicalisation and violent extremism. Such counter-narrative must be based on comprehensive Islamic study by experts, citing definitive authorities in Islamic scripture, and argumentation couched in language that may easily be understood by a range of lay Muslims, as well as appeal to scholars and clerics.

- 6 Currently, the Government of India's position on key issues and incidents germane to Islamic Terrorism & National Security is not coming through authentically in the absence of a properly publicised Press briefing on daily basis by the Government's Press Information Officer (PIO). For purpose of countering the menace of Radicalisation & Violent Extremism, it is therefore very important, that, the Government of India review and restructure its news-management systems and operational drills so as to ensure that the right outlook gets presented via the Press for public consumption countrywide.

Session on: Nuclear Deterrence and Doctrine

1. India's nuclear doctrine needs to be looked at from the context of global strategic environment which is very different today from the time India decided to become a nuclear weapons state. Much of the available literature on nuclear deterrence and doctrine was developed in the context of the Cold War; of an East-West situation in which two alliance systems confronted one another. Today, we have a multiple nuclear weapons state scenario with at least 9 declared nuclear weapons states. Nobody knows the dynamics of this. These aspects need to be analysed in detail as not much work has been done on this even in the West.
2. In view of the vast amounts of imported hardware, including defence hardware, India needs to develop the capacities to test hardware and ensure that no malware has been embedded in it. Questions that need to be critically examined include: Where are we importing our military hardware from? Who is providing this to us and how good it is? Much work needs to be done in the setting up of testing facilities in the country. This could also be done through public-private partnership.

Session on: Maritime Security

1. Given the emerging salience of the Blue Water Economy, a Maritime Commission or Maritime Authority will no longer suffice. The creation of a full-fledged Ministry of Maritime Affairs, under the charge of a Cabinet Minister has now become inescapable. This ministry would act as the focal point for India's maritime policies and interests. This ministry could have a direct linkage or authority over the 16 different ministries, departments or organisations involved presently in ocean-related matters.
2. Better technologies and better capabilities are required to enhance Underwater Domain Awareness (UDA) for a more efficient exploitation and exploration of undersea resources, whether it is oil and gas, fisheries or various minerals. The Under Water Ranges (UWR) can be established for broad UDA related 'Acoustic Capacity' building initiative with the participation of acoustic experts from all the four stakeholders: national security, maritime industry, environment and science and technology. The effort will not only provide enhanced understanding of the complex underwater environment in the IOR for mitigating medium related distortions, but will also significantly contribute towards improved stealth assessment for Indian warships as well.

Session on: River Basins and Sharing of Water

1. The mapping of demand needs to be done based on watershed, sub-basin and basin-wise; in order to best understand and then address availability, utilisation and distribution issues for each sector. Such mapping needs to be done on current and projected basis. A clear and detailed mapping would enable differentiated strategies to be developed for different geographies while enabling greater equity within each sub-basin thus reducing conflict. In several areas changes in cropping patterns, practices and industrial activity will need to be enabled. Focussed and continuing action would need to be initiated on prevention of pollution, afforestation and water body conservation.
2. Recycling wastewater and de-salination of water can help increase water availability. Aligarh Muslim University has perfected the technique of recycling wastewater without any energy costs, through a process of anaerobic digestion. The University needs advice and support to market

this process. The other technology is desalination of oceanic water through nanotechnology.

3. Like carbon footprint, “water footprint” should be introduced to create awareness on water consumption. For example, 20,000 litres of water is consumed in the manufacturing of one kilo of chocolate. If this information is printed on chocolate packets, people will think twice before gifting chocolates to one another. If we know the water footprint of all that we consume, it will motivate us to save water.

Session on: Civil – Military Relationship

1. The Civil-Military relationship has to be based on mutual respect. What is required is enhanced understanding between the bureaucracy and the armed forces. In this connection, recommendations of various committees such as the Kargil Review Committee and the Naresh Chandra Committee need to be implemented at the earliest.

Conclusion:

The PDNS will be held annually to discuss the internal and external threats to our National Security. The dialogue will continue to address traditional threats as well as those of recent vintage. It will include all issues that impact National Security.

Pune Dialogue on National Security 2016

SUMMARY OF DISCUSSION – SESSION 1

Nuclear Deterrence and India's Nuclear Doctrine

1. In recent times, there have been several writings suggesting, even demanding, a review/revision of India's nuclear doctrine. Civilian and military voices have expressed anxiety over the inability of the Indian nuclear doctrine to deter Pakistan from mounting acts of terrorism against India. They feel that Pakistan's nuclear strategy has been more effective and that it has managed to 'take India for a ride'. In the wake of the changes in the nuclear capabilities of the adversaries and India's threat perceptions, the efficacy of two major attributes of India's nuclear doctrine -- Credible Minimum Deterrence and no first use need to be re-examined.
2. Meanwhile, China's on-going conventional and nuclear modernization and a growing assertiveness evoke a sense of apprehension. This is further exacerbated by the collusion of China and Pakistan on strategic matters and capability build up. Pakistan has served as China's proxy, while using terrorism as its own surrogate. Both raise India's security concerns.
3. What will be the impact of new weapons developed by China such as the Hypersonic Glide Bomb (HGB). This is a sub-stratospheric missile which can travel at speeds ranging from Mach 6 to Mach 9, and designed to attack nuclear and non-nuclear targets within a very short period of time. This could function as a conventional weapon or a strategic weapon if it is mounted with nuclear warheads. Would this system be compatible with the No First Use nuclear doctrine? Such weapons are also being developed by USA and Russia.
4. How does a nation deal with 'Non-State Actors' in the event that they use a nuclear weapon within the territory of that very state? Can this be treated as a State-to-State issue or an attack from within somewhere else? How should a nation deal with terrorism coupled with weapons of mass destruction? On the other hand nowhere in the world have nuclear weapons resolved problems posed by terrorism or sub-conventional threats posed to nuclear weapon states – the US has been through its most expensive and infructuous overseas wars in Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria and Libya but its nuclear weapons have not been of any use beyond the deterrent they provided against other great powers jumping into such overt war.

5. To the extent that questions raised by those seeking doctrinal review are influenced by threats from Pakistan and China, as also cross-border non-state terrorism rooted in Pakistan, it remains unclear how a change in doctrine will meet such challenges. The question remains whether the existing capability and preparedness are credible deterrent. Those seeking a review do not address these questions.
6. The Nuclear Doctrine, as it is presently formulated, requires a credible retaliatory (second) strike capability and this led to the development of the Strategic Triad: land-based missiles, air-based weapons and most importantly, submarine-launched missiles. This requires four to five nuclear submarines – at least 3 – to sail continuously and have the capability to launch a massive retaliation in case of a first-strike by an adversary.
7. India has maintained that if her forces or her public are subjected to biological or chemical weapons then also India will retain the option to use nuclear weapons.
8. There has been a relative stability between India and China due to both having similar nuclear doctrines, both engaged in the pursuit of respective imperatives for technological developments and both holding restraints on sabre rattling. India has developed fairly satisfactory relations with China including trade and investment – something which has not been possible with Pakistan. If however, India remains weak it would be hard to predict China's attitude and posture.
9. In 2013-14 there was talk in India about the revision of its NFU doctrine after China released its white paper on National Defence and did not mention NFU. There was also frustration because of repeated terror attacks from Pakistan.
10. The basic question is what deters better? Is it through first use preparation or is it through the suggestion of retaliation only? Out of the 9 nuclear weapons countries, 3 are part of an alliance system which has a flexible response as a doctrine which does not rule out first use. One great power, Russia has changed its doctrine from NFU to first use after the demise of USSR. Israel formally professes no clear doctrine or even possession of nuclear weapons. Pakistan and North Korea miss no opportunity to tout their nuclear weapons and how they would use them first; India & China- have declared NFU doctrines. Pakistan and other countries which have a first use doctrine say NFU is only a declaratory doctrine and

means nothing. Within India, the basic criticism of NFU is that it signals passivity and pacifism

11. However, NFU is the most stabilising strategy since it places the onus on the potential user to calculate risks of retaliation and of escalation and, since no one can say with certainty that risk of retaliation will be nil, it promotes stability. Besides, the NFU can better accommodate supporting non-proliferation and disarmament which are a part of the objectives of India's nuclear strategy.
12. If both India and Pakistan had first use doctrine, the chance of nuclear war would be very high. Deterrence stability with no first use increases because there's no forward deployment of arsenal, missiles are not on hair trigger alert, there is no pre-delegation of authority, and one is not putting the pressure on the adversary in terms of using or losing.
13. How should India deal with the entire issue of Theatre Nuclear Weapons (TNW) which Pakistan claims to have developed - and deployed, according to some experts- as deterrence against a massive conventional attack from India? Pakistan has stated in the same breath that these weapons are under centralised command and control. Can they then function as battlefield weapons if they require permission to fire from central authority? In such a situation, can they be used promptly in the event of a massive Indian attack? More the time taken for the use of theatre weapons, the less will they function as theatre weapons.
14. Tactical nuclear weapons are a misnomer because any use of tactical or theatre nuclear weapons in the battlefield will have a strategic impact and the repercussion will be geostrategic.
15. The fact that Pakistan went in for TNWs is itself an indication that they don't believe in automatic escalation. The reason they went for TNWs is because they wanted to further enhance the threat of escalation. How should India respond to Pakistan? Should India also have theatre weapons?
16. In the event of a major terror strike from Pakistan with evidence of state sponsorship, military retaliation from India will be or should be to inflict punishment on the Pakistan Army and its organs to raise the cost of waging a proxy war. The most likely option would be to limit retaliation to military targets across the Line of Control. The Operation will be calibrated to avoid escalation.

17. How should India deal with the problem of TNWs? There are different ways in which India can limit or complicate Pakistan's options. One is an infantry tactic called "hugging" by which you get as close as possible to enemy forces to prevent the enemy from using TNWs or artillery and air power as it would hurt their own forces. Another method is to stick to more populated areas and focus on an offensive along Punjab from where a good part of Pakistan's military comes, especially the Army. The third method is India could tweak its doctrine from NFU to a flexible response where it does not require us to have TNWs.
18. Pakistan's doctrine says it will use theatre nuclear weapons on its territory if Indian forces have entered Pakistan. So, Pakistan won't have any problem with the use of TNW within its own territory, it is more likely to use it in POK rather than on its own territory.
19. There is also the view that no target in Kashmir is a Pakistan nuclear target because the waters of the Indus, the Kishanganga / Neelum, the Jhelum and the Chenab flow into Pakistan. So they will never target Kashmir with nuclear weapons.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

NUCLEAR DETERRENCE AND INDIA'S NUCLEAR DOCTRINE

1. India must consider the implications of Pakistan's acquisition of eight Jin class submarines from China which will most likely be equipped with nuclear weapons. Pakistan has declared a naval strategic command as the custodian of Pakistan's second strike capability.
2. India's nuclear doctrine needs to be looked at from the context of a global strategic environment which is very different today from the time India decided to become a nuclear weapons state. Much of the available literature on nuclear deterrence and doctrine was developed in the context of the Cold War; of an East-West situation in which two alliance systems confronted one another. Today, we have a multiple nuclear weapons state scenario with at least 9 declared nuclear weapons states. Nobody knows the dynamics of this. For example, if there is a nuclear war between India and Pakistan, what would it mean in terms of the roles of China, Russia and the United States? These aspects need to be analysed.

3. Pakistan has been able to- without actually using its nuclear weapons- provide some level of security for itself. India should honestly re-evaluate how much benefit its doctrine and posture has provided and what has been the cost.
4. India must not take Western thinking uncritically. The thought that nuclear escalation between India and Pakistan would be fast and automatic has been used by Pakistan very effectively. Although Pakistan has a First Use policy, from what we know of their nuclear weapons, they are not in a ready-to-use state. Like India, their weapons are de-alerted, de-mated and kept in the same kind of posture as India. Thus, escalation won't be automatic but would be 'considered escalation'. India shouldn't buy into this myth of escalation, the consequences of which have been that India has not been able to consider conventional retaliation and conventional military responses to Pakistan's use of terrorism as a strategy.
5. Pakistan believes TNWs will halt an Indian offensive. The best option is to make massive retaliation more credible through carefully| calibrated signalling.
6. There is much less use of soft power by India in terms of making a horror film on the consequences of a nuclear war in the subcontinent. We have a very powerful film industry in Bollywood. Such a film could drive the common man in both the countries realise the futility of nuclear weapons and percolate up to the decision makers.
7. We can handle Pakistan militarily. The NFU has stood us in good stead; we've earned global recognition as a responsible State armed with nuclear weapons- as for example, the Indo-U.S. Nuclear Deal and nuclear cooperation agreements with all major powers with advanced nuclear technology, (with the only exception of China) and strategic partnerships with them. Making our retaliation more credible is still work in progress but with significant and credible enhancement in capability.

Pune Dialogue on National Security 2016

SUMMARY OF DISCUSSION – SESSION 2

Cyberspace: Challenges and Opportunities

1. The emergence of new technologies and rapid development of 2nd and 3rd generation innovations in cyber technology are changing the way of living, doing business and interacting with others. Some of these new technologies include 'digital fabrication', sensor-based Internet of Things (IoT), advent of 'Block-Chain' (distributed ledger system), smart phones, social media, robotics, etc.
2. Smart phones are evolving as a game changer for internet access. Globally, India is currently the third largest market for smart phones with a potential demand of 800 million more smart phones. The distributed ledger technology which started with 'bit-coin', the so-called crypto currency, is already being recognised for decentralised technology and it is almost impossible to break the encryption. It may earn legitimacy for identity verification of cyber surfers. A few global banks are already believed to be exploring the possibility of using the technology.
3. Digital fabrication will transform manufacturing technology and has serious potential for generating new forms of crime and abuse. Sensor-based Internet of Things (IoT) with its capacity to generate data through cloud based services is the most dynamic development and is considered a transformative shift comparable to the introduction of the PC. The Introduction of cloud-based services will revolutionise the business practices and the entire approach towards regulatory and tax compliance and the IT architecture will have to be re-imagined. All these technologies will produce enormous data including personal data and the data analytics is likely to be a core common competency to exploit their full potential.
4. Many devices empowered with Artificial Intelligence (AI) can be misused and exploited to commit crimes through remote manipulation. These are susceptible to disruptive and deceptive attacks and might be used to disrupt or damage Critical Infrastructure or other networks serving national security.
5. Tomorrow's war, in a cyber-sense, is not going to be at the border but will happen in residences of citizens, in power stations and various other critical infrastructure of the nation. The dividing line between internal and external threats to securities is getting increasingly blurred as Geography loses its

salience in the virtual world. The interconnected nature of the virtual world is softening the rigid borders causing stress to the traditional Westphalian notion of sovereignty. Unlike conventional warfare where one can see the things coming physically and there can be some sort of prior intimation, in Cyber warfare, one comes to know only when the intruder or the enemy has already entered in and has taken away a lot many things or done intended damage. Cyber space has been recognised as the fifth dimension of warfare.

6. **Social Media and Cyber Warfare:** Today social media is being seen as a potential tool for psychological and non-contact warfare. This is a new concept that is coming up and must form a part of any offensive or defensive strategy. It is not necessary to actually invade anybody's territory except to get into cyber space. For instance, an agency in Pakistan finds out issues in India, makes pre-made tweets and then creates a twitter storm to influence public opinion.
7. **Privacy Issues:** Discussions on Cyber security generate a complex if rather confusing mix of viewpoints and positions on fundamental rights, privacy, law enforcement, human rights, globalisation, and national security. End-to-End encryption services provided by certain technology-based communication services and other technological architecture that deliberately mask user data pose a serious and complex intertwined challenge of ethics, privacy and the obligation of the state to maintain public safety. Enormous data will reside in the hands of non-Government entities. It has the potential of turning an individual's life into a product with a revenue value for the entity possessing that data. These raise pertinent questions about privacy and related concerns regarding responsibilities of these entities.
8. **Cyber Threats:** India faces four kinds of cyber threats, namely, cyber warfare, cyber terrorism, cybercrime and cyber espionage. This includes stealing of secrets of State, accessing of classified information, infiltration into sensitive Government and commercial-economic systems. Denial of Service attacks involves jamming the entire infrastructure and preventing access to that infrastructure. A glaring example is that of Estonia in 2007 when the critical infrastructure of Estonia, the entire government of Estonia was jammed for almost 11 days. NATO along with many other countries had to participate together to mitigate the incident. Some of the unique issues of cyberspace are that attacks cannot be attributed to any identifiable person; attacks are silent and go unnoticed for long periods. Cybercrime has also emerged as a service wherein an underground community offers cybercrime services for money.

9. **Critical infrastructure and Insider Attacks:** Critical infrastructure would include critical sectors such as national power, defence, banking financial sector, insurance, power, telecom communications and transportation. Intrusion from inside is a very distinct possibility and this is where the real challenge comes. There is a need to set up protocols and systems that ensure that any action by even authorised personnel, does not lead to a calamity. Security issues have now moved from network security to the security of devices and 86% of IT decision makers do not feel confident in their security posture particularly with reference to devices.
The NCIIPC (National Critical Information Infrastructure Protection Centre) has been mandated to protect the critical information infrastructure of the country and is functioning under the NTRO (National Technical Research Organisation). It's a National Nodal Agency, designated under Section 70A of the IT Act, and it's got a mandate which is enormous and overwhelming.
10. **Hardware vulnerability:** The vast amounts of imported hardware, including defence hardware, poses high vulnerability as hardware manufacturing is not done in India. In any case, at no point of time will India manufacture all of its critical hardware. Does India have the capacities to even test that hardware and ensure that no malware has been embedded in it? Questions that need to be critically examined include: Where are we taking our military hardware from? Who is providing this to us and how good it is?
11. **Cyber Security Management:** Four aspects need to be addressed: manpower, processes, technology and management. India needs to train people; processes need to be laid down, appropriate technology deployed and a proper management system put in place. The cabinet committee on security approved the Cyber Security Framework in 2013 to handle the cyber security scenario. Certain institutions have also been built at the Centre, but the process is still in its infancy and needs to mature, overcoming conventional structural resistance to change.

**RECOMMENDATIONS:
CYBERSPACE: CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES**

1. Many state governments in India are rapidly adopting Cyber technology and asking their departments to go online. While certain States have developed robust capabilities most states are just beginning to realise its importance. The overall cyber security standards are very poor. This needs to be addressed urgently.
2. In view of the vast amounts of imported hardware, including defence hardware, India needs to develop the capacities to test hardware and ensure that no malware has been embedded in it. Questions that need to be critically examined include: Where and how the military hardware is being procured? Who is providing? How good is it? There is a need to have Defence in Depth which means that the hardware must be procured with a lot of care and caution. Much work needs to be done in the setting up of testing facilities in the country. Two labs have been set up, one in Kolkata and the other in Bangalore. A few more could be set up in the next six months but we need to have a public-private partnership because just two labs cannot meet the requirements. More labs have to be established in the private sector.
3. One needs to clearly differentiate between manufacturing hardware for critical infrastructure and hardware for mass use such as smart phones. India can do very little in manufacturing chips for smart phones. Instead, a better approach would be to focus on hardware for military uses alone.
4. India is lagging in the creation of a workforce of IT security professionals. The best age to find a good security professional at the base level would be around 18-22. People of this age-group are needed to work on cyber security 24x7. In India, all bright IT students end up working in the IT industry doing routine jobs rather than sitting and experimenting with hardware and software. From a security perspective, universities and Institutions need to introduce courses in defensive and offensive cyber capabilities.
5. Hands-on training for public sector stakeholders and security index for CIIs (Critical Information Infrastructure) is very important and needs to be put into place.
6. India can accelerate her cyber security journey from 20 years to 10 and from 10 to 5 by creating cyber security clusters. At least 3-4 cyber security clusters need to be built with cooperation between the government, industry and academia. Pune with its vibrant ecosystem of IT and Cyber Security

companies, academic institutions, defence and government labs is willing to take the lead and has already established such cluster. Government funding and technology support is required to develop this first nascent cluster so as to establish a national template for further replication. (*See Appendix-1*)

7. A cyber security focused VC fund can be created to promote start-ups and innovation in this sector and create cyber security products, services and solutions.
8. India needs to have a Cyber Deterrence Doctrine. On Nuclear issues, we have the doctrine of deterrence, of No First Use. Do we have some kind of cyber deterrence against cyber-attacks from other countries? Iran came up with very good cyber capabilities after it was hit by Stuxnet. China has the People's Liberation Army units where the personnel sit in uniforms and make high-quality malware. Other countries need to be aware of our cyber offensive capabilities as part of the Cyber Deterrence Doctrine.
9. A huge commercial opportunity exists for Indian companies in the cyber security space. Last year, the market size stood at \$75 billion, with India accounting for about \$1.3 billion. This is expected to rise to \$165-170 billion in the next 5 years and further to the \$350 billion range in the next 10 years. Companies and countries are making huge investments in securing their digital space. The Indian IT industry can build on this.
10. India has a huge potential in cyber space and can create a culture by organising the best cyber security competitions, hackathons and cyber fests. One such event involving offensive and defensive scenarios was held in Pune on 3rd September 2016 with about six schools and 300 students.
11. Unfortunately, the law has not kept pace with technology. In India, cyber law is yet to fully evolve to assimilate new requirements arising from abuse of new technologies by criminals and other malfeasants. A closer look appears necessary to examine whether our Criminal Justice System along with its penal and procedural laws needs to be adapted to meet new ground realities.
12. India needs to engage in the international arena and ensure that States behave responsibly. The sharing of information is very important to alert others on how things can happen. The CERT (Computer Emergency Response Team) and NCIIP (National Critical Information Infrastructure Protection Centre) need to work more closely with other organisations and countries. It is in India's interest to promote and contribute towards stability and security in Cyberspace. Cyber war is already a reality but its 'Rules of Engagement' are yet to fully evolve.

Pune Dialogue on National Security 2016

SUMMARY OF DISCUSSION SESSION - 3

Maritime Security

1. Maritime security encompasses the “*safeguarding of India’s national maritime interests and safety of the nation from all forms of sea based threats*” at all times. These interests include protecting India’s sovereignty and territorial integrity; promoting safety and security of Indian citizens, fishing, shipping, trade, energy supply assets and resources in the maritime domain; pursuing peace, stability and security in India’s maritime zones, maritime neighbourhood and other areas of maritime interests. From these are derived maritime security objectives, which are: To deter conflict and coercion in India; to conduct maritime military operations in a manner that enables early termination of conflict on terms favourable to India; to shape a favourable and positive maritime environment for enhancing security in India’s areas of maritime interests; to protect Indian coastal and offshore assets against attacks emanating from the sea and to develop requisite maritime force levels and maintain the capability for meeting India’s maritime security requirements. Maritime security essentially means ensuring safety from all kinds of threats from the sea and securing sea communication lines to protect the economy. 97% of India’s trade comes by sea.
2. With the exception of the Navy and the Coast Guard, which have seen reasonably well-planned growth, India has shown gross neglect of its maritime interests, assets and potential. It is necessary for India’s decision-makers to understand that the navy, by itself, constitutes just one pillar of the larger edifice of maritime security and without the rest of the structure, including strategic planning, our maritime power will remain hollow and vulnerable. Apart from the Navy and the Coast Guard, the other, equally vital components of maritime security include a large and diverse merchant fleet, a competent shipbuilding industry, efficient ports and infrastructure, an ocean-going fishing fleet, inland waterways, capability to exploit seabed resources and the trained human resources required for all these.
3. India’s failure to exploit the maritime sector not only has adverse implications for maritime security, but also constitutes a huge missed opportunity in the context of our economic growth, industrial development

and job-creation. Projects like 'Sagarmala', mooted in 2003' and "Maritime Agenda-2020", mooted in 2012, indicate that there is awareness at the political level of this lacuna; however, their implementation, has remained indifferent and lethargic.

4. Although India has put together a coastal security organisation, there are 16 departments, ministries and agencies including the Navy and Coast Guard; each reporting to a different head, with no co-ordination between them. This is the weakest link. By way of contrast, after 9/11, it took just 15 days for the US to create an Office of Homeland Security in the White House, and exactly one month to pass an Act of Congress to setup the Cabinet-level Department of Homeland Security (DHS). It is noteworthy that of all the measures that have kept the US homeland free of terror for 15 years, the most significant was the adoption of a 'whole of government' (WoG) approach which integrated 22 federal departments and agencies, including the US Coast Guard to form the DHS.
5. As the largest IOR nation and economy, India must accept its share of the responsibility for the continuing marginalisation of the IOR, as an entity, in the international arena. Not only has the level of intra-regional trade and political interaction remained low but nations have invariably gone beyond the IOR to seek partners. Secondly, India's endeavours to create a pan-IOR identity through organisations like the Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA) and Indian Ocean Naval Symposium (IONS) have languished due to a lack of common interests and inter-dependence. Historically, island nations of the IOR have remained vulnerable to insurgencies, mercenary invasions, attempted coups or natural calamities. While India has invariably come to their assistance in such contingencies, reciprocity has been lacking.
6. The Indian Ocean RIM association has 21 countries and 7 dialogue partners including US and China. BIMSTEC (Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation), which comprises India, Bangladesh, Myanmar, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Bhutan and Nepal is an important multilateral organisation for a part of the Indian Ocean which is acquiring considerable significance. The India-US logistic sharing agreement, LEMOA (Logistics Exchange Memorandum of Agreement) can potentially expand Indian Navy's and the Coast Guard's reach across the entire stretch of the Indian Ocean. Indian Navy enjoys a benign regional image and the Navy's expanding diplomatic engagement is largely welcomed by littoral countries with the possible exception of Pakistan.

7. China's heavy dependence on Indian Ocean sea-lanes has led to its deep involvement in this region; virtually at India's doorstep. The 'string of pearls' denoted a strategy for acquisition of maritime footholds along its vulnerable sea-lanes in the Indian Ocean. China has now gone a step further by evolving the 'one belt-one road' concept to push an even more ambitious maritime agenda linking China's interests in the Indian and Pacific oceans.
8. With land-based resources coming under stress and with technology opening new frontiers of marine resource development, nations are turning to the oceans for meeting their sustainable developmental needs. What has come to be known as the 'Blue Economy', envisages the environmentally sustainable exploitation of fisheries, aquaculture, renewable ocean energy, ports and shipping, seabed exploration and maritime tourism. This is in tune with the Prime Minister's vision of economic growth, employment generation and environment protection. Nations of the Indian Ocean see the Blue Economy as a source of hope for their future development strategy, but lacking financial and technological resources, they look expectantly at India.
9. Need for a Vibrant Shipbuilding Industry: Globally, nations with high economic and political dominance have also been associated with a vibrant shipbuilding industry. Ship-building engages a plethora of manufacturing industries, financial services and energy sectors which are fundamental for inclusive growth of the national economy. The majority of the global ship-building share (94%) is held by Japan, South Korea and China. India with barely 1% (actually 0.84%) has a long way to go. With about 97% of our trade being carried by sea, especially crude and petroleum, it is important that this is carried by Indian flagged carriers – preferably built in India.
10. Presently, it is not competitive to make ships in India. The ship-building industry in India is required to pay 19 types of taxes and levies, which reduces cost competitiveness. The customs duty of 35% on all imports makes it cheaper to import a ship rather than build it in India. It is imperative that, like its Japanese, South Korean and Chinese counterparts, the Indian shipbuilding industry, too, receives substantial government support and incentives in terms of tax exemptions, subsidies and regulatory exceptions for import of materials and technology.
11. India needs to leverage Make in India to Made in India to promote shipbuilding.
After 26/11, fairly basic fast boats for coastal security were imported by the dozens. In spite of having one of the largest fleets of very small fishing boats,

India does not manufacture outboard motors. Although the Indian Navy has a large number of ships and submarines on order, the sad fact is that in every ship that is built in India, the engines, guns, missiles, radars and electronics come from abroad. Even simple screw pumps, propellers and propulsion systems have to be imported. This would create serious vulnerabilities for the Navy in the event of war.

12. The Sagarmala project was announced in 2003 but did not acquire any shape till 2014 when the President announced it in Parliament. Thereafter the concept was developed and brought to the Cabinet. It was in March 2015 that the Cabinet approved Sagarmala and work on this project began around June, 2015. Given that the next General Elections are due in 2019; time-bound progress has become critical for this project.
13. Sagarmala essentially consists of four pillars: increase in port capacity, connectivity, and efficiency of ports & empowerment of the coastal community. Ambitious targets have been pegged to increase port capacity, improved rail connectivity and a detailed “origin-destination analysis” has been done to identify the critical road and railway infrastructure that needs to be built. Master plans have been completed for all the 12 major ports. Efficiency of our ports requires urgent enhancement and cargo-handling capacity needs to be up-graded from the current 1500 million tonnes to 3 billion tonnes by 2025. In terms of institutional mechanism, the National Sagarmala Apex Committee headed by the Minister has been established and another committee is headed by the Cabinet Secretary with Chief Secretaries from the related ministries.
14. The Strategic Manufacturing Sector Council has been entrusted with the task of creating a skilled workforce for shipbuilding. Fourteen job roles which are in scarcity and in great demand have been identified. The Cochin Shipyard will be housing a Centre of Excellence which will begin operations soon.

RECOMMENDATIONS: MARITIME SECURITY

1. In order to create synergies and draw maximum advantage from the maritime sector A nation with India's maritime assets, challenges and opportunities urgently needs to conceive a *National Strategy for Maritime Security*. Till then - a competent and powerful navy notwithstanding - India's economic interests will remain under-developed and its maritime security vulnerable.
2. Adopt a "whole of government approach" towards the development of India's Maritime Domain. Given the emerging salience of the Blue Economy, a Maritime Commission or Maritime Authority will no longer suffice. The creation of a full-fledged Ministry of Maritime Affairs, under the charge of a Cabinet Minister has now become necessary. This ministry would act as the focal point for India's maritime policies and interests. This ministry could have a direct linkage or authority over the 16 different ministries, departments or organisations involved in ocean-related matters. Neighbouring Bangladesh and Sri Lanka have already created such ministries.
3. Promote Shipbuilding: The challenges in the ship-building industry originate from the anomalous tax regime and regulatory framework. With the present tax regime, Indian ship-owners prefer to import vessels. Coherent, consistent efforts are required to overcome these barriers. Although 20% subsidy (reduced by 3% every year for 3 years and phased out in 10 years) has been given on ships built in India, it would be better if the subsidy is maintained at 20% till ship-building catches up in the country.
4. The analysis of the global and Indian shipbuilding industry clearly shows that India needs to look at multiple areas including regulatory framework, industrial policies, state policies, fiscal policies, infrastructure, R&D, skill-building and financing process technology to develop ancillary industries and support. Just giving certain incentives won't be good enough; the whole issue needs to be looked through.
5. Ship repair: The market for global ship-repair is estimated at \$10-12 billion. Singapore's share is 20%. India has a share of only \$100 million. Since India is located strategically on the international trade route, the country can offer ship repair and maintenance services to ships plying from west to east on this trade route. The ship repair industry will also get business from the Indian shipping industry.

6. **Strengthen Marine Police Force:** After the Coastal Security Scheme was started, some state governments now have their own marine police force. Recently, the Home Minister also spoke of starting a Central Marine Force. However, these police wings continue to remain ill-equipped and under-trained. There is a lot that the Indian Navy, Coast Guard and Merchant Navy can do to make the police acquainted with the seas.
7. **Promote Cruise Shipping, Domestic Shipping:** The Merchant Shipping Act needs to be amended appropriately to promote cruise shipping and domestic shipping.
8. **Development of Ports:** The plan for the development & upgradation of ports and associated industries needs to be looked at closely. We are almost reaching a stage where we have more ports and terminal facilities than number of ships. The shipbuilding capacity and the ship repairing capacity planned through the Sagarmala project is still quite a distance away.
9. **Better Technologies for Underwater Domain Awareness:** Better technologies and better capabilities are required to enhance underwater domain awareness (UDA) for a more efficient exploitation and exploration of undersea resources, whether it is oil and gas, fisheries or various minerals. The UWR (Underwater Ranges) can be opened up for broad UDA related Acoustic Capacity building initiative with the participation of acoustic experts from all the four stakeholders: national security, maritime industry, environment and science & technology. The effort will not only provide enhanced understanding of the complex underwater environment in the IOR for mitigating medium related distortions but will also significantly contribute towards improved stealth assessment for Indian warships as well.

Pune Dialogue on National Security 2016

SUMMARY OF DISCUSSION – SESSION 4

Countering Radicalisation and Violent Extremism

1. Radicalisation and Violent Extremism are burgeoning as global and incalculably potent threats to national security. The principal entities prosecuting Radicalisation and Violent Extremism, are the theocratic Islamist States, chiefly, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Qatar, UAE, and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan.
2. In tandem with the above-mentioned entities, are other supportive participants endowed with vast financial reserves, mainly oil revenues, and funds derived from the international contraband trade in narcotics and other high-value commodities.
3. The overarching goal of West Asian entities is the subjugation and supplantation, worldwide, of the cultures, belief systems, values, and the ethos, of entire peoples and countries that are not subscribing as yet to Wahhabism; the ultimate goal being global political conquest and domination.
4. The goal of the Pakistan State, more so its Army leadership, conjoined with Islamist collaborators, is nothing less than to bring about the destruction of India and the conquest of India, and, to that end, to impair and damage India by as many and whichever ways feasible.
5. The plain fact thus is that, our country has been, and is, in the focus of a premeditated, concerted, abundantly-resourced attack, planned by expert practitioners of statecraft and state-destabilisation.
6. This is not something that is unplanned, or sporadic, or merely locally-inspired, though there is, undeniably, an extent of indigenous collaboration, such as from the sectors of organised crime syndicates, violent extremist organisations, and their auxiliary agencies. The first requirement toward tackling the problem of Islamist Radicalisation and Violent Extremism is that institutions of the State, as well as Civil Society nationwide, should comprehend the fact that a meticulously planned, heavily resourced, closely coordinated effort is underway, chiefly Pakistan-based, with abundant Arab-funding, and some indigenous collaboration, the overarching goal whereof is nothing short of the destruction and subjugation of India.

7. Furthermore, it needs to be comprehended widely that Islamist Radicalisation and Violent Extremism which are in themselves serious threats of far-reaching proportions also complicate and intensify all other dire threats to National Security. Realisation on these lines is of basic importance towards mounting a multi-dimensional strategy efficiently to counter Radicalisation and Violent Extremism.
8. Whilst a particular Ministry of the Central Government or a specific Department in each of the State Governments may be responsible, as the case may be to Parliament or the State Legislatures, the task of countering radicalisation and violent extremism involves a range of Ministries of the Central Government and Departments of the State Governments, as also authorities at all levels: Union, State, and District.
9. Darul-Uloom, Deoband, Saharanpur District, Uttar Pradesh, is now the foremost and most prestigious Islamic teaching and research institution in the world (in the sphere of Quranic studies and the Sunnah; more so than even Al-Azhar University, in Cairo, Egypt.) Darul Uloom and its Faculty, more than Sufi institutions and experts, (or Barelvi institutions and scholars), has the institutional strength, the institutional commitment and drive, and, above all, the precision and rigour of approach needed. Darul Uloom has singlehandedly been combating Violent Extremist propaganda, by its own well-researched and efficiently organised counter-propaganda efforts countrywide. It is conceivable that Darul Uloom, Deoband, which hitherto had been keeping itself aloof from successive Governments at the Centre, is sufficiently alarmed by the problem of Islamist Radicalisation and Violent Extremism to be ready and willing to work with Government of India towards tackling the problem.
10. It is reported that recent invalidation of high denomination currency notes has dealt a blow to Hawala racketeering and to the use of counterfeit currency – and has thus impacted agendas of sponsors of terrorist organisations and individuals – for whom the said denomination currency was stock-in-trade.
11. Stupendous advancement in Information and Communications Technology (ICT) has enabled worldwide non-stop bombardment of target audiences, of data, images, ideas, and impulses. A new age of international warfare has come into being. In this 'New Age War', or New War, factors intrinsic to warfare such as Geography, Distance, Climate, and Time, have lesser relevance than before.

12. In New War, Cyber Space has emerged as a principal dimension of waging war in the realm of ideas, ideology, indoctrination, recruitment, sinister motivation, and the perpetration of violence. Cyber Space being the medium of choice for delivering attacks (along with a modicum of local executioners amidst the populace, place, or installation targeted), Old-War requirements such as of communication lines for physical transport of military assets and ordnance over land, sea, or through air, shore-based support infrastructure, and re-supply resources, are no longer as crucial as previously. There is, therefore, incalculably greater flexibility and ability on the part of entities inimical to India, committed to inflicting profound damage on us, and that too at negligible costs and damage to themselves.
13. Channels and agencies central to the running of the narcotics trade, organised crime, hawala racket, illicit arms trade, and human trafficking are natural partners in crime for the powers propagating radicalisation and violent extremism.
14. Certain religious institutions are also important collaborators. Sharp focus of efforts to spread radical ideology and violent extremism is on India's youth, congested urban localities (where concealment and clandestine movement is the more difficult to detect), madrassas, mosques, and Sunni Muslim educational institutions.
15. Collateral focus is also on young intelligentsia in liberal arts colleges and other institutions of higher learning, Bollywood, journalists, and the artistic and creative community.
16. The mainstream media (MSM) including TV and Radio channels, have thus far, by and large, avoided addressing the problem of radicalisation and violent extremism other than to report violent incidents and occasionally carry some analytical op-eds. There has been little or no concerted effort to expose the entities involved, the underlying goals and objectives, plans and programmes, and the hypocrisy and criminality intrinsic to these sinister endeavours. It is important in this connection, for Government of India to review its news-management policy, especially with regard to panel discussions and talk shows which are watched each day widely.
17. MSM generally has been soft on and non-critical of people and parties contributing to radicalisation and violent extremism. Certain political parties and politicians have been openly supportive of radical elements and their organisations. The authorities have hitherto, largely, refrained from taking such political parties and politicians to task.

18. The fact is that, currently, the Government of India's position on key issues and incidents germane to Islamic Terrorism, and National Security, is not coming through authentically and properly. Panel discussions thus are seen just to be politicised debates between representatives or activists of Political Parties. A non-official politician of the ruling coalition is not in a position to represent the State authoritatively and convincingly, on the basis of official knowledge as on behalf of the Government of India. In effect, the Government of India thus remains unrepresented, and the viewing public remains uninformed of many aspects of sensitive issues. The MSM thereby are able to impose, day after day, a slanted narrative on the public mind.
19. Research on Social Media posts and discourse shows public and personal opinion-making and expression thereof has passed through various distinct phases in relation to the problem of radicalisation and violent extremism.
20. The authorities are seriously handicapped in the matter of preventing misuse of Cyber Space by the fact that almost all central servers are located outside India, and the additional fact that India, after its experience in the so-called Emergency of 1975-77, has a zealously guarded tradition of free speech and expression.
21. It is thus in this perspective that the question of Countering Radicalisation and Violent Extremism as a threat to India's national security may be analysed and evaluated.

Causes:

22. Not poverty, unemployment, or underemployment alone, but a sense of deprivation, insecurity, injustice and overt and covert forms of discrimination, can lead young people, many of whom tend to be educated, to embrace the cult of violence. Vengeance and morbid mentality, more than any utopian ideal of a so-called just society is what often drives these young people.
23. The prospect of loot, rapine, opportunity to kill, enslave, and lord over people, has often proved to be a major attraction; especially when presented as a Quranic duty for a believer, and with the additional prospect of assured ascent to Paradise and thus to eternal enjoyment of sensory pleasures promised therein.
24. Recent studies, particularly in the French newspapers, point out that a few of the people who have taken to ISIS are familiar with the basic principles and goals of their religion, enlist to fight for what they believe is a just, and even a divinely-ordained cause.

25. A sense of solidarity with a wider community of believers worldwide is also afforded.
26. Most are guided by what they learn about such ideology while surfing the Internet and in chat rooms and other virtual groupings.
27. Trained provocateurs enter the scene and engage individuals for their potential as recruits.
28. Moreover, many are encouraged to take to violent ways on account of facilitated access to lethal weapons and sophisticated forms of communication, purchasable online and delivered through the same channels that, for e.g. reach hawala money or narcotics or other contraband.
29. State sponsorship of radical elements and terror groups, funds that non-State groups receive through the drug trade, fake currency, money laundering, ownership of energy resources, extortion, slave trade, etc. are factors that fuel sectarian conflicts and movements for self-determination.
30. Radicalisation cannot be reversed nor can extremist violence be contained if both are perceived only as a problem of maintaining local law and order and to be handled only by local authorities responsible for law and order.
31. Radicalisation is a convenient tool to polarise a population and create and cultivate vote banks - especially in a democracy.
32. The Kashmir Valley and, increasingly, parts of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, West Bengal, Assam, Maharashtra and Kerala, are cases in point.
33. The threat of Political Islam, or Islamism and Violent Extremism will not end so long as it is backed by Pakistan where Jihadi groups are part of the State and have State resourcing, equipment, and direction; and there is colossal funding available from West Asia to Pakistan for this activity against India.

**RECOMMENDATIONS:
COUNTERING RADICALISATION AND VIOLENT EXTREMISM**

Organisational

1. Sensitisation and appreciation needs to be developed in institutions (Civil, Military, Police, Security, Central Government, State Governments, District administrations, Educational institutions, Media-related agencies, ICT-related, Cultural, and Religious). They need to be acquainted expertly and fully of their respective responsibilities in order to carry out their part of the countervailing effort and to do so in conjunction and in partnership with others as required.
2. Darul-Uloom, Deoband, Saharanpur District, Uttar Pradesh, is now the foremost and most prestigious Islamic teaching and research institution in the world. Bangladeshi applicants for Indian visas (to pursue Islamic studies in Darul Uloom), on not succeeding in obtaining an Indian visa, head to Pakistan for Islamic studies there. As Pakistani institutions of Islamic teaching are heavily funded by Saudi entities promoting Jihadism, and are therefore centres of violent extremism, the Bangladeshi candidates naturally return thoroughly radicalised. It may be useful to examine whether, without compromising on considerations of security, it may be in India's interest to allow Bangladeshi aspirants entry into India's institutions of Islamic teaching.
3. Government of India, in concert with Civil Society both in India and worldwide, may consider taking up with the US Government the question of the need to establish effective curbs, legal and technical, vis-à-vis misuse of cyberspace channels.

Perception Management

4. Mindful of the role generally played thus far by India's 'Mainstream Media' (MSM), it appears necessary to ponder what could be done to alter attitudes of owner-proprietors thereof for the better. Whether very high-level intervention with the said owner-proprietors may be feasible and effective may be examined. It would be a most noteworthy achievement if such persons can be convinced that whatever be their political preference

in domestic politics, Islamist Radicalisation and Violent Extremism shall impact them also if allowed to go on unchecked, and that the impact can affect their economic prospects as much as their physical well-being; and therefore they need to revise suitably the editorial line and reportage in their information channels – whether Print or electronic.

5. Of great importance also is to keep up efforts to get MSM to adhere to a Code of Conduct in relation to coverage of terrorist incidents, in particular, terrorist incidents when live and underway.
6. Ministry of External Affairs handles media projection in a much better manner, because its Spokesperson regularly briefs the Press, and as occasion requires, more senior officers are also present to brief the Press.
7. Public perception is a key in countering Radicalisation and Violent Extremism, and the MSM presents news as per its own standpoint – daily depicting the Government in very poor light. There is an urgent need to create a cadre of ‘Government Spokespersons (as against ‘Party Spokespersons’) who are articulate and fluent in English, Hindi, and other national languages, and who are trained to appear and debate on the electronic media, with a view to convincing the public at large, on various aspects of official policy, action taken, and other relevant facts that the public at large should know.

Pune Dialogue on National Security 2016

SUMMARY OF DISCUSSION - SESSION 5

River Basins and Sharing of Water

1. India's population is projected to rise to about 1.5 billion by 2040, about half of whom will live and work in urban agglomerations. The UN Habitat Report projects that by 2030, 14 urban clusters will contribute 40% of the GDP and urban India will be the site for 80% of economic production. This would make for a very thirsty industry and urban population. Dependable supplies of water would be required to grow, manufacture, procure and distribute the vast requirements of food and non-food items and generate the energy required on a dependable and sustainable basis.
2. India has a little less than 4% of the world's area, almost 17% of its population and about 4% of the world's fresh water. Clearly, there is stress in many parts of India when it comes to water availability. The water demands for domestic, industrial and agricultural purposes are increasingly becoming competing needs. Solutions or at the very least approaches to any equilibrium must address political, social, environmental, administrative, technical and legal issues if they are to be attainable, let alone sustainable.
3. Credible studies show a strong co-relation between water availability and GDP growth. If we are intending higher GDP growth, we must ensure water security. Water security needs to be seen as a national security issue.
4. India's water utilisation of about 710 VCM is projected by the Ministry of Water Resources to go up to 1180 by 2050. As a percentage utilisation of 1180 VCM is about 105% of our available water. Clearly water is going to be increasingly in short supply. Evidence of this can already be seen.
5. The per capita water availability has been reducing since independence, from 5000 cubic metre per person in 1950 to only 1545 today. This will go down further to 1100. Thus, we are already water stressed and are heading towards water scarcity.
6. **Urbanisation and Water Demand:** In another 20 years almost about 45% to 50% of India's population will be in urban areas, in 84 urban centres in the entire country. That is tremendously alarming. Chennai for instance, after harnessing all water resources in its vicinity now taps water from the Krishna river, more than 600 km away right across its neighbouring state.

Hyderabad has found the need to tap the waters of the Godavari. Delhi, after exhausting the Yamuna, the Upper Ganges canal and the Bhakra, now taps water from the lower reaches of the middle Himalayas. Easy solutions of transferring water no longer exist.

7. **Water storage:** Russia has a water storage capacity of 784km³, America (700 km³), Brazil (700 km³), China 500 (km³) and in India our capacity is only 225 km³. India's total storage capacity is not much better than that of Ethiopia. It has increased from 16 km³ at the time of independence to 253 km³ today but we still have miles to go. The total feasible capacity is 450 km³. Climate scientists forecast that as a result of global warming the number of rainy days will reduce while the intensity of rain will increase. This implies that the run-off would increase. Unless this water is stored, availability during the non-monsoon period would be inadequate for all needs.
8. The issue of storage is often a battle ground between proponents of 'big dams' and 'small tanks'. This is fruitless debate. The type of storage will be determined by the water regime being considered. More storage of all types, small, medium and large will be required. It will also be necessary to restore the depleted storage in existing structures.
9. **Groundwater Depletion:** The largest storage available is of course groundwater. Currently unregulated groundwater extraction is a serious problem in many parts of the country. Is ground water a private resource? Is electricity pricing encouraging destructive extraction? Groundwater is depleting rapidly in Punjab, Haryana, Rajasthan, UP and Bihar.
10. The largest volume of irrigation- more than 50%- is from wells. Wells and tube wells account for 41 million hectares out of the 64 million hectares which are irrigated in the country. Amidst all the talk about big dams, the fact is that the irrigation of the country is largely well dependent. This is dependence on groundwater and that is causing tremendous amount of distress. Large areas of Punjab, Haryana, Telangana, Maharashtra and Gujarat face the increasing threat of desertification and lack of drinking water because bulk of the drinking water supply in India, particularly in rural India, is dependent on wells.
11. Just as cities want more and more water rather than work on the efficient use of available water, we kept creating infrastructure and supply systems to meet the demand of agriculture and give more and more water to meet our food demands. This unchecked demand for water has led to the unsustainable exploitation of groundwater in Punjab and Haryana which have been contributing about 50-75% of the nation's cereal requirement.

12. About 85% of India's fresh water is consumed by agriculture. On the other hand, the contribution of agriculture to our GDP is only 16-17% currently. In other words, 60% of India's population consumes about 80% of water to produce 16% of GDP. This whole issue has to be seen in totality. The real approach should be how to reduce the number of people depending on agriculture, and how to make agriculture more efficient.
13. **Efficient Water Management:** The loss of water due to evaporation, seepage and leakage in storages and in distribution systems has been varyingly estimated from a low of 30% to a high of 60%. It is particularly high in municipal systems and in large irrigated areas. Many interventions are necessary to reduce such water loss. It is imperative to revamp municipal supply systems. The way water is delivered for crop husbandry offers immense scope for improvement. User managed distribution, piped deliveries from sub-minors and lesser channels instead of open canal systems are some of the strategies tried in other societies with positive results.
14. India has been witnessing not just inter-State water disputes, but also intra-State. In certain parts of the country, cities don't want to release water to the rural areas and the upstream tehsils don't want water to be released to the downstream tehsils. The only solution is more efficient use of water. Maharashtra has Water Users Associations where stakeholders have a certain involvement in the use of water and better control over it.
15. Demand for irrigation is projected to rise from 500 billion cubic metres to 800 billion cubic metres and at current levels of efficiency; a certain improvement of water efficiency of about 10% at source has been assumed. It is possible that this can increase enormously all over the country. For example, sugarcane cultivation in Dharmapuri district in Tamil Nadu is being done with drip irrigation using considerably less water.
16. **Water as a Trans-boundary Resource:** India is both an upper riparian and a lower riparian State. Its fears with respect to rivers flowing from China are identical to Pakistan's fear regarding waters from India. Bangladesh also entertained apprehensions to that of Pakistan and India once flew a group of Bangla MPs to the site of the Tapaimukh Dam to assuage their fears. A change in government, however, has led to Dhaka proposing a regional basin arrangement.
17. The Indus Water Treaty (IWT) between India and Pakistan was basically a divorce settlement and was a treaty dominated by the technocrats. While

India looks at the provisions of the treaty, Pakistan looks at the restrictions and that's where the India-Pakistan feud comes in. When India started building dams on the Jhelum and the Chenab to fulfil the aspirations of the Kashmiris, Pakistan, being a lower riparian country sought to stall the projects by using the Dispute Resolution mechanism which is ingrained in the treaty. The Pakistani ploy is to go to the International Court of Arbitration (ICA) and push any dam that India undertakes to build to the ICA for arbitration. This results in project delays, cost escalation, high cost of litigation and frustration of the Kashmiris. India is an upper riparian State and no upper riparian in the world respects water-sharing agreements. How should India address this challenge? Should India abrogate the treaty? Do we modify it, do we have a relook?

18. While the Indus Water Treaty has a lot of CBMs built into it, they are all missing in the case of Chinese plans to construct dams on the Brahmaputra. This has given way to a lot of hysteria in the media and this has seeped into think tanks also who have prepared several Doomsday scenarios. A lot of this is unfounded.
19. What China may or may not do upstream of the Brahmaputra is an unknown factor because we don't know very much about the flows of the Ganges and now the Brahmaputra in the Tibetan plateau. Recently however India and China have entered into an agreement where at three stations along the Brahmaputra in Tibet, daily hydrological data would be shared between the two countries for a period of six months. In time, we will have data to understand how exactly those flows may or may not negatively impact India in the event China decides to build dams and extract water from the upstream. But broadly, India has access to a lot of water in the Brahmaputra and can conceivably use only a small percentage of it. It is unlikely that China will really cause us much distress on the Brahmaputra.

RECOMMENDATIONS : RIVER BASINS AND SHARING OF WATER

1. The mapping of demand needs to be done on a watershed, sub-basin and basin-wise in order to best understand and then address availability, utilisation and distribution issues for each sector. Such mapping needs to be done on current and projected basis. A clear and detailed mapping would enable differentiated strategies to be developed for different geographies while enabling greater equity within each sub-basin thus reducing conflict. In several areas changes in cropping patterns, practices and industrial activity will need to be enabled. Focussed and continuing action would need to be initiated on prevention of pollution, afforestation and water body conservation.
2. Agricultural productivity per unit of water in India is lower than other developing countries like Bangladesh and Pakistan. We need to introduce better irrigation techniques to conserve water. To achieve water conservation, the choice of crop should be determined by the source of irrigation. All water projects need to be completed within a shorter time span, delivered and implemented.
3. Excavating shallow wells (digging holes in the ground) is a very good way of storing water. Especially if this is done in the streams of water from where the water goes down the hill. India needs to develop an innovative well-digging machine. If such wells are provided in every farm of India, it would serve as a very low cost alternative to building huge dams and canals. Likewise, India has already mastered bore-well technology and the capital costs per metre depth of digging bore wells are lowest in India. Therefore, it might be prudent to invest in modifying this technology to build slightly wider wells which are used for storage rather than tapping from the aquifers.
4. **Recycling:** Grey water can be recycled in all the housing societies in urban areas. The plumbing has to be done in such a way that grey water will be treated and then taken to toilets and black water will also be treated and supplied to gardens. The plumbing can be modified even in existing societies. If water can be recycled, from drinking purpose, to grey water to black water and to gardening, then the water crisis anticipated in urban areas can be addressed.
5. Rather than letting the black water go into the river, it should first be diverted to a septic tank and treated with bioremediation and then released

into the sewage lines. This will substantially reduce the load on the sewage system. Bioremediation in septic tanks is a good idea and should be made mandatory. Nashik and Nagpur have been supplying treated wastewater to power stations.

6. Water can be reused through hydroponics and polyhouses. We all know that a huge amount of water is consumed in agriculture and plants evaporate and transpire water. That water can be brought back if the plants are grown in polyhouses. Fruits and vegetables can be grown in urban areas in polyhouses. This will not only save water but also the cost of transportation. Land should be allocated by the government in urban areas to build polyhouses and use hydroponics to produce vegetables and supply them to urban areas. Urban sewage after treatment should go to these farms, so that it becomes a virtuous cycle which yields treated sewage and vegetables with minimum transportation cost.
7. Recycling wastewater and de-salination of water can help increase water availability. Aligarh Muslim University has perfected the technique of recycling wastewater without any energy costs, through a process of anaerobic digestion. The other technology is desalination of oceanic water through nanotechnology. The University needs advice and support to market these products.
8. Inter-basin shifting of water is very common and has been done for years, may be even centuries all over the world. It must be done wherever feasible.
9. Like carbon footprint, “water footprint” should be introduced to create awareness on water consumption. For example, 20,000 litres of water are consumed in the manufacture of one kilo of chocolate. If this information is printed on chocolate packets, people will think twice before gifting chocolates to one another. If we know the water footprint of all that we consume, it will motivate us to save water.
10. **Environmental Concerns:** A lot of attention is focused on the impact of engineering initiatives on people, habitations, wildlife and forestry. Less concern has been shown on the river basin itself. For instance the need to maintain minimal flows along a river course as also the need to ensure sufficient flows into the sea in order to maintain the fresh water meniscus on which so many coastal dwellers depend, besides the protective fringe of mangroves, coconut, casuarinas and other vegetation, which provide a strong protection against cyclones as also economic sustenance.

11. When a ship goes from one place to another without cargo, it takes in water for stability. But when that water is thrown out in an alien place, it also releases microbes which have the potential of destroying local environment. This is the “ballast water problem.” This could be a national security threat if harmful microbes are released in Indian waters. A pioneering technology has been developed in India to deal with this environmental hazard but was rejected by the Government. A variant of this technology was developed to clean water bodies and the Rankala Lake in Kolhapur was cleaned successfully.
12. Another technology has been developed to be fitted onto a bore-well to provide disinfected microbe-free water without using any power or consumables. This “fit-and-forget, no maintenance” technology can bring down the infant mortality rate by more than 60-70% in the country.
13. There are various ways in which India can deal with the hurdles on the Indus Waters Treaty. Firstly, leverage the provisions in the treaty. For e.g. on the western rivers, the IWT says India is entitled to a certain amount of storage capacity (about 3.5 million acre feet). India has also not irrigated a million acres of land on the western rivers which it is entitled to under the IWT. On the eastern rivers, surprisingly, we allow a lot of water to flow very easily to Pakistan because of our poor infrastructure and lack of infrastructure. We need to pay a lot of attention to creating the infrastructure on the eastern waters.
14. From a security perspective, India can use the Indus waters as a tool of coercion and intimidation, if needed.
15. India has had a sad, dysfunctional relationship with Nepal. We have had many treaties with Nepal but each successive treaty is drowned by an element of distrust. India needs to have a strong political will to harness some of the resources in Nepal.
16. With Bangladesh, the Farakka Barrage is going to emerge as one of the biggest design structures in the future. Much of the backlash of sedimentation is happening through Farakka. The Farakka has outlived its purpose.
17. India needs to relook at these treaties. We need to reconstruct our management approaches and move towards a Basin Management Approach. This shifts the diplomacy in the region from bilateral to a more multilateral approach.

Pune Dialogue on National Security 2016

SUMMARY OF DISCUSSION SESSION-6

Civil-Military Relationship

1. There is something seriously wrong with civil military relations in India and that is generally acknowledged. It's about time we really got down to addressing it with the seriousness that it deserves.
2. The reluctance to declassify is an impediment in broadening the study of civil military relations. Is the civil-military relationship so fragile and are seasoned and experienced security analysts too aware of the faultiness that we prefer an ostrich approach?
3. Some commentators have alleged that the role of political leaders has been hijacked by the civil servants and this has resulted in bureaucratic control not civilian political control. It's an incontrovertible tenet that in a democracy control over the military should lie squarely on the shoulders of the elected civilian leadership. It is also an incontrovertible tenet that control is to be exercised either directly or through the civilian bureaucracy, but not via the civilian bureaucracy on behalf of the elected political leadership. Unfortunately, today that control has degenerated into civilian bureaucracy exercising control on behalf of the political leadership because the political leadership has ceded that control to the civilian bureaucracy. The problem remains of civil servants and financial advisors who do not appreciate operational imperatives but do have the ability to obstruct and derail important projects.
4. On the other hand, those who had a hand in decision making at the senior level in the last few years have reason to feel alarmed at unhealthy attitudes creeping in the uniformed ranks. Yet there is great reluctance to talk openly about the matter.
5. Civil-military relationship does not mean total civil control of the armed forces. All three- political leadership, civil bureaucracy and the military have to have space for working in harmony, in coordination and in an integrated manner for national security. The political leadership and the civil leadership need to give adequate space to the military leadership to give their professional advice and carry out the orders.. If the present system continues, it may result in a breakdown someday.
6. India is the only country in the world- among democracies and dictatorships- where the service headquarters have been kept out of the Ministry of Defence. Why so despite many appeals?
7. One of the major aspects of the civil-military strife in India is also the contempt and ignorance amongst many civilians about the uniform and the treatment that the

uniform services get from the civilian bureaucrats that leads to the constant sort of one-upmanship.

8. The MoD also forces the armed forces to accommodate DRDO and DPSUs despite their exaggerated claims, inefficiency and sloppiness.
9. In order to make India a manufacturing base for defence hardware and given the inefficiencies in the public sector, a new, legitimate concern has arisen with the opening of the Indian defence sector to the private sector. Some of the early bird businessmen have a track record of subverting institutions such as petroleum and the media. What norms should be in place to keep army officers immune from the siren call of post-retirement sinecures with the industry?
10. **Basic Propositions:** The armed forces are an institution that can function only within the four walls of the Republic and its constitutional order. It is the principal instrument for the defence of the Republic. The military is and must remain a secular and non-sectarian institution. It must be an apolitical institution, uninvolved in the politician's partisan disputes. The political leadership alone has the right to prescribe goals and priorities of national security and it is up to the political\civilian leadership to determine the degree of the armed forces' involvement in shaping and achieving those priorities and goals. The armed forces are entitled to an organisational autonomy which includes total control over its recruitment, training, and indoctrination.
11. At least four developments have intruded the civilian-military leadership: The Indian security environment has deteriorated consistently over last two decades and unconventional warfare continues to complicate India's quest for peace on its border and security. Secondly, like all nations, India too is experiencing the rightful manifestation of strident nationalism. Thirdly, the experience of economic prosperity since 1991 has produced a new rhetoric of India the rising power and lastly, aggressiveness has injected itself into the national mood and our armed forces cannot remain uncontaminated.
12. It may be observed that the political leadership irrespective of the nature of its popular mandate has lost its sheen today and does not enjoy the kind of respect or even reverence that the country experienced in the first few decades. The armed forces have acquired a "rather cunning" appreciation of their organisational indispensability for the civilian leadership. Consequently there is now a new sense of entitlement and assertive demand for greater share on the part of the armed forces in the nation's resources and respect.
13. **Civil-Military Dissonance:** The 1962 debacle has been attributed to too much domination of the military by the political leadership. Since 1962, there was limited political interference and considerable autonomy in conduct of military operations

- approved by the civilian leadership. Civil-military relations came under strain in the IPKF operations but a change of government and Rajiv Gandhi's assassination turned the clock back on the civil-military acrimony on the operational strategy.
14. But the past two decades have seen a desire to revisit and reshape civil-military relations amidst the perception in the army that the absence of a dialogue between the two is impacting military effectiveness.
 15. The Kargil crises were the spur for considering changes in the higher military management that included the creation of the office of the CDS (Chief of Defence Staff). Institutional voice for the military needs to be guaranteed in the same manner as in most parts of the democratic world where the civilian leadership exercises objective control over the armed forces. Even the integration of the MoD with Service Headquarters was not completed nor was the envisaged operational integration achieved. The three services do not even have a common war doctrine.
 16. While the army is deemed to be professional, competent, displays field valour and tactically innovates, civilians are seen as a hindrance to military effectiveness. Hence the need to define military effectiveness and the nature of its linkages with the civil side needs to be openly discussed. Gen. V.P. Malik has written: The civilian bureaucracy has "acquired stifling control" over the armed forces. The result is suspicion and friction affecting military psyche, ethos and ability to interact, advice and perform. From the army's point of view, this system of affairs is totally untenable. He has complained that the three chiefs are seldom invited by the Cabinet Committee on Security to discuss security environment except in an emergency and never on issues concerning defence planning.
 17. The unceremonious dismissal of a serving Chief Admiral, Vishnu Bhagwat in 1998; Northern Army Commander Gen. Hooda's public appeal to all the stakeholders in Jammu & Kashmir "to put our heads together and see if we can find a way out of the situation;" the questionable movement of army units near the national capital in 2012; the letters written by the three service chiefs to the Prime Minister expressing dissatisfaction over the recommendations of the pay commission, the internal political rivalry among senior officers over postings and promotions, and the prolonged agitation and politics over the One Rank One Pension government rule are events that provoke concern.
 18. The entry of Gen.VK Singh was a seminal event in civil military relations. Many old fashioned Establishment hands felt somewhat uneasy that an army chief should have plunged into party politics so soon after retirement. Should there be a cooling off period for army officers\bureaucrats before they join politics?

19. The use of the army in the internal conflicts is having a deleterious effect on the civil-military equation. Armed forces hold the politicians responsible for not resolving disputes among themselves amicably leading to violence and conflict, which then the jawans or commanders get to sort out. During the Jat agitation in Punjab, the army had to be called in and the shame of it was all the unarmed jawans were carrying a banner, 'We are army'.
20. While we talk of civil military relations, there is inter-services discord that impedes attempts at fine-tuning civil-military relations such as creating a CDS or use of common facilities instead of each guarding its turf. Has the political class, across regimes, displayed timidity in not forcing down some unpalatable reforms?
21. The deleterious effect of the Armed Forces Special Powers Act, 1958 (AFSPA) on the army has not been realised adequately. It has brutalized a whole generation of officers and men today because the army is being used liberally for every little purpose in this country. At the same time, AFSA is an enabling act which should not be demonized. The Act is needed in extreme conditions, extreme circumstances. But let us work towards creating an atmosphere where you don't need the army to come in and the governance is improved. Often, politicians privately say that they want the act whereas they oppose it publicly.
22. Reforming Higher Defence Management: How should the government or how should the nation reform higher defence management? Mr. N.N. Vohra in a comprehensive and magisterial address to the USI (United Services Institution) some years ago said that rather than talk on civil-military relationships which causes unfounded doubts and suspicions, strategic analysts should comment on the functioning of the defence management apparatus
23. The K. Subramanyam Report was perhaps the most comprehensive and objective analysis of the Kargil Conflict and the state of Higher Defence Management in India. It pulled no punches when it observed that this crisis has a reason due to the great deficiencies in Indian security management system and pointed out that India is, perhaps the only major democracy where the armed forces headquarters are outside the apex government structure. These scathing indictments prompted the government of the day to constitute the Group of Ministers in 2000, which undertook a review of national security, reviewed the Kargil Committee Report, and gave its report in 2001.
24. This contained some critical recommendations relating to higher defence management and some cosmetic changes were made. Twelve years later, the government in 2010/2011 constituted another task force under the seasoned bureaucrat, Naresh Chandra. This report was submitted in 2012 and nothing has been heard since.

25. In the United States since World War II, there have been at least 80-plus major civil-military clashes recorded in their own archives. The only difference is that while in India we don't take the lessons from these differences and clashes, in the US, they have drawn lessons each time and implemented them for the betterment of the functioning of the civil and the military bureaucracy. Perhaps, there is some lesson there.

RECOMMENDATIONS : CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONSHIP

1. There have been proposals in the Naresh Chandra Committee Report that to improve functioning, to make it more seamless & there is a need to implement the key recommendations of the Arun Singh committee, K. Subramanyam Committee Report and the Naresh Chandra Task Force.
2. A more regular, more formalized interaction between the Prime Minister and three service's chiefs is necessary.
3. There have to be lots of cross postings; there has to be a specialist cadre for certain functions like acquisitions and procurements. There has to be emphasis on specialists manning the Ministry of Defence. Hence, special emphasis must be laid on specialists who have required knowledge, who have the training, and who have the empathy and respect for the armed forces and the uniform.
4. The restructuring needs to be thought out with great care. The military leadership must give its professional advice and this is to the credit of the military relationship in India that it has never ever stepped out of line and tried to be politically ambitious.
5. As far as civilian understanding of the armed forces goes, there is no doubt that a far better understanding is needed among civilian bureaucrats. Far more attention needs to be given to some of these matters while training civil servants. Like the Foreign Service, the defence civilian officers must also be a specialised cadre. The general lack of knowledge about the armed forces among the civilian bureaucracy can be addressed by one or two year's attachment with the armed forces for everybody. { *Induction of officers from Armed Forces into the Indian Administrative Service & Indian Foreign Service and may be reinstated on the time tested pattern of the Emergency Commissions and Short Service Commission services* }
6. Civil-military relationship has to be based on mutual respect. What is required is enhanced understanding between the Civil Servants and the Armed Forces. In this connection, recommendations of various committees such as the Kargil Review Committee and the Naresh Chandra Committee need to be implemented.

VALEDICTORY SESSION

Remarks by Amb Ronen Sen

1. Of the three major powers, both China and Russia have deep-seated imperial mindsets than what both used to refer to as the imperialist power. Their ideologies have always been subordinated to their abiding national interests for centuries and their perspectives have spanned several decades. Thus Xi Jinping has achieved Deng Xiaoping's target set decades ago of turning China into a middle income country by 2020. More often than not they know how to bide their time till their pronouncements can be matched by the reality of their capabilities.
2. The vulnerabilities of both China and Russia are of a social-political nature and finding the right balance between 'perestroika' and 'glasnost'. Both suspect the US intent of regime changes not only in their periphery but in their countries as well. Yet for both China and Russia the most important relationship remains that with the USA. In this context it is uncertain how long Russia will remain reconciled to playing a secondary and supportive role to China in Eurasia.
3. How do these three major powers affect some of our core national interests? Our foremost interest is obviously our unity and territorial integrity. We have unresolved territorial disputes with China and Pakistan. In varying degrees and at various times, both have interfered in our internal affairs, including in parts of our country where they have no territorial claims. Our recent reassertion of not only POK but also Gilgit-Baltistan being part of our territory has been widely welcomed by our fellow countrymen. Our laws provide for strong penalties for the wrong depiction of our maps, including incidentally the wrong depictions in our own official maps shortly after we attained independence. The pertinent question is how many countries respect our sentiments and accept our laws? The reality is that no major power or, for that matter, the overwhelming majority of countries and multilateral fora of which we are members, accept our maps or are likely to do so in future. This is thus more a matter of symbolism than substance. Of much greater significance is the fact that no major or neighbouring country seems to share our reservations on China's OBOR initiative, or even the CPEC.
4. There is greater international concern and understanding on the use of terrorism to undermine our territorial integrity. Some old mind-sets and double standards remain. More can and is being done to remove these. We should not, however, harbour any illusions that increased isolation will change the attitude or actions of the ruling elite in Pakistan, or fall into the trap of defining our interests, let alone our identity as a nation, in terms of our third largest neighbour.

5. All the three major powers adjust their principles and doctrines to suit their perceived national interests. We often do not appear to know what we want. We almost succeeded in converting a historic triumph like the Indo-US nuclear deal to a trial on the patriotic credentials of its proponents, turning a soaring eagle into an albatross. It was only very recently that this issue was temporarily resolved, much to the relief of foreign and, even more so, our domestic nuclear suppliers. Similarly, after years of incomprehensible inaction on the Indo-US defence agreement of 2005, the Defence Trade and Technology Initiative was launched and welcome steps are being taken to give some new context to it. Yet we remain defensive, even apologetic, about overdue agreements like the recent Logistic Exchange Memorandum of Understanding. Do we have the ability to operate independently and effectively on our own, overcoming or mitigating the asymmetry in our capabilities vis-à-vis potential adversaries? We have no choice but to have optimal operational inter-operability with other partners, including the USA and Japan, while continuing to strengthen our strategic partnership with Russia.
6. The biggest change in our security environment has not been the formal resumption of Russian military collaboration with Pakistan- it is Russia's emergence as China's largest and most important defence supplier and major strategic partner on most global issues, including trade, terrorism and environment etc. The USA continues its decades long arms embargo on China and, much to their chagrin, has made its allies follow suit. While the US will continue its arm supplies to Pakistan, these transfers and high-technology collaboration will continue to be constrained by its concerns on both terrorism and special ties to China. It will be in our interests to continue to strengthen high technology defence collaboration with Russia. Any improvement in US and EU relations with Russia will also benefit us at present.
7. The USA has blown hot and cold on China, alternately endeavouring to counter it or seeking a condominium with it. Neither country wishes to precipitate a crisis. They are collaborating on a wide range of global issues. India should never be a pawn in this game. Yet we should not be mesmerized into inaction and remain perpetual fence sitters. I am glad that we have picked up the threads of some past initiatives, which were left in suspended animation, and are acting more decisively in coordination with like-minded countries in protecting our security interests. We will have to bear in mind that economic and security interests are inextricably linked in shaping the policies of all major powers. For instance, the Trans-Pacific Partnership, or some new version reflecting US economic interests, will remain the flip side of the US rebalancing in the Indo-Pacific region.

8. This brings me finally to another vitally important core interest, namely, our economic development. The USSR used to be not only our main strategic partner but our biggest trading, scientific and technological partner. Now our trade with Russia is around \$8 billion, with a 2:1 imbalance. Our trade with China is around \$72 billion, with an unacceptable and unsustainable 6:1 imbalance. The USA is our largest trading partner with a turnover of around \$110 billion with a balance in our favour. All these partnerships will need a substantially enhanced economic ballast of two way trade, investments and technological collaboration. Our regional economic partnerships need some rebalancing, considering that virtually all forums we participate in-BRICS, NDB,AIIB, SCO, RCEP- are currently China dominated, while China has endeavoured to be more compliant of TTP standards than a number of its signatories. However, while remaining vigilant about our core security interests, we should also be less paranoid about making a more concerted effort to give a further impetus to our economic cooperation with China, which is not just the global manufacturing hub but the fastest developing high technology, research and development and innovation centre in the world.
9. A nation of our size, civilisational heritage and potential should not have to shout to get heard. We should not bang repeatedly at doors to be let into any groups or sit at any “high tables”, such as the UN Security Council, let alone the Nuclear Suppliers’ Group. Major Powers respect strength, not exhortation, let alone supplication. Our single minded focus should be to change the realities in the global balance of power, primarily by an accelerated and sustained increase in our economic growth with greater social cohesion and inclusiveness. We have already lost a lot of time and windows of opportunity are closing. We should not hasten slowly, since with each passing year the headwinds will get stronger.

The Twenty – First Century Bear Dances the Troika

Air Commodore SN Bal, AVSM (Retd)

“...Russia is not claiming a great power status. It is a great power by virtue of its huge potential, its history and culture...”

-Vladimir Vladimirovich Putin

“...a moral policeman’s lot is not a happy one, particularly when his own morality is in question...”

-John Toland

INTRODUCTION

Whether Russia will be a super or even great power is a question often asked - and which merits answers. Some wish it to be one, while others do not. The question could be more objectively reframed as: can Russia be a great power, and what role it could it play in the geopolitical environment. Alice Lyman Miller defines a superpower as “a country that has the capacity to project dominating power and influence anywhere in the world, and sometimes, in more than one region of the globe at a time, and so may plausibly attain the status of global hegemony”¹.

1. Miller, Lyman. “www.stanford.edu”. www.stanford.edu. Retrieved 2010-08-27.

After the Cold War a new *Pax Americana* was expected by some; and that the defeated Russian Federation should adopt a pro – West foreign policy. However, Russia does not concede defeat. Raymond L Garthoff asserted in 1997 that the brief “*honeymoon*” between the Russian Federation and the USA ended in 1992 – 93.² The currently popular, though utterly absurd, notion of a unipolar world must also be demolished. Whatever is not the first pole will, over time, automatically become the second pole, making a bi – polar world a reality. According to Coral Bell, a Sino – Russian strategic partnership would “...more or less restore a bipolar balance of power overnight...”³ According to Dr Zhou a multipolar system inhibits powerful, developed nations from coercing less powerful ones.⁴ Unbridled unipolar hegemonism is a dangerous and an unstable model – especially for the “*others*”. According to Eugene Rumer and Celeste Wallander the Russian Federation is finished as a major power on account of collapse of its economy in the 1990’s, demographic problems and, above all, loss of military superpower status.⁵ Angela Stent, however, maintains that since 1992, Russia’s objective is to regain its great power status.

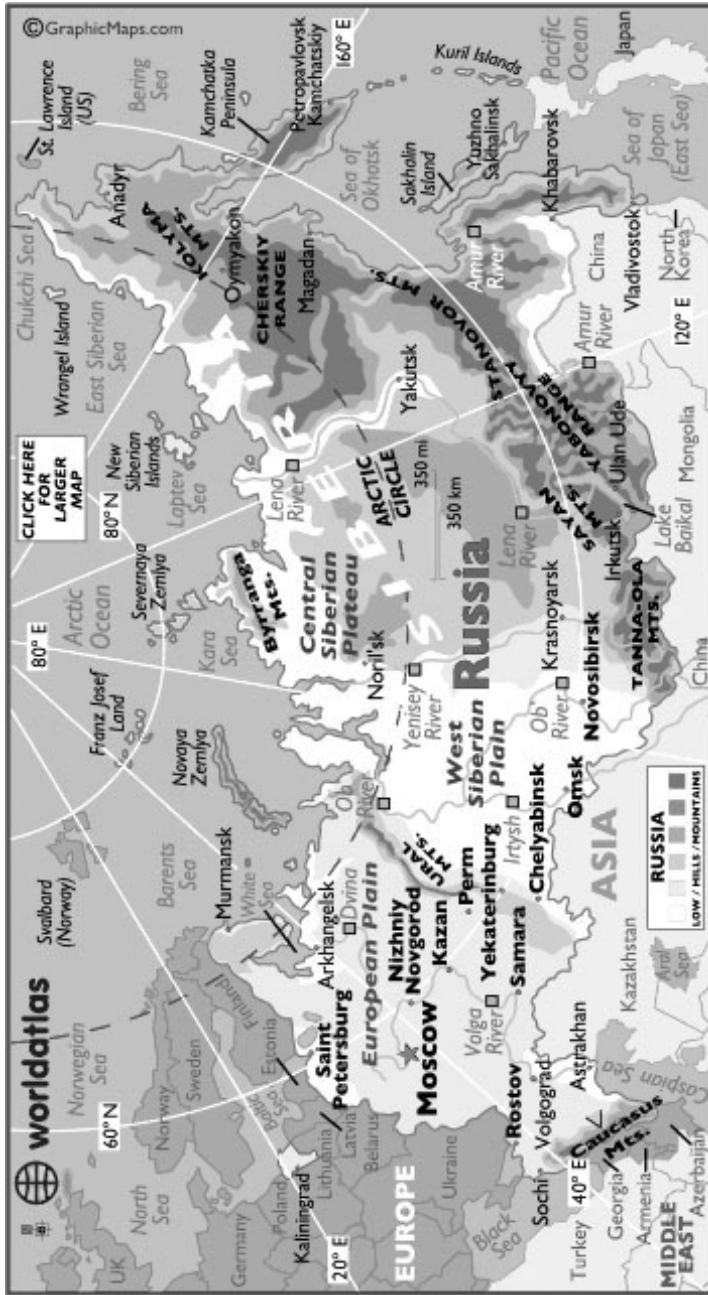
The many elements that could make a great power encompass geographic location, natural resources, history, economy, level of industrialization and, above all, the human resource element that includes national culture, strategic vision and leadership. This last element is of overriding significance. History is replete with examples of the human will overcoming severe deficiencies – often against impossible odds and at a very high price. These elements would be examined in the prevailing international geopolitical environment to make meaningful projections of Russia’s future big power status.

2 Air Commodore Suryakant Nijanand Bal AVSM (Retd), *Central Asia: A Strategy for India’s Look – North Policy*, Lancer Publishers and Distributors, K – 36A (FF) Green Park Main, New Delhi – 110016, 2004, ISBN 81 7062 273 5, pp 281 – 2. See also Richard Sakwa, *Frontline Ukraine Crisis in the Borderlands*, IB Tauris & Co Ltd, 6 Salem Road, London W2 4BU, 2015, ISBN 978 1 78453 064 8, p 2.

3 Coral Bell, *Living with the Giants* (Australian Strategic Policy Institute, April 2005)

4 Bal, *op cit*, p 356.

5 Rumer and Wallander, “Russia: Power in Weakness?” *Washington Quarterly* (Winter 2003–04)



Map 1. Russian Federation. Source: Google



Map 2. Diomedes Islands. Source: Google

GEOGRAPHY, NATURAL RESOURCES, INDUSTRIALIZATION AND ECONOMY

Russia is more than twice the size of Canada and the USA: with one – fourth in Europe and the rest in Asia, making it a “Eurasian” country (See Map 1). From west to east, it stretches from Kaliningrad to Ratmanov Island in the Bering Sea, and from north to south from Franz Joseph Land to the Republic of Dagestan. It has borders with Norway, Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Belarus, Ukraine, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Mongolia, the Peoples Republic of China and North Korea. The USA is eighty- six kilometers across the Bering Strait. The Big Diomedede or Ratmanov Island is less than three kilometers from the US – controlled Little Diomedede or Krusenstern Island (See Map 2). Kunashir Island, the southernmost of the Kuril Islands, is about 20 kilometers from Hokkaido. Most of Russia’s northern coastline is above the Arctic Circle. The northern and Pacific coastlines are not ice-free throughout the year denying Russia unrestricted access to the oceans. Murmansk is the only ice-free port in the Arctic. Access to the Atlantic Ocean is through the Denmark Straits, the Bosphorus, the Dardanelles and further through the Straits of Gibraltar.

Russia possesses rich reserves of iron ore, manganese, chromium, nickel, platinum, titanium, copper, tin, lead, tungsten, diamonds, phosphates and gold. About one-sixth of the world’s total iron ore reserves are in the Kursk Magnetic Anomaly; with large deposits in the Kola Peninsula, Karelia, south-central Siberia, and the Far East. The largest copper deposits are in the Kola Peninsula

and the Urals. Lead and zinc are found in North Ossetia. The petroleum industry is one of the largest in the world. Russia has the largest reserves, and is the largest exporter of natural gas.⁶

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Russian science and technology developed rapidly since the Age of Enlightenment. Peter the Great founded the Russian Academy of Sciences and St Petersburg University. In the 19th and 20th centuries Russian scientists made important contributions in physics, astronomy, mathematics, computing, chemistry, biology, geology and geography. Russia has well established electrical engineering, shipbuilding, IT, and aerospace industries. The world's first artificial satellite *Sputnik I* was launched on 04 October 1957, and on 12 April 1961 Yuri Gagarin orbited the Earth. In January 2016, the US company Bloomberg rated Russia's economy as the 12th most innovative in the world. Russia has the world's 15th highest patent application rate, the 8th highest concentration of high-tech public companies, aerospace, its own internet (Yandex) and the third highest graduation rate of scientists and engineers.⁷

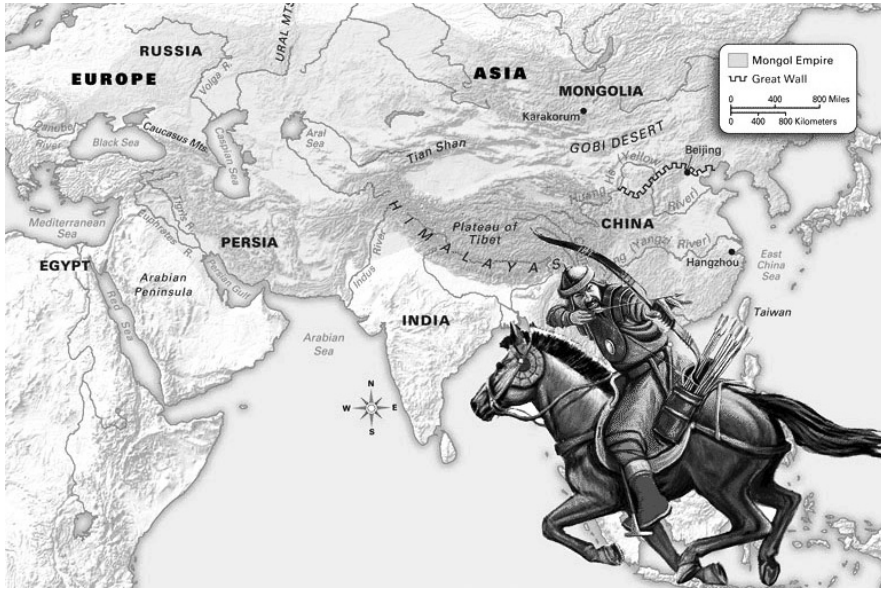
On dissolution of the USSR in 1991, the Russian Federation (former RSFSR) declared itself "*the continuator state of the USSR*". In December 1991 Boris Yeltsin, President of the Russian Federation, informed the UN Secretary- General that membership of the Soviet Union in the Security Council and all other organs was being continued by the Russian Federation. Members of the Commonwealth of Independent States supported the claim. The Russian Federation inherited the legal personality and all existing rights and obligations from the Soviet Union.⁸

Throughout history Russia has been invaded: starting with the Mongols, Swedes, Teutonic Knights, Poles, Napoleon and, twice in the twentieth century, by Germany: which explains its endless search for security through a land-based

6 *International Statistics at NationMaster.com*". Nationmaster.com. Archived from the original on 2012-04-22.

7 Economies Bloomberg Business. See also *Most Innovative: Countries*, Bloomberg Business and *Jump up 30 Most Innovative Countries*, Bloomberg Business. Source: Wikipedia.

8 Crawford, James (2006), *The Creation of States in International Law*. Clarendon Press. pp. 667–72. ISBN 9780199228423. See also Bühler, Konrad G. (2001). *State Succession and Membership in International Organizations*. Legal Aspects of International Organization Series. Volume 38. Martinus Nijhoff Publishers. pp. 161–4. ISBN 9789041115539, and Vienna Convention on Succession of States in respect of Treaties 1978.



Map 3. Mongol Empire. Source: Google

empire.⁹ Russian strategic culture is preoccupied by strategic depth; unrestricted access to international waters and, by extension, to international air – space. In February 1931 Stalin declared that Russia “...*was constantly defeated...by the Mongol Khans...the Turkish Beys, the Swedish feudal lords...the Polish – Lithuanian gentry, by the British and French...because of backwardness...to beat her was profitable and went unpunished...*” An American historian of Soviet Russia points out that Old Russia incorporated one – sixth of the world’s landmass and not a few of her conquerors.¹⁰ The USA’s post – Independence expansion to the Pacific coast was no different: Native American tribal lands were purchased, forcing most tribes into reservations – where many languish today. Native Red Indians actually became US citizens only in the twentieth century. Colonialism is exploitative and abhorrent to the colonized – though in varying degrees. A close look in the rear – view mirror of history would reveal how Russia managed these problems in the past and how it could possibly do in the future.

9 Paul Dibb, Emeritus Professor of Strategic and Defense Studies at The Australian National University. *The Bear is Back, The American Interest*, 01 November 2006. Retrieved from: <http://www.the-american-interest.com/articles/2006/11/01/the-bear-is-back/>.

10 Alan Bullock, *Hitler and Stalin; parallel lives*, Harper Collins Publishers, Ltd, London 1991, ISBN 0-679-72994-1, p 276

THE REAR – VIEW MIRROR

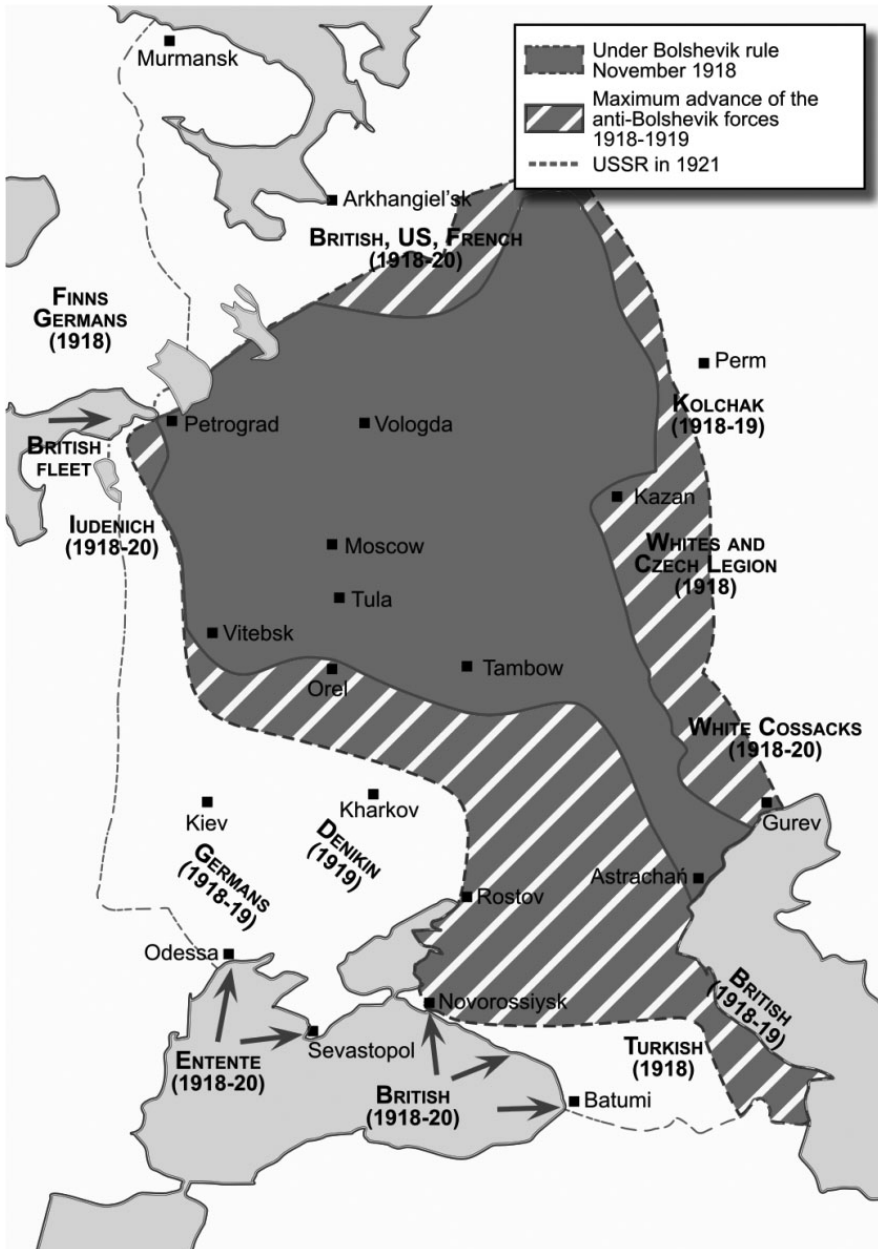
The Varangian (Viking) chieftain Rurik founded the Rurik Dynasty; establishing Kyivian Rus in 862. His successor Oleg established a unified state in 882. It was destroyed by Chingiz Khan's grandson Batu Khan in the 13th century (See Map 3). The Swedes and the Teutonic Knights also invaded from the west in 1240 and 1242 respectively. Alexander Nevsky eventually defeated both: initially paying tribute to the Golden Horde while declaring "...whoever will come to us with a sword, from a sword will perish..." Ivan III ended Tatar rule in 1480. His grandson, Ivan IV (the Terrible) conquered Kazan and Astrakhan in 1552 and 1556 respectively, finally destroying the remnants of Mongol power. He also colonized Siberia and unified Russia.

The Polish–Muscovite War (1605–1618) was fought during Russia's "*Time of Troubles*". Polish forces occupied Moscow in 1610 till ousted 1612. Peter the Great ruled from 07 May 1682 until his death on 08 February 1725, making Russia a modern and westernized European power. Peter captured Azov on the mouth of the Don River in July 1696 from Ottoman Turkey; founding the first Russian Navy base at Taganrog in 1698. The city of St Petersburg, at the mouth of the Neva River, was also founded by him in 1703 as Russia's "*gateway to the West*". Catherine II of Russia (Catherine the Great) was born in Stettin, Pomerania, and reined from 1762 until her death in 1796. Russia's borders were extended southward and westward to absorb New Russia, Crimea, Northern Caucasus, Right-bank Ukraine, Belarus, Lithuania, and Courland (part of modern Latvia): mainly from the Ottoman Empire and the Polish – Lithuanian Commonwealth. Russian America was established in Alaska in 1784, till purchased by the USA in 1867.

On 24 June 1812 Napoleon invaded Russia: ostensibly to protect Poland. On 14 September 1812, he entered Moscow, but Tsar Alexander I refused to negotiate. Napoleon had to abandon Moscow - leading to his eventual downfall. The Russian, Prussian and Austrian armies entered Paris and the French surrendered on 31 March 1814: no foreign army had entered Paris for nearly 400 years. Adolf Hitler repeated Napoleon's misadventure on 21/22 June 1941: this time the Soviet Army was in Berlin. During the First World War, Germany occupied large parts of western Russia. The Treaty of Brest – Litovsk was signed on 03 March 1918 between the Bolshevik government and the Central Powers (Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and the Ottoman Empire). Russia ceded the Baltic States to Germany; also recognized Ukraine's



Map 4. Treaty of Brest – Litovsk Source: Google - Pinterest • The world's catalogue of ideas



Map 5. Territory in Western Russia Under Foreign Occupation. Source: Google



Map 6. Source: Google

independence. Territory lost included almost a quarter of the population and industry, and nine-tenths of its coal mines (See Map 4).¹¹

After the Bolshevik Revolution, the armies of the USA, France, Turkey, the Czech Legion and Great Britain occupied parts of western Russia (See Map 5): to prevent the German or Bolshevik capture of Allied material stockpiles in Arkhangelsk, help the Czechoslovak Legion stranded on the Trans-Siberian Railway, defeat the Bolshevik Army and stop the spread of communism.¹² The Imperial Japanese Army also sent about 70,000 troops, establishing a buffer state in Siberia. However, the Far Eastern Republic was created by the RSFSR itself as a temporary buffer between it and Japanese-occupied territories. The Civil War ended on 05 October 1922, and on 15 November 1922 the Far Eastern Republic merged with the RSFSR.¹³ Large

11 John Keegan, *The First World War* (New York: Vintage Books, 2000), p. 342. See also William Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, 1960, p. 57.

12 Moore, Joel R.; Mead, Harry H.; Jahns, Lewis E. (2003), *The History of the American Expedition Fighting the Bolsheviks*, Nashville, Tenn.: The Battery Press. pp. 47–50. ISBN 089839323X.

13 Humphreys, *The Way of the Heavenly Sword: The Japanese Army in the 1920s*, p. 25. See also *The Far Eastern Republic*, *Russian Information and Review*, Vol 1, No 10 (Feb. 15, 1922), pp. 232–233.

tracts of western USSR were occupied by Nazi Germany during the Second World War (See Map 6).

Throughout history Russian leadership accepted temporary compromises and territorial readjustments in national interest – often at immense suffering to its population. An early example is of Alexander Nevsky paying tribute to the powerful Golden Horde while first tackling the Swedes and Knights Templar. The Treaty of Brest – Litovsk is another example of the fledgling Bolshevik state making temporary territorial concessions; and renouncing claims on Poland and the Ukraine.

The Polish–Soviet War (February 1919 – March 1921) was fought to control parts of contemporary Ukraine and Belarus. The Soviet Union also aimed to occupy all of Poland. Josef Pilsudski, the Polish Chief of State, hoped to build a federation that included Lithuania, Belarus and Ukraine to replace Russia as the great power of Eastern Europe: shades of the Polish – Lithuanian Commonwealth. At least two Americans, Merian C Cooper and Cedric Fauntleroy, fought as volunteer pilots in the Polish Air Force. In mid-August, Polish forces were victorious at the Battle of Warsaw, and the Soviets sued for peace. The Peace of Riga was signed on 18 March 1921. Stalin recovered all territory ceded to Poland at the end of WWII as agreed at the Teheran Conference.¹⁴

The Molotov – Ribbentrop Pact was signed in Moscow on 23 August 1939 to carve out “*spheres of influence*” and postponing war. To enhance the security of Leningrad, Stalin proposed territorial exchanges with the Finns on 14 October 1940. According to Sir Basil Liddell Hart, these would ‘...*provide a greater security to Russian territory without serious detriment to the security of Finland...indeed... would have widened Finland’s narrow waistline...*’ The offer was rejected and on 30 November the USSR invaded Finland. Despite early successes, Finland was defeated and accepted enhanced Soviet terms on 13 March 1941.¹⁵ After Hitler’s

14 Norman Davies (1972), *White Eagle, Red Star: the Polish–Soviet War, 1919–20*. Macdonald and Co. p. 247. Retrieved 23 October 2011. Timothy Snyder, *The Reconstruction of Nations: Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania, Belarus, 1569–1999*, Yale University Press, ISBN 978-0-300-10586-5 Google Books, p.139. A Mongeon, *The Polish–Russian War and the Fight for Polish Independence, 1918–1921*. Retrieved 21 July 2007. Rees Laurence (2009). *World War Two Behind Closed Doors*, BBC Books, pp.122, 220. Richard K Debo, *Survival and Consolidation: The Foreign Policy of Soviet Russia, 1918–192*, Google Print, p. 59, McGill-Queen's Press, 1992, ISBN 978-0-7735-0828-6.

15 Sir BH Liddell Hart, *History of the Second World War*, Macmillan Publishers Ltd, 25 Eccleston Place, London SW 1 W 9NF, 1997, ISBN 0 333 58262 4, pp 48 – 50.

invasion in 1941, Stalin was willing to cede the Baltic States, Moldavia, large parts of the Ukraine and Byelorussia (Belarus) for an armistice – a new version of the Treaty of Brest - Litovsk. The Bulgarian ambassador Ivan Stamenov refused to act as an intermediary, asserting that even if the Red Army retreated to the Urals, it would eventually win. Later, in June 1943 Ribbentrop met Molotov in Kirovograd (under German occupation), proposing to end the war. Russia's new western frontier would run along the Dnepr River. Molotov demanded restoration of the original frontier: the initiative was now with Russia.¹⁶

Stalin's forced industrialization created a viable armaments industry. Robert L Hutchings states "...if there had been a slower buildup of industry, the [Hitler's] attack would have been successful and world history would have evolved quite differently..." The US Lend – Lease Programme amounted to some 10–12% of the Soviet Union's industrial output; which finally outstripped that of Nazi Germany. The Commissar for Construction S Z Ginzburg recalled "...of course, by customary standards to build a large scale factory in heavy industry in 75 days is impossible...but life demonstrated that...one can seek out reserves and achieve what seemed impossible..." Adolf Hitler is reported to have told Subhash Chandra Bose "...the power of a country could be only exercised within the length of its sword..."¹⁷ However, there are economic, political, cultural, and sometimes religious, swords in the armoury that, either alone or in combination, can wield power – which is simply the capacity to influence.

Within a week of Germany's surrender, Winston Churchill contemplated Operation Unthinkable: rearming the German Army, invading the Soviet Union and pushing the boundary eastwards to where the Germans had reached. Soviet moles in Whitehall got wind of it, Harry Truman was not interested – and neither were British troops. It is only fair to acknowledge that in 1944 Stalin also planned to invade France, Italy, Norway and Denmark – to gain

16 Alan Bullock, *Hitler and Stalin; parallel lives*, Harper Collins Publishers, Ltd, London 1991, ISBN 0-679-72994-1, p 724. See also DA Volkoginov, *Stalin: Triumph and Tragedy*, London, 1991, p 422, and Liddell Hart (above), pp 510, 511.

17 *Russia and the USSR, 1855-1991: Autocracy and Dictatorship*, p 147. See also S. Z. Ginzburg, *O Proshlom -- Dlya Budushchego (About the past--for the future)*, Moscow, 1983, p. 230. (Stalinist Industrialization and the Test of War* Mark Harrison** Department of Economics, University of Warwick, published in *History Workshop Journal No 29, (1990)*, pp 65 – 84. See also Roman Hayes, *Bose in Nazi Germany*, Random House Publishers India Private limited, Windsor IT Park, 7th Floor, Tower B, A – 1 Sector – 125, NOIDA 201301< UP, India, ISBN 978 81 8400 184 6, p 116.

access to the Atlantic Ocean.¹⁸After the Treaty of Brest – Litovsk and Hitler’s attack, Russia lost territory almost up to the Dnepr River – as was planned in Operation Unthinkable. If the Ukraine and Belarus were to join the EU and NATO today, the western boundaries of the Russian Federation would approximate to those after the Treaty of Brest – Litovsk and Hitler’s invasion.

STRATEGIC FOCUS AND LEADERSHIP

There is ample evidence of Russia’s strategic focus. At the Teheran Conference in 1943, Churchill and Roosevelt conceded to Stalin’s demand for a ‘warm – water’ Baltic port. The RSFSR got the Konigsberg (now Kaliningrad) enclave which separates Poland and Lithuania – the strategic significance of which is evident today. Poland’s borders were also shifted westwards up to the so – called Curzon Line of 1919. Poland got East Prussia and parts of Silesia from Germany at end of the war – all amicably approved without consulting the Poles of course.¹⁹

In 1962 the two superpowers (and the world) were closest to a nuclear war during the Cuban Missile Crisis. The USA imposed a blockade to force Nikita Khrushchev to remove the missiles from Cuba. After much hard bargaining, on 27 October President Kennedy secretly agreed to remove missiles targeting the Soviet Union from southern Italy and Turkey in exchange for Khrushchev removing them from Cuba. The Soviet missiles were removed immediately; those in Italy and Turkey were removed later – and very quietly.²⁰

THE PEOPLE DIMENSION

The Russian people have consistently demonstrated an unbelievable degree of resilience in the face of overwhelming odds. During Napoleon’s invasion ordinary people responded to resolute leadership. The capture of Moscow was a

18 Antony Beevor, *The Second World War*, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, Orion Books Ltd, Carmelite House, 50 Victoria Embankment, London, EC4 ODZ, 2014, ISBN 978 – 1 – 7802 – 2564 – 7 pp 922 – 926

19 Roy Jenkins, *Churchill*, Pan Macmillan Ltd, 20 New Wharf Road, London N1 QRR, 2002, ISBN 0330 48805 8, p724.

20 Jim Hershberg (Spring 1995) *Anatomy of a Controversy: Anatoly F. Dobrynin's Meeting With Robert F. Kennedy, Saturday, 27 October 1962*. Retrieved May 29, 2012. See also Johnson, Dominic D P, *Failing to Win*, p. 105.

major political objective for Hitler, who said "...*Russia is to be abolished...*" Every man, woman and child in Moscow was to be destroyed. Winston Churchill said "*almost all responsible military opinion held that the Russian Army would soon be defeated and largely destroyed*".²¹ Although some German spearheads could even see the Kremlin, they were driven back. When General Andrei Ivanovich Yeremenko ordered General Vasilii Chuikov of the 62nd Army to defend Stalingrad, Chuikov replied "...*we will defend the city or die in the attempt...*".

On 22 September 1941, Hitler declared "...*St Petersburg [Leningrad] must be erased from the face of the Earth...we can have no interest in maintaining even a part of this very large urban population...*" According to Walzer Michael, more civilians died in Leningrad than in Hamburg, Dresden, Tokyo, Hiroshima, and Nagasaki taken together.²² The siege lasted for 872 days. Civilians suffered a daily bread ration of a measly 125 grams; mostly made from sawdust and other inedible admixtures. Leningrad did not surrender; on 09 August 1942 the Leningrad Symphony No 7, composed by Dmitri Shostakovich, was broadcast to the Germans as an act of defiance. By 26 January 1943 the Germans were ousted, ending the blockade.

The Battle of Stalingrad lasted from 23 August 1942 to 02 February 1943. On 08 January 1943, General Konstantin Rokossovsky offered generous surrender terms: normal rations, medical treatment and retention of badges, decorations, uniforms and personal effects. The POW's could return to Germany or to any country they wished after the war. On 02 February 1943 around 91,000 exhausted, ill, wounded, and starving prisoners surrendered; including 22 generals - about 6,000 returned to Germany.²³ Some 800,000 Soviet women served as pilots, snipers, machine gunners, tank crew, partisans, air defence artillery gunners and in auxiliary roles. Nearly 200,000 were decorated: 89 received the Soviet Union's highest award, the Hero of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union was the first to allow women to fly combat missions.²⁴

21 Albert Axell, *Russia's Heroes*, Constable & Robertson Ltd, 3 The Lanchesters, 164 Fulham palace Road, London W6 9ER, 2002, ISBN 978 - 1 - 84119 - 534 - 6, p 10.

22 Reid, Anna, *Leningrad: The Epic Siege of World War II, 1941-1944*, Bloomsbury Publishing, ISBN 978-0-8027-7882-6, 2011, pp 134 - 135. See also Walzer, Michael *Just and Unjust Wars.*, ISBN 978-0465037070, p. 160

23 Beevor, Antony, *Stalingrad*, Viking, London. ISBN 978-0-14-103240-5, 1998.

24 Harrison E Salisbury, *The 900 Days: The Siege of Leningrad*, Da Capo Press, Second Edition, 2003, ISBN- 10: 0-306-81298-3, P 377, 387 See also Albert Axell, *Russia's Heroes*, Constable & Robertson Ltd, 3 The Lanchesters, 164 Fulham palace Road, London W6 9ER, 2002, ISBN 978 - 1 - 84119 - 534 - 6, and Henry Skaida (2003). *Heroines of the Soviet Union 1941-45*. Osprey. ISBN 1-84176-598-8., The United States Military Academy (2015). *West Point History of World War II, Vol. 1*,

The Russian Federation has taken pains to educate its population of the trials and tribulations faced throughout history. However, the present generation seems to be seduced by “*dollarization*” and rejects the past: the Second World War is not “*their*” war. A similar indifference and pacifism prevails in Europe as well. European and Russian armies have not been blooded in combat since long, making it difficult to predict their performance. The same holds true for the USA too – participation in the two Gulf Wars cannot accurately indicate the combat capability of its soldiers.

CONTEMPORARY SCENARIO

The geopolitical order today is uncomfortably close to that in George Orwell’s book 1984; in which Oceania (USA), East Asia (China) and Eurasia (Russia) are constantly at loggerheads by rotation. The prize is the bottomless pit of cheap human labour in Asia. This *ménage à trois* is an internecine struggle for world dominance between the Bald Eagle, Bear and the Dragon – while Mayur the Peacock looks on askance. There is also a worldwide regression from pluralism to monism: recent ranting of Donald Trump points in that direction. Of course, Asia (the ‘*other*’ pole), of which India is a part, must decide that its labour comes at a price – and to be largely determined by it! This ‘*other*’ pole must manage a balancing act to safeguard its interests – a difficult, though not impossible, exercise.

Mikhail Margelov, Head of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Russian Federation Council (Valdai Discussion Club) website stated on 17 July 2014 that “... *Russia is not only ready to make its voice heard, but...also prepared to use force when its national interests are at stake...*” adding further “...*the West has failed to forsake the principle according to which only Western interests are legitimate...*”²⁵ In December 2013 Vladimir Putin was quoted as saying “...*we do not aspire to be called some kind of superpower...as a claim to world or regional hegemony... do not infringe on anyone’s interests, we do not force our patronage on anyone, or try to teach anyone how to live...*” The former secretary of defence Robert Gates has also condemned “...*the arrogance, after the collapse [of the USSR], of American*

25 Angela Stent, *The Limits of Partnership US-Russian Relations in the Twenty-first century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014) pp xi, 265. See http://valdaiclub.com/Russia_and_the_world/70320.html, and Richard Sakwa, *Frontline Ukraine Crisis in the Borderlands*, IB Tauris & Co Ltd, 6 Salem Road, London W2 4BU, 2015, ISBN 978 1 78453 064 8, p 3.

government officials, academicians, businessmen, and politicians in telling the Russians how to conduct their domestic and international affairs [...] [which] led to deep and long – term resentment and bitterness...”According to Richard Sakwa Russia demands that the leading powers abide by the mutually established rules of the international system – and claims a no less leading place in that very system²⁶

BEYOND THE CRYSTAL BALL

Even if some of Donald Trump’s policies are implemented, US disengagement in the Asia – Pacific region is a distinct possibility; and China’s opportunity. In an address at the USI on 07 December 2016, Shri Shivshankar Menon, the former Foreign Secretary, opined that though the prospect of great power conflict was low, the risks of great power involvement in conflicts with lesser powers or in regional flash – points were high.²⁷As per Graham Allison “... *the preeminent geostrategic challenge of this era is not violent Islamic extremists or resurgent Russia, it is the impact of China’s ascendance...*”²⁸Together with the Russia – China rapprochement and Russia’s overtures to Pakistan, the negative fallout on India need hardly be emphasized; and is indeed a challenge for Indian diplomacy. Though the US – Russia proxy war in the Ukraine is presently muted, the possibility of a scaled – down Cold War in Europe cannot be discounted.²⁹

The EU seems to be tottering. After Brexit, the 499 – kilometer “*soft*” border between Northern Ireland and the Irish Republic may become “*hard*” again. The unionists in Northern Ireland may want union with the Irish Republic after all.³⁰ If the EU unravels, international boundaries (and territorial disputes) which were irrelevant may resurface: Alsace – Lorraine, Rhineland,

26 *Vedomosti*, 12 December, 2013. See also Richard Sakwa, *Frontline Ukraine Crisis in the Borderlands*, IB Tauris & Co Ltd, 6 Salem Road, London W2 4BU, 2015, ISBN 978 1 78453 064 8, pp 32 -34.

27 Shri Shivshankar Menon, *China, India and Pakistan*, USI Journal, October – December 2016, Vol CLXLVI, No 606, pp 427 – 430.

28 Graham Allison, *The Thucydides Trap – Are US – China Headed for War*, *The Atlantic*, 24 September 2015.

29 Major General GG Dwivedi, SM, VSM and Bar, *Geopolitical Shift: Evolving Strategic Landscape*, USI Journal, October – December 2016, Vol CLXLVI, No 606, p 481. See also Richard Sisk, *Poland’s Suwalki Gap Replaces Germany’s Fulda Gap as Top NATO Concern*, *Military.com*, 10 December, 2015.

30 *The Economist*, 02 July 2016, p 47. See also *The Economist*, 30 July 2016, p 43.

East Prussia, Pomerania and Silesia to name a few. The future of NATO could also be affected; a disunited Europe cannot make for an effective NATO. The dominant (if not domineering) power would be Germany. Memories of East Prussia and parts of Silesia and Pomerania, ‘gifted’ to Poland by Stalin - and with Churchill’s and Roosevelt’s concurrence, may well resurface. A strong Germany could make other east European countries uneasy as well. President Benes of Czechoslovakia remarked at the end of WWII that the “*succession states*” like Czechoslovakia chose Russian protection against future German domination. In 1944 a Polish poet lamented “...*we await you red plague/to deliver us from the black death...*”³¹ To whom would an insecure Poland turn with instability in East Prussia and Silesia? If Poland were to revive its claims to parts of Ukraine, could Ukraine turn to the EU, the USA and NATO: and a NATO of what credibility?

The cracks in NATO are discernable. On 20 July 2016 Donald Trump declared to the New York Times that the USA would aid the Baltic States against Russia only if they met their “*obligations*” – in direct contravention to Article 5 which considers an attack on one member as an attack on all. Newt Gingrich, who was tipped as a possible secretary of state in the future administration, considers Estonia a “*suburb of St Petersburg*”. NATO’s Secretary General, Jens Stoltenberg remarked that “*solidarity among allies is a key value for NATO*”. Some NATO members like Italy, Greece and Spain are queasy of standing up to Russia. Germany’s foreign minister, Frank – Walter Steinmeier dismissed large – scale NATO exercises as “*war mongering*” and “*sabre – rattling*”. Would Trump’s USA send Americans to wage war with Russia over East Europe? Roosevelt’s remark of 06 June 1944 to the Polish Premier Stanislaw Mikolajczyk (of the Polish Government in exile) is indeed significant “...*on your own you have no chance to beat Russia...the British and Americans have no intention of fighting Russia...when a thing becomes unavoidable...one should adapt oneself to it...the United States government stands solidly behind you...*”³²

The RAND Corporation has concluded that the Russian army could reach Tallinn and Riga within 60 hours, leaving NATO a choice between escalating the conflict or accepting a *fait accompli* that could destroy the alliance. Francois

31 AJP Taylor, *The Hapsburg Monarchy 1809 – 1918*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago 60637, 1948, ISBN 0 – 226 – 79145 – 9, p 259.. See also Antony Beevor, *The Second World War*, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, Orion Books Ltd, Carmelite House, 50 Victoria Embankment, London, EC4 ODZ, 2014, ISBN 978 – 1 – 7802 – 2564 – 7 p745.

32 John Toland, *The last Hundred Days*, The Random House Publishing Group, Random House Inc, New York, ISBN 0-8129-6859-X, p 44.

Heisbourg opines “...at present the Baltic States are effectively indefensible...” Sweden remains neutral, and Finland knows that joining NATO would antagonize Moscow.³³ NATO’s eastwards expansion has been adversely commented upon even in the US. In 1998 John Keenan said “... I think the Russians will react quite adversely [to eastwards expansion]...no reason for this whatsoever...make the Founding Fathers of this country turn over in their graves...our differences...were with the Soviet Communist regime...”³⁴ If the Communist regime and the USSR have disappeared, what could be the issue with a capitalist Russian Federation?

A possible answer was provided by Sir John R Colville. At the Bermuda conference in 1953 he quoted President Dwight Eisenhower in “...a short, very violent statement, in the coarsest terms....Russia was a woman of the streets...the same whore underneath...America intended to drive her off her present ‘beat’ into the back streets...doubt if such language has ever before been heard at an international conference...the French gave it all away to the press...some of their leaks were verbatim.... Earlier in 1946, Winston Churchill expressed “...a Soviet Union which behaved in accordance with Western standards would always be welcome to enjoy the influence to which its wartime bravery and sacrifices entitled it...” Both Eisenhower’s and Churchill’s outpourings smack of an utterly misplaced ethnocentrism. Stalin’s predictable reply to Churchill was “...now Mr Churchill is...declaring that only those people who speak English are full – blooded nations, whose vocation it is to control the whole world...presenting those nations who don’t speak English with a kind of ultimatum...recognize our supremacy – otherwise war is inevitable...”³⁵ A comparison with Putin’s remark in December 2013 quoted above is indeed noteworthy.

A regime - change in post – USSR Russia does not necessarily imply that national interests or threats to security have changed: NATO’s eastwards expansion being evidence of that. Current global developments point to a fluid world order similar to that which prevailed between the two World Wars making predictions at best a hazardous exercise – though a weak case for not attempting them. While both the USA and Russia are weary of an aggressive China, a deep contempt by the USA for Russia is a stark reality: recent developments suggest

33 *The Economist*, 02 July 2016, p 46. See also *The Economist*, 09 July 2016, p 43, and *The Economist*, 30 July 2016, pp 39 – 40.

34 Richard Sakwa, *Frontline Ukraine Crisis in the Borderlands*, IB Tauris & Co Ltd, 6 Salem Road, London W2 4BU, 2015, ISBN 978 1 78453 064 8, pp 45, 46, 277

35 Roy Jenkins, *Churchill*, Pan Macmillan Ltd, 20 New Wharf Road, London N1 QRR, 2002, ISBN 0330 48805 8, pp 810, 811, 873.



Map 7. Suwalki Gap. Source: Washington Post

a renewed USA – Russia confrontation with echoes of the Cold War. Only this time the China factor is another element.

Dissolution of the Warsaw Pact on 25 February 1991 removed NATO's *de facto* adversary, and its relentless expansion can only be to deter Russia. The Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov considers that NATO "...remained a Cold War institution..." The NATO Secretary General, Jens Stoltenberg, has confirmed that battle – groups in the Baltics and Poland are to counter "...a more assertive Russia..." Recently, Montenegro has been invited to join NATO: would deny Russia strategic access to the Adriatic Sea, leaving Serbia its only regional ally. Russia declared war on Germany in 1914 in support of Serbia. In 1967 President Ghemal Abdel Nasser blockaded the Straits of Tiran, and the Israeli response was predictably violent. The expectation that Russia should

do nothing to counter an expanding NATO that impinges on its strategic interests and security is indeed naive, and well summarized by La Fontaine "... *this is a very vicious animal; when it is attacked, it defends itself...*"³⁶

Can Russia checkmate NATO's eastwards expansion? The West itself provides the answer: the 40 – miles wide Suwalki Gap (See Map 7): the only land link between Poland and the Baltic States: but surrounded by the Russian enclave of Kaliningrad (Konigsberg) to the north and Kremlin-friendly Belarus to the south. A surprise thrust by the Russians through the gap towards a friendly Belarus would physically cut off Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia from Poland: while providing Belarus a shorter route to the Baltic Sea through Kaliningrad. Support to the Baltic States could come only from (a non – NATO) Finland across the Baltic Sea. Stalin's demand for Kaliningrad as part of the RSFSR (now Russian Federation), and with the agreement of Roosevelt and Churchill, demonstrates his strategic focus – to counter possible futuristic threats.

Russia's Baltic Fleet from Kronstadt could effectively interdict supplies from Finland to the Baltic States. It could mine the ports of Tallinn, Riga and Klaipeda (former Memel): a major ice – free port in Lithuania. Its navy could also carry out "*peace – time*" and "*routine*" manoeuvres along the Baltic coast – and in international waters; as also aggressive aerial patrolling in international air space. Whether Finland would risk antagonizing Russia is questionable. Poland wants NATO troops in the gap. However, Michal Baranowski, Director of the German Marshall Fund of the United States said in Warsaw "... *in reality, this is Poland's strategy aimed at automatically involving key NATO countries in a potential conflict...*" Would other NATO members or the USA "*bail out*" Poland? Winston Churchill's remark to the London Poles on 14 October 1944 is noteworthy "... *you have no sense of responsibility... only your own miserable interests in mind... if you want to conquer Russia we shall leave you to do it...*"³⁷ Great Britain declared war on Germany in 1939 to uphold the "*independence*" of Poland.

There are historic ethnic tensions in the Suwalki Gap as well: that include Polish-Lithuanian disputes for over a century. The Gap has a sizable Lithuanian minority. Poland's historic occupation of Vilnius and desire of the Polish

36 David Rising and Geir Moulson, *Russia Seeks Pragmatic Ties and 'Post – West' World Order*, Associated Press. See also John Toland, *The last Hundred Days*, The Random House Publishing Group, Random House Inc, New York, ISBN 0-8129-6859-X, p 415, and the *Times of India*, Monday 20 February 2017, p 11.

37 Roy Jenkins, *Churchill*, Pan Macmillan Ltd, 20 New Wharf Road, London N1 QRR, 2002, ISBN 0330 48805 8, p 762



Map 8. Russian Speakers in the Baltics. Source: Google

minority in Lithuania for territorial autonomy make many Lithuanians antagonistic to Poland. After Moscow's annexation of Crimea in 2014, Lithuanians consider Poland as the most hostile country after Russia. Russian influence in Suwalki is another factor. It continues to engage Russian speakers and other ethnic minorities in the former Soviet Republics (See Map 8). Pro – Russia Lithuanian radicals argue for incorporation of the Suwalki triangle from Poland. Russia could use ethnic tensions to stir up local separatism – the region's incorporation into Kaliningrad. Pro-Russia radicals have suggested inclusion of Klaipeda as well. Lt Gen Ben Hodges, who commands the U.S. Army in Europe, told NBC News that Russian troop movements toward the Suwalki Gap are his nightmare scenario.³⁸If Russia is finished as a major power as Eugene Rumer and Celeste Wallander assert, one can only wonder why NATO is so apprehensive of it: without the Warsaw Pact NATO is the dominant (if not domineering) military power in Western Europe.

³⁸ Agnia Grigas, *NATO's Vulnerable Link in Europe: Poland's Suwalki Gap.*, Atlantic Council, 09 February 2016. See also Richard Sisk *Poland's Suwalki Gap Replaces Germany's Fulda Gap as Top NATO Concern*, Military.com 10 December 2015.

Both the USA and Russia are weary of China: but make temporary alliances to address immediate concerns. However, in the long – term, some degree of rapprochement between the USA and Russia is inevitable: but cannot be on the basis of any Russian subservience. Russia straddles the entire Eurasian landmass like a colossus. Revisiting Sir Halford John Mackinder “...*who rules East Europe commands the Heartland: who rules the Heartland commands the World – Island: who rules the World – Island commands the World...*” seems relevant even today. Russia cannot be expected to relinquish influence in the Heartland – nor could either the USA or China replace it. Russia is the only country that can, either alone or preferably with Western Europe and even the USA establish a degree of stability in the region: endemic instability would serve nobody’s interests. A domineering Germany in a weak EU could drive East Europe to some rapprochement with Russia. Should Poland harbour ambitions of resurrecting the Polish – Lithuanian Commonwealth even to a degree (possibly with the help of the USA), it would face both a hostile Germany and Russia: with a new Russo – German Pact of convenience in the offing. Such scenarios cannot be dismissed from the realms of possibility.

CONCLUSION

Throughout history, Russia has demonstrated the capability and will to exercise itself as a great power – as also to make very unpleasant decisions to protect its territorial integrity. History is repeating itself. Whether Russia would flex its military muscle would depend on the threats it perceives – but surprise lightning strikes before the world can react are not impossible. It is unlikely that Russia would reconcile to becoming a vassal to China either. Today’s world is moving away from unequal dependency towards interdependency. The sooner the Bear, Bald Eagle and the Dragon accept this reality the world could hope for peace and tranquility. That Russia can act like a great power has been established. Its power projection in Syria and mature handling of Turkey (a major NATO member), despite the recent assassination of the Russian ambassador, are a demonstration of its will to be one. Growing Russian influence in Turkey could also further weaken NATO’s (questionable) solidarity. India should not forget that there are never permanent friends but only permanent interests. Relying too much on anyone is like walking on crutches: the only way to becoming a power to reckon with is to walk alone. The Mayur will have to preen itself and dance with the trio – but only to its own tune.

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Commissioned as a transport pilot on 04 June 1967, he has logged over 6200 hours on various aircraft, and also held a Senior Commercial Pilots License. Commanded the Paratroopers Training School and served as Air-II at the Central and Western Air Commands respectively. Retired on 30 September 2002 as the Air Officer Commanding, Air Force Station, Agra.

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Pakistan- Today & Tomorrow

Shri Rana Banerji

THE IDEA OF PAKISTAN

Ever since its emergence, Pakistan has tried to cast itself as an ideological state, Identifying with conservative Islamic causes of *Imam* (belief), *taqwa* (fear of Allah) *jihad-fi-sabilillah* (fight in cause of Allah). Protagonists talked of 'Pakistan' being the "Land of the Pure". Upper caste muslim elites, mostly hailing from Uttar Pradesh or old 'Avadh' were driven by nostalgia of the 'Mughal Empire'. Believers of the 'Two Nation theory' like Sir Syed Ahmed, poet Allama Iqbal, Mohd Ali Jinnah, Chaudhry Rahmat Ali, many of whom had the opportunity to study abroad and were exposed to liberal beliefs, nevertheless were convinced that muslim minorities in India were severely disadvantaged and had been overtaken by faster prosperity, wider exposure to education and involvement in trade, of Hindus.

Pakistan suffered from insecurity ever since Partition, blaming India for inadequate division of military assets and perceived injustice over not getting Kashmir on the basis of the 'Two Nation theory'. Its quest for identity faced setbacks in subsequent domestic elections. Constitution making got mired in petty politicking and fear of overwhelming representation of East Bengal muslims. Four inconclusive wars in Kashmir and the emergence of Bangladesh in 1971 accentuated this insecurity, engendering thoughts of revenge and talk of the 'unfinished agenda of Partition', over Kashmir.

ISSN 2347-9191 print

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CASS Journal, Vol. 4, No. 2, April-June 2017, pp. 79-94

The Army in Pakistan was quickly able to cast itself in the mold of supreme defender of the country's security and arbiter of national identity. It used the crutch of Islam to justify successive military take-overs. Pakistan became 'a country without a nation', having an 'Army' first and 'a nation' afterwards. Civil- military relations in Pakistan have remained fraught ever since. Civilian politicians tried to incrementally seek political space but the powerful military establishment has not been prepared to forego its role in formulating and controlling security and foreign policy.

BENEFITS OF GEOGRAPHY/ LOCATION

As a nation, in terms of geo-politics, Pakistan benefitted from projecting its unique location, first as a pro- United States staging post during the Cold War, against the USSR. In 1971, it played a historical role serving as a secret bridge for the Nixon-Kissinger led US outreach towards an 'isolated' China. This served it in good stead later, for developing a relationship- 'deeper than the seas and higher than the hills' with the People's Republic of China. When the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in 1979, it could quickly become a 'Frontline State' benefitting from escalated US aid - military & economic, much of which was channelized through the Inter- Services Intelligence (ISI). Ever since, especially in Western perceptions, Pakistan's utility was enhanced as a 'Moderate Islamic State' with nuclear capability which could be a bridge between Muslim Arab countries of the Middle East & South Eastern Muslim States (Malaysia, Indonesia). The importance of the new port of Gwadar - overseeing sea lanes/ oil transportation routes from Straits of Hormuz - has fit snugly into China's 'string of pearls' strategy, now endorsing its larger world view, through the One Belt One Road (OBOR) initiative and Economic Corridor (CPEC) project.

RELIGIOUS, SECTARIAN, ETHNIC FAULT LINES

Pakistan's socio-cultural link with Islam was syncretic -inherited from the South Asian sub-continent - imbibing from various schools of Islam - Hanafi, Deobandi, Barelvi, Ahle Hadis. Sufism also had an impact. Large parts of Southern Punjab and Sind were influenced by Sufi practices. Sectarian schisms nevertheless plagued the State and civil society - Shia versus Sunni differences sporadically surfaced during religious occasions like Moharram. Persecution of Ahmediyas emerged during the riots in the early '50s and then again, in the mid-'70s leading to their ostracisation as 'non-muslims'.

Zia ul Haq's draconian martial law regime and introduction of Islamic ordinances of Hudood and Zakat saw the intensification of sectarian strife between Shias and Sunnis. Wahabi/Salafi influence increased exponentially from mid-'80s leading to the growth of a convoluted concept of Islam, which involved justification of 'jihad' not only as a means of self-defence but as a weapon of the disenfranchised classes, to violently set right economic and societal imbalances. In time, this pitted Deobandis against Barelvis. Sufism has also faced a siege.

Ethnic fault lines developed due to progressive Punjabi domination, deprivation of political power to Muhajirs, clashes between Sindhis and Muhajirs after introduction of educational reservations and also between Muhajirs and Pashtuns in Karachi. Resentment of Punjabi domination has extended even among Pashtuns now. Simmering Baluch nationalist resentment remains a persistent irritant for both the military establishment and the Punjabi civilian leadership at the national level.

As against these disruptive fault lines, kinship or '*Biradari*', implying loyalty to family, clan solidarity or a collective feeling of honour has served as a cementing factor, albeit mainly in Punjab.

THE IMPERFECT DEMOCRATIC EXPERIMENT

Burdened repeatedly by military dictatorships, stretching through 32 of its 66 years of existence so far, Pakistan has nevertheless seen efforts to move towards democracy. The first experiment was made during the tenure of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto after the separation of Bangladesh. The 1973 Constitution was a rare reflection of political consensus though Bhutto's dictatorial proclivities saw this experiment short-lived. The 1977 elections were allegedly rigged by Bhutto and the Pakistan National Alliance, of mostly right of centre and religious parties resorted to a strong agitation which ultimately led to an Army take-over.

The interregnum of 1988-99 saw four elections being held within a short period. Benazir Bhutto came to power in a fair election, though with a tenuous majority. She was hemmed in by the Military and ousted in 1990 through a 'combined Opposition' welded from behind, by the military. Nawaz Sharif, originally a creation of the military came to power, building himself a populist, Punjab based mandate but he had to face ouster twice- in 1993 & 1999, as he tried to take on the military dominated establishment.

In May, 2006 a Charter of Democracy was signed in London between Benazir & Nawaz Sharif, leaders of two mainstream parties while both were in exile. Significantly, they agreed not to destabilise each other while any one of them was in power.

The Lawyers' movement (2007/2008) for restoration of Chief Justice Iftikhar Chaudhry, dismissed earlier by Gen Musharraf, was another major landmark. Civil society ambience developed strongly against Army intervention of political processes. The 2008 elections could be held without Army interference, despite disturbed law & order conditions and the assassination of Benazir. Musharraf was forced to quit.

Passage of the 18th Amendment in April, 2010 has been another significant, even landmark attempt to empower provinces. It prescribed devolution of finances and other area/ subject development powers States, though it has not been properly implemented so far.

This period also witnessed burgeoning media freedom in Pakistan, which was ironically, a lasting positive contribution of the Musharraf dispensation – several private television channels both in English and vernacular were allowed to open during 2002-2009. The Army has made subsequent efforts to control the media when it was perceived to be getting too big for its boots – the Saleem Shehzad murder and the Hamid Mir firing case are instances in point.

THE 2013 ELECTORAL MANDATE & LAST 3 YEARS

The May 2013 elections to the National and Provincial Assemblies marked a significant political watershed in Pakistan, representing the first ever smooth transition to a newly elected civilian government, without military intervention and after completion of a full term by a previous civilian government, itself elected democratically in 2008. However, the election results were a boost for conservative forces in Pakistan. Right of Centre political parties did well, especially in Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP). The Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz- PML –N) got a total of 129 seats out of 272, with 118 from Punjab alone. Imran Khan's Tehrik e Insaaf (TeI) won 17 seats out of 35 from KP, cobbling together a coalition government there. Parties like the Awami National Party (ANP), People's Party of Pakistan (PPP) and Muttahida / Mohajir Quami Movement (MQM-Altaf), which could be deemed either centrist or moderate/ 'secular' were not allowed to canvass freely due to threats from the Taliban and suffered reverses, except perhaps in Sindh. After adding women and minorities

from earmarked seats, the 342 member National Assembly had 188 PML (N) MNAs, 46 PPP MNAs, 32 of PTI, MQM 24 and Jul(F) 13.

The Senate (104 members) has 27 PPP Senators, 26 from PML (N). Senators have 6 yr terms (half of them retire after every 3 yrs).

PTI alleged rigging in Punjab & Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. A massive agitation was launched in 2014. The Pakistan Awami Tehrik of Canada based itinerant religious cleric Tahirul Qadri joined forces with Imran Khan. Governance was brought to a standstill during Imran Khan's dharna. The PTI leader spread a belief that his was a veritable 'govt in waiting'. His agitational tactics were sustained by an expectation of Army intervention. The country was brought close to a brink but Army intervention did not happen. One of PTI's senior leaders, Javed Hashmi exposed the Imran Khan - Shuja Pasha (then DG, ISI) connection in plotting the entire agitation. At this crucial juncture, Army Chief Gen Raheel Sharif played a 'straight' role, opting not to intervene. This punctured Imran Khan's balloon, though he is still agitating against Nawaz Sharif's alleged corruption exposed in the Panama papers' leaks.

The People's Party of Pakistan remains in disarray after its rout in Punjab. It has been plagued by poor governance in Sind. The corruption taint of its top leaders, notably Asif Zardari refuses to fade away. Bilawal Bhutto initiated some half-hearted efforts to revive the party's fortunes by holding some rallies in Punjab but the return of Zardari from self-imposed temporary exile in Dubai promises to scuttle these efforts.

The Mohajir/ Muttahid Quami Movement (MQM) retains its populist base in urban Sind but its leader in exile, Altaf Hussain is no longer a strong unifying force, weakened by allegations of money laundering and involvement in the murder of his junior colleague, Imran Farooq. MQM is being attacked systematically by the Army and Pakistan Rangers, in an effort to cleanse its criminal, extortionist cadres in Karachi. Splits have been engineered. First, Mustafa Kemal, erstwhile Karachi Mayor was encouraged to return from exile and formed the Pakistan Sarzameen Party. Now there are more splits – a MQM (London) faction and a MQM –Pakistan faction.

PML (N) remains the only party that could matter politically though the Army has defanged it.

Pakistan has suffered from having weak institutions but a strong Army. This has resulted in persisting Civil/ Military strife. Lately though, a shift in Civil Society ambience has become visible, which militates against a direct military takeover at present.

During the 2008-2013 interregnum, politicians stopped running to the Army. The post Musharraf withdrawal of army from the civilian sphere was welcomed but Kayani's extension as Army Chief in 2010 was not popular with senior Army Generals. After the elimination of Osama bin Laden in Abbotabad (May, 2011) the ineptitude of Kayani, Pasha (then DG,ISI) was highlighted, even berated from within Army.

Memogate represented another milestone in fractious civil- military relations. Pakistan's Ambassador in USA, Hussain Haqqani, a People's Party nominee advocated US pressure to prevent Army coups in Pakistan. His alleged memorandum suggested intrusive nuclear curbs on Pakistan's programme. Understandably, the Army was incensed. Haqqani had to be sacked and the Judiciary was instigated to act against PPP government. Contempt of Court proceedings were initiated against PM Yusuf Raza Gilani but the PPP Govt survived, launching a counter offensive against the Defence Secretary, a retired Lieutenant General.

ROLE OF JUDICIARY

The period 2007- 2010 – saw new found judicial activism under the Court of Chief Justice Iftekhhar Choudhary, jettisoning the age-old '*doctrine of necessity*', which had justified all past Martial Law takeovers. Pressure was mounted on the Army over the disappearance cases in Baluchistan and a revival of inquisitory hearings in the Asghar Khan case, wherein former Army Chief, Gen (retd) Aslam Beg and the then DG, ISI- Lt. Gen Asad Durrani were accused of misusing secret funds to support a political party of the Opposition and had to appear in Court. The Musharraf trial also threatened to have ramifications on the Army as an institution, till the Army leadership frowned on this new found zeal. As revealed in the recent, since retracted statement by Musharraf to Dunya TV, Gen Raheel Sharif helped influence the Judiciary behind the scenes to let him go.

Despite a hostile Judiciary & Army, the weak PPP government survived its full term.

The Judiciary's record in combatting Terrorism has been poor. The Higher & lower Judiciary remains scared / conservative in response to terror trials. In the absence of any witness protection, conviction rates remained poor. When the 21 st Amendment allowed Army Courts to deal with Terrorism cases, the Supreme Court upheld their validity. Recently though, the suo moto Justice Qazi Faez Isa enquiry report on the Quetta Hospital attack of Aug 2016 blamed

the Federal Interior Ministry for its failure to activate the National Counter Terrorism Authority and command & communication failures of Frontier Corps, Baluchistan. It also indicted media for glorifying terrorists. The Interior Minister, Ch Nisar Ali challenged these findings.

The Judiciary's activism has ebbed after 2013. The Supreme Court adopted a rather ambivalent role in the Panama Papers' corruption case, first holding hearings to examine the allegations in depth but later refraining from either setting up a separate Enquiry Commission or ruling on the merits of the case. Chief Justice Anwar Zaheer Jamali retired quietly. The new CJ – Justice Saqib Nasir has set up a new bench minus the CJ to hear the case.

ECONOMY- PERSISTENT DILEMMAS

The Pakistan economy continues to face structural imbalances. It has a poor tax collection base, leaving out both the rural landed gentry and the rich industrialists from its reach. It has suffered a poor GDP growth rate of around 3% in the last few years though some improvement was noticed in 2015-16. Remittances from its 7 mn diaspora in UAE, Saudi, UK, USA & Europe -who send around \$ 11 bn per annum often provide a bail out. Foreign aid dependencies are endemic. Pakistan gets aid from the IMF, World Bank, ADB, Saudi & US - for Defence, Counter Terrorism expenditures. Its external debt rested at \$ 62.6 bn; Revenue expenditure is sought to be met year after year through heavy market borrowings, of which 54% was from the Private Sector. High Defence spending - \$ 7 bn in 2014 amounted for 18 % of the National budget. It was hiked to \$7.81 bn in 2015- an increase of 11%. Debt Servicing amounted to 49.5 % of the total Revenue. Social sector allocations - for Public Health, Education and Water supply remain grossly inadequate. Performance in the Power sector has been chronically poor. The investment climate remained bad due to the disturbed Law & Order situation, especially in Karachi.

Promised infusion of massive Chinese aid for building of the Gwadar port complex and the Economic corridor bail out has led to infusion of new confidence that Pakistan's economy may yet recover and resume a healthier growth path.

ARMY & ISLAM

Latent radicalism in society and within the security establishment has been a persisting concern. Though cleansing/ purges in senior echelons of the Army

have been on-going since Zia's time, especially vetting in promotions to weed out radicalised elements, there was a failed coup attempt by late Maj Gen Abbasi and Brig Mustansir Billa in Sept '94. The Musharraf assassination attempt in 2003 was found to have Islamic radicalisation links among Air Force ranks. Attacks by Islamic radicals on Army HQ in 2010 shook up the Generals. The Rawalpindi Parade Ground mosque attack by Punjabi Taliban in December, 2009 killed 38, injured 57, including sons and relatives of senior Army officers. Another case of Islamic penetration-by Brig Ali Khan & 4 others, who were followers of Hizb ut Tehrir was detected in 2011. They were punished by a Military Tribunal in Aug '12. The Mehran Naval Base attack and the Saleem Shehzad killing after his story on penetration within the Navy surfaced in May, 2011 exposed the sensitivities of the Defence Forces as did another abortive AQIS attempt to board a PNS frigate in Karachi harbour in Sept '14.

Certain other traumatic events - the Swat operation against Tehrik e Taliban (TTP) - (Operation Rah e Rast, May 2009), killing of Maj Gen Sanaullah Bhatti in Khyber Paktunkhwa (Sept 2013), the Karachi airport attack of June 8, 2014 and the Army School Peshawar attack of December 14, 2014- in which 132 children and teachers, mostly relatives of Army personnel, junior and senior, were killed, forced Army action against domestic terror groups.

ZARB E AZB

In June, 2015 while the civilian politicians dilly-dallied, the Army decided to undertake 'clear, build and hold' operations against the Tehrik e Taliban (TTP) in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas on North and South Waziristan. The aim was to minimise ground combat casualties, rely more on heavy aerial bombardment and gradually clear militant concentration areas, so that the writ of civilian administration could be restored. However, several Army friendly 'top leaders' of the TTP like Hafiz Gul Bahadur, Maulana Sadiq Noor, Abdul Rahman and Saifur Rahman, and Hafiz Haider Janikhel were allowed to escape into Afghanistan.

In sheer statistical terms (ISPR figures), the results were spectacular, making Raheel Sharif very popular. Overall violence in Pakistan from terrorism and suicide attacks, (including also in crime/ violence ridden greater Karachi agglomeration) reduced by 40 %, in 18 months of its operation; 3400 terrorists killed, 21,193 arrested, 837 hide-outs busted in FATA through 13,200 claimed Intelligence based operations (IBOs); ISPR admitted casualties of 488 officers

of Army/ Frontier Corps/ Rangers and 1914 injured; prominent casualties included Baitullah Mehsud - killed August, 2009- his brother, Hakimullah four years later, in November, 2013; Mullah Nazir killed in January, 2013, Wali ur Rehman, challenger of Hakimullah Mehsud's leadership - killed in December, 2013. Khan Saeed 'Sajna', the TTP Mehsud splinter group leader who refused to accept Mullah Fazlullah's leadership - reported killed in November, 2015;

US DRONES TO RESCUE

In May, 2016 recalcitrant Afghan Taliban leader, Mullah Mansour Akhtar was killed through a pin-pointed drone strike in Baluchistan in May 2016, as he was returning from the Iran border. Suspicion attached to the circumstances in which an undamaged Pakistani passport identifying Mullah Mansour @ Wali Mohd was found near his incinerated taxi. This pointed to ISI/ Pakistan Army's foreknowledge or partial collusion. Shortly afterwards, possibly in a quid pro quo by the Americans, some other hardline attackers of the Pakistani establishment were singled out for quick elimination. Omar Khalifa @ Khalid Khorasani @ Umar Narai, leader of the 'Tariq Gidar' group eliminated on July 9, 2016. A fortnight later (July 23, 2016), another US drone strike in Khudi Khola area of Nangarhar, Afghanistan is reported to have got Mangal Bagh Afridi, Lashkar-e-Islam leader; (Aug '16), Hafiz Saeed Khan, leader of TTP faction/ IS was also believed killed by a US drone.

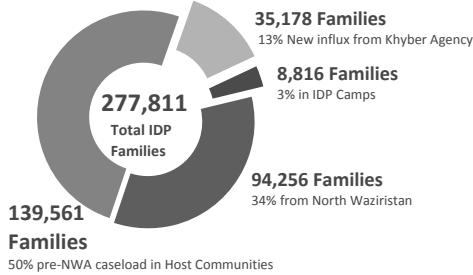
IMPACT

Apart from a reduction in terrorist violence in 2015, there were some spin off benefits, resulting in release of kidnapped 'VIP sons' - Shahbaz Taseer, son of slain Punjab Governor, Salman Taseer and Ali Haider Gilani, son of former PPP PM, Yousaf Raza Gilani were released from Taliban captivity in March and May, 2016 respectively. Sindh Chief Justice, Sajjad Ali Shah's son, Ovais was recovered from a TTP rehabilitation lair in Karachi.

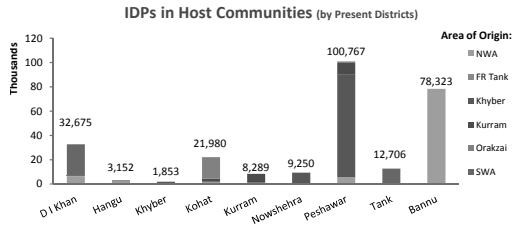
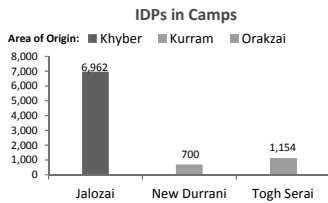
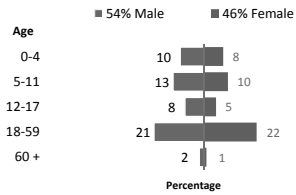
The challenge of Refugee rehabilitation from FATA has been left to the civilians! Shown below is a chart showing the position of Internally displaced persons (IDPs) yet to be rehabilitated.



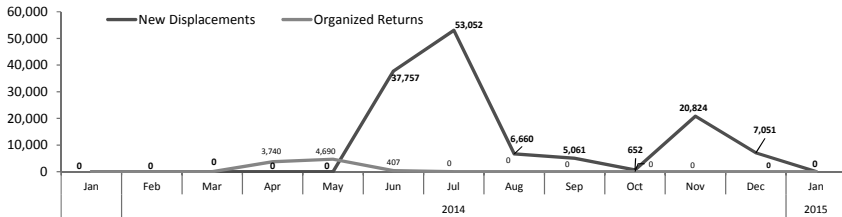
KP and FATA IDP Statistics
(As of 31 January 2015)



Age-Gender Breakdown¹



Displacement and Return Trends



Currently Registered IDP Families by Location (Camp and Off-Camp)

Present Location		Area of Origin					Total Families	%	
		NWA	FR Tank	Khyber	Kurram	Orakzai			SWA
D I Khan	Off Camp	6,437	376				25,862	32,675	12%
	Camp				84	1,070		1,154	0%
Hangu	Off Camp	2,045		42	74	991		3,152	1%
	Total	2,045		42	158	2,061		4,306	2%
Khyber Agency	Off Camp			1,853				1,853	1%
	Camp			284	2,459	17,615	35	21,980	8%
Kohat	Off Camp	1,587		13	687			700	0%
	Camp			1,053	7,211			8,289	3%
Kurram	Off Camp	25		1,066	7,898			8,989	3%
	Total	25		1,066	7,898			8,989	3%
Nowshhehra	Camp			6,962				6,962	3%
	Off Camp	242		8,996	12			9,250	3%
Nowshhehra	Off Camp	242		15,958	12			16,212	6%
	Total	242		15,958	12			16,212	6%
Peshawar	Off Camp	5,542		84,850	9,203	1,079	93	100,767	36%
	Off Camp	55					12,651	12,706	5%
Tank	Off Camp								
	Off Camp	78,323						78,323	28%
Bannu	Off Camp								
	Off Camp								
Grand Total		94,256	376	104,053	19,730	20,755	38,641	277,811	100%

1. Age and Gender breakdown does not include the new influx from Khyber as the information is not available to date
2. The population of Jalozai increased as registered IDPs previously residing in off-camp locations moved to Jalozai since the beginning of new influx
3. 35,178 NADRA verified families are newly displaced from Bara (Khyber agency) since Oct 2014. The remaining data is under process of verification by NADRA
4. IDP Population reflects the total number of registered displaced families verified by NADRA

Source: UNHCR, FDMA, WFP

For more information: Junaid Ghani (ghani@unhcr.org)

21ST AMENDMENT- SUMMARY TRIALS UNDER ARMY ACT

The 21 st Amendment was passed in Jan '15 to summarily try terrorists in Army Courts. This amendment provided for a 2 yr sunset clause, lapsing in Jan '17. 11 Military Courts were set up- 3 in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, 3 in Punjab, 2 in Sindh, 1 in Baluchistan. These courts tried 105 accused, convicted defendants in 81 cases, sentencing 77 persons to death, 4 given life sentences, 24 found not guilty.

12 terrorists were hanged including Mohd Ghauri @'Doc', Maulvi Abdus Salam, Hazrat Ali, Mujibur Rahman, Karachi attackers of the Shia pilgrims' bus coming back from Mastung, Baluchistan, Sabeel @Yahya, Jameel ur Rahman of TTP (Swat); 10-11 more orders for hanging were passed just before Raheel Sharif quit and were confirmed by the new Army Chief, Gen Bajwa.

SECTARIAN OUTFITS CURBED

Malik Ishaq , Lashkar e Jhangvi (LeJ) leader and his sons, Usman and Haq Nawaz were killed on July 29, 2015 in an encounter with the Punjab Police's Counter-Terrorism outfit in Multan. In Baluchistan too, security forces killed LeJ's Usman Saifullah Kurd; however, the Sipah Sahaba, Pakistan and LeJ remain powerful. Though a banned outfit, its leader, Ahmed Ludhianvi could meet with Interior Minister, Ch Nisar Ali in a delegation of the Difa e- Pakistan Council.

LASHKAR E JHANGVI HITS BACK

Punjab's Interior Minister, Col (ret'd) Shuja Khanzada was killed in a major reprisal by LeJ , when they blew up at his village home in Shadikhan, Attock in August, 2015. Khanzada had worked in the ISI before opting for a political career with PML (N). He was in-charge of ISI operations in Baluchistan (mid 1980s) and served as one of Pakistan's Defence Attaches in Washington (1992-94). For Pakistan's Military Establishment, this was a hit too close to the bone!

CRACKDOWN IN PUNJAB - SELECTIVITY IN CRACKDOWN

After the March, '16 bomb attack on Christians observing Easter Sunday in Lahore, a joint Punjab Police- military crackdown was undertaken against activists of the Jamaat ul Ahrar faction of the TTP in Faislabad, Gujranwala,

Sialkot, Bhakkar, Rahimyar Khan and Kasur. Arrests of some foreign militants too were claimed.

After the Pathankot attack in India, the Counter Terrorism department of Punjab Police raided Jaish e Mohd (JeM) seminaries in Sialkot and Daska. Some low, medium level Jaish e Mohammed (JeM) supporters were arrested from Razaabad, Faislabad and shifted to an undisclosed location for questioning. Punjab's Law Minister, Rana Sanaullah and Foreign Affairs Adviser, Sartaj Aziz gave statements on apprehension of Masood Azhar & brother.

A much touted anti- dacoity operation was also taken up in the 'no-go', riverine areas of Rajanpur and Dera Ghazi Khan Districts. In April, 2016 the Ghulam Rasool @ Chotu gang was forced to surrender.

However, selectivity has been the hallmark of these operations. Asmatullah Muawiya, head of TTP Punjab and chief perpetrator of post- Lal Masjid siege violence in Punjab announced in September, 2014 that he and his faction would no longer carry out attacks in Pakistan. He surrendered to military officials in Miramshah in North Waziristan, declaring that he would now devote himself to Dawaa & Tabligh activities. He was not tried by any court!

Lashkar e Taiba (LeT) and Hizbul Mujahideen (HM) activists were not touched in these operations. The trial of the seven Mumbai 26/11 accused, including Zakiur Rehman Lakhvi is still proceeding at a snail's pace. There is little or no progress in madrassa reform. Saudi funding continues to select madrassas. Funds were allotted to Jamaat ud Daawah of Hafiz Mohd Saeed by Punjab govt & to Jul (S)- Samiul Haq's Akora Khattak mosque, Nowshera by the PTI govt in KP;

KARACHI CLEANSING

Pak Rangers continue to undertake cleansing operations against criminals and extortionists in Karachi. Their powers encroach on Police functions but the civilian government in Sindh has found it difficult to complain. This has a political agenda – that of curbing MQM (A)'s phenomenal hold in the city. The operations have had limited success. The Army/ Pak Rangers have struck selectively at Terror safe havens of the TTP & Afghan Taliban;

Steps to curb terror outfits in FATA, KP & Karachi were not entirely cosmetic- they have had a deterrent effect, blunting the capacity of militant outfits and sectarian fanatics. They may also have helped Pakistan to gain some diplomatic mileage. However, there seems to have been no concerted effort to

curb hate speech, check terrorist financing, prevent registration of seminaries, deal with banned organizations and curb the use of social media. Events like the Quetta hospital bombing / Shah Noorani shrine in Khuzdar, Dec 12- Dumial village, Chakwal – Ahmediya mosque surrounded by frenzied mob of radicals, *are a reminder to show that terrorism refuses to fade away;*

PERSISTING CIVIL / MILITARY DISSONANCE

As the recent DAWN news leak showed, the Cyril Almeida story of a face-off between PMO officials and the ISI, alleging that the latter were not doing enough to curb terror groups in Punjab, leading to Pakistan's diplomatic isolation, infuriated the Army leadership. Information Minister Pervez Rashid had to go. A One Man judicial enquiry was set up to enquire who was responsible.

Selection of new Army Chiefs by the political leadership has shown that seniority is not followed and some space is available for politicians' discretion. Raheel Sharif was chosen on advice of Lt Gen (rtd) Abdul Qadir Baloch. Qamar Javed Bajwa was fourth in the seniority list. Efforts were made to stymie his selection. The Ahmediya canard was thrown up by a Jamaat –e- Ahle Hadis Maulvi. (Hafiz Saeed is a Ahle Hadisi) –was this done because Islamic radicals fear a continuing crackdown under Bajwa's stewardship? Nawaz Sharif chose to ignore the canard.

The Civilians may nurture an expectation of the new COAS's malleability. This hope is likely to be belied again as Bajwa grows into the post, though his latest reshuffle of Generals reflected some attempt to accommodate Nawaz Sharif's sensibilities.

NAWAZ SHARIF: TRAITS/PROCLIVITIES

Though originally a creation of the Army, Nawaz Sharif managed to successfully move away from its apron strings —casting himself as 'mass based' leader in Punjab. He and his brother, Shahbaz Sharif, Chief Minister of Punjab could sustain their own sizeable business interests in various development projects. They also roped in Punjabi & Sindhi feudal elements in mutually beneficial political and business alliances. Every time he has been elected by massive popular mandates, an -authoritarian streak came to the fore, encouraging him to take on vested sections of the powerful military establishment. He also showed a tendency to dabble in Army postings, which led to troubled relations with the Army. After winning

decisively in the 2013 elections, better relations were expected with the new Chief he appointed, but later tensions developed as Raheel's popularity soared and his publicity was built up by ISPR. Nawaz Sharif's fascination for grandiose schemes, drift in governance style continue to be worrisome and his immediate family's corruption taint is not getting washed off.

THE IMRAN KHAN PHENOMENON

Imran Khan enjoyed great charisma after Pakistan's 1992 Cricket World Cup win. He retained a comparatively clean image after entering politics. This was also based on his successful effort to build the Shaukat Khanum Cancer hospital in Lahore. His personality and good looks made him especially attractive to women and youth. He did well in the 2013 elections. His PTI was the third largest Party with 32 seats. He expected to do better and alleged there had been massive vote rigging in Punjab. Though these allegations could not be proved beyond doubt, the perception remained of some substance in his claims.

Because of his frequent changes in attitude on Taliban, courting of religious fundamentalists and perceived impatience to get power, he has often been labeled as "U Turn Khan". Though there may be some liking for him among sections of the Army, they seem uncertain about his staying power in the hustle bustle of feudal politics in Punjab.

EXTERNAL FACTORS AFFECTING FUTURE

The Chinese economic bail-out of \$46 bn under the CPEC will certainly boost Pakistan's confidence & capacity to stand up against Indian belligerence. Pakistan's – dependence on China for sustaining its Defence/ Nuclear capacities will deepen.

In USA, an element of unpredictability attaches to policies of new President, Donald Trump. Pressure from the Congress on action against the Haqqani network in Afghanistan, connecting to aid certifications will remain but USA may not desert Pakistan or even compete against greater Chinese influence. Pakistan would be happy to keep getting military & economic aid from USA.

On Afghanistan, it is possible there may be some internal introspection on its 'strategic depth' policy. How consensus within the Army evolves, on changes if any, will need to be closely watched. Pakistan has recently put pressure on Afghan refugees to return- 614,411 moved back to Afghanistan in 2015-16.

This may not help improve relations. The new Russia-China-Pak axis against Islamic State in Afghanistan will also require watch.

On India policy, no immediate changes seem likely. There would be reciprocal responses to bellicose posturing.

PORTENDS FOR THE FUTURE

The Army remains powerful and will continue to control levers of Strategic power. It is unlikely to allow civilians to move for rapprochement with India, as this may erode its own dominance. Disdain over civilian mal- governance is only temporarily sheathed. The Army can come back to direct control if civil society condones its role or its vigilance weakens. They would like to limit Civilian capacity to seek 'undue retribution' of past mistakes by military, limit Judicial overreach in disappearance cases, put a handle on Media freedom and continue to control from behind the scene in what is commonly depicted now as the 'post-Kayani Civil-Military hybrid'. Any transformation will have to evolve slowly from within, through institutional processes – it remains to be seen if these changes will squeeze military's space for political manoeuvring or proclivity to perpetuate its perks? Charismatic Civilian politicians must play a role – it is not clear who will don this mantle - Imran, Bilawal or Asifa (the youngest Bhutto sibling) or will it be a Nawaz comeback in the 2018 elections?

SHRI RANA BANERJI



An officer of the Indian Administrative Services (IAS), 1972-batch, Assam- Meghalaya cadre, Banerji retired as Special Secretary, Cabinet Secretariat in Oct'2009.

After retirement, he headed a Task Force on Intelligence Reforms at the Institute for Defence Studies & Analyses (IDSA) from March, 2010-April, 2011. The IDSA report on 'Intelligence Reforms- The Way Forward' was published in April, 2012; Shri Banerji worked as Visiting Professor in the Academy of International Studies, Jamia Millia Islamia

University, Delhi (Jan, 2012-Jan, 2015).

Banerji has several publications to credit, prominent among which are:- A Monograph on 'Pakistan Army: Composition, Character & compulsions' (Nov 2013), a chapter on 'Al Qaeda, Lashkar-e Taiba & Indian Terrorism' in the Indian National Security Review, 2014, a chapter on 'Pakistan's Politico-Military Dynamics' in the Indian Council of World Affairs publication, 'Insights into Evolution of Contemporary Pakistan, (Pentagon Press, 2015); Banerji has participated in several International Conferences & Track II interactions on Indo- Pak relations, Indo- US Security relations, Indo-Pak-Afghan Tripartite dialogue (2010-2015) and Intelligence Oversight Mechanisms & Privacy rights (Sept 2016). In July, 2016 he spoke at the International Institute for Strategic Studies Experts' panel on India's policy challenges in Pakistan & Afghanistan.

He currently works in two Delhi based Think Tanks on honorary basis – Institute for Peace & Conflict Studies & Delhi Policy Group.

Banerji's primary focus areas of expertise are South Asia studies - Pakistan, Afghanistan, Islamic Terrorism, Intelligence & Security analysis

How Indian Navy can go to War in Quickest Time with less Desperate Measures?

Prof Ashok Soman

INTRODUCTION

General Carl Von Clausewitz a Prussian Strategist's book 'On war' has narrated Offensive Principle No 1 as- " Main consideration is the Strength of the adversary (China and its crony Pakistan) and not your Strength(Indian Navy)".

Indians are justifiably proud of their navy , which is modern as well as capable. However we have overlooked the strength ,determination and relentless pursuit of China to dominate the sea.It is very aggressive in East China sea and South china sea and continuously built infrastructure like airports, warships and missiles. It is feverishly building islands to reinforce its claims on 9-dot line.It knows that no nation barring USA has a power to stop them ,so they allow the Us navy ships to ply unhindered, but threaten all other nations in South China sea as well as continue their construction on disputed islands as it is sure USA will not dismantle the encroached islands by use of force.

In Indian Ocean too the Chinese have used their economic might to get bases in Myanmar at Coco island ,Kyank pue (Myanmar), Hambantota (Sri Lanka), Maldives, Gwadar (Pakistan),and Djibouti .

Indian Ocean and beyond must be a Indian backwater ,but currently it is far from it.India must have control over Choke points.

ISSN 2347-9191 print

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CASS Journal, Vol. 4, No. 2, April-June 2017, pp. 95-124

It is observed that in recent years wars can be shorter. For example Falkland war lasted only 74 days, 1965 war lasted for 5 weeks, 1971 Bangladesh war 14 days, and Kargil war 60 days.

For Indian Navy the problem of entering a naval war is it takes very long to construct a modern warship.

- A) INS Vikrant (Aircraft carrier of 45500 tons) - 11 years.
- B) INS Delhi Class (Destroyer 5200 tons)- 5-9 years.
- C) INS Visakhapatnam class (Guided missile Destroyer 7400 tons)- 5 years.
- D) INS Shivalik Class (Guided Missile Frigate of 6200 tons)--9 years.
- E)INS Sukanya (Patrol boat 1890 tons)- 1 year 3 months.
- F) INS Kora class (Missile Corvette 1350 tons)- 9 years.
- G) Reliance Defense NOPV (Naval Offshore Patrol 2100 tons block II)-18 months to 24 months.

To win any modern naval war it will be difficult to make new warships in time as shown in above data. Therefore some out of the box solutions are required. Unless a thoughtful plan is made to rapidly increase the production in event of war then the only way out is some out of box solutions risking lives of naval officers and men. Even industrially advanced nations like USA had to resort to it. In World war II USA, Germany, Great Britain, Italy and Japan had to adapt to these methods. Instead of reinventing the wheel, it would be worthwhile examine how other nations created warships or used methods in WWII.

Let us discuss how other nations faced naval war and had to take desperate risks in desperate times in WWII.

GREAT BRITAIN- ROYAL NAVY

A proven method is getting warships of same type from friendly nations, as Royal Navy got 50 destroyers from USA *Caldwell*, *Wickes*, and *Clemson*-class US Navy destroyers for giving bases for 99 years in primarily the Caribbean Sea.

One of the destroyer made the class famous was destroyer HMS *Campbeltown* when used in attack on 'Normandie' dry docks at St Nazaire . This was the only dock in France which could repair or dock the Battleship *Bismarck* and its sister ship *Tirpitz*.

CATAPULT LAUNCHED MERCHANTMAN (CAP)

When the German Navy used a four Engine Civilian Passenger aircraft, which was converted by Prof Kurt Tank into FW -200 Condor Bombers. It was very successful as



Pictures of four Engines FW – 200 Condor attacking the convoys.

a bomber, it could carry bombs up to 4500 Pounds and afterwards continue to shadow the convoys and summon the U- Boats to continue destruction of the convoys.

The Royal Navy came out with CAM Ships which had a Rocket propelled Catapult from which a Hurricane was launched when a FW-200 Bomber came in for shadowing or attack. The Hurricane could shoot the slow FW-200 Bomber but it could not land back on the Merchant ship and either ditched in the Sea or if an airfield was close had to land there.

About 35 Catapult Assisted Merchant ships were made, and fitted with Rocket propelled Catapult. They launched their aircrafts and shot down 6 German planes, at the cost of one pilot getting killed.

GERMAN NAVY IN WWII

German S-boats (Called E-boats – Enemy boats). - They had a low silhouette so were difficult to locate. They had 100 tons weight, their Daimler Benz engines gave them a speed of 43.8 Kt as they developed a power of 3950 BHP. It had four torpedoes and 1x20 mm or 1 x 37 mm flak guns. They had destroyed 12 Destroyers, 11 minesweepers, and 8 landing crafts as well as a submarine. Its mines had sunk 37 merchant ships, of 148,535 tons, a destroyer and 4 landing craft. It had a complement of 24-30.



It had a complement of 24-30. Total E-Boats that were built were 200 , out of which half were lost.

S-Boat (E Boat of German Navy) It carried Two torpedo tubes and two extra Torpedoes. They were difficult to see with naked eye and Radar was required to locate them. It had three engines from 'Man' diesel which gave them 6,000 BHP.



US NAVY IN WWII.

US Navy had to rely on Patrol torpedo boats (PT Boats) which could be made fast.



US Navy's Patrol Torpedo boats could be made fast and some 531 were made till the end of the war, they carried four Torpedoes, 2x twin machine guns and some carried anti aircraft gun.

They made a great name especially in night attacks, but by end of the war 99 of them were lost. Many participated in night attacks and caught the imagination of American people when they learnt about exploits of PT 109 commanded by Lt John F. Kennedy who later became President of USA.

Escort Carriers- In 1942 US Navy was having only one aircraft carrier but increased them to 99 Aircraft Carriers by converting merchant ships to Escort Carriers.

A merchant ship converted to Escort Aircraft Carrier.



USS Long Island an Escort Carrier built in 77 days. It was made by converting a merchant ship to escort carrier. This is a feat only the Americans could do.

Picture of a Jeep Carrier (Baby Flat tops) – USA started the war with three aircraft carriers, they were down to one carrier ‘Wasp’ but in a year they had 99 aircraft carriers most were escort carriers or Jeep Carriers. This feat was something no other nation could match. They were called CVEs (Many mischievously were called Combustible, Volatile, and explosive).



Typical Baby Flat top. (CVE).

COL DOOLITTLE RAID ON JAPAN FROM USS HORNET

USA launched B-24 Michaels from USS Hornet in WWII. This raid coming within an year on Japanese main land was carried by Col Doolittle by using twin engine Army Planes, these could be launched with greatest difficulty, but the pilot could not land the aircraft back on the aircraft carrier he either had to ditch the plane in the Sea or try to bailout in China or crash land it in China. It was a one way ticket. Surprisingly most pilots, who bombed Japan and landed in China, came back alive.



B-25 Michaels crammed on board USS Hornet for the famous 'Doolittle Raid' from that attack onwards USA won most of the naval battles.

The American ability to convert Automobile Company into an Aircraft manufacturer.

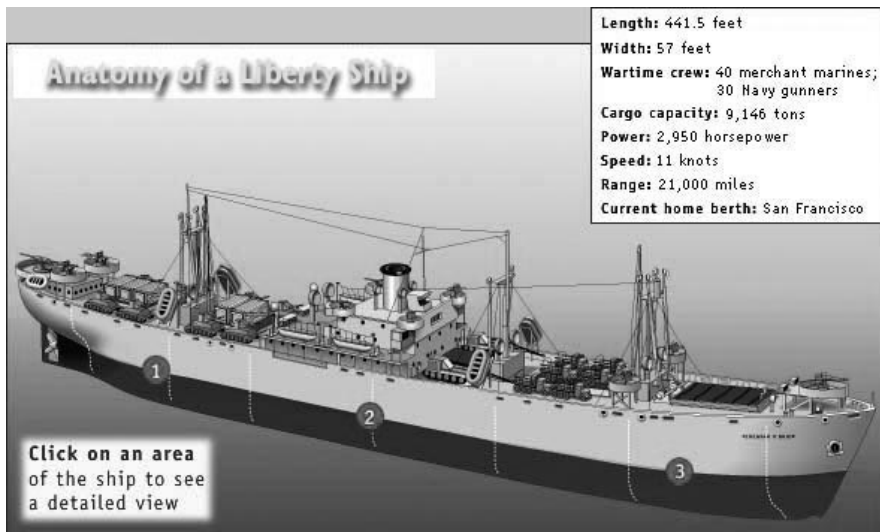
Ford Motors at its plant at 'Willow run' made four engine B-24 liberators. Americans made 18,188 B-24 out of which 8000 were made by ford Motors.

Ford Motors was making 650 B-24s every month.

Merchant ships- War effort in WWII required very large number of merchant ships to carry raw material, and take war material to the front. The Americans gave orders to 80 shipyards to make 'Liberty classes' and 'Victory class' merchant ships of about 8000 Tons.

Large constructed sections were lifted by massive cranes able to carry 250 tons and welded together. Ultimately 2750 ships were constructed, the largest for any design in the world.

The fastest Liberty class ship made was SS Robert .E. Perry which was made in just four and half days.



Liberty class ship was made in very large numbers(2750).

ITALY

The Italian Navy excelled in Human torpedoes and they were launched from the Italian Submarine 'Scire' and the 'Human Torpedo' succeeded in attacking two Royal Navy Battleships HMS Queen Elizabeth and Valiant, however both the Battleships though damaged did not sink as the harbor was not having sufficient depth to sink and just sat down at the bottom but could be repaired later.

JAPANESE NAVY

A Japanese Midget on another Japanese submarine for Pearl Harbor attack.

Japanese used five midgets to attack Pearl Harbor and all were lost.

Kamikaze attacks – When Japan realized that their cause was lost after fall off Okinawa islands. From Okinawa Island the American four engine aircrafts such as flying fortresses (B-17) could attack main land they launched Kamikaze attacks (Divine wind that destroyed the Mongol Fleet and saved Japan).These were suicide attacks conceiver by Admiral Takijiro Onishi

The Japanese carried out more than 4500 Suicide attacks. However due to cordon of Combat Air Patrol (CAP), few actually reached their targets. Anti aircraft guns using proximity fuses proved effective in shooting down many of them. The Royal Navy aircraft carriers had an armored deck and the Kamikaze planes did not sink them. One of their notable success was 'St Lo' an Escort Carrier' of US Navy which was lost with many casualties.



Kamikaze planes going in for suicide attack and their crew cheering them.

BAKA- PILOTED BOMB

Japanese also used 'Baka' a piloted bomb that did not have a landing gear, as the Pilot had to ram the aircraft on an US Navy warship. It was Piloted Rocket powered suicide aircraft with 12, 00 KG bomb. Along with Kamikaze aircrafts more than 4500 Japanese Pilots attacked allied ships and struck 474 allied ships.



**'Baka' did not have a landing gear nor did the pilots carry a parachute.
'Baka' Piloted Bomb heading towards its last mission.
A twin engine Japanese plane carrying 'Baka'.**

FALKLAND WAR

In Falkland war against Argentina the Royal Navy used a large number of merchant ships which proved decisive in winning the war. They included –

- a) Passenger liners- 8.
- b) Roll –On-Roll –off ships-8.
- c) Container ships-5.
- d) Freighters-7.
- e) Tankers- 15.
- f) Trawlers used for minesweeping-5.

They used 'Atlantic Conveyor' (14,946tons) which carried 8 Sea king helicopters and 20 Wessex helicopters.

a) 'Atlantic Causeway' was taken over by Royal Navy in Falkland war.

It carried Sea Harriers (8) and four CH-47 Chinook Helicopters, as well as one Wessex helicopter, however Argentinean Air force attacked it with 'Exocet' missiles and it sank.

b) Astronomer (27867) carried 13 helicopters.

C) Atlantic Bezant (11445) carried 9 Wasp helicopters, and 4 Hawker Harriers Vertical take off and landing aircrafts.(VTOL).Atlantque conveyor containership (14946tons)carried 8 Sea Harriers as well as massive CH-47 Chinook Helicopters and 'Lynx'helicopters.



Pictures of Atlantic Conveyor it carried 'Harrier' jump jets in Falkland war.

Queen Elizabeth took 5th Infantry Brigade in Falkland war. She is fast at 23.7 Kts which is her protection. Both Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth participated in WWII but U- Boats could not catch up with them and they survived the WWII.

INDIAN NAVY IN 1971 BANGLADESH WAR

Indian Navy had anticipated that there may be war and Naval Dockyard were working very hard and in about 9 months succeeded in repairing most of Indian naval ships (Barring INS Delhi). It was due to Naval Dockyard's hard work winning the naval war became feasible.

Indian Navy also used two merchant ships 'Deshdeep' and 'Sagardeep' for the fleet.

Long range naval reconnaissance was done by Indian air force's four engine Super constellation aircrafts and a Squadron of B-24 liberators.

Even flying club planes were used for patrolling.

Indian Navy had put to use 5 captured dhows they had long range of 4,000 KM and had superb and reliable Caterpillar engines. Naval crew disguised as fishermen operated them and kept vigilance on Pakistani warships. They had sail so could pass as a fishing craft. One of them 'Al khaleed' was commissioned in Indian Navy in March 1972 as Dhow Jyoti and based in Goa and was allocated 'Search and Rescue duty' after the war was over. The Dhows had a powerful Caterpillar Engine and could pose as sail ship and escape detection.

The 9/11 attacks on Mumbai was carried out by high jacking a Fishing vessel 'Kuber'.

How can Indian Navy prepare itself so that it can bring in its merchant ships to war purposes before the war ends?

In any modern war the entire might of the nation must be employed to deny the adversary a chance of winning.

There must a Synergy between Indian navy, Indian Coast guard and Indian Merchant Fleet including its Fishing and trawling fleet.

All Shipyards Naval, Public sector and Private sector must work together. In addition Warship grade steel manufacturers, marine engine manufacturers, weapons and sensor manufacturers both in Public and private sectors and our vast number of trained engine manufactures should not only work together but should be under a unified command.

IMPORTANCE OF HAVING ALL NAVAL ASSETS, MERCHANT FLEET AND AIRCRAFT UNDER A UNIFIED COMMAND

One of the reasons Japan lost the war was the merchant ships were not under unified command. Merchant ships would race to occupied countries to bring raw material like rubber, tin and oil etc. Then after unloading go back empty to the occupied countries bring more raw materials. On other hand ships taking tanks, war material and warplanes used to race to front and come back empty. So empty ships used to pass each other. The ships that took war material to front should have bought back raw material to Japan.

INDIAN MERCHANT SHIP FLEET IS IN DISARRAY

Indian merchant ship fleet is steadily loosing its market share steadily and currently accounts for around 9% of its sea borne trade. It cost the Indian exchequer more than \$60 Billion Dollars. We must aim to increase our market share to at least 30% of market share. (our adversary increased the ships built in China by 100% in just one year 2010.) As seen in Falkland war the ships that have a war potential are Tankers, Roll-On-Roll-Off ships, Container ships, Passenger ships and Deep sea fishing Trawlers. In all these segments Indian Fleet is weak. The

Consideration should be war time use and not only profitability. We can subsidize Public sector undertaking and private Indian shipyards by a waiver of interest, tax exemption, incentives, and subsidies on time and orders from Navy and coast guard when there is slump in shipbuilding.

CHINA – THE MOST FORMIDABLE ADVERSARY OF INDIA

Number of shipyards is 1600, but 51 of them are complying with Shipbuilding norms, and 9 more have joined recently.

- a) China produces 15000 naval architects and engineers that is 7 times more than USA.
- b) Guangdong Longxue shipyard specializes in 230,000 DWT ore carriers,
- c) They have second biggest Container carrier in the world ,that can carry an incredible 19100 Containers.(Twenty foot Equivalent).
- d) China's Shipyard had a goal of producing 24 Million tons or 35% of global production.



Second biggest container ship in the World carrying an unbelievable 19,100 containers.

- e) China produces a 175,000 DWT Cape size bulk carrier in 'Waigaoqiao shipyard'. They have reduced time of construction from 369 days to first 109 days and present 35 days using block production.
- f) Three warships of Type 052 were launched in a single day.(Source Popular Science by Jeffrey in and P.W. Singer).
- g) Type 052 and 054 Destroyers are commissioned very fast. The time of launching to commissioning is only 11months to 13 months.



Chinese 'Wuhu' Class Type 052 Destroyer.

COMPARISON OF CHINA AND INDIA IN SHIP BUILDING

China

- a) Shipbuilding and Ship repairing yards- 492.
- b) Manufactures of Equipment- 148.
- c) Number of Employees in Shipbuilding- 2, 87,702.
- d) Order book- 40 million tons.
- e) Global Share – 19 to 20%.

India

- a) Shipbuilding and ship repairing yards – 28.
 - b) Manufacturing of equipment- Not known.
 - c) Number of employees – 12,000.
 - d) Order book- 1.3 Million DWT.
 - e) Global Share – 1%.
- China has production capacity of about 20 times.
 - Chinese Shipyards use modern technology, block production, and they have constructed a 175,000 Ton Cape size bulk carrier in just 35 days.
 - The cost of carrying a Container in a Chinese ship is 50% that of what Indian Shipping companies are charging due Economy of Scale.

WHAT CAN BE DONE INCREASE NAVAL WARSHIPS IN CASE OF AN IMPENDING NAVAL CRISIS?

- 1) Repair the existing warships fast.
- 2) Concentrate on partially completed Warships.
- 3) Take warships from friendly nations, second hand warships, and mothballed ships.
- 4) Enter in pact with friendly nations to give their warship in case of war.
- 5) Use technology like modular warship construction to speed up Warship building.
- 6) Convert Merchant ships into Escort Aircraft carriers.
- 7) Build small, fast warships which are ocean going capability armed with modern guns, missiles and torpedoes.
- 8) Make plan to protect our major merchant fleet, and seek possibility to convert it into warships.
- 9) Involve Private shipyards to make warships and warplanes.
- 10) Warships made in India for exports to be taken over.

THE INDIAN OCEAN, ARABIAN SEA AND BAY OF BENGAL MUST BE AN INDIAN BACKWATER

As compared with China we are in a very difficult situation regarding respective navies, coast guard, merchant ships fleet (especially the ships that have capability to be converted to warships).

The wars are fought with the entire economic, military and diplomatic might of the nation. A synergy between Indian Navy, Air force, Indian Coast guard, Merchant marine fleet under a unified command is a must to ensure our merchant ship's security, protection of ports and airbases and ensuring that Choke points are kept open.

Our Naval and Civilian shipyards, warship grade steel manufacturing, Ship grade steel manufacturing, diesel engine manufacturers, Naval and merchant navy training Institutes, Weapon manufacturer, Sensor manufacturers must work together to make this happen.

HOW TO PREPARE DURING PEACE TIME

- 1) Increase in Indian Merchant Fleet- India will have to increase its Merchant Fleet at a neck break speed. Indian share in our sea borne trade is a paltry 9% , and foreign exchange out go is more than \$57 Billion. We have to take it to 30% in next 4-5 years.
- 2) India must increase its Passenger ships, Roll-On-Roll-Off ships, Container ships in its public sector undertakings like Shipping Corporation of India.(SCI) In addition to other categories like Tankers, Bulk Carriers, Product carriers etc. Indian merchant fleet should be increased massive orders in Indian and Foreign shipyards, increase in Indian shipyards capacity of Public and Private Shipyards. Indian shipping tonnage can be rapidly increased by purchase of ships in second hand market which is depressed, so we can buy second hand ships at a bargain prices.
- 3) India must use Joint Ventures to increase its Shipyards with leading companies from Japan and South Korea.
- 4) Many leading shipyards in the world are going financially bankrupt, including top three in China, making it easy to buy them or buy their machinery and equipment at bargain prices.
- 5) Incentives and subsidies as well as interest waivers should be given to Indian shipyards and shipping companies if they make Passenger carriers, Roll-On –Roll-off Ships in India or buy them from international shipyards or second hand ships.

- 6) India must carefully watch the islands in Indian Ocean and claim islands without any population. French have maximum islands in Indian Ocean and India should buy them from the French, and put our fishing fleet base as well few Coastguard ships for 'Search and Rescue', we need fish processing factories in the islands. No islands in Indian Ocean Arabian sea or Bay of Bengal should go to China (Chinese have purchased an island from Maldives). Therefore China has a base just 450 KM from India. Similarly India should have naval bases near choke points and prevent or adversaries from having them. It is here that Deep sea Fishing Fleet and Trawlers can not only increase our marine catch and make fish affordable to masses but also keep a watch on Islands in Indian Oceans, buy some barren islands and convert them docking Deep sea fishing crafts and trawling fleet.
- 9) India should get latest technology from Japan, South Korea in weapons and sensors. Technology can be purchased from friendly nations like Israel, France, etc.

PROPOSAL I

Converting Shipping Corporation of India (SCI) a government of India undertaking to give orders in Indian Shipyard which can be converted to a 'Helicopter Carrier' or 'Escort Carrier' fast in an event of war. It involves a bridge which does not obstruct the flight deck. It should have enough accommodation for the crew. In addition by modular design, the shipyard should be able to add necessary 'Weapons and 'Sensors' as well as flight deck fast.

Shipping Corporation of India (SCI) should give orders for a Very Large Crude Carriers (VLCC) or Ultra Large Crude Carriers (ULCC), or Bulk carriers of suitable type into Helicopter carriers/ Escort carrier.

Alternatively selected large ships of Shipping Corporation of India (SCI) when they go for docking in Indian Shipyards can be modified in a manner that they can be converted to a Helicopter carrier or a 'Escort carrier' fast in event of a forthcoming naval war.

PROPOSAL II

Converting Coast guard ships into naval warships by putting anti aircraft guns, Torpedoes, missiles and Antiaircraft guns with 'Proximity fuse'.

India has Samarth Class 3 Ships of (2300 tons), 'Sankalp Class '3 Ships of (23 25 tons), Samarth Class 4 Ships of (1800 Tons) and Samar Class 4 Ships (1800 tons). All of them can carry a Advanced Light Helicopter. (ALH) .



Samarth class warship of Indian Coast guard. It is made by Goa shipyard and is of 105 meters and 2400 tons .It can carry a Advanced Light Helicopter (ALH) .If Rudra , a naval version of ALH III/ IV is used it can carry 2500kgs of payload or two torpedoes.



Pictures of 'Sudarshan' Laser guided Bomb. It has warhead of 450 kgs.

The vessels of Indian Coast guard can carry a naval version of Light Combat Helicopter armed with 'Sudrashan laser guided bombs 'or 'HELINA' Missiles.

Anti – Aircraft guns – Modified Coast guard ships should carry Anti Aircraft guns with proximity fuse.

PROPOSAL III

Vidyut I Class

Objectives –

- a) To take over functions of Coast guard ships wherever possible. To conduct 'Wolf Pack' attacks in night.
- b) Blockading Pakistani ports. Lay mines in Pakistani shallow waters near entrance. Conduct daring attacks on their surface ships using torpedoes.
- c) Shooting down Pakistani helicopters or try to shoot aircrafts.
- d) Keeping the Choke points clear for Indian ships, and denying them for enemy ships.

Creating a modern version of German S- Boat (called E-boat by allies for enemy boat) or an US Navy's Patrol Torpedo boats of 'Vidyut I class'.

They should be between 300-600 tons fast warships that are having three engines of about 6,000 HP. They should have Torpedo tubes 4 number and twin mounted 20mm guns, and an Anti aircraft gun with proximity fuse. They should be able to carry missiles like an 'Igla' or 'Stinger' for shooting helicopters or aircrafts. The 'Vidyut' should be able to lay mines.

Improvements – Vidyut I and II should be further modernized as more experience is gathered and new weapons and sensors are available.

Hulls and Engines. - Small shipyards should prepare their hulls and fit them with engines. (Float and move part). Each shipyard should be assured of a certain profit. After launching the hulls and fitting them with engines and Sonar and radar a few of them should be used for training. Remainder Vidyut hulls should be kept on rails on surface so that; they have no problem of sea corrosion. These can be rapidly fitted with Weapons and Sensors in likelihood of war.

Marine Engines - India has one of the biggest diesel engine industry in Asia for example Cummins India makes 240000 Engines every year, Greaves Cotton ,Kirloskar Oil Engine ,Piestick , MAN Of India , Escort Ltd , Ashok Leyland ltd , and Caterpillar (I) but they must produce a marine engine of 1000 - 1500 BHP and more BHP. These diesel engine manufacturers must be given an order every year so that their capacity remains in tact. We can get Economy of Scale by using them as Diesel generators. We can also fit them in Fishing vessels, Custom Crafts, Fast interceptor boats and Fishing Trawlers so the production is ongoing. We can put a dozen engines in reserves. As the war clouds come close the 'Vidyuts' should be fitted with Weapons and sensors.

The Job of Vidyut I and II is to operate in 'Wolf packs' and create a no entry zone near Pakistani ports or at Choke points like 'Strait of Malacca' or Chinese deep sea port at Kyaukpadaung in Myanmar.

Torpedoes – India is now producing the Torpedo launching tubes (L&T), and Heavy torpedo 'Varunastra' and Advanced light Torpedo 'Shyena' and in offing is Takshak Torpedo.

LONG LANCE EQUIVALENT TORPEDOES

An Indian copy of Japanese long lance Torpedo would be cheap to make. It was very successful in WWII and sank 11 cruisers and 11 Destroyers. It made a history in Battle of Guadalcanal, when night attacks by Tenacious Tanaka destroyed 4 US Cruisers in a single engagement.

Naval Personnel- Young and daring hand picked personnel, highly trained during Peace time should man the Vidyuts.



Advanced Light Torpedo 'Shyena'



Pictures of Torpedo tubes developed by Larson and Toubro.(L&T).from which Varunastra can be launched.



Pictures of Hand held Stinger Hand held surface to air Missile.



Pictures of 'Iglu' anti aircraft or anti helicopter missile.

VIDYUT II

Objectives –

- a) To conduct daring attacks in nights, with fast rapier like thrusts.
- b) To attack with salvos of PINAKA II guided missiles on 'Oil Depots' and Military Installations and harbors.
- c) To blockade Pakistani ports with various attacks on Merchant and naval ships using Torpedoes.
- d) Using 'Wolf –Pack' Tactics shoot down helicopters or lure them for Indian Air force attacks, and India Navy attacks.
- e) Protect 'Choke points' and deny the enemy the same.
- f) They should be used with utmost daring, as replaceable but valuable.
- g) Takeover duties of Indian Coast guard.

It will be bigger in size than Vidyut I and Vidyut II will carry different weapons like PINAKA II with guided Rockets, turrets of Anti aircraft Missiles besides Anti aircraft guns with proximity fuses.

8) India should design a Fast patrol ship (Vidyut Class –proposed name), it should be about 400-600 tons , and capable of carrying torpedoes, anti-aircraft guns with 'Proximity fuses' and surface to air missiles. Few ships should be made completely and used for training.

Orders for a few 'Vidyut class hulls' we have to give designs to many shipyards and give them assured profits, so that they can construct them when the requirement comes. Training for operating the Vidyut vessels can be given by Coast guard along with torpedo firing training, and anti-aircraft guns training.



PINAKA MARK II

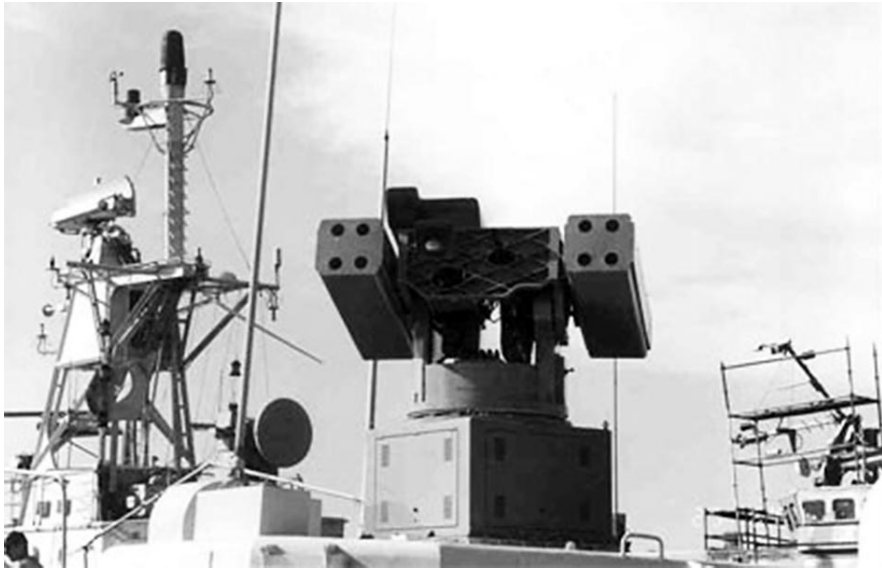
Guided PINAKA has been tested it can fire 12 rockets in 44 seconds . It has a range of 75 KM and if a salvo of 72 Rockets is fired ,it will destroy 1,000x800 Meters.

The PINAKA II can be used for destroying oil dumps, weapon Depots etc.



Successful launching of PINAKA II guided rockets.

If we put PINAKA II, along with its loaders and replenishment vehicles, on a Vidyut II ,it can fire more than 72 rockets to an accuracy of 60-80 Meters.



Vidyut II can also take a turret launched Stinger Missiles.

PROPOSAL IV

Creating Deep Sea fishing and trawling corporation of India.

Deep Sea fishing trawlers and fishing vessels.

Only in Indian Ocean and Arabian Sea and Bay of Bengal that fish die of old age. India does not have single vessel in this category. Most of fishing is done only in Territorial waters; India has no ships to fish in Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ), which is up to 200 KM.

Astonishingly Foreign fishing vessels and Trawlers are allowed to fish half a million tons at a fee, which is difficult to monitor.

In WWII Long range Trawlers escorted convoys even in Arctic convoys proceeding to Murmansk in Soviet Union. Some of them were converted as minelayer and some employed as minesweepers.

During the Cuban Crisis deep sea Trawlers of Soviet Union were used to gather information. In normal peace time they can catch fish and preserve or process it and feed India's needs for proteins. The Soviets equipped the trawlers with sophisticated sensors and communication equipment and were allocated very capable crew to monitor the missile launches and report arrival and departures of US naval ships.

PROPOSAL V

Survey of Merchant ship fleet of India to seek possibility to convert to a warship or give it some defensive /offensive technology.

Converting carefully selected Vessels of Shipping Corporation of India of India (SCI) to become 'Helicopter Carriers' or 'Escort Carriers.

Desh Vibhor the biggest ship of Shipping Corporation of India of 316634 Tons. It has a length of 333 Meters x 60 meters that is it is bigger than our biggest aircraft carrier by more than 7 times.

Shipping Corporation of India has 69 ships.

Even a private shipping company Great Eastern Shipping Company has Tankers Jag Lalit and Jag Lok 158344tons. They are 274 Meters long x 48 Meters length.

Merchant ships that have potential use in war of Shipping Corporation of India. (SCI).

- 1) Tankers. -16.
- 2) Bulk Carriers. -16.
- 3) Container ships.-16.
- 4) Roll –on –Roll-Off ships.
- 5) Passenger ships. -1.
- 6) Deep Sea fishing Trawlers. – Nil.

Container ships – India has very few container ships (8) and these can be used to transport Planes, War material fast as was shown in Falkland war. Shipping Corporation of India has reduced buying of Container ships primarily because of profit consideration. Indian planners have ignored its great potential in wartime. China has used economy of scale in Container transportation and offers to carry a container at half the price of India, to kill Indian Companies ordering containers.



Shipping Corporation of India's Container ship Chennai,

PASSENGER VESSELS

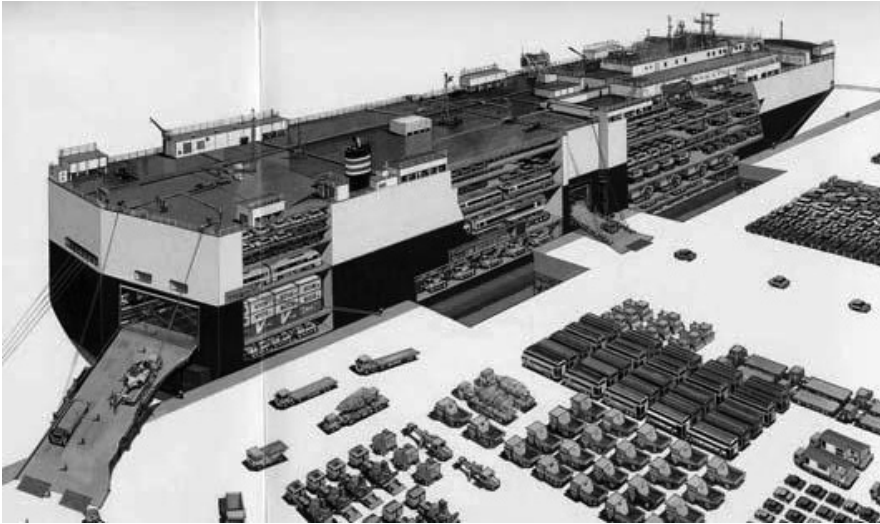
Other than its war uses they can increase tourism and earn or save foreign exchange.

India has just one passenger ship 'Kavaratti' that can carry 700 passengers and 200 tons of cargo, but since Hindustan Shipyard made a loss in its manufacturing no further orders were given.

Passenger Vessel kavaratti made by Hindustan Shipyard ltd at a loss. It is of 2387 tons DWT and 8763 GRT; it can carry 700 passengers and 200 tons of cargo.

Roll-On –Roll-off ships – Currently India has none, even though they can be used for transporting Indian made vehicles for exports.

India has a large export of Cars and commercial Vessels but export is through foreign ships. As it can be seen it can be converted to a 'Helicopter carrier' or an 'Escort carrier' fast. Roll On Roll off Merchant ship has very high potential in a war, it can rapidly carry tanks, Armor cars, Military vehicles and unload them fast. It can easily be converted into a Helicopter carrier or an Escort carrier.



EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

- A) India's possible adversary China has four times bigger economy, about ten times bigger foreign exchange reserves. Its shipyards produce twenty times more Merchant ships, its naval construction program is breathtaking. It has a determined leadership, and relentless pursuit to become a dominant naval power.
- B) Unless India increases its merchant fleet from current 9% of international trade to at least 30% in four years, and to 50% in six years by increasing capacity of Indian Shipyards, by subsidies, incentives and loan waivers, it cannot become a naval power. It should use its foreign exchange reserves to buy shipyards globally or buy their machinery and equipment. (India has purchased treasury bond of USA worth \$125 billion).
- C) India should buy ships that have a war potential like Containerships, Passenger ships, Ro-Ro vessels, even though they may be making losses.
- D) Start 'Deep sea fishing and trawling corporation of India'.
- E) Design and make ships in India, that can be rapidly converted to 'Helicopter carriers' or 'Escort Carriers' or other ships which can be converted to war purposes fast.
- F) Convert Indian Coast Guard ships into Indian Naval ships by adding Sensors and weapons.

- G) Designing the modern Indian equivalent of a German E-Boat ,called Vidyut I and Vidyut II ,in large numbers. They will use Wolf –Pack tactics to ensure that our adversary has to spread his resources , but if we concentrate it in form of Wolf –Packs ,and lure our enemy to attack them , Indian Navy or air force can attack the enemy and destroy them ,the naval battle will be in our favoras we are choosing the place of battle.
- H) Give designs of Vidyut I and II to many shipyards and make only ‘Float’ and ‘Move’ part and equip them for sea. Most of them will be taken on shore on rails and when war looms fitted with ‘weapons ‘and ‘sensors.’ Few of the Vidyuts I and II should be armed with weapons and sensors so that they can be used for training.
- I) Enhancing the capacity of Engine manufacturers like Cummins India, Caterpillar, Greaves ,Kirloskar oil engines , Pielstik etc. and if they make marine engines of more than 1200-1500HP,give them orders for marine engines as well as buy them as generating sets, large earth moving equipment to make it viable. If required use Bharat Earth Movers Ltd (BEML) and make large diesel engines.
- M) Help sensor manufacturers like Bharat Electronics Ltd(BEL) and weapon manufacturers like Bharat Dynamics Ltd.
- N) Convert suitable existing Container ships of Shipping corporation of India (SCI) into STOBAR carriers , to use Tejas I and then Tejas II eventually. We have already got a facility in INS Hansa for it.It is called Shore Based Test Facility(SBTF). The Navy has given a considered opinion that Tejas I is not sufficient to carry a weapon load.However till Naval Version with more powerful engine GE414 is used there is no choice but to use Naval Version of Tejas I.
- O) In future naval wars naval guns using proximity fuse, missiles and helicopters will play a major role especially for converting Indian Coast guard ships to Naval warship.

ANNEXURE I

Proximity Fuse

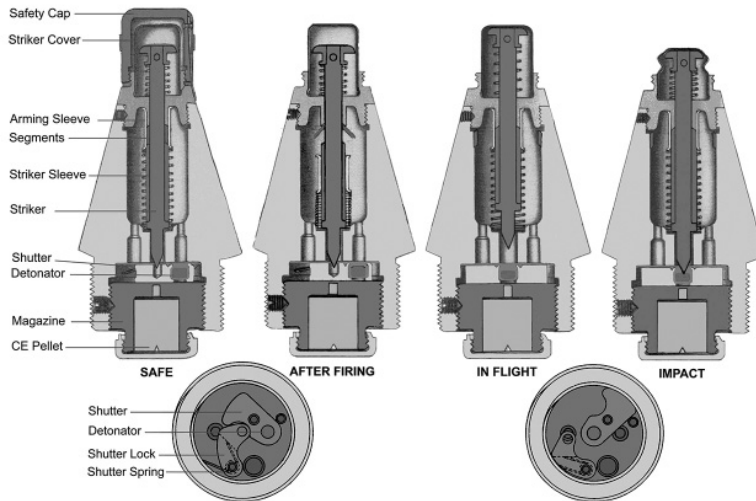
The proximity fuse was one of the most remarkable inventions of the WWII.

It changed the way of shooting down enemy aircrafts as the aircraft guns became seven times more accurate.

- 1) The proximity fuse played a very important part in shooting down the ‘Kamikaze’ suicide attacks.

- 2) It was responsible for shooting down V-1 'Flying bomb' that was creating havoc in England. The guns using the proximity fuse were kept close to coast so as to ensure that it did not go in German hands. It increased the percentage of destroyed V-1 from 17% to 74%.
- 3) In 'Battle of Bulge' the Americans used 200,000 Proximity fuses which had devastating effects on German soldiers, who thought they were safe due to bad weather the Americans were not able to target them, but when the shells started exploding in mid air and killing them they had even had a revolt.

General Patton was highly impressed with the proximity fuse and commented that way the war is being thought has changed.



How proximity fuse works and still is safe.

PROXIMITY FUSES IN INDIA

The Proximity fuses were made by Defense Research Laboratory Organization (DRDO) and passed it for manufacturing to Hindustan aeronautics Laboratory in 1974.

When tested at PXE Balasore and tested against imported 4.5" fuses the indigenously made fuses performed better than imported fuzes in proximity of spherical targets. -Source 'Proximity fuses theory and techniques -V.K Aurora.

ANNEXURE II

India's Marine Fleet

Marine Total:	340
Type:	
• Bulk carrier	104
• Cargo	78
• Chemical Tanker	22
• Container	14
• Liquefied gas	11
• Passenger	4
• Passenger/cargo	15
• Petroleum tanker	92
Foreign-owned:	10
• China	1
• Hong Kong	2
• Jersey	2
• Malaysia	1
• UAE	4
Registered in other countries:	76
• Cyprus	4
• Dominica	2
• Liberia	8
• Malta	3
• Marshall Islands	10
• Nigeria	1
Panama	24
• Saint Kitts and Nevis	2
• Singapore	21
• Unknown	1

Source –IndexMundi.

ANNEXURE III

China's Merchant Fleet

Total:	2,030	Registered in other countries: ..	1,559
Type:		Bangladesh	1
Barge carrier	7	Belize	61
Bulk carrier	621	Cambodia	177
Cargo	566	Comoros	1
Carrier	10	Cyprus	6
Chemical tanker	140	Georgia	10
Container	206	Honduras	2
Liquefied gas	60	Hong Kong	500
Passenger	9	India	1
Passenger/cargo	81	Indonesia	1
Petroleum tanker	264	Kiribati	26
Refrigerated cargo	33	Liberia	4
Roll on/roll off	8	Malta	6
Specialized tanker	2	Marshall Islands	14
Vehicle carrier	23	North Korea	3
foreign-owned:	22	Panama	534
Hong Kong	18	Philippines	4
Indonesia	2	Saint Kitts and Nevis	1
Japan	2	Saint Vincent and the Grenadines ...	65
		Sao Tome and Principe	1
		Sierra Leone	19
		Singapore	29
		South Korea	6
		Thailand	1
		Togo	1
		Tuvalu	4
		UK	7
		Vanuatu	1
		Unknown	73 (2010).

Source –IndexMundi.

ANNEXURE IV

Top ten shipyards in China and their orderbook.



No.	Shipyards	Vessels	DWT (MT)	CGT (MT)
1	○ Jiangsu Yangzijiang Group (YZJ)	119	10,39	3,01
2	● Shanghai Waigaoqiao (SWS)	69	15,92	2,82
3	● Hudong-Zhonghua	36	2,93	1,65
4	○ Dalian Shipbuilding (DSIG)	32	7,53	1,28
5	○ New Times Shipbuilding (NTS)	46	5,48	1,21
6	● China Shipping Industry	42	3,93	1,14
7	● Nantong COSCO KHI (NACKS)	23	4,47	0,93
8	● Guangzhou Shipyard (GSI)	39	2,64	0,90
9	○ SINOTRANS & CSC Jinling Shipyard	45	2,37	0,87
10	● Qingdao Beihai Shipbuilding (BSIC)	21	5,76	0,82
11	○ Jiangsu Hantong	41	2,73	0,82
12	● Huangpu Wenchong	57	1,5	0,78
13	○ Tsuneshi Zhoushan	43	2,67	0,76
14	○ Yangfan Group	38	1,32	0,75
15	○ Taizhou Sanfu	56	1,34	0,72
16	○ Chenxi Shipyard	43	2,29	0,70
17	○ Jinhai Heavy Industry	18	2,59	0,69
18	○ Taizhou Kouan Shipbuilding (KASC)	37	1,95	0,60
19	● Jiangnan Changxin Shipyard	10	1,29	0,54
20	○ COSCO Zhoushan	23	1,44	0,53



Source: eWroldship

PROF ASHOK SOMAN



Prof. Ashok Soman served as a lieutenant in Indian Navy and participated in Bangladesh War. After retirement, he turned a Management Guru and has over 47 years of experience in teaching and training.

He is associated with several national and international educational institutes in the capacity of a professor. He is one of the founder faculties at Symbiosis Institute of Management Studies (SIMS), Pune. He also teaches at Osaka Gakuin University, Japan; Khimji Training Institute - KTI, Oman and at Savitribai Phule Pune University's Ras al-Khaimah, UAE campus. He has also taught in Air Force Intelligence Academy and Defence Institute of Advanced Technologies.

He is associated with over 80 corporates as a Management Development Programme (MDP) trainer. He teaches senior officers in Yashwantraon Chavan Academy of Development Administration (YASHADA, Pune).

He has 3 books to his credit.

Islamic State's Khorasan branch consolidates position in Afghanistan and Pakistan

Shri Animesh Roul

Transnational Jihadi group Daesh (al-Dawla al-Islamiya fi al-Iraq wa al-Sham) , also infamous as Islamic State (IS) has effectively dominated the global jihadist movement under the leadership of Abu-Bakr al-Baghdadi since early 2014. Despite, it faces several military reversals in recent months, the Islamic State remains resilient and determined to build upon its powerbase in Iraq and Syria and unite the entire Muslim world under its version of the Islamic Caliphate. In his Ramadan address in October 2014, Baghdadi laid out plans for the geographical expansion of the Caliphate beyond its Middle Eastern stronghold. Pursuing this strategy of expansion the Islamic State finds likeminded militant groups and leaders across Asia. Subsequently, it announced few geographical regions as its province such as Wilayat al-Jazair (Algeria), Wilayat al-Barqah (eastern Libya) etc where existing militant formations or Daesh sympathisers pledged support for the Islamic State. Similarly in Afghanistan and Pakistan, Wilayat Khorasan came into existence with pledges of support or of few former Taliban commanders.

Evidently, the infighting and leadership conflict within the Taliban formations in Pakistan and Afghanistan opens up opportunities for the Islamic State to expand its foothold in the region. Many of the disgruntled Taliban leaders have shifted their allegiance to IS's Wilayat Khorasan (or IS-Khorasan) chapter's leaderships in Afghanistan and Pakistan.

ISSN 2347-9191 print

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CASS Journal, Vol. 4, No. 2, April-June 2017, pp. 125-130

Since June 2014, there were intermittent information about the IS making inroads into Afghanistan, in accordance with the Islamic State's world domination map. IS flags surfaced in Afghanistan's Ghazni and Nimroz provinces, following which large numbers of Taliban militants switched their allegiance to IS. Also the IS's slain deputy commander in Afghanistan, Abdul Rauf Khadim, had already prepared the ground for IS to consolidate as he was actively engaged in recruiting Afghan fighters for the IS mostly in Helmand region. Most of the IS-Khorasan's activities in the region are controlled and managed from Nangarhar province in Afghanistan.

Taliban infighting and leadership struggle has been a boon for Islamic State's overtures in the region. IS ideals have certainly found a conducive environment not only to entice but also to impress the local militants that helped the group to gain foothold and to entrench itself in the region. While IS' propaganda units have actively denounced the Taliban, its leaderships (including Al-Qaeda), and their ineffectiveness in establishing Sharia rule or Caliphate in the region even after decades of armed struggle. The IS in Afghanistan leaders' criticised and questioned the spiritual and political credibility of Taliban leadership including Mullah Omar and his successors. As termed by the Islamic State in its propaganda magazine *Dabiq* (e.g. No 13), the Taliban is a conservative nationalist movement, and their administration is not in accordance with the Islamic tenets of governance. The other IS contentions which goes somehow against the Taliban's worldview is "to impose Tawhid (monotheism) and defeat Shirk (polytheism) and punish apostasy. In tune with this motive, IS Khorasan unleashed a series of killings between August and December 2015 what they tagged in IS Khorasan propaganda videos as 'the Apostates in Revenge for the Monotheists'. Hafiz Saeed Khan also in one elaborate interview in *Dabiq* (No 13) urged Muslims to 'unite and gather against the world of kufr (disbeliever of God), apostasy, and atheism' and to 'come forth to fight the kufr, mushrikīn (polytheist), and murtaddīn (rejecting Islam), [...]to drive out their falsehood.

From the time when its formation as Islamic Caliphate's eastern province, Wilayat Khurasan in January 2015 and after the demise of couple of founding leaders such as Abdul Rauf Khadim in February 2015 and Hafiz Saeed Khan in August 2016, IS Khorasan has consolidated its position by co-opting local militant formations in Afghanistan and Pakistan and exploited material and manpower resources to its advantage.

In Pakistan, IS Khorasan's presence was felt across Pakistan in the form of occasional unfurling of the black flag, graffiti on the walls supporting the Caliphate and the appearance of Islamic State stickers, mostly in Karachi, Lahore and the Punjab city of Taxila in late 2014. Around same time, the provincial government of Balochistan uncovered massive Islamic State recruitment drives in Hangu district in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and in the Kurram tribal agency in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA). It also reportedly discovered secret official communications between long-established Pakistani militant Salafist groups like Lashkar-e-Jhangvi (LeJ), Ahl-e-Sunnat wal Jamat (ASWJ) and the Islamic State, which showed the groups planning attacks on military installations and government buildings in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and on the region's Shi'a minority. In addition, leaflets and propaganda materials in support of the Islamic State have been distributed in several parts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and South Waziristan.

Oaths of allegiance from fringe sectarian militant groups like Ansar ul-Khilafa wal Jihad and Jundullah in support of the Islamic State and al-Baghdadi have made it relatively easy for the Islamic State to find traction and a foothold in Pakistan. IS propaganda magazine Dabiq, in the meantime claimed that the Islamic State has influence in a number of places in Pakistan, including in Peshawar, Swat, Marwat, Kuki Khel, Tor Dara, Dir, Hangu, Bajaur, Orakzai, Kurram and Waziristan.

From early 2016, its influence reached to nearby locations with IS-Khorasan demonstratively displaying its violent intent and capability on either side of the international borders. Even though the Islamic State's central authority in Syria (through Amaq news agency) has been taking responsibility for most of these attacks, on the ground, the IS-Khorasan linked local militants facilitate these violent acts.

Recently, the Islamic State Khorasan has claimed several deadly sectarian strikes inflicting mass casualties that signal a swift surge of this transnational jihadist movement in the region. The geographical distribution of attacks and targets shows Islamic State's deep logistical penetration and ideological influence from Kabul and Jalalabad in Afghanistan to Quetta and Peshawar in the neighbouring Pakistan. In early August this year, General John W Nicholson, who commands the US and NATO forces in Afghanistan, made it ample clear that almost 70 percent of the IS Khorasan militants present in Afghanistan are former members of Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) and they came from Orakzai Agency of Pakistan, bordering Nangrahar.

Once struggling to get a foothold in the ever-competitive Jihadi landscape, the ISK has now gained strength through forging alliances with local sectarian pro-Al Qaeda or Taliban militant groups like Lashkar-e-Jhangvi al Alami (LeJ-A), Lashkar-e Islam (LeI) or disgruntled Taliban factions like Jundallah and Jamaat ul Ahrar (JuA), which are actively operating in the region over the past several years. Both Jamaat-ul-Ahrar and LeJ-A were banned in Pakistan on November 11(2016) following deadly attacks in Balochistan and Sindh provinces.

In Pakistan, the IS Khurasan led violence reached new heights with the August 08 suicide bombing at the Quetta civil hospital that killed over 70 people and injured over a hundred. Those killed were mostly the Shia community members and lawyer members of Balochistan Bar Association (BBA). IS' Amaq news agency claimed the attack stating, "A martyr from the Islamic State detonated his explosive belt at a gathering of justice ministry employees and Pakistani policemen in Quetta." Similar violent anti-security force strike was carried out by IS Khurasan linked militants again on October 25 when a three-man suicide operation targeted Police Training College (PTC) located on the Sariab road in Quetta that killed and injured over 200 people. Again on November 12, a suicide bombing at the Sufi shrine of Shah Noorani in Balochistan killed more than 60 people and over a 100 devotees left injured. The Islamic State claimed the explosion via the Amaq news agency.

Since mid 2016, IS-Khurasan led violence in Afghanistan reached its apex. The most gruesome was the July 23 Dehmazang Square violence in Kabul where over 80 people mostly from ethnic Hazara Shia community were killed and many more maimed in that brazen suicide attack. One of the spokespersons of IS Khurasan, Abu Omar Khurasani, termed the Dehmazang attack as a retribution against the support offered by some Afghan Shia members to the Assad regime in Syria with the help of Shia Iran. Speaking to media, Khurasani threatened further attacks against Hazara Shias, saying that "unless they (Hazaras) stop going to Syria and stop being slaves of Iran, we will definitely continue such attacks."

On November 21, nearly 30 people were killed following a suicide bombing inside the Shiite mosque of Baqir al-Olum, in Kabul during a religious ceremony, commemorating the 40th day of Ashura. The Islamic State media released the picture of Hamza Al-Khurasani, the suicide bomber involved in Baqir al-Olum mosque bombing. This was not an isolated attack by IS Khorasan on Annual Shia religious ceremony in Afghanistan. Previous month has witnessed couple of

similar strikes targeting Shia minorities during their holy month of Muharram, in Kabul and Mazar-e-Sharif.

In early August of last year, General John W Nicholson, the commander of the U.S. and NATO forces in Afghanistan, made it clear that almost 70 percent of IS Khorasan militants present in Afghanistan are former members of Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) and came from Orakzai Agency of Pakistan, bordering Nangrahar. Nicholson also said there are up to 1,300 IS militants in the country receiving money, guidance and communications support from IS leaders in Syria and Iraq. Various conflicting informations emerged about the manpower strength of IS Khorsasn in Afghanistan and Pakistan. While couple of Pakistan media sources claimed that the membership of IS khorasan can be estimated to be 20,000 at present as it has constantly approaching extremist sectarian but likeminded groups in the region for support. Its propaganda machinery publishes materials in Pashtu, Urdu, and Persian languages to invite local young people from different communities. According to the Afghan leader General Abdul Rashid Dostum there are nearly 7,500 foreign IS fighters, including Chechen, Uzbek, Tajik, Iraqi, Syrian, Lebanese and Libyan fighters who are waiting to enter into northern Afghanistan. Reports also emerged that about 20 people from India's Kerala state, including women and children, had travelled to Afghanistan to join the ranks of IS Khorasan in June 2016.

The newly appointed Islamic State spokesperson, Abu al Hassan al Muhajir in his recent release claimed that the IS is fighting on behalf of Sunnis everywhere "from Baghdad to Beirut, from Aleppo to Damascus, and from Khorasan to Sana'a." Despite several military reversals in its Middle eastern heartland, latest IS's appeals for support would create momentum and possible consolidations in Willayats across Asia including the Khorasan branch primarily for the conducive environment Af-Pak region provides for long term sustainability.

SHRI ANIMESH ROUL



Animesh Roul is a New Delhi based researcher and commentator on south Asian affairs, presently serving as Executive Director of Society for the Study of Peace and Conflict, a public policy research group. He specializes in counterterrorism, armed conflict and issues relating to WMD, arms control and proliferations.

He has written extensively on these subject areas in journals, policy magazines, and the press, including *Terrorism Monitor*, the *CTC Sentinel*, *Jane's Intelligence Review* and *Militant Leadership Monitor*, among others. He coauthored a book on the India's indigenous terror group (*Indian Mujahideen: Computational Analysis and Public Policy*, Springer, New York, 2013). His views appeared in the *Rediff.com*, *Economics Times*, the *Hindu*, *International Business Times*, among others. Mr. Roul holds a master's degree in Modern Indian History and received a Master of Philosophy (M.Phil.) degree from the School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

**BOOK REVIEW OF “THE FIRST INDIAN - STORY OF THE
FIRST INDIAN CIRCUMNAVIGATION UNDER SAIL”
AUTHORED BY COMMANDER DILIP DONDE
BY CAPT MILIND PARANJPE**

**“The First Indian - Story of the First Indian
Circumnavigation Under Sail”**

By Capt Milind Paranjpe

A few thousand mountaineers have so far climbed the Mount Everest. But only 174 have circumnavigated the globe solo in a sailboat ! Among them not a single has been an Indian. Retired Vice Admiral Manohar Awati has rightly pointed out in his foreword that it is no wonder in a society which forbid ocean crossing as a religious taboo over centuries, that a fear of the sea should develop in its psyche. That is why he conceived the idea of doing exactly that. But none of Indian billionaires would sponsor his idea. Finally, Indian Navy agreed to support what he called ‘Sagar Parikrama’.

This book is the riveting story written by the very person, who volunteered to attempt that intrepid objective. Commander Dilip Donde, totally inexperienced in sailing, took hands on training on Sir Robin Knox-Johnston’s ‘open 60’ boat at Portsmouth, before Sir Robin sailed solo for ‘Velux 5’ ocean race. Sir Robin has circumnavigated the globe twice in a sailboat. He recommended to buy a proven yacht second hand as it would save money, time and efforts. But Indian boat building yards would learn nothing from it. Admiral Awati, therefore,

ISSN 2347-9191 print

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CASS Journal, Vol. 4, No. 2, April-June 2017, pp. 131-134



“The First Indian - Story of the First Indian Circumnavigation Under Sail”

by Commander Dilip Donde

- Maritime History Society
- Pages: 237
- Price: Rs. 499/-

an year or so, would have warped and boat would have started leaking when she was somewhere in the Southern Ocean. After searching for various options in vain, Dandekar finally dries the wood in the wood seasoning kiln which he set up in his own yard. Author praises Dandekar’s honesty. The boat designer from Holland visited Goa thrice at Donde’s insistence to inspect the construction and make suggestions. Donde calls him ‘our boat building guru’. The ready boat was named Mhadei after the river on the bank of which the building yard was situated. During trials luffs of sails were found to be a bit long and had to be shortened. Donde sails along with Lt Commander Abhilash Tomy to Colombo to get them shortened to correct size. On return voyage Abhilash dozed off and Mhadei was nearly run over by a super tanker. To get more practice in sailing, Donde and Tomy sail to Mauritius, Donde returning solo.

selected Mr Ratnakar Dandekar’s yard in Goa to contract to build a ‘56 foot tonga’ design wood core fibreglass boat in a year. The blueprint for it, however, was bought from a well known Dutch firm as there are no yacht designers in India.

Bureaucratic episodes in the Ministry of Defence at Delhi that the author had to face make a hilarious reading. One is surprised at the complete ignorance of geography of the babus asking him questions on his mobile phone and taking ‘final decisions’ there. Donde tried to derive maximum experience of sailing. He brought the Navy’s 34 foot sailing vessel ‘Sameer’ from Kochi to Mumbai and back again to Kochi alone. That dilapidated boat taught him that ‘as long as you can put up some sails and have some means of steering, you can sail’.

During construction, wood brought from Kerala forest was found to have high moisture content than declared.

Dandekar could have kept quiet but after

In order to be qualified for being in the list of solo circumnavigators under sail, a boat must sail round three capes i.e. Leeuwin in Western Australia, Horn the southernmost point of south America and the Good Hope, besides crossing the equator twice. Engine can be used only for berthing and unberthing.

Mhadei sails out of Mumbai on the 19th August 2009 for Fremantle, Western Australia. After entering trade winds, which were directly opposite to the direction of his destination, he had to sail south-westward till crossing the 25th parallel, then turn towards Fremantle. Stay at Fremantle was used to repair and refurbish various things. Abhilash Tomy arrived 7 days later, thanks to bureaucratic delay in Delhi. Donde was often asked how come, in a nation of a billion people, you are the first one to sail round the world? He had no answer. Within 24 hours of sailing from Fremantle the Southern Ocean showed what is nature's raw power. His genoa sail was torn, a front advanced from west to east with 55-60 knot winds and 9m swell. Mhadei used to become almost vertical heading skyward, next minute, bows pointing downward towards ocean bed. The shortest passage of the voyage, turned out to be the most dangerous.

Destination 2 was Lyttelton in New Zealand where both Dandekar and Tomy came over to assist. India born master mariner agent there was a great help. Donde was touched when an Indian cargo ship in port dipped her flag to Mhadei. Local Sikhs invited him for lungar and at departure roared "Bole so nihal sat sri akal". He has called Lyttelton a little town with a large heart. Passage to Falklands was the longest and lonely. Only company was the 16 year old Australian girl Jessica Watson, also a solo circumnavigator, 1200 miles away. 17 days after sailing and 15 days before reaching the Horn, both auto-pilots failed. He managed with wind vane which turned out to be a lifesaver. It was fitted as per advice by Nigel Rowe a veteran sailor. It is a wonderful equipment that keeps heading at the desired angle to the direction of wind without using electricity. On the 12th January at 0740, with full gale blowing, Mhadei rounded the Cape Horn, accomplishing what is referred to as the 'Everest of Ocean Sailing'. 3 days later he reaches Port Stanley in the middle of the night. Even in the very rough weather a boat came out to lead the way for him.

Auto-pilots and generator could not be repaired there. He hopped across the Atlantic but 6 days before reaching Cape Town even the wind vane became erratic. He calls Cape Town the most yacht friendly port because of availability of best quality spares and skills there. 9 days after sailing from Cape Town the rudder stock slipped down from its position and was well on its way to getting dislodged from its top bearing. He stopped the boat, rigged up a tackle

from the boom and pulled the rudder stock up to its correct position. In Indian ocean the Navy sent an escort owing to threat of piracy. Here Genoa sail tore second time. Therefore, slower progress was made without the larger head-sail. At 0030 on 19 May Mhadei reenters Mumbai to welcome by family, friends and admirals in full uniform! On 22 may Vice President Ansari welcomed him. Donde had become the 175th member of solo circumnavigators' club. Success of the whole adventure was further confirmed when next year Abhilash Tomy also circumnavigated the globe solo in the same boat, this time non-stop! Well illustrated, this is a sea-book which should long ride the waves.

CAPTAIN MILIND R. PARANJPE



Milind R. Paranjpe, master mariner, ex vice president Killick Nixon Ltd, ex-deputy master Company of Master Mariners of India, editor of *Command*, its journal for 10 years, is a regular contributor to newspapers and magazines. He is the author of '*Ramblings of Sea Life*' a book of experiences of his career at sea.

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