

CENTRE FOR ADVANCED STRATEGIC STUDIES

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ADDRESS:

Centre for Advanced Strategic Studies
M.M.D.W. Potdar Complex,
Savitribai Phule Pune University Campus,
Pune – 411 007
Telefax No.: 020-25697516
Email: cfass1992@gmail.com
Website: www.cfass.org.in

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Centre for Advanced Strategic Studies
M.M.D.W. Potdar Complex,
Savitribai Phule Pune University Campus,
Pune – 411 007
Telefax No.: 020-25697516
E-mail: cfass1992@gmail.com

Website: www.cfass.org.in

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Air Marshal BN Gokhale (Retd)
PVSM, AVSM, VM
Director, CASS



Centre for Advanced Strategic Studies
Savitribai Phule Pune University Campus
Ganeshkhind Road
Pune 411 007, INDIA

Editor's Note

President Donald Trump's announcement in December that the US will be pulling out nearly half of its more than 14,000 troops in Afghanistan has taken the Indian security establishment by surprise. Following the ouster of Taliban in 2001 India and the US had a joint project going in Afghanistan intended to stabilize a moderate and democratic government in that country, even if that project was buffeted by the twists and turns of US foreign policy. The US took its eyes off the ball in Afghanistan as it embarked on a disastrous invasion of Iraq; it also tolerated the safe haven provided by Pakistan to Taliban insurgents. And now it looks as if Washington has run out of patience and is preparing for a complete withdrawal from Afghanistan, which would surely hand the advantage to Taliban and its Pakistani sponsors. In the other important development, British PM Theresa May is fast running out of options despite having bought time -nearly a month to sell the "soft Brexit". Britain is slowly lurching towards a hard Brexit. Britain's predicament may be likened to Kashmir's: its leaders do not have the gumption to tell its people that they are better off with Europe than without, just as Kashmir is better off with India given the other option before it.

The history of police reforms is similar to the story of the tragic hero in Greek mythology, Sisyphus who had been condemned to the ceaseless rolling of a rock to the top of the mountain, wherefrom the stone would roll back down due to its own weight. Homer describes Sisyphus as the wisest and most prudent mortal of his time, condemned to an eternity of hard and frustrating labour. The opening article by Jayant Umranikar is yet another attempt to roll the rock of police reforms, advocating popular support to an intractable but crucial issue. In the article 'Winning the Public Diplomacy Battle on Kashmir' Brig Mahajan suggests a comprehensive plan to win

the battle of hearts and minds. We have done well in combating violence in Jammu and Kashmir and restoring normalcy, but we have been lagging behind on the propaganda front. This weakness needs to be rectified. On 15th August 2018, the Indian Prime Minister announced grant of Permanent Commission to women officers in the Indian Armed forces. This move was widely applauded. Encouraged by this news, the idea of women in combat role got a fresh impetus. There were voices of caution about combat role for women but generally it was felt that induction of women in the military has strengthened India's defense capability and national security and Prime Minister's move will further enhance it. A different view is presented in this article.

In the next article Milind Paranjpe examines India's Monroe Doctrine and points out that the strategic doctrine of Nehru was based on the exclusion of great powers within the Indian Ocean. Some analysts have equalled it to Monroe Doctrine. It justified military action to liberate Goa in 1961. Col Bipin Shinde in his book review highlights that 'Reimagining Pakistan-...' is a very well researched, studied, wise, pragmatic analysis and a bold challenge and invitation to Pakistan by none other than one of its own leading dissident public intellectual who is sincerely concerned about his country. The author Husain Haqqani, besides being Pakistan's Ambassador to the United States from 2008 to 2011, was an advisor to three prime ministers including Nawaz Sharif and late Benazir Bhutto. He presently lives in exile in the United States, where he is Senior Fellow and Director for South and Central Asia at the Hudson Institute. Next article by Dr V K Saraswat titled 'Historical Dimensions to Defence Technology Development, Need for a Transformational Strategy' is very relevant to today's defence environment. In his article on 'The New Great Game in Afghanistan' Maj Gen B K Sharma has concluded that India needs to consider long-term scenarios of its political, diplomatic and military options. The rising profile of Taliban and Pakistan in the Afghan imbroglio cannot be ignored. Nobody should be an untouchable as far as diplomatic outreach by India is concerned. For a larger regional role, India should work diplomatically towards the creation of a "concert of regional powers" for capacity building in Afghanistan. It appears that the eight year long wait for the procurement of Man Portable Air Defence (MANPAD) missiles, also referred to as Very Short Range Air Defence System (VSHORADS) is likely to get over with the Ministry of Defense announcing on Monday evening that the Russian conglomerate Rosoboronexport has been declared the lowest bidder in the ongoing procurement case of VSHORADS. Lt Gen Saksena in his article attempts to answer the question- Why VSHORADS are critical in

the family of Ground Based Air Defense Weapon Systems (GBADWS)? Mr. Chandrashekhar in his article on 'Gilgit Baltistan – Political Control under Pakistan Occupation' concludes that India has no doubt been consistent and unswerving on its stated position. However, geo-strategic realities on ground, in, and around Gilgit Baltistan, are fast changing. A principled stand as such, with little economic, military or political force to back it, may not be adequate to sustain those principles in the time to come. There is hence an urgent need for India to candidly review its position in the context of these obtaining realities.

Wishing all our readers a Happy New Year!!

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'BN Gokhale', with a horizontal line underneath and a small flourish at the end.

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

Police Reforms: a Never-ending Story

By Jayant Umranikar

The Policeman is denounced by the public, criticized by the preacher, ridiculed by the movies, berated by the newspapers and unsupported by the prosecuting officers and judges. He is shunned by the respectable. He is exposed to countless temptations and dangers. Condemned while he enforces the law and dismissed when he does not. He is supposed to possess qualifications of a soldier, doctor, lawyer, diplomat and educator with remuneration less than that of a daily labourer.

*August Vollmore

(He was the first, modern day reformer police chief in the USA. In early 1900's he was the Police Chief of Burkley, CA)

Is that cynicism or realism? Opinions on Police vary from blind faith in uniform to blind mistrust of the enforcement agencies but everyone agrees on the need to reform the police.

History

It is generally believed that the police system was a gift of the British Raj. However, there is a Harappan seal showing 'a man holding staff' – a Dandadhari! Ancient Indian texts mention the existence of Swadanda (a King's personal army) and Dandabal (State Police). A Sabha- a representative body and not the King supervised the function and working of Dandabal. The Sabha had powers to prevent the King from interfering with the liberty of the people. Thus the police were autonomous of the ruler.

Kautilyahad developed 'Dandaneeti' to deal with crimes and crime punishment. It advised the King to be prudent while imposing punishment on the criminals, "Whosoever imposes severe punishment becomes

repulsive to the people while the one who imposes mild punishment becomes contemptible. Whosoever imposes punishment as deserved will be respected”.

The Mauryan Empire had the city police officer called Nagarpal or Kotapal (Kota meaning a citadel), while the police outpost at the crossroads was called Chatushka. The policeman was called Prahari. Even today we use derivatives of these words e.g. Kotwal, Chowky, Chowkydar or Paharedar, all connected with policing.

Kautilya had also established an intelligence system of resident as well as mobile intelligence sources. His magnum opus, ‘Arthashastra’ elaborates the selection, recruitment and mechanics of operation of various sources. It warns that ‘border sources’ would always be ‘double agents’ and advises that information should be corroborated by, at least, three sources.

The history of policing in India shows that the role and functions of the police have been evolving with times. In the ancient Indian tradition, the nascent police was responsive and responsible to the society. The institution had emerged naturally from the urge of the nascent society to regulate behaviour of its members. This Peoples’ Police slowly had to give way to the Ruler’s Police. As the society expanded into a kingdom, nation or an empire, the ruler created his own police although the traditional police also continued to exist, especially in the rural areas.

Till the advent of the British, the police organization was fluid and barely distinct from the Armed Forces or the Revenue collection system. The policeman was a functionary who could be assigned any kind of work desired by the ruler such as land or census surveys, supervising local fairs/festivals, summoning people, reporting pestilence, preventing fires, etc.

The first war of independence in 1857 forced the British to evolve and impose a modern but colonial system of policing instead of revenue policing started by Robert Clive after he got ‘Diwani’ of Bengal. Hence the first Police Commission of 1860 and the Police Act of 1861 created a semi-literate and brute force recruited from the native population but commanded by the imperial officers discharging the ‘white man’s burden’. The lower functionaries of the Police were supposed to, if not encouraged to, live off the land and provide cost effective, oppressive mechanism to suit colonial needs.

British Reforms in Policing

The British created the Police Department, as we know it today. In 1857, the British decided to have uniform policing in India and appointed the First Indian Police Commission (Aug. 17, 1860). The Commission consisted of six members from the civil services with Col. Sleeman as the Chairman.

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Surprisingly, its terms of reference were-

- (a) To ascertain the principles and cost of police and quasi police functionaries then serving in above province and
- (b) To suggest any measure whereby expenditure might economise and efficiency increase.

Hence, the Police Act of 1861 that followed the recommendations of the Police Commission conceived a system of policing at the minimum possible cost to the exchequer and any major reform in the police that required large increase in expenditure was avoided.

One of the suggestions made by the Commission was to prohibit the police from taking cognisance of petty offences or interfere with the liberties of the people. This apparently innocuous direction is probably at the root of the controversial distinction between the cognizable and non-cognizable (police cannot intervene) offences that generates so much of ill-will, even today. The Police Act gave the superintendence of the State Police Force to the State Governments. The manner in which the State Governments have exercised their control over the police through the bureaucracy has led to distortions in the police system and resulted in the failure of the police to grow as a professional organisation. Almost all subsequent Police Commissions, whether at State or National level have criticised the misuse of police system by politicians and bureaucrats.

The Police Act of 1861 implemented the recommendations of First Police Commission selectively. It also failed to implement Sir Napier's recommendation of vesting the control of the police in the hands of a professional Police Officer. As a result, the Act failed to produce an efficient and professional Police force.

The Second Indian Police Commission appointed in 1902 under the Chairmanship of Sir A.H.L. Frazer had to observe that the police force was far from efficient; it was defective in training and organisation; it was inadequately supervised; it was generally regarded as corrupt and oppressive; and it had utterly failed to secure confidence and cordial cooperation of the people¹. This report of the Second Police Commission was described by the Secretary of State as the most important event that ever took place in the Police Administration of India. The Government of India in its resolution of 1905 accepted the report as 'an admirable and valuable piece of work' but sanctioned only Rs.50 lakhs whereas the total reform package would have cost the Government of India an equivalent of Rs.135 crores. The reforms were starved financially, to death.

The much vaunted British administrative 'steel frame' was retained by the Indian rulers even after the independence and adapted to suit partisan needs. An opportunity to give the new nation a policing system to suit the democratic ethos of a Welfare State was sacrificed on the altar of expediency.

The outcome can be seen and experienced every day. Popular alienation and judicial distrust are sapping the vitality of the police while the archaic laws and Oedipal fascination with militarism prevent the police from becoming a modern service provider rather than a reactive, law enforcement agency. The colonial policing system, based on the closed organizational model, has not been able to adapt itself to the rigours of a vibrant democracy. Its statewide hierarchy and imposing organizational pyramid make the individual police units impervious to local popular needs. Yet, they do not insulate the police leadership from undesirable influences, political or otherwise. In such confusing environment, the community oriented policing initiatives get dissipated at individual officer levels. Statutory provisions for community participation (as in South Africa) may provide the way out.

There are hundreds of laws on our statute that the police have to enforce every day, many of them archaic but some of them as recent as the year 2017. Such proliferation of laws has diluted the core functions of the police while inadequate legislations have handicapped them in dealing with the new challenges of trans-border terrorism, interstate/ transnational organized crimes, cyber-crimes and multi-billion economic scams. Non-core duties and extraneous responsibilities divert scarce policing resources and exhaust under trained manpower. In this background, functions of the police need to be examined afresh.

There is a need to define and adhere to the core functions of the police and transfer non-essential functions to other concerned government departments or to private agencies.

Post-independence Reforms

Besides the various state level commissions on the police reforms, Gore Committee on Police Training, the National Police Commission, the Ribeiro Committee, the Padmanabhaiah Committee, came up with many recommendations to reform the police. Soli Sorabjee Committee prepared a MODEL POLICE ACT that could be used to replace the old Indian Police Act and numerous State Police Acts. Yet the police reforms seem to be going nowhere.

Prakash Singh vs Union of India case

The 22 September, 2006 verdict of the Supreme Court in the Prakash Singh vs Union of India case was the landmark in the fight for police

reforms in India. The SC gave 7 binding directions to the states and Union Territories, inter alia, giving the police some functional autonomy.

Directive One : Constitute a State Security Commission (SSC) to

(i) Ensure that the state government does not exercise unwarranted influence or pressure on the police

(ii) Lay down broad policy guideline and

(iii) Evaluate the performance of the state police

Directive Two: Ensure that the DGP is appointed through a merit-based transparent process and secure a minimum tenure of two years.

Directive Three: Ensure that other police officers on operational duties (including Superintendents of Police in-charge of a district and Station House Officers in-charge of a police station) are also provided a minimum tenure of two years

Directive Four: Separate the investigation and law and order functions of the police

Directive Five: Set up a Police Establishment Board (PEB) to decide transfers, postings, promotions and other service related matters of police officers of and below the rank of Deputy Superintendent of Police and make recommendations on postings and transfers above the rank of Deputy Superintendent of Police

Directive Six: Set up a Police Complaints Authority (PCA) at state level to inquire into public complaints against police officers of and above the rank of Dy SP in cases of serious misconduct, including custodial death, grievous hurt, or rape in police custody and at district levels to inquire into public complaints against the police personnel below the rank of Dy SP in cases of serious misconduct

Directive Seven: Set up a National Security Commission (NSC) at the union level for selection and placement of Chiefs of the Central Police Organisations (CPO) with a minimum tenure of two years. Yet, even the self-executory directions of SC have not been implemented by the states in toto. SC Hearings on Compliance of Directives have dragged on and on as follows;

11 Jan 2007: Six states file separate review petitions. Supreme Court rejects review petitions and orders immediate compliance of directives 2, 3 & 5 while extending the deadline for compliance of directives 1, 4, 6 & 7 by three months.

23 Aug 2007: Prakash Singh files contempt petitions against six states – Gujarat, Punjab, Maharashtra, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh.

14 Dec 2007: Hearing on contempt petitions: no ruling on merits but SC grants six more weeks to all states and union territories to file affidavits

of compliance.

16 May 2008: SC orders to set up the Monitoring Committee and declines to rule on contempt before MC's report.

21 July 2009: Supreme Court hearing declines to rule on contempt, CJI stating:

"Not a single state government is willing to cooperate. What can we do?"

Aug 2010: Monitoring Committee sends its final report to the Court

8 November 2010: Supreme Court issues notice to four states- Maharashtra, Uttar Pradesh, Karnataka and West Bengal for total non-compliance.

On April 12, 2013, a bench of Justices G S Singhvi and Kurian Joseph observed: "...instead of improving the police functioning and approach, what we have seen is a journey from bad to worse in these seven years,"

Instead of following SC's ruling, the Centre called a meeting of states on April 20, 2013 and asked them to implement some of the recommendations of Administrative Reforms Commission -2.

1 March 2017, bench headed by Chief Justice J S Khehar lamented: Police reforms are going on and on, nobody listens to our orders!

Compliance status

The compliance status of states and union territories with the Supreme Court directives on police reforms has revealed that

".....there has not been "a single case of full compliance" and that the governments haveeither blatantly rejected, ignored, or diluted significant features of the directives"

Only 18 states have passed new Police Acts since 2006, and while others have issued govt orders/notifications, not a single state has incorporated the directives in full conformity with the Supreme Court's scheme.

The reluctance to have police reforms can be attributed to the following factors:

The colonial structure suits the politicians because it enables them to use, misuse and abuse the police in a partisan manner.

The bureaucracy has become addicted to control over the police and is not prepared to let go of their "whipping boy"!

Reforms in the police are directly linked with good governance, economic progress and political stability in the country and Prime Minister's wish of a SMART police – sensitive, mobile, accountable, responsive and techno-savvy – remains unfulfilled, thanks to the indifference of the state governments and the sloth in the Union Home Ministry.

Since the politicians and the bureaucrats seem to be impervious, even to the Supreme Court directives, it may be useful to concentrate on 'do-able' reforms.

FUNCTIONAL REFORMS

Lighten the burden: There is a need to reduce the legal burden and crime work load of the police.

In 2016, according to the NCRB data, the total crimes were recorded to be 2.97 million while the crime rate was found to be 379 crimes per lakh population. The global average ratio of police-population is 270:100,000, whereas it is 120 in India.

Out of 15555 Police Stations in country, 188 have no vehicles, 402 have no telephone lines while 134 have no wireless sets and 65 have neither. Improving the strength of police and creating basic infrastructure should be the first step to better policing.

Shed non-core activities

As per the Fifth Pay Commission

the core duties of the police are as follows:

- Prevention, investigation and detection of crime,
- Maintenance of peace, law and order,
- Regulation of traffic (acquired function?)
- Protection of threatened individuals (but not installations),

Collection of criminal intelligence and political intelligence relevant to the counter-intelligence' and 'counter-espionage' functions of the State agencies.

The police have been given a number of duties which are not exactly their charter. They have acquired many responsibilities by default. For example, since the Municipal/Corporation authorities are ineffective, the police have to enforce hawking zones; since the Prohibition Department is inadequate, the police have to enforce prohibition; since the infrastructure required to deal with the juveniles is not available, the police have to deal with the cases of child beggars and juvenile delinquents.

Additional duties acquired by Police

Court judgements regarding escort of prisoners, non-handcuffing of under-trials, medical examinations of arrestees every 48 hours have forced the police to spend more manpower. Other duties also acquired by the police are as follows:

- Escort and Security of Judges and Courts,
- VIP/VVIP Security, Categorical Security (Special Protection Unit),

- Guarding Vital installations,
- Hospital duties,
- Removal of encroachment,
- Examination bandobast duties,
- Anti-terrorism Units, especially Anti-terrorist Squad Commandos,
- Continuous deployment on wireless mobiles, etc
- Computerisation of records
- Cyber-crimes and social media monitoring

Police deployment for law and order problems has also increased manifold. In the process, the core functions of the police are getting diluted and neglected, especially CRIME WORK.

Reduce legal burden: Social Legislations, Special and Local Acts;

Sir Robert Mark, an English police officer who served as Chief Constable of Leicester City Police, and later as Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police had noticed that, "Once laws are passed they are dumped as unwanted babies at the back doors of the Police Station with little or no enquiry as to their eventual health".

Police today are enforcing more than hundred Acts: Social Legislations or Minor Acts like Prevention of Cruelty to Animals distract police from core activities. Many could be transferred from the police to the concerned department for enforcement. E.g.:

Central Legislations:

1. Cattle Trespass Act. Municipal Authority or Local Bodies.
2. Essential Commodities Act. Civil Supplies Department
3. The Leper's Act. Social Welfare Department.
4. Prevention of Cruelty Municipal Authority to Animals Act, 1960 or Local Bodies.
5. The Chit Funds Act, 1982. Finance Department
6. Wild Life (Protection) Act, 1972. ... Forest Department

State Legislations (Maharashtra):

1. Children Act, Bombay, 1948 Social Welfare Department.
2. Chit Funds Act, Maharashtra, 1974 Finance Department.
3. Cinemas (Regulation) Act, Revenue Department. Bombay, 1953.
4. Entertainments Duty Act, Revenue Department. Bombay, 1923.
5. Essential Commodities & Civil Supplies Department. Cattle (Control Act, Bombay, 1958

6. Opium Smoking Act,Department of Public Health. Bombay, 1936.
7. Prevention of Begging Act,Social Welfare Department. Bombay, 1960.
8. Prevention of Food Adulteration .. Food & Drugs Department (Maharashtra Amendment) Act, 1970.
9. Race-Courses Licensing Act, Municipal Corporations. Bombay, 1912.
10. Race-Courses LicensingMunicipal Corporations. & the Bombay Betting Tax Act (Extensio& Amendment) Act, Bombay, 1958.
11. Raw Cotton (Procurement.....Department of Co-operation Processing and Marketing) Act, Maharashtra, 1971.
12. Smoke Nuisances Act, BombayDepartment of Public Health.1912.
13. Vacant Lands (Prohibition ofRevenue Department. Unauthorised Occupation and Summery Eviction), Act, Maharashtra, 1975.

A similar review of the legal framework and limiting police responsibility for enforcement of Minor Acts and Social Legislations could be undertaken in other states and Union Territories also. Inability to enforce all these laws leads to the allegation of police apathy and strict implementation leads to complaints of police harassment and human rights violation.

Implementing laws that go against social norms and traditions has never been easy. 'Imposing criminal sanctions to ensure that the directives of the State are obeyed even when they are not respected' invariably undermines the credibility of the enforcement agency.

United Nations Approach **As per the UNO**

reducing the burden of laws on Police can be achieved through:

- **De-criminalization-** Removal of some acts or social behaviour from Penal Laws- such as public begging; pure traffic or fire accidents; attempt to commit suicide; victimless or consensual crimes like prostitution, drugs, homosexuality, abortion, etc.
- **De-penalisation-** Certain acts though still in the books of Law are not punished if the victim is compensated e.g. in Sweden shoplifting is an offence but the police do not take cognizance of the same.
- **Diversion-** The offender is obligated to pay a fine or perform community service as an alternative to the routine criminal justice process.
- **People's participation-** The offender is released to the care of a volunteer viz. the Big Brother movement in the U.K. or Voluntary Probation Officers

in Japan.

E-governance and Digitization:

Capital intensive, computerization is cost effective in the long run. Relief from maintaining voluminous records saves manpower on mail distribution duty deployment.

Difficulties

- The overall level of computer knowledge is still low.
- Crime and Criminal Tracking Network & Systems (CCTNS) is used for generating Reports & Registers at only 30% PS
- Data entry work is done mainly at District PHqs. Police stations manually prepare reports and send to District PHqs.
- Telecom infrastructure/connectivity at PStn level is poor.
- Reluctance to accept soft copies by other organs of Criminal Justice System
- Such difficulties force Police units to maintain manually prepared crime and administration reports as a backup.
- However, Hyderabad (Telangana/AP) Police have introduced a digital hotline between their Police Control Room (PCR) and subscribers.
- Private homes, hotels, commercial complexes, factories, business/ industrial establishments can install an electronic security system and connect it to PCR for a monthly fee. Emergency signals generated by the security system with the press of a button, go to PCR through General Packet Radio Services and GPS.
- The PCR can direct the nearest patrolling van that is connected to the PCR to the trouble spot, reducing the response time to the minimum.
- Telangana police have also introduced many user-friendly digital applications to save manpower, improve efficiency and reduce response time.

Outsourcing

The following non-essential functions could be considered for outsourcing

- Guarding Duties
- Protection Duties
- Special Forces for Local bodies
- Prisoner Escort-
- Execution of Summons
- Court and other Orderlies
- Motor Transport
- Implementation of Social Legislations
- Pure Accidents
- Licensing-

- Mail distribution
- Computerization-
- Training Institutions
- Traffic Regulation

Community Oriented Policing

State Police budgets are always short of funds. The local self-government bodies could be usefully co-opted into community oriented policing programmes, using revenues raised from local communities, as in the United Kingdom (UK). Tripartite Relationship is included in the National Policing Plan Priorities for 2004-07.

The tri-partite structure

In order to ensure the best quality of service to communities a tri-partite structure has been evolved between Home Office, Police and Local Body that allows the determination of local needs while retaining a national police framework.

The tri-partite structure has contributed to maintain a balanced approach to policing. Each police authority receives funding from three main sources viz. Police Grant distributed by the Home Office and derived from Formula Spending Shares Revenue Support Grant, including business rates- distributed on the basis of Formula Spending Shares and resident population.

- **Local Fund:** Council Tax Precept set by the police authority and collected by
- **Local authorities:** The percentage of local fund in the police budget is above 20 per cent, which gives the local community a significant say in decision-making. A similar statutory arrangement in India will give local bodies a say in local policing.
- **Outsourcing Police Functions:** The outsourcing of police functions can be done by using three methods-
- **Civilianization:** direct replacement of police officers by the civilians who are not the legally empowered police officers.
- **Privatisation:** hiring private security agency or personnel to discharge a police function.
- **Public Private Partnership:** a contractual agreement between a public agency and a profit-oriented entity for delivering a service or facility for public use.
- **Civilianization:** Based on crime, population, area or workload, the present strength of our police force needs to be expanded at least by 50 per cent. The cost of maintaining a policeman or a police officer has been rising in terms of recruitment, training, salary and pension. There is a need to

control public expenditure.

In addition to human resource management, policing to-day requires specialized knowledge of law, economic activity and even skills in information technology.

Core professional responsibilities now require attitude, talent and competence, which are neither produced nor nurtured in traditional police recruitment, training and development practices. There are difficulties in recruiting the right kind of police officers and men.

Hence, increasingly, the world over, the police are experimenting with a more diverse mix of personnel using volunteers, part time officers, retired police officers or hiring experts/skilled personnel on time-specific, flexible contracts.

Privatisation

San Francisco- Licences to patrol each beat have been sold to private security providers called 'Specials' who, in turn, sell their services to the local residents. The government provides only a minimal level of police protection. 'Specials' make arrests, conduct investigations, register traffic offences, etc., are accountable to the police commission as well as to the customers, as per contractual obligations.

Williamston (Michigan) - For the last 20 years, a volunteer reserve programme supplements the police. It consists of 13 volunteer reserve officers, about half of whom are planning a career in police work. These reserves work alongside a regular police officer and have the authority to enforce law and make arrests. The reserves undertake bike patrols, police special events and take crime prevention measures.

Public Private Partnership

In addition to the sharing of resources, each party shares the responsibility and rewards in the delivery of the service and/or facility.

Private Finance Initiatives (PFI): delivering new public service projects using private finance and service providers in partnership with the public sector

Investment risk and responsibility are shared among the public and private partners.

In UK, a private corporation, GSL, has been providing support services in many areas e.g. custodial, courts and police support, immigration, defence, education, etc. Activities such as maintaining public area security, reception, archiving, cleaning, catering, maintenance, prison management are some of the other services provided by GSL. In 1993, GSL was given the contract for the movement of prisoners.

Outsourcing in UK

The Police Reform Act (2002) formalized the modern concepts of policing in UK. The private sector has begun to make significant contributions to policing operations.

In addition to the traditional use of civilians as Traffic Wardens, the use of Community Support Officers (CSOs) and Special Constabulary has gained acceptance.

In the past, the police force and police authorities used to work in virtual isolation to reduce crime and to make their communities safer. However, critical reports on civil disorders in the 1980s and 1990s have focused on the vital importance of effective police interaction with the communities.

The Crime and Disorder Act (1998) has additionally placed local partnerships on a statutory footing.

The Police Reform Act (2002) has also popularized the concept of 'extended policing family' i.e. participation of retired or part-time police officers, special constables, CSOs, local authority wardens and private sector security patrols in enforcing law and keeping order.

Special Constabulary: volunteers with full police powers within their forces and surrounding areas. Their principal role consists of local, intelligence-based patrol and crime reduction initiatives aimed at specific local crime problems. Most special constables work a minimum of four hours a week, normally in the evenings or weekends. They are suitably trained, wear similar uniform and are compensated by locally funded allowance schemes.

Volunteers: Volunteer Cadet schemes are especially useful for those interested in joining the police service when they are older. The volunteers in U.K. are normally used to staff police stations that would otherwise be closed for want of manpower. They are also deployed to monitor the CCTV system or used in crime analysis, personnel functions, restorative justice, fraud squad, fingerprint, crime prevention, front counter and administrative roles.

Community Support Officers: Section 38 of the Police Reform Act (2002) introduced CSOs. They have limited police powers and undertake a variety of uniform patrolling tasks. Their powers enable them to tackle public nuisance offences and to provide support to police officers and communities. CSOs are employees of the police authority and their primary function is to provide a highly visible reassurance patrol, dealing with low-level disorder and anti-social behaviour. At times, CSOs are deployed in security role also. Most of police units employ CSOs on fixed-term contracts.

Financing the Police

There is a need to have a 'Strategic Policing Plan' and abandon the Colonial method of 'policing at the minimum possible cost'.

Discourage 'ad hoc-ism': funds for policing are provided in the non-Plan Budget, from year to year. Perspective planning, long-term strategy and assurance of funds on continual and predictable basis is necessary. (Policing has been included in the Plan since 2007 in Maharashtra).

Increase the financial powers at various levels;

Declare police commissioners and range IGs as heads of the department to ensure quick disposal of many field proposals, allowing the DG office to concentrate on core issues of policing.

The present system of moving a proposal through two hierarchies, at the state police headquarters and again at Home department in Secretariat is incorrect. One of the hierarchies should be empowered to take a decision at the Government level. Subject wise delegation of responsibility may result in speedy responses.

The concepts of Public Private Partnership and Private Finance Initiative should be explored to improve and expand delivery of police services to the society. Local community funding is another useful option. Local bodies, like municipal corporations, could finance traffic police requirements by creating Special Purpose Vehicles (SPV).

Strategic Policing Plan

The purpose is to give a strategic direction to the State Police force. SPP should be developed with the involvement of police officers serving at various levels in the field and the interaction with local communities. The government, the police and the public should share its objective. The plan should indicate medium term and long-term priorities and the focus of reforms.

An autonomous State Security Commission should ensure implementation of the Strategic Policing Plan. It should periodically measure and evaluate performance.

There should be an external, transparent mechanism (Social audit: Community satisfaction surveys, Victimization surveys to validate crime statistics) to judge the progress of reforms and suggest remedial actions.

Based on this SPP, individual police units, subdivisions and police stations should develop their Annual Policing Plans, considering local needs and community feedback.

Community policing, police-public partnership, private finance initiatives, outsourcing, empowerment of constabulary, technology integration and involvement of local self-government bodies would be the

crucial factors driving the reforms.

Intelligence

Intelligence organizations are supposed to collect information and use it to advise the Government in the form of intelligence reports about activities that may constitute a threat to the security.

What should be the mandate of an intelligence set-up in a democracy?

Covering the activities of all political parties and briefing the Ruling Party on the political developments gives an undue advantage to the Rulers. More importantly, it distracts the Intelligence Branch from its core function of monitoring anti-national activities and other counter-intelligence work.

It is felt that the ever increasing terrorist threat will require undivided attention of the Intelligence. Hence coverage of routine political intelligence should be removed from its mandate. (The Model Police Act drafted by the Sorabji Committee has such provision.)

Organizational weakness of the State Intelligence setup:

Central agencies like, IB or RAW are mostly staffed by career professionals and dedicated intelligence cadres. The State units have, mostly, unwilling policemen.

There should be a separate cadre of State Int. Officers. The source-work is haphazard and there is no institutional memory; institutional audit needed.

Individual incidents of terror are handled /investigated by state agencies as a law and order problem or as a crime.

Criminal intelligence is nearly non-existent, though organised crime has links with anti-nationals and saboteurs.

Evidence Act needs amendment to legalize intelligence inputs, especially in terrorism related cases.

Trust the professionals

Present officialdom treats the internal security as its sacred turf and on the basis of little field experience and outdated Acts has been controlling security agencies. There is a need to reconsider the qualifications of those who manage the internal security establishment. Historically, whenever the bureaucrat had failed, the professional had delivered.

In Naxal- affected areas, the police are the only govt. agency that dares to work.

In 1974, at the height of Mizo insurgency, an IPS officer, Surendra Nath was chosen to be the Chief Secretary to restore public confidence in the state authority. He succeeded in stamping out insurgency and returned the state to normalcy.

The Khalistani separatism was brought under control by outstanding police officers, like J. Rebeiro, K.P.S. Gill, S.S. Virk who brought peace to that border state.

Kashmir in the nineties was not the 'heaven on earth' and it was VedMarwah and J.M. Qureshi who became advisors to the Governor and later G.C. Saxena who became the governor of that troubled state, all IPS officers.

Conclusion

The history of police reforms is similar to the story of the tragic hero in Greek mythology, Sisyphus who had been condemned to the ceaseless rolling of a rock to the top of the mountain, wherefrom the stone would roll back down due to its own weight. Homer describes Sisyphus as the wisest and most prudent mortal of his time, condemned to an eternity of hard and frustrating labour. The present article is yet another attempt to roll the rock of police reforms, advocating popular support to an intractable but crucial issue.



JAYANT UMRANIKAR

Joined Indian Police Service in 1973. Selected for deputation to Cabinet Secretariat, New Delhi in 1979; specialized in International Communism, Islamic fundamentalism, esp. Pakistan and transnational organized crime/ terrorism; worked as Commissioner, Special Bureau, Mumbai and participated in investigations of the 1993 Mumbai bomb blasts as well as Purulia Arms Drop cases. Since retirement, he writes guest columns on security related and strategic issues in news papers/journals and participates in TV debates on the topical issues.



WINNING THE PUBLIC DIPLOMACY BATTLE ON KASHMIR

By Brig H H Mahajan

Clampdown on Social Media in Kashmir

A clampdown is under way in Jammu & Kashmir to contain circulation of fake news on social media platforms, especially through instant messaging service WhatsApp. The Government has banned several social media platforms including Facebook, Twitter and Snap Chat, in the Kashmir Valley “in the interest of maintenance of public order”.

The police identified several social media groups that were “responsible for” rioting in Kashmir valley. Several Face book pages, WhatsApp groups and individuals using social media and circulating rumours had been identified. “A rumour was circulated on social media about SF setting ablaze handcarts in Soura’s Anchar area. The authorities were adopting a multi-pronged strategy to end fake news and rumours on social media platforms, responsible in many cases for deterioration of the law and order situation in the Valley.

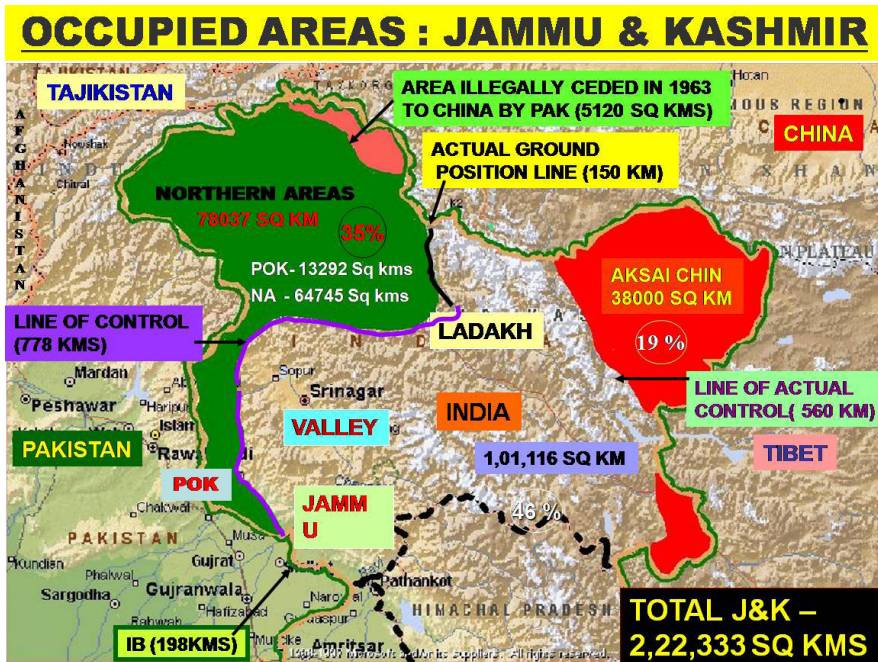
The government order, said that they had observed that anti-social elements were “misusing” social media platforms to spread hatred among the public against the state government and SF. They said that these platforms were also being used to incite people into committing offences.

The police directed the administrator of a WhatsApp group ‘Youth for peace’ to register with the Deputy Commissioner. The police have warned of action if WhatsApp group administrators fail to register. The administration has invoked the Information Technology Act and Unlawful Activities Prevention Act in its order.

People glorifying terrorist s on WhatsApp groups could face prison up to two years. The authorities will strictly implement the 2016 order that

makes registration of administrators of WhatsApp groups with the deputy commissioner mandatory.

The State has also regulated the usage of social media by its employees. “No government employee shall engage in any criminal, dishonest, immoral or notoriously disgraceful conduct on social media which may be prejudicial to the government. Internet services are regularly suspended in the valley regularly, when ever violence takes place.

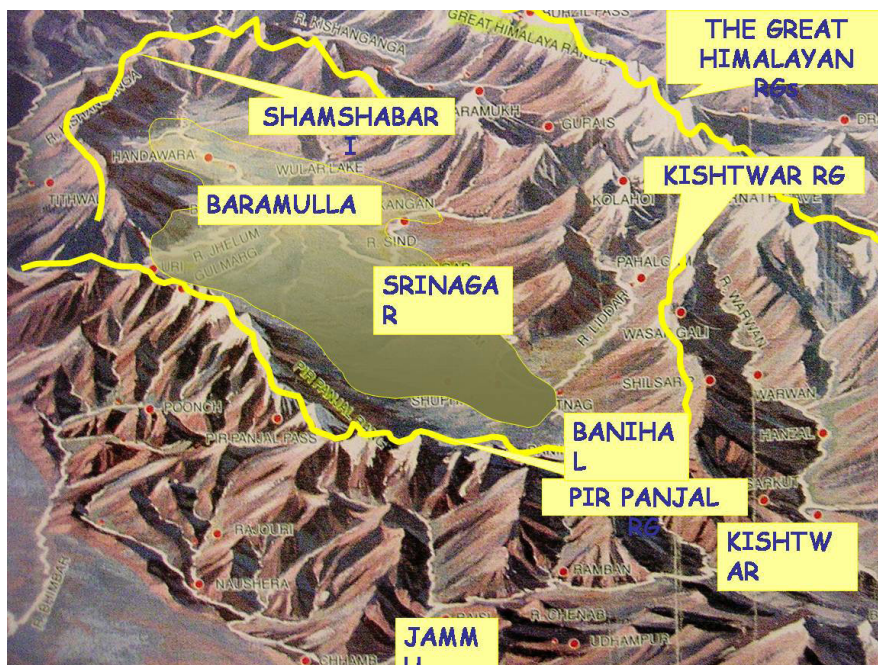


While during last year’s crisis internet services had been suspended, this time the government has targeted social media sites and applications. A total of 22 platforms have been blocked. The popular ones include Facebook, WhatsApp, SnapChat, YouTube, Flickr, Tumblr, Google+, Skype, Viber, Pinterest, Reddit and Skype. The order said that “anti-national and subversive element, inter alia, extensively misused social media websites and instant messaging services for vitiating peace and instigating violence, which caused large-scale damage to life and property”.

A ban on Whatsapp, Facebook and Twitter in Indian Kashmir has highlighted social media’s role in energising terrorism. One senior army officer said the power of social media to mobilise large groups of civilians

was “worrying the SF much more than the armed terrorists”.

Violent civilian protests, which often mobilise around the anti-terrorist operations conducted by S F, are common. The government already frequently blocks mobile internet services in the Kashmir valley, but it is the first time they have banned specific social media services in the interests of public order.



Proxy War in Social Media Space

Kashmir’ Valleys tech-savvy young - 70 percent of the population is under 35 -- have increasingly turned to social media to express their anger, to mobilise demonstrations. The conflict is now “playing out in the social media space”.

The social media has come in handy in attracting more recruitment for the terrorist organisations. Hizb-ul-Mujahideen used social media to attract more youth. The terrorist organizations continue to use social media, especially in confirming new recruitments. In Kashmir, many youth take to social media to live broadcast events unfolding before or around them, be it an encounter, a protest or an accident involving a local and a military vehicle.

Former Director General of Police (DGP) of Jammu & Kashmir (J&K) – SP Vaid said that Pakistani agencies are provoking youngsters via social media sites and radicalising youth in the Kashmir valley.

Is Indian government losing the war on perception management in Kashmir, rest of India & in the eyes of the rest of the world?

The latest method of blocking and thwarting India's defence up gradation there by reducing its fighting capability is underway using the Supreme Court. It is this. File a PIL in the SC, (employing batteries of high-profile lawyers who can leverage even dead-of-night hearings whenever they please). Get the apex court to issue notices to the Government, the Service HQs, etc. Get key senior officers buried neck-deep 24x7 in preparing and filing affidavits. Get the SC also to summon them to appear in person, make them stand in court and wait in court, and get them exhaustively cross-questioned. Get the SC to say "We want to understand defence strategy, technical appraisal systems & procedures, assess price-negotiations, adjudge classified data". Then eventually, have the SC "reserve the case for orders", of course for an unspecified length of time, and leaving open the option of further "hearings" and summoning of personnel, data, and documentation. Make sure also to use all and any other means that may occur to any collaborator, to ensure foreign governments and manufacturers are totally deterred from ever engaging with the Government of India for any future defence-related initiative for arms-transfer, technology transfer, etc. Not to forget: make the fullest use of mainstream media to keep up, ab initio, a hysterical level of high-voltage, high-pitched, high-decibel allegations couched in the foulest possible language.

Its time to stop and put an end to this grotesque, mala fide and dangerous charade which relies on subversion no less than of the Constitution of India itself to stymie national security. The only way of opposing this diabolical intrigue is by organizing to create public awareness and expression of public protest.

India's inability to tackle the stone-pelters, agitators, activists could lead to rebooting of the jihadi militancy in Kashmir valley. It is the primary constitutional duty of the India to establish the rule of law and ensure safety and security of all its citizens, including in the state of Jammu & Kashmir.

The aim of the article is to suggest a comprehensive plan to win the battle of hearts & minds.

India must be the only country in the world where being an antinational means getting invitations for talks, seminars, TV Studios, writing articles for main stream media & foreign media. Mir Waiz and Geelani should have been booked years ago and punished for their anti-India activities. They not only instigated Kashmiri youth to attack soldiers but also vitiated the entire

atmosphere in the valley bringing normal life to a halt and using Kashmiri youth as fodder, resulting in so many killings of young boys. The killers in Kashmir are these t pro-Pakistani elements, who would have been taken to task by any government with a spine much earlier. In such a situation, instead of talking tough, the government is only giving confused signals to 'soften' (whatever that means) the Armed Forces Special Powers Act but making gestures to terrorist supporters to come to talk.

Have they ever thought what effect these gestures by the government have on the morale of the soldiers? It pains immensely to see how our secular media sirens show their undiluted love for the separatists in newspapers and they go to the streets of Srinagar only to interview the unpatriotic people. When they invite any of the antinational separatists on their shows, they display an utter lack of sensitivity towards those who love their country and give all the space and time to those voices of insanity and violence with a soft, affectionate anchoring you seldom witness when they put on trial any leader showing patriotic leanings.

Indian Soldier Despised, Hated By Pseudo Secular Media

Whom Is The Indian Soldier Fighting For? Because of disinformation campaign that it is army which is ruling Kashmir, the Indian soldier is despised, hated and made responsible for all the bad happenings, in a sweeping manner in few TV studios or on the editorial pages of the certain media empires. No one has tried to see the dangerous, hardened daily routine a soldier is subjected to from 6am to sunset, and after that the night vigil. Ask any politician acting as an apologist for the separatist murderers, has he ever thought of sending his child to the army?

Is it not known that large number of soldiers die on line of duty every year? More than 185 soldiers have been martyred in the war against terror in the last three years in Jammu and Kashmir including 15-25 officers. Nearly 4,000 soldiers have been martyred in the country after the Kargil operations in 1999 till 2012. Is there any organization in the country which sacrifices so much ?In fact Mr V P Singh, Prime Minister in 1989 had given up on Kashmir but it was the Indian Army which held on to Kashmir for the nation.

Whether soldier is in the Army or in CRPF, the story is the same. He is there not because he wanted to loot and rape and maim people. He was sent by the Indian government to safeguard the interests of the nation and the Constitution. "The grievances of Kashmiri youth should be done through good governance and a mechanism that can win their trust and not through "Srinagar-CM-living-in-Delhi" or politicians like Mehbooba Mufti

who never find time to place a wreath on the body of a soldier martyred in Kashmir.

The soldier would be too happy to go back to his barracks and celebrate Diwali and Eid with family. In the Delhi's secular power brokers, a soldier is just another employee to be denied a justifiable demand of "one rank-one pension" by those politicians who raise their salaries 300% in a jiffy.

Public Diplomacy A Neglected Field

The country must immediately start a public diplomacy campaign to correct the distorted view about Kashmir. Public diplomacy is a neglected field in the glacial paced Indian government. The latest example of this failure is Kashmir where the Indian government is on the losing end in this battle of shaping the public opinion. This failure of public diplomacy is shaping incorrect perceptions and attitudes in local and global populace about the Kashmir issue. It is giving ammunition to India's adversaries, including the Kashmiri separatists, Pakistan in the struggle for winning the hearts & minds Kashmiri population.

The media coverage on Kashmir — in television and print — has been focused on pinning the blame on the Indian state. This has happened as the government has allowed the separatists to establish the playing field. This has, in part, resulted in the valid grouse among the SF that unlike them, the violent stone throwers & Huriyat are not held accountable for their actions because major sections of the Indian media inhabit a charming world of adjudicated conflict. The reality however is that government's passivity to disburse information equates to surrendering to the dis information campaign of separatists & subverted media persons based in Srinagar.



Battle for The Minds Of The People

This failure stems from the government's inability to recognise that the battlefield in Kashmir between violent stone-pelting mobs and law-enforcing S F isn't a physical battle any more. The battle is for the minds of the people of Kashmir,

rest of India & the rest of the world.

If public opinion is being misled by a section of media that is ignorant, uneducated and anti national, simply blaming the media is not good enough. The challenge is upon the government to correct this misinformation campaign by explaining correct position. Exactly who is responsible for explaining India's position to the rest of the world? Ministry of External Affairs. Perhaps, more importantly, who is responsible for explaining India's position on Kashmir to its own people: the state government, the Home Ministry, Defence Ministry, I&B ministry, PMO, PIB or Door Darshan? As of now, it seems nobody. When spokespersons of the ruling political party defend the government on television, they still only defend the party, and do not speak for the government of India. Regardless, public diplomacy is not about merely involving a specific bureaucracy or a specific ministry: the Indian government must use all the wings of government. It is an activity of national importance, not merely of public relations. The government needs to be mobilised and sent into battle to win this information war.

Winning Information War Every Ministry's Task

The ministry of home affairs has to take the lead in conducting this campaign, actively supported by the PMO, defence ministry and the Ministry for External Affairs. The Defence Minister till date has never supported the fact that not even one person has been killed by Army firing. Why the Ministry of External Affairs when Kashmir is our internal matter? Because whether we like it or not, Kashmir has been and still remains an important foreign policy agenda point for India.

Perception Management – The Basic Strategy

The Kashmir Proxy War can be said to be over, once we have won over the hearts and minds of the entire population of the Kashmir Valley. Thus the battle is for the hearts and minds of the population and then killing of terrorists'. It follows that effective Perception Management should be formally adopted as the basic strategy. However, effective Perception Management can only be conducted once the Government Policy has crystallized and there is a proper organisational structure to execute it. It is also axiomatic that Perception Management should form the basic framework around which the three pronged socio-political, developmental and security related strategies are built up by the State Government and the SF.

Government Agencies in Perception Management and Their Responsibilities Government Agencies that would be required to contribute towards Perception Management and their broad responsibilities are

discussed below:-

- (a) **Prime Minister's Office (PMO):** At the highest level the PM would approve policy and direct Perception Management through the National Security Council (NSC) assisted by the Cabinet Committee for Security (CCS). Respective ministries and departments will prepare draft policies based on instructions from PMO for implementation.
- (b) **NSC:** Draft policies will be based on guidelines issued by NSC. These will be periodically reviewed after feedback on effectiveness of the operations.
- (c) **CCS:** The NSC should function in coordination with CCS, both being responsible to the PMO directly.
- (d) **Ministry of Home Affairs: In executing its charter it will ensure the following:-**
 - (i) A feeling of security and safety among local population & residents.
 - (ii) Pre-empting sabotage and subversion of vulnerable sections of population by educating them on what to expect, maintaining strict vigil for indicators of these and taking speedy remedial action against the same.
 - (iii) Build up effectiveness & morale of Central Police Organisations and Para Military Forces to enable them to relieve regular troops from rear areas and handle internal security, law & order situations effectively.
 - (iv) In conjunction with State governments concerned create conditions to discourage & further stop influx of unauthorised foreigners. Also neutralise banned organisations.
- (e) **Ministry of External Affairs:**
 - (i) Project the nation's case so as to generate favourable opinion amongst states that matter.
 - (ii) Through diplomacy, forge alliances and create dissensions that are favourable to national interests.
 - (iii) Maintain credibility of nation's cause.
 - (iv) Discredit enemy state through diplomatic Perception Management operations.
- (f) **Ministry of Commerce & Trade:**
 - (i) Project stability of the nation in international commerce & trade.
 - (ii) Create conditions favourable to availability of requisite imports & export markets to the nation and denying the same to enemy.
 - (iii) Inspire confidence amongst international financial institutions for receipt of loan as & when required.

(g) Ministry of Health:

- (i) Project a strong immunity profile of the population likely to be affected without disclosing vulnerabilities.
- (ii) Keep morale of the population high by health education & effective prophylactic & remedial measures.
- (iii) Exploit vulnerabilities of enemy population through engineered panic.

(h) Ministry of Tourism:

- (i) Condition tourists to project desired themes.
- (ii) Create environment for continued tourist traffic in unaffected areas.

(j) Ministry of Information & Broadcasting:

- (i) Enhance spirits of the nation by selective themes in the media.
- (ii) Create cohesion amongst the population by appropriate projection of enemy state.
- (iii) Create nationalistic fervor to elicit favourable reporting by freelance journalist.
- (iv) Manage foreign media for favourable reporting with credibility.

(k) Ministry of Defence:

- (i) Maintain very high state of morale of forces at all times.
- (ii) Break enemy's will to fight.
- (iii) Insulate own forces from adverse Perception Management operations.
- (iv) Maintain very high nationalistic feelings and morale amongst families of forces personnel.
- (v) Maintain relentless Perception Management pressure on the enemy commanders & forces.

Aim of Perception Management

Perception Management are launched with the aim of influencing attitudes and behaviour of human elements constituting PROXY WAR environment towards achieving national objectives. Specific objectives govern these operations as relevant to various target groups.

Target Groups and Objectives

Terrorists:

- (a) Breaking their will to fight.
- (b) Bringing own misguided nationals into the mainstream of society.

Local Population:

- (a) Weaning away active & passive supporters of PROXY WAR.

- (b) Winning over neutrals.
- (c) Inspiring confidence in government & SF amongst government supporters
- (d) Obtaining acceptance of a 'counter cause' generated by the government.

Relations of Terrorists: Using them to exert pressure on terrorists to give up struggle by highlighting dangers involved & its futility.

SF:

- (a) Maintaining a high state of morale and sense of purpose.
- (b) Insulating them from adverse Perception Management operations

Local Government and Civil Administration:

- (a) Motivate it to maintain nationalist outlook.
- (b) Even if sympathising with the cause of struggle, to oppose violent means being adopted.
- (c) Instilling in them a sense of security
- (d) Instilling in them a sense of security for self, family and property.
- (e) Motivating them to discharge assigned duties effectively.

Local Religious Heads & Socially Influential Citizens: Inspire them to influence terrorists and local population to give up and oppose violence.

Sponsoring State:

- (a) Projecting the futility of waging PROXY WAR.
- (b) Creating fear psychosis of retaliation.
- (c) Breaking their will to continue operation.

World Community Especially USA & Financial Institutions

- (a) Projecting sponsor state as 'terrorist state'
- (b) Denuding credibility of sponsor state to attract sanctions, economic & diplomatic setbacks.
- (c) Stop or limit financial and military assistance to sponsor state.

National Population:

Gaining support of the nation for the fight against PROXY WAR.

Evolving and Dissemination of Themes:

Perception Management operations, in order to be consistent and credible need to be a national effort. Hence they should be evolved by the apex body at the centre and thereafter disseminated through the Unified HQs at the state right down to the District, Tehsil and Block levels. At each level prominent citizens (and credible NGOs if available) having credibility and standing with the local population should be co-opted so as to obtain

realistic feedback to suitably modify and improve subsequent themes.

Before evolving themes for Perception Management it would be essential to clearly understand objectives and themes of Perception Management conducted by those sponsoring or organising the movement. Some of these could be as under:-

- (a) Propagation of the 'cause' in manner so as to justify the same and make everyone identify with it.
- (b) Convincing people that violent means are the only option left.
- (c) Projecting themselves as protectors and champions of the people.
- (d) Discrediting S F & Government agencies as perpetrators of oppression and atrocities.

Start here Themes for Weakening Terrorists Will to Fight:

- (a) Highlighting their isolation from the population and outside help.
- (b) Creating vertical and horizontal splits by exploiting dissensions, individual ambitions, luxurious lifestyles of leaders as against sufferings of lower functionaries & their families.
- (c) Stressing terrorists losses, hardship and constant threat of being apprehended.
- (d) Highlighting the terrorists, ultras & separatists as nothing but terrorists.
- (e) Bringing to notice the forced recruitment of children and students against their wishes & those of their families and emphasising hardship caused as also a bleak future.

Cutting Off Support from Local Population: This can be achieved by highlighting the following aspects of the terrorists:-

- (a) Cruel killings of innocent civilian people to create fear psychosis.
- (b) Exploitation of womenfolk.
- (c) Extortion from public including the poor in cash or kind.
- (d) Coercion of population for rendering support to their cause.
- (e) Effect on common people and economy including other revenue earning potential such as tourism, exports of farm produce handicrafts etc. and their bleak economic future.

Weakening the Influence of Sponsor & Forcing it to Give up Involvement: This can be achieved by the following:-

- (a) Exploiting instabilities in the sponsor nation to create trouble spots which have the potential of blowing up as major national crises. No physical involvement however, is recommended.
- (b) Projecting its involvement to concerned international organisations for generating appropriate world opinion and condemnation thereby

WHEN YOU GO HOME TELLOF US , FOR YOUR TODAY
WE GAVE OUR TOMORROW



- building pressure on it to refrain from its activities.
- (c) Exposing instabilities and ideological dichotomies in that state and the sad plight that would meet its followers in own country should they manage to achieve their aims.
 - (d) Highlighting similar involvement of that country elsewhere and exposing its sinister designs wherein welfare of those being incited has no place. Also, reasoning out and leading people's attention to ulterior political motives of the sponsor state that are planned to be achieved through sponsoring proxy war.
 - (e) Dispelling the misconception about particular regions or communities being exploited, neglected or discriminated against.
 - (f) Highlighting the teachings of spiritual and religious leaders of the regions which invariably shun violence.
 - (g) Highlighting the plight of the state due to disturbed conditions and the time that would be required for it to come at par with other states which are peaceful as also states which shunned violence & are prospering.

Gaining Support for SF Employed in Fighting Proxy War:

- (a) Highlighting sacrifices made by S Fin safeguarding the area, its people and their properties.
- (b) Highlighting S F respect for women, elders, young & children irrespective of community at great peril to own life, their discipline and self restraint.
- (c) Describing hardships faced by families of SF personnel who are employed in fighting PROXY WAR& more so for fatal casualties of those

operations.

- (d) Providing rational explanation for certain activities of the SF that cause inconvenience to the population.
- (e) Planning and carrying out Civic Action Programmes to win hearts and minds of the people. Certain aspects about this programme that must be borne in mind are given below:-
 - (i) Be planned in consultation with local civil administration, village officials and representatives of the people.
 - (ii) Should address those aspects which will improve provision of essential services, social security, community development, education, medical facilities in order of priority.
 - (iii) Maintain transparency to dispel doubts or thoughts about misappropriation etc.
 - (iv) Be of a lasting nature.
 - (v) Ideally be organised in conjunction with government services with the aim of reviving defunct institutions & facilities.
 - (vi) Should address all sections of society viz children, youth, elders, intellectuals, wage earners & women.

Encouraging Informers and Potential Sources:

Selected categories of people have the potential of being developed as informers & sources for assisting SF operations. Some can also be turned to active supporters of the S F willing to join in their operations. These persons are usually those who have suffered personal losses, are opposed to terrorist ideologies, are fanatically nationalistic, have personal vendetta against terrorist groups or leadership, have opposing political affiliations or are being hounded by the terrorists for one or more reasons. This group can be psychologically motivated to assist the SF. They should be made to feel that they must avenge their losses and that delay in doing so affords more opportunity for more such harm by the Terrorists. Their human egos have to be inflated and, assistance of SF in achieving this common goal offered.

Counter Propaganda:

Proxy War situations are characterised by Perception Management launched by sponsor states to make the operation more effective. A comprehensive counter Perception Management programme is necessary to be conducted to balance the situation & tilt it in favour of government forces. Counter themes and novel methods must be evolved to regain initiatives and offer government forces the advantage..

Acquisition and Updating Intelligence:

Perception Management depend greatly on intelligence: Sufficient intelligence is required for planning a meaningful Perception Management campaign. Suitable agencies are required to acquire meaningful intelligence through the numerous stages of development of an insurgency to enable it to be squashed earliest possible. At a later stage, however, once PROXY WAR has matured, intelligence in respect of target groups is necessary to assist in planning Perception Management operations. A constant update is essential to provide inputs on effectiveness of the Perception Management war campaign and change strategies when required.

Estimate of the Situation:

Success in Perception Management depends to a large degree on an estimate of the situation. This follows from the practical measures available and would encompass the following :-

(a) Definition of the audience to cover the medium through which it can be reached and the anticipated attention and pertinent characteristics.

(b) Perception Management goals to be sought. This includes attention of the enemy, the present goal and ultimate goal.

(d) Media available, its kind & quality.

(f) Competitive factors covering the listener's non-propaganda preoccupations, continuation of adverse indoctrination, effect of news available both to oneself & to listeners and the competitive effect on hostile propaganda.

(g) Relation to the general estimate of the situation including timing, relationships covering contingency plans & contingency prohibitions, contribution of Perception Management war to operation planning i.e. combat operation psychologically advisable, those that are subject to propaganda exploitation & operations providing adverse propaganda with opportunity and lastly, correlation of Perception Management war with public relation programme, information & education plans, medical plans & reporting and counter subversive functions.

Target Audience: Themes must be tailored to address specific target audiences. In the context of Jammu and Kashmir three types of target audience can be specified:-

(a) Members of various terrorists groups: Presently they have low morale, motivation and are disorganised. They lack credibility both with the public and with their masters in the ISI. They are also frustrated as they are commanded by foreign Terrorists

(b) Population of the core areas of the Valley: ie the four districts of Srinagar, Anantnag, Pulwama and Badgam and interior of districts Baramulla,

Kupwara. This formed the disaffected population during the early stages of Proxy War. Presently they are getting alienated from the terrorist s and their Pakistani masters and perceptibly getting to appreciate the Indian view point.

- (c) Population of the border belts: of Gulmarg, Uri, Tangdhar, Keran, Machhal, Gurais, Poonch and Rajouri where the population did not take up the Proxy War and where they have traditionally shown a pro Indian stance.
- (d) The population of POK and the Northern Areas: (ie Gilgit) which have major grievances with the Pakistan Government should also be included as a target audience as they figure in some of our options for conflict resolution enumerated earlier.

Suggested Themes: Some of the thrust areas which need to be addressed while evolving themes are:-

- (a) Countering Pakistan's Pan Islamic Appeal: Stress on tolerant and eclectic Sufi culture of Kashmir. Counter Pakistan claims of representing the Muslim community since more Muslims reside in India. Stress on treatment meted out to Ahmediyas, Shias and Ismailis in Pakistan.
- (b) Countering Desire for Accession to Pakistan: Stress on non integration of Mohajirs into Pakistani society, highlight Punjabi dominance in Pakistan including demographic changes affected in POK. Stress the lack of development and integration of Gilgit and Baltistan into Pakistan. Finally remind the populace of the prevalent gun and drug culture in Pakistan and remind them of the treatment meted out to Kashmiris during the tribal invasion of 1947/48.
- (c) Stress on Benefits of Integration with India: Bring out historical and cultural linkages with India. Economic benefits and availability of markets for agricultural produce and handicrafts. (eg. Pakistan does not have markets to absorb the fruits and handicrafts produced in the valley) Highlight the number of Developmental projects set up by India eg. Uri Hydrel, construction of rail link and additional roads into the valley slated as National projects. (Notwithstanding the lack of express ways planned).

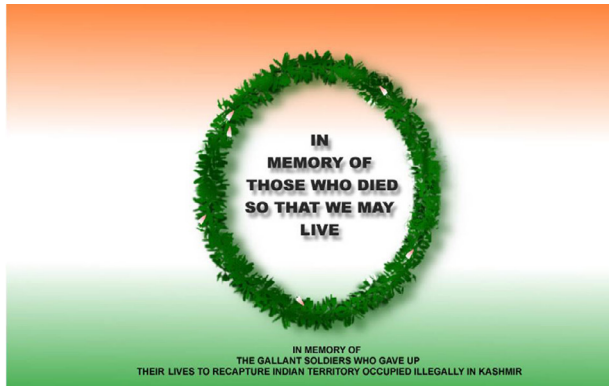
There have already been a few positive developments with regard to integrating the Kashmiri population which have ironically enough been brought about by the current Proxy War. Firstly a large proportion of Kashmiri youth have seen Pakistan during their tenure in the training camps. Secondly larger numbers of Kashmiris have visited other parts of India, whether to gain outlets for fruits and handicrafts or in the case of youth, for education since education came to a halt during 1989-96. Hence

a greater awareness of the relative merits of India and Pakistan have been inculcated in the Kashmiris. This aspect needs to be developed further in the Perception Management themes.

Based on the suggested thrust areas given above, specific themes must be evolved by the apex body keeping in mind the current environment and catering to the specified target audiences. Themes should be operative for specified periods (eg. for six months). The launching of a theme must be suitably highlighted by a major policy initiative or visit by a national leader etc. All government activities to include political, social, developmental, cultural and tactical military operations must aim at propagating the specific theme for the entire duration of its period.

All elements of the media from Radio, TV (including Cable TV), cinema and the national and vernacular press must be co-opted in propagating the selected theme. The vernacular press (since they generally toe the Pakistani line) must be coerced (eg by withholding government advertisements) or preferably persuaded to give some coverage to the publish the official line even if it were to denigrate it (publicity being the essence).

Perception Management warfare to be effective has to avoid the short cuts of 'media gimmicks'. There are no instant solutions but a minute yet inexorable phase to phase progress. The results can only be discernible over a prolonged period of time and there must be no attempts to force the pace. Patience and perseverance are essentials for conducting effective Perception Management operations.



Satyamev Jayate — “Truth Alone Triumphs

The whole of the government must act now. It is time to stop accepting the propaganda of our enemies. This is about them, not us. Let the government expose the Kashmiri separatist leadership for what it really is — a threat

to all liberal, democratic societies, supporters of subjugating women by seeking implementation of the Shariah, killers of young children by pushing them at the front of violent mobs, violent criminals indulging in arson by burning schools and public property, tacit supporters of jihadi terror and hypocrites who use all the facilities of the Indian state while decrying it at the same time. Winning the ideological battle against these enemies of India requires conscious, yet subtle, sustained and coordinated efforts from the government of India.

Satyamev Jayate — “Truth Alone Triumphs” — remains India’s national motto. Yes, truth shall prevail in the end. But it can only prevail if it is brought out in the open first. Can the government please start now?

AZADI ONLY WAY AHEAD

- Azadi from Pak Sponsored Terrorism.
- Azadi from Likes Of Huriyat Conference
- Azadi from Bad Governance.
- Azadi from Religious Fundamentalism.
- Azadi from Corrupt Politicians, Bureaucrats.
- Azadi from Pseudo Secularists.
- Azadi from Disinformation Campaign.
- Azadi from Wrong Expectations.
- Azadi from Inflated Self Importance that They Are Special. Every Indian Is Special.

Brig Hemant Mahajan YSM (Retd), Chair Professor, Swatantryaveer Sawarkar Chair in Defence Studies



Brig Hemant Mahajan is a prolific writer and speaker on all aspects of National Security. He is M Sc.) M Phil in Defence Studies. He joined IMA Dehradun in July 1973 and passed out as a Commissioned Officer on 15 June 1975. He has served extensively in Counter Insurgency Operations in Jammu & Kashmir, Punjab and North East and has taken part in all important operations undertaken by the Army since 1975 till 31 Jan 2009. He has been appointed as independent member of security commission of Union Territory Div, Daman, Dadra, Nagar Haveli for two years.



Indian Women and National Security Need for a Total Paradigm Shift

By Commodore Hari Gokhale

Introduction

On 15th August 2018, the Indian Prime Minister announced grant of Permanent Commission to women officers in the Indian Armed forces. This move was widely applauded. Encouraged by this news, the idea of women in combat role got a fresh impetus. There were voices of caution about combat role for women but generally it was felt that induction of women in the military has strengthened India's defense capability and national security and Prime Minister's move will further enhance it.

A different view is presented in this article. I feel induction of a few fortunate women in an admired profession like military has a token value. It alone will not make India a better nation and a more secure nation when the plight of most Indian women is abysmal. It was felt that economic independence of women would make their lives better. More and more Indian women began to step outside their houses and work. Working woman soon realized that a career outside the house has caused her a double jeopardy. She was now expected to work outside her house and on return perform her age old domestic role of a nurturer. The third jeopardy occurred when she had to perform her nature-assigned role of a giving birth to her child. This not only caused disruption in her career but also created a huge lifelong guilt feeling of being an inadequate nurturer of her child. Indra Nooyi, an international beacon for all working women of the world, could not free herself of this guilt feeling. The final and most severe jeopardy has become evident because of the recent Me-too movement. It has exposed the ugly realities of Indian work-place. There were always whispers and

mutterings about the casting couch in the entertainment industry. The Me-too movement has not only cast a harsh light on the entertainment industry; it has also exposed ugly realities in every other work place. It would not be an overstatement to say that almost every work place in India is unsafe for women – media, academics, corporates, government spaces and even the military, as the example of US marine shows.

The genie is outside the box. Women will seek careers outside their houses. They will perform at par with men and expect to have the same opportunities for betterment and promotions. Moot question is whether they will be allowed to do so. Presently, it seems rather unlikely because plight of women in workplace is a mere tip of the societal iceberg of ill-treatment of women.

This article will then argue that ill-treatment of women has a terrible consequence of poor upbringing of a child – the future citizen of India. It further argues that even progeny of safer and more successful women may not have received optimal care during their childhood because of workplace misogyny which gets exacerbated when a woman employee gets her maternity leave. Finally, these injustices against women affect the well-being and security of a nation.

Some of my friends felt that tone of my article supports an ideology that a woman's place is in her home and cradle and hearth are her sole career options. Not at all. like said earlier – the genies is outside the box and women will take up careers and thrive at individual level. Clock cannot be and should not be turned back. What is essential for a secure and a prosperous India is that Indian women are allowed to work in safe environment and also encouraged to perform her role as creator and nurturer of life.

Is a Woman Allowed to Blossom Fully in Her Chosen Role?

This question rose in my mind after my daughter took a break from her career to bring up her child and the child is thriving in her constant companionship. I neither had the time or maturity for critical observation of my children during their first few years. My wife, like most military wives of early 1980s, was a full-time care-giver and was with both my children 24X7.

The social scenario has changed greatly since the 80s. Multiple avenues have opened up for a woman to take up a career and many of them are doing admirably well. They are doing their bit for the nation building by excelling in their chosen profession. The doubt is whether they get the full opportunity to develop their natural potential? Unlike a man, woman's natural potential is not limited just to her career. Nature has given her the privilege of bringing forth a new life into the world and nurture it though

it's most critical years. This is where a conflict ensues putting a woman and her child in a disadvantageous position. A woman faces a major dilemma whether she should deprive her child of her companionship during its most critical stage of growth for the demands of her career? Women are getting longer maternity leave (which my daughter says is essential for the child but also is a blessing in disguise for the mother to recuperate after child birth). But it's still a Hobson's choice for her... In most cases, an organization mutters under its breath when a woman goes on maternity leave. A woman probably has that uneasy feeling that her male competition is surging ahead during her absence. In most cases she may want to wean away the child as soon as possible and get back to work. This is a lose-lose situation for all three, the child and the mother and finally society which may lose out on better citizens of tomorrow.

What is a Woman's Primary Role in a Society?

From early childhood through old age, human females' reproductive success depends on provisioning, protecting and nurturing first younger siblings, then their own children and grandchildren. (Note 1)



Two images conjure in front of my eyes. A famous Marathi author, PK Atre, has said that “a woman is a wife momentarily and a mother in perpetuity”. The deeper meaning of this thought was revealed to me when I saw Michelangelo's sculpture “Pieta” housed in St. Peter's Basilica, Vatican City. It is difficult to move away from the sculpture because of its sheer poignancy. Here is a quintessential woman in the role of a mother affording the final resting Place and succor to her grievously wounded and dying son Jesus Christ. Who can forget the

last scene in the Hindi Movie 'Deewar' when Vijay (the anti-hero) dies in the arms of his mother speaking those final words, 'Zindagi se ladte ladte, thak gaya hoon maa - - -'. As recent as October 2018, the DD cameraman Achutanandan Sahu, who was shot dead by Naxalites in Chhattisgarh, called out to his mother before dying.

Germaine Greer, bra-burning firebrand of women's liberation in the

70s, reexamined her ideas 25 years later and discovered another role for a woman - the nurturer. As is her wont, she militated

against fast food companies for deliberately ruining a woman position in a family as a nurturer. Role of woman as a nurturer is best brought out by the picture of a Bishnoi woman suckling her child at one breast and an orphaned fawn at the other. This is what a child in its infancy wants from its mother, succor and nourishment, both of body and mind. Deprive a child of this incubation of its personality, and the society loses.

How Every Society has Belittled a Woman & Forced Her to Opt from Her Most Natural Role:

To eternal shame of humanity, men did not respect the nurturing role of a woman but viewed her merely as an object with a vagina and uterus which procreated (only a woman could give a voice to the silent scream against objectification in 'Vagina Monologues', an episodic play written by Eve Ensler). The next inevitable step was to lower the status of women from equal to inferior. Those women who protested against this unilateral demotion were silenced by brute force, be it Joan of Arc or Malala Yousafzai. For thousands of years, from generation to generation, from her birth to her death, a woman has been told again and again of her inferior status which she slowly and totally internalized. She continued to labor under the constraints of four walls of her house to make it a home. This role was not only undervalued but often sneered at with the label - 'mere housewife' (Where even Sundays and holidays are working days!).

To fight back, a woman joined the game of men of pursuing a career out of her home. Women, especially in advanced countries, have gone a step further. They are avoiding and refusing to bear children. Most telling example is China. To reverse rapid aging of China, Chinese Government has withdrawn the earlier "One child policy" and wants women to have more children. There are reports that Chinese women are resisting this move. They prefer to work outside the house. There is little that totalitarian Chinese government can do. It can't force women to make babies willingly. It appears that Chinese women have taken inspiration from their sisters in Japan who are bringing Japanese society to its knees by not reproducing enough. Japan has collapsed to a rate of 1.44 babies per woman (South Korea is 1.17!) which is well below the rate of 2.33 per woman for maintaining the existing population. At this rate, Japan may cease to be a society by end of this century. Same fate awaits many European countries like Spain and France.

In India, we have not reached this disastrous level of female non-participation in societal well-being. But portents are not healthy. Like their

sisters in other cultures and societies, Indian women stepped out but got buried under double load of work at home and outside. Those born in 50s and 60s carried this burden with increasing distaste, but subsequent generations are slowly but surely opting out of domesticity. Those women who marry stop at single child, a figure well below the optimal figure of 2.33. This is the first societal loss. India's population growth is lopsided. The poor and the uneducated that have the least means and ability to bring forth healthier and abler children are the most fecund. In current liberal narrative, this statement may sound callous and insensitive. But aren't these deprived children skewing the quality of our demographic dividend for which we are going to pay a heavy price in near future.

Second societal loss occurs when even this precious single child does not get full infant care as the mother is in a hurry to go back to the office. She is aware that her organization is indifferent, or maybe even hostile towards her motherhood and she better return early to cut her losses

How Does a Child Grow?

Formation of human being is a continual process, but it is not linear. It is most rapid in first few years of the childhood. There is no consensus about how many years constitute a human childhood. While researchers and professionals usually define the period of early childhood as birth to eight years of age, many consider age five as more valid upper limit when a child is ready to start formal schooling. There is, however, is a definite consensus that during first three years of childhood, there is tremendous growth across all areas of development.

Physical development is accompanied by rapid changes in the child's cognitive and language development. From the moment they are born, children use all their senses to attend to their environment, and they begin to develop a sense of cause and effect from their actions and the responses of caregivers who is mostly the mother. A key moment socio-emotional development occurs around one year of age. (Note 2)

First three years of the childhood are most crucial because that is the time when a child develops a spoken vocabulary of between 300 and 1,000 words which is a powerful tool to enhance cognitive development. With this tool, a child learns about and describes the world around it and communicates with others and solves problems (Note 3). A mother makes great difference at this stage. I often watch a mother and her child communicating with each other. It could in the confines of a house or in a noisy compartment of a train. Both are often oblivious of the world around them. At that moment, they are a complete universe with intense communication between the two. The child is absorbing the cooing and the baby talk by the mother with all its

five senses. This is where child's most intense language learning starts. And that is why the phrase Mother Tongue, from the tongue of child's mother.

How Much of a Mother Does a Child Need During its Early Growth?

Mother –Child relationship has been eulogized in all forms of literature. Those of us who studied in Marathi medium can never forget the primary school poem by Poet Yashawant where he dismisses the God as a beggar if he does not have a mother. Even a purely rationalist and remote writer like Somerset Maugham becomes maudlin when recounting death of Philip Carey's mother in his book "Of Human Bondage".

Science does not have firm empirical data about mother-child relationship because scientists are unable to agree upon the parameters. In the cold logic of science a mother is called by an anodyne term "a Caregiver" and a conclusion has been reached that "So far, the major evidence that maternal care can significantly influence human infant development has come from situations of maternal deprivation (e.g., institutions). Though the extent of the damage may have been overestimated (Dennis, 1960; Bowlby, 1958), numerous studies confirm the detrimental effects of maternal deprivation on many aspects of development (Dennis, 1960; Pringle and Bossio, 1958; Pringle and Tanner, 1958; Goldfarb, 1945) (Note 4).

The study further concludes that "study comparing premature and maturely born infants (Drillien, 1959) indicated that maternal competence is a major influence in infant development. It was found that, by two years of age, prematurely born singletons reared in the most favorable environmental conditions, with particular emphasis on maternal efficiency, were nearly equal to the maturely born children in both weight and height. (Note 5)

Another study brings out that A key moment socio-emotional development occurs around one year of age. This is the time when attachment formation becomes critical. Attachment theory suggests that individual differences in later life functioning and personality are shaped by a child's early experiences with their caregivers. The quality of emotional attachment, or lack of attachment, formed early in life may serve as a model for later relationships. (Note 6)

In conclusion it can be said that science, though unable to agree upon a definitive empirical data on mother-child bond, there is consensus that maternal deprivation has detrimental effects on many aspects of child development. It is also stated that premature babies under efficient mother care catch up with normal babies in two years.

Way Ahead

A woman, with a career outside her house, is now an un-undoable reality. From purely transactional view their presence is welcome because the nation benefits from a bigger and deeper talent pool. The need now is to focus how to get the best out of this workforce.

Have a Complete Relook at Woman's Plight in Her Workplace

"On every side speechless women endure endless hardship, grief and pain, in a world system that creates billions of losers for every handful of winners. It's time to get angry again." G. Greer

Like never before, the "Me-Too" movement has shown the plight of working women in public life. It is incredible to hear that alpha-women like Gwyneth Paltrow have been sexually harassed. What happens to millions of less powerful or even powerless women in all professions? Scenario may be even worse where sexes are required to work and live in close proximity like Merchant Navy or Military.

It is generally assumed that military as a profession has more refined and controlled behavior pattern compared to other non-military professions, this is especially so with your mates from the same ship or regiment. Some findings from the chronicles of US Marines have utterly belied such noble thoughts. This is a gist of an article about brutal sexual harassment of woman soldier in US Marine Corps. (Note 7)

"Retired corporal John Albert joined a private Facebook group dubbed "Marines United." He found that the group had lots of content of Revenge Porn where pictures were posted without permission and there were comments about raping "wooks" ("wookies," or servicewomen),.. Sharing graphic images or crude humor with one another is a common practice on Internet, but this marine site seemed different. Here male marines were victimizing their fellow female Marines.

Albert reported Marines United to Facebook for nudity and violation of the social network's community standards. Within a week, Marines United disappeared. But soon things spun out of control with blaring cable news reports and finally landing on Capitol Hill. There was a profound identity crisis not only for the Marine Corps, but for the entire U.S. armed services.

Distraught Gen. Robert Neller, the Marine commandant, pled and asked male Marines "I need you to ask yourselves, how much more do the females of our Corps have to do to be accepted?" (He was referring to female marines casualties due to IED, or shooting down of helicopters). Change of attitude is unlikely because Marines, both veterans and active duty, feel that the Corps is not just overrun by sexism and misogyny, but staffed with leadership unable or unwilling to do anything about

it. Many women marines see this see the behavior as a cultural problem without a clear solution. This subculture of sexual exploitation isn't just confined to the Marine Corps. Several online message boards host military forums flooded with explicit photos of servicewomen from every branch. The Army is investigating nude photo sharing by active-duty infantry. The Navy is also now "knee-deep" in the scandal." If this is the situation in a fairly open society like USA, what must be happening in closed systems in totalitarian states or states with strict social norms like India, is best left to imagination. In such circumstances, even peacetime management of women in the military needs to be relooked at.

Stop Eulogizing or Demeaning Motherhood

General evidence shows that child bearing is advantageous for a woman for her emotional as well as physical health. But this is not an open and shut case. The woman herself has to accept this argument and more importantly she needs an assurance that she has the requisite financial, medical and emotional resources to do so. As is our wont, Indians tend to either eulogize or demean. Fervor at Jagrans (night long prayers) in North India or Kali-puja in Eastern India, where the presiding deity is a female, has got to be seen to be believed. The same populace, though, has an abysmal record of girl infanticide and dumping of widows in Brindavan. There is an urgent need to bring society on an even keel. A demeaned or a terrorized woman cannot bring up a healthy child who will grow into an able and strong citizen of the country. Government can make laws and provide money, but the last mile has to be run by the people themselves. This is fundamental societal change for which a charismatic social reformer is needed. Till then, the military veteran community who are those few lucky Indians who have lived and worked amongst one of the most egalitarian organizations in India – The Indian armed forces, can be a great help in such social initiative. In this regard, women in the military would have great salutary effect.

Give a Home-maker Her Due

Society has to stop worshipping career moms and down grading housewives. Most want their daughters to follow the template of an alpha-woman attired in a corporate suit, however imperfect. Even Indra Nooyi, an epitome of this template, resents not having it all as a woman!

"I don't think women can have it all. We pretend that we have it all. If you ask my daughters, I am not sure if they will say that I have been a good mom. We have to cope because we die with guilt. My observation is that the biological clock and the career clock are in total conflict with each other. When you have kids, you have to build your career. Just as you are rising to

middle management, the kids need you because they are teenagers, as you grow even more, your parents need you. What do you do?" _ Indra Nooyi in moments of introspection.

However unsung, the housewife is the rudder of the ship called home. Strong, positive, independent and self-confident ladies, with or without a career, can be the best examples to their children. A portion of husband's salary going into an individual account of a home-maker is an excellent idea. The wife gets financial independence and nurtures her children to hearts content.

Training for Motherhood

It is often said that two most critical societal tasks are left to amateurs – teaching and child rearing. The effect of the first neglect is that we are producing a large of number of college graduates who have poor professional knowledge and therefore are unemployable. In the second instant, poor mothering is producing unhealthy, unsure and maladjusted children. This malady is more intense in the deprived section of the society. Below is the searing image of the mother of an accused

In the 'Nirbhaya' atrocity which happened in Delhi on a fateful night of 16 December 2012. Wife on an unemployed laborer with a brood of children to bring up in a remote barren village; what infant care could she have afforded to her unfortunate children? There is no intention to denounce these unfortunate persons. As the famous urban architect Charles Correa observed, women such as these are the ones who don't allow our slums to become favelas of South America which have benumbing child delinquency. If India does not wish to go the South American way (where Nearly four in every 1,000 Brazilian adolescents living in the country's biggest cities are



murdered before the age of 19 (Note 8), it needs to support this social bulwark which alone can keep the wolf of social anarchy at bay. Indian state has its heart in the right place, but society has to ensure that intended help and benefit for this section of society reaches the victims.

Situation of many mothers in higher strata is not so bleak but it is worrisome. Their physical needs may have been met, but their knowledge of mothering may be inadequate. In nuclear families, girls do not have role models for their subsequent biological and social tasks. My daughter maintains that but for the advice of a trained Lactation consultant; she could have deprived her child of the best health insurance of his life – mother's milk immediately after the birth. A first-time mother needs guidance and encouragement during first few days after childbirth to settle down with her child for regular breast feeding. There are many wrong media-driven notions in the minds of a young mother about solid foods, hygiene and medication (there was a report of a young mother giving her child antibiotics for six months to build immunity!). Some sort of formal training to learn "mothering skills" is essential. May be the Supreme Court needs to step in as they have done for teaching of environmental science to all college students.

Create a Viable Home Support System for a Young Mother

This article does not wish to put the entire load of childrearing on mother alone. It is not axiomatic that every woman would be an ideal caregiver. She would have missed on role models in a nuclear family. She would now need a support system, with child's father as a lynchpin of that system. There is therefore a need to sensitize fathers about their role in child rearing. In most mammals, male shares this responsibility. Young lions would be killed if not protected by an alpha male in a pack. Most birds also share this responsibility. Among many frogs and sea horses, the male solely takes care of the fertilized eggs till they hatch. If animals have figured it out, why are we still lagging behind on this fundamental aspect of survival!

Award Her for Her Contribution

Today it's a fait accompli for Indian society that a large number of women, either by choice or need, are taking up life-long careers. Prejudice begins from the day a woman steps into her workplace for the first time. There are patent reasons to doubt her competence, poor motor skills (jokes about women driver), too much connectivity between left and right lobes of her brains which prevents her from cold logical decisions and her propensity to cry. She has to perform better at all times to prove her competence. Her monthly cycles, when she could be low in her moods are laughed at pejoratively.

In such an inherently hostile ambience, her confinement and subsequent maternal leave is held against her. It is almost as if she has committed an anti-organizational act! Then there is the fear of losing competitive edge during her enforced absence. It is little wonder that increasing number of women

are opting out of marriage and child-bearing. Those who return to their career are likely to be bitter about their lost opportunities. The final loser is the child and the society. It is truly ironic that a woman gets penalized for doing something essential for the survival of the species and the country - birthing and bringing up a well-developed future citizen of the country.

Sensible solution will be to award a woman for childbearing and child care for at least first two years of child life. This solution may be scoffed at because we are an overpopulated country, where we have been conditioned to look at a new-born child as one more mouth to feed, one more seat in a school and one more unemployed in the job market. This cynicism may be justified because of hordes of children being born in disadvantaged homes without proper child care. But instead of applying this negative yardstick to all childbirths, why not give highest priority to child welfare and health care like many South East Asian countries have done? It is a matter of national shame that India is wallowing at the bottom of Human Development Index, primarily because of poor child welfare and health care.

Conclusions

All is not well with Indian women and till her lot improves, the nation will continue to get a weak and a facile citizenry which bodes ill for national security. Educated women, though much better off than the totally deprived women in villages, slums or fringes of forests, face discriminations at home and her workplace. Woman's unique ability to birth and nurture a child is scoffed at. Under such conditions, a child is very unlikely to get a strong and positive mother and end product will be a poor citizen of a country.

A man and a woman is often compared to two wheels of a cart, suggesting that if the cart has to move smoothly and reach its destination, both wheels have to be strong, sturdy and placed at an identical position with respect to the cart. Such a simple analogy! Even a child will grasp it.

But somehow the adults of the human race have failed to grasp it. The men have systematically and decidedly neglected and weakened the other wheel and that is why the societal cart of almost the entire humanity is wobbling causing so much of death, destruction and misery. In such a scenario, where women, the only ones who can birth and nurture the future of a nation, state or a civilization, have been systematically belittled, derided and many cases physically diminished, any discussion of national security is absurd.

It is time that we, the thinkers and doers, who hold India's well-being and security close to our heart, go back to the drawing board and plan a complete restructuring of our society. A very tall order, but maybe, we have no option left.

Notes

Note 1

The development of human female competition: allies and adversaries - The conclusion

Joyce F. Benenson

<https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3826208/>

Note 2&3

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Stages of Growth Child Development - Early Childhood (Birth to Eight Years), Middle Childhood (Eight to Twelve Years)

Note 4

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Mothers role in child development
Marion Blank] Ph.D.

Note 5

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Mothers role in child development
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Note 6

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Commodore Hari Anant Gokhale

Commodore Hari Anant Gokhale NM (Gallantry) is a naval veteran who is an alumni of Sainik School,



Korukonda and National Defence Academy, Khadakvasla. He was commissioned in the Indian Navy in 1970 and sought voluntary retirement in 1995. He was awarded Chief of Naval Staff Commendation in 1973 for successful anti-smuggling operations of Gulf of Kutch and Nau Sena Medal (Gallantry) in 1988 for successful operations against terrorists and hijackers who were fleeing Male with hostages after an unsuccessful coup attempt against the Government of Male. He has done his MBA from Baajaj Institute of Management Studies, Mumbai and possesses Government of India Competency Certificate as a Master Mariner. After working in corporate world and Merchant Marine, he is currently teaching in Tolani Maritime Institute, Talegaon Dabhade, Pune



India's Monroe Doctrine

By **Milind R. Paranjpe**

In 1823 President James Monroe of the United States which, then was only about half the size of the continental US that it is today, and whose frontier had not even reached the shores of Pacific Ocean, announced that America would consider any attempt by Europe to influence the western hemisphere as “dangerous to our peace and safety.”

In 1756 Maratha armada, though not a navy like any European power's, yet effective in keeping foreign forces under check on the west coast of India, was destroyed by British where Colonel Robert Clive was present. It was a disaster of historic proportions. Next year Clive defeated the Nabob of Bengal at the battle of Plassey and Britain's 190 year rule over India commenced. Hundred years later when Indians mutinied, Britain's sea power and Indians' lack of it, kept the supply of troops and state of the art military hardware coming to Indian shores unhindered till the revolt was suppressed. During the 18th century power struggle between France and England, in spite of some brilliant naval victories on the coast of Coromandel, France could not establish an empire in India because according to Mahan, 'the evident failure of her power to act at a distance by sea.'

K. M.-Sardar- Panikkar the diplomat and strategist with prophetic vision, in his scholarly booklet 'India and the Indian Ocean - an essay on the influence of seapower on Indian history,' written two years before independence says: 'It may truly be said that India never lost her independence till she lost the command of the sea in the first decade of the sixteenth century. From this time the future of India has been determined not on the land frontiers, but on the oceanic expanse which washes the three sides of India.' He emphasized 'the future of India will undoubtedly be decided on the sea.' The strategic doctrine of Nehru was based on the

exclusion of great powers within the Indian Ocean. Some analysts have equalled it to Monroe Doctrine. It justified military action to liberate Goa in 1961. In 1967 the UK closed down its naval base at Singapore. Same year it gave independence to Aden. The two places were at the vital choke points of the Indian Ocean, which till then was a 'British lake'. The US and the Soviet Union both immediately moved in. Soviets did not make any permanent base but the US made it on Diego Garcia Island of the Chagos Archipelago leased from the UK. India did nothing to fill up the vacuum.

Author Humphrey Hawksley in his *Asian Waters* has compared Beijing declaring South China Sea its backyard and stating that it will not brook interference from foreign powers, to the Monroe Doctrine.

China claims Paracel Islands, Scarborough Shoal and Spratly Islands of the South China Sea, none of which ever belonged to China and where Philippines, Vietnam and Malaysian fishermen have been fishing for generations. Further, China has been building military infrastructure including aircraft landing strips by filling the shoals. When Philippines challenged China, the decision of the permanent court of arbitration went clearly against China as ultra vires the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea. China ignored the ruling and continued what it was doing.

Hawksley in Chapter 'Where is India's Monroe Doctrine?' in the same book says 'In May 1991 (Tamil) Tigers assassinated Rajiv Gandhi. India's reaction, or the lack of it, told much about its character. It did not pursue the Tiger leader Prabhakaran who had ordered Gandhi's murder. It showed no determination to end the threat to its natural security posed by Sri Lanka and its civil war. All it did was to put in a formal request for Prabhakaran's extradition and tracked down the Tiger foot soldiers in India that carried out the attack. This was not the action of the regional power avenging the murder of its former prime minister on his home soil.

'The war continued until 2009 when China moved in and enabled Sri Lanka to defeat the Tigers. Beijing provided military equipment needed to launch a decisive campaign that cut off the Tigers with many civilians being held as hostages or human shields. With its UN security council seat, Beijing was able to protect Sri Lanka from international condemnation accusing it of war crimes. The war had been a deadweight hanging around Sri Lanka's neck. But now that the govt had won, Sri Lanka could move on and China could come in. It arrived with confidence and panache, and a panoply of loans, infrastructure projects, and new business... Time and again India had an opportunity to stake its ground and failed to do so.' China runs much of the port of Colombo. Even Indian shipping companies prefer Colombo to any Indian port for container transshipment. Chinese nuclear powered submarines docked at Sri Lankan port, ostensibly during their anti piracy

patrol. It does not require an expert to know that for anti-piracy operations a nuclear submarine is not warranted.

Beijing's encirclement of India is all along the Indian Ocean. Chittagong in Bangladesh, Kyaukpyu in Myanmar with an oil pipeline to China, Hambantota in Sri Lanka - South Asia's largest, with a capacity for 33 ships at once, Gadhoo in Maldives, Gwadar in Balochistan, Tamatave in Malagasy, Bagamoyo in Tanzania, Techobanine in Mozambique and Port Lucas in Mauritius are the ports being developed by Chinese assistance. Gwadar with facility for repair and servicing Chinese ships, transportation infrastructure and industrial zones is protected from Baloch insurgency by 15000 Pakistani troops and its navy provides security. Gwadar is connected all the way to Karakorum by the Economic Corridor. Pakistani navy is being prepared to operate a range of modern Chinese sourced or designed submarines, replenishment auxiliaries, fast attack craft and frigates. Djibouti at the choke point of Bab el Mandeb is of great significance as it is a full naval base of China though Americans are also based there for antiterrorism operations. China has about 70 submarines compared to India's 14. Though inferior in quality, more than America's in quantity. As per an article by Rhea Menon in *The Diplomat*, talks were held between China and Thailand to construct a \$ 28B. canal across the Isthmus of Kra, connecting South China Sea with the Andaman Sea thus enabling Chinese ships to bypass the choke points of Singapore and Malacca Straits altogether besides saving distance. The Kra Canal is now a distinct possibility under Belt and Road Initiative. Far more Chinese tourists visit Maldives than Indians today. Panama Canal was American constructed, owned and operated. Today it is run by Hutchison Whampoa, a Hong Kong based company with close ties to Beijing. Why then should anyone raise a murmur in South Asia or Africa?

In an article 'India's Monroe Doctrine is Dead' in *Australian Outlook*, Robert Potter says: "Recently India has adjusted this policy, launching the Raisina Dialogue to mimic China's Shangri-La Dialogue whereby states can have a forum to develop both economic and political ties. The opening of the conference revealed the difficulties India is facing from China, placing them in stark contrast when the President of Sri Lanka called for greater Chinese investment. As such, it is clear that it will be difficult to exclude China even from India's own regional forums."

The Shangri-La Dialogue was conceived by the current International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS) Director-General and Chief Executive Sir John Chipman in 2001. It is not China's as Mr Potter says. It is held at Shangri La hotel in Singapore every year, hence the name.

In a contradictory view, *LiveMint* of March 3, 2018 said 'Raisina Dialogue 2018 was an opportunity for the world to see India's growing

aspirations to play a more proactive role in international relations. India's muscular response to some awkward questions appears to have bolstered this impression. This year's theme was "Managing Disruptive Transitions: Ideas, Institutions and Idioms". The dialogue was inaugurated by Israeli prime minister and attended by representatives from 86 countries, more than last two years.

At the Shangri-la Dialogue in Singapore June 1, 2018 Narendra Modi was invited to deliver the keynote address. He underscored the importance of the Indian Ocean to India, noting that 90 percent of India's trade and energy passes through it. He specifically delineated the boundaries of the Indo-Pacific as seen through Indian eyes: as a space extending "from the shores of Africa to that of the Americas." In this geography—unlike the American geography that bookends the Indo-Pacific with India's west coast and then the U.S. west coast—India sits right in the middle. Modi emphasized India's "Act East" policy of stepped-up activity with the ASEAN region, and highlighted India's work with the Indian Ocean Naval Symposium, and the Indian Ocean Rim Association.

India has taken some action to counter China's 'String of Pearls'. A naval base is being constructed at Assumption Island of Seychelles Group, at the northern entrance of the Mozambique Channel. India managed to prevent Chinese naval bases developed at Chittagong and in Maldives. Some also say India helped Sino-skeptical Maithripala Sirisena to succeed to become Sri Lanka's prime minister who has stopped Chinese submarines docking at Sri Lankan ports. India has won a contract to build 13 ships for Mauritius Coast Guard, one of which is already delivered. According to PTI report of July 14, 2018, quoting Adm. Lanba, 34 warships including an indigenous aircraft carrier are under construction. India has kickstarted process to build six nuclear powered attack submarines. "The Indian Navy is at the threshold of joining a select league of navies capable of providing Submarine Search and Rescue in the Indian Ocean Region with two Deep Submergence Rescue Vessel Systems scheduled for induction next year." An Air Force base on Car Nicobar Island has brought Indian aircrafts several hundred miles closer and within striking distance of the South China Sea. A transshipment hub is also being planned there. A naval base INS Baaz is developed at the southern tip of the Nicobar Islands, at the northern entrance of Malacca Strait, another choke point. India rescued citizens of many countries from war affected Kuwait, Lebanon (Operation Sukoon) and recently from Yemen, winning gratitude of other nations too. In 1988 India answered Maldives' call at short notice to save it from rebels' takeover, an operation known as Cactus. By signing LEMOA (Logistic Exchange Memorandum Agreement) India is able to carry out military exercises with US, Australia and Japan, the Quad,

e.g. Malabar. As per Hawksley, brushing aside China's routinely hawkish Global Times warnings, India sent its air crews and submariners to train the Vietnamese military on their newly acquired Kilo-class submarines and Sukhoi-30 aircraft. As China had encircled India to the west, so had India now become part of the defence cordon around China to the east. India's role in rescuing the Alondra Rainbow from pirates and its deliverance to Japanese owners, also in tsunami relief was internationally acclaimed.

Indian Ocean, the only ocean eponymous to a country, is the least studied of all. Bibliography at the end of any book on Indian Ocean has no more than 3 or 4 names of Indian authors. Therefore, an oceanographic institute established at Goa in 1966, on the pattern of Woods Hole and Scripps, was long overdue. Formerly Indian ships were dependent on British nautical publications even for Indian waters. Now Indian Hydrographic Office publishes charts, sailing directions, tide tables etc for nearly the whole northern Indian Ocean. However, a lot remains to be done. The largest Island in the Indian Ocean - Malagasy (Madagascar) has remained stranger to India though Indian naval ships visited Diego Suarez this year. In fact, there is great scope to India's interaction with entire South East Asia (also known as Greater India) where Indian influence in language, customs, nomenclature, religion, temples is apparent to any visitor immediately.

Indian ethos makes her citizens turn away from the sea. After 26/11 attacks on Mumbai, everyone was talking about police response in the city, but few remembered that Indian Coast Guard should or could have detected and stopped the terrorists 200 miles away, where our Exclusive Economic Zone begins. Admiral Stavridis, former CinC of NATO forces writes 'Connection between Somali piracy and terrorism and Islamic State has come to light.' India's reaction to Somali piracy was too late, too little. India as the regional power should take initiative to form a responsible government in that lawless country before it falls under China's or some radical Islamist regime's influence. According to Encyclopaedia Britannica 1910 edition, Somalia for some time, was ruled over by governor of Bombay. Panikkar has mentioned Island of Socotra at the Horn of Africa was ancient Sukhdhara on India's trade routes and suggested it to be part of a defence 'steel ring' with Mauritius, Ceylon and Singapore around India. Cordial relations with Sri Lanka and Myanmar for defence purposes are of utmost importance. Only 8-9 percent of India's overseas trade in 2015 was carried by Indian ships, which needs to increase to the accepted 40 percent, to ensure self reliance and also save outflow of foreign exchange. A strong Chinese seapower can strangle a weak India's overseas trade, thus stopping its very lifeblood.

Stavridis considers Indian Ocean so important that he advocates a new

US 8th fleet to be stationed there. Calling India an emerging superpower, he recommends strengthening ties with India at all levels, particularly cooperating in maritime realm including sale of AEGIS missile ships and operation of nuclear submarines.

Most western naval strategists consider peaceful and democratic India a better alternative to China as the dominant power in the Indian Ocean, but do not have confidence whether India can or will fulfil even that regional leadership role.

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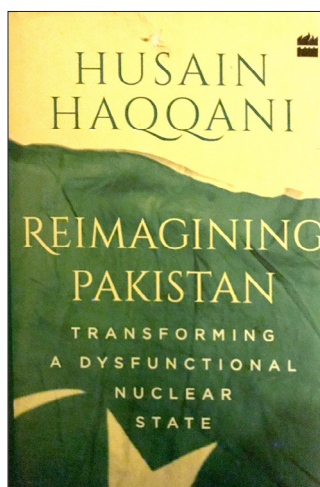
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Milind Paranjpe, ex-Dufferin master mariner, was Vice President in Killick Nixon Ltd. Former editor of 'Command the journal of the Company of Master Mariners of India, he is the author of 'Ramblings of Sea Life' a book of some of his experiences in merchant marine. He is also a prolific contributor to various periodicals, both English and Marathi.





Book Review - 'Reimagining Pakistan
Transforming A Dysfunctional Nuclear State'
By Husain Haqqani

Reviewed by Colonel Bipin D Shinde

Objective analyses cannot ignore the disconcerting highlights of Pakistan's seventy-year history: four full-fledged wars, one alleged genocide, loss of half of country's land area in conflict, secession of majority of the population, several proxy or civil wars, four direct military coups, multiple constitutions, long periods without constitutional rule, frequent religious and sectarian discord, repeated economic failures, numerous political assassinations, unremitting terrorism, continued external dependence and chronic social underdevelopment.

'Reimagining Pakistan-...' is a very well researched, studied, wise, pragmatic analysis and a bold challenge and invitation to Pakistan by none other than one of its own leading dissident public intellectual who is sincerely concerned about his country. The author Husain Haqqani, besides being Pakistan's ambassador to the United States from 2008 to 2011, was an advisor to three prime ministers including Nawaz Sharif and late Benazir Bhutto. He presently lives in exile in the United States, where he is Senior Fellow and Director for South and Central Asia at the Hudson Institute.

The introduction begins with the fact that the few foreigners visit Pakistan.

The unskilled labour in the Middle East , factory labour in Europe and the doctors, engineers , bankers or other professionals in North America-have a reputation for hard work and efficiency. But that does not suffice to alter Pakistan's description around the world as 'dangerous', 'unstable', 'terrorist incubator', 'fragile', and 'the land of the intolerant'.Some have defined Pakistan as a 'Semi-authoritarian state' and a 'national security state'.

The narrative of persecution also runs through the psyche of Pakistan as a whole. Millions of Pakistanis share the patriotic sentiment 'My country, right or wrong' without knowing the full quote by American statesman Carl Schurz, which goes: 'My Country, right or wrong; if right keep it right; and if wrong , to be set right'. Examining the causes of Pakistan's persistent dysfunction, including an inquiry in to its foundational idea, is more important than building a 'positive image' through half-truths. Thus, Husain Haqqani calls it as his effort at compiling historical facts, political realities, and economic veracities that are often denied as part of Pakistan's 'positive' narrative.

A 'Resilient International Migraine'?

If anything, Pakistan has become a country of concern to Americans and the rest of the world, after being an ally for several decades. In no uncertain terms, the author has highlighted the drawbacks/attitudes/negativities/obstinacies of Pakistan that earned the baneful title 'Resilient International Migraine'. The author cites the global imagination that Pakistan is a country chosen by terrorist mastermind Osama bin Laden as his home for last several years of his life.

There is always a gulf between how a nation views itself and how others view it, but Pakistan is unique in terms of the breadth of that gap. It was the former US Secretary of State Madeline Albright who said that 'Pakistan has everything that gives you an international migraine'. This was few weeks after the November 2008 terrorists' attacks in Mumbai.

Faith, Grievance and Special Purpose

Many writers, including Salman Rushdie, have argued that Pakistan was 'insufficiently imagined'. It has a Policy Tripod – religious nationalism, confrontation with India and external dependence. Each element has influenced the other, sometimes in imperceptible ways. Barely seven months after Independence, Bengali leader Suhrawardy, prime minister of undivided Bengal, had warned that the newly founded state might destroy itself by adopting the version of Islam that is not based 'on toleration, equality, brotherhood' by 'establishing in effect a communal state within Pakistan'.

Pakistanis often use the Urdu word 'jazba', variously meaning 'passion, spirit and strong feeling of emotions as a guarantor of Pakistan's success in all fields from the sport of cricket to the economy and warfare. As per Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, loss of half of the country after 1971 break-up of the country did not merit 'reflection', only reassertion of its Divine purpose was needed. From Jinnah to Liaquat Ali to contemporary Pakistani leaders, the belief persists that policy making is secondary to maintaining national pride and morale, as God is somehow looking out for Pakistan.

Choosing a coherent narrative that appeals to supporters, while ignoring the scrutiny of others, has been part of Pakistan's DNA since the demand for its creation was first made. The author categorically states that none of the Muslim League stalwarts, including Jinnah, wrote a book detailing their idea of Pakistan

Ideological Dysfunction

There have been numerous instances of growing religious intolerance and violence in 'a country where blasphemy laws are often misused for revenge or personal gain'. Pakistan's founders had simultaneously offered two visions of Pakistani nationalism. The first as per historian Faisal was 'Muslim Zionism' - a land where the Muslim minority dispersed across a vast subcontinent could escape the majority's persecution. The other vision as described by historian, Venkat Dhulipala, as a 'New Medina- 'the harbinger of Islam's renewal and rise in the twentieth century, the new leader and protector of the global community of Muslims, and a worthy successor to the defunct Turkish Caliphate'

Some leaders advocated secularism. Non-Muslim opposition members and solitary Muslim parliamentarian expressed serious qualms about committing the new state to 'ordering their lives in accordance with the teachings and requirements of Islam'. Thus, Haqqani has brought out the then turmoil in specific details. For its first twenty-five years, Pakistan was an Islamic enterprise run by secular management

Islamist Rage

A national ideology based on a major world religion continues to provide grounds for endless argumentation, given Islam's long history and the diversity among its adherents. Rangeela Rasool, a salacious version of Prophet Muhammad's life stirred controversy that led to Muslim mass-mobilisation. He has opined that a reimagined Pakistan would simply recognize that the individual can be pious, the society can be religious but the state should be non-confessional if it is to be different from what Pakistan has become.

Insecurity and Jihad

As Gen Zia-ul-Haq undertook what he described as 'Islamisation' of Pakistan, The New York Times noted that its advocates saw it 'as essential therapy to resolve a long standing national crisis of identity'. Even the most modern and westernized leaders, ranging from Harvard-educated Benazir Bhutto to self-professed Ataturk fan Parvez Musharraf have failed to stop Pakistan from descending farther into an Islamist quagmire.

According to Haqqani, what sets Pakistan apart is the belief that India has not accepted Pakistan's existence as a nation or state and is constantly conspiring to invalidate its creation. This insecurity has been nourished throughout Pakistan's history, beginning with the country's founding fathers, making it cornerstone of Pakistani nationalism. Nothing illustrates the psychological nature of Pakistan's security than the burning down of a yoga centre in Islamabad few years ago after it was cited by a TV channel as a threat to national security. Even desertification of Pakistan by India has been alleged. The author has summed up by quoting from Daniel Pipes 'The Hidden Hand; Middle East Fears of Conspiracy' that 'Actual conspiracies spur conspiracy theories by simulating real fears'.

The Institution

Haqqani reiterates that to this day, the military remains the final authority on most policy issues in Pakistan and is euphemistically referred to as 'the institution' or 'the establishment'. Pakistan's preoccupation with security may have its roots in the fact that the military was the only full functional institution inherited by the country at the time of founding. Heightened professional expertise may engender interventionist dispositions when civilian governments are performing inadequately. Thus Pakistan has become an entrenched praetorian state. The military's charisma is protected not only by direct propaganda but also by nurturing of a broad military family that include children and grand children of military officers. Sometimes the overwhelming desire of the military to impose a single version of the country's past, present and future involves almost ludicrous methods.

No nuclear-armed nation worries the rest of the world as much as Pakistan.

Warriors, Not Traders

The author very rightly quotes President Calvin Coolidge of US - 'the chief business of the American people is business', the principle preoccupation of Pakistanis is ideology and defending their nation against real and imaginary threats.

Haqqani points out that economist Nadeem Ul Haque and others have

highlighted the shortcomings of the country's 'economic software' – the ability to govern and manage Pakistan's resources. The weakness of the human capital base is both quantitative and qualitative.

Avoiding the March of Folly

To imagine a future for Pakistan different from its past, the author feels that it is important to recognize the various wrong turns taken by its leaders. 'The March of Folly' is written by American historian Barbara w. Tuchman-analyses the phenomenon of government folly and obstinacy. Pakistan has been a victim of all four kinds of misgovernment, as identified by Tuchman as manifesting in history, 'often in combination'. Tyranny or oppression, excessive ambition, incompetence or decadence is the first three kinds. It is the fourth kind, 'folly or perversity'. This fourth kind has been paid more attention citing examples from history – from Trojan's decision to take wooden horse carrying Greek soldiers inside their walled city to America's conduct during Vietnam war. Therefore, the criteria of folly when applied to Pakistan, Husain Haqqani finds it not difficult to understand how its policies over the decades reflect a series of imprudent choices, notwithstanding the availability of viable options.

'We have no alternative' is an argument that has often heard in Pakistan quotes Haqqani. 'Groupthink' is another term used in respect of Pakistan while giving similar experiences in history. Haqqani questions Pakistan's resilience in the face of adverse predictions over the last seven decades whether it means that those seeing it as a fragile or crisis prone are wrong? He has also explained Pakistan's similarities with Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, and feels that their experience can help Pakistan avoid the hazards they succumbed to, making it possible to be imagined differently. Cold war politics and rivalry between the US and Soviet Union has been discussed to highlight Pakistan's folly. Here the author has made reference to 'Political Paranoia: The 'Psychopolitics of Hatred' by American academics Robert s. Robins and Jerrold Post.

The shift from ideological nationalism to functional nationalism – will help change the milieu in which the various extremist and jihadi groups recruit and operate in Pakistan. Pakistan must also overcome its archaic notions of national security. Only by reimagining itself can Pakistan find peace with itself and its neighbours and stop being viewed by the rest of the world as a troubled state, a failing state or a crisis state.

To end its march of folly, Husain Haqqani advocates Pakistan to reassess its core beliefs about religion-based polity, reconsider the notion of permanent conflict with its larger neighbour, recreate political institutions to reflect its ethnic diversity and re-build its economy without reliance on

the largesse of others. He further advises Pakistan to stop resenting India and stake claim to its own share of prosperity. He also suggests that Pakistan could adopt a new course just as Germany and Japan after 1945 and China after 1989. It could begin by allowing discussions of alternative imaginings of Pakistan that are not bound by its narrowly defined ideological parameters. According to Haqqani, Pakistan's excessive focus on survival and resilience – and its direction being set by men trained only to think of security- may have sown the seeds of its myriad problems. Pakistan could continue to survive as it has done so far and defy further negative predictions. But if it does not grow economically sufficiently, integrate globally and remain mired in ideological debates and crises, how would its next seventy decades be any different from the past seventy years?

A must collection in the libraries of universities, politicians, policy makers and bureaucrats alike, defence institutions and individual students of international studies and Pakistan in specific. The notes at the end are very exhaustive, pointing and history relived.

While Harper Collins are the publishers, Haqqani has the copyrights and asserts the moral right to be identified as the author of this book, which has been recently published in India in 2018.



A Veteran from the Army Air Defence,
Col **Bipin D Shinde**,

has a vast experience in staff and field tenures in the Army, DRDO, NCC, along with civil administration as the District Sainik Welfare Officer, Pune. He has been Chief Judge at Book Review Competition for MBA students at SIMS, Pune. He can be reached on **email: bdsshinde@yahoo.co.in**



Historical Dimensions to Defence Technology Development Need for a Transformational Strategy

Dr. V.K. Saraswat

Historical Background

It is a bitter fact that India missed the Industrial Revolution of the 19th Century and remained largely an agrarian economy till independence. As such, at the time of independence, our country had practically no industrial base. The situation in the defense technology sector was characterized by the presence of a few ordnance factories producing goods based on British technology and a few inspection centers assisting them for limited indigenization and product support for the armed forces. Our first Prime Minister Pt Jawaharal Nehru, a visionary realized this situation on the technology front and said post-independence that: "Science alone can solve the problems of hunger, poverty and security."

Pt. Nehru combined his vision of science and technology with the concept of planned development to achieve a socialistic pattern of society. As part of this vision, Independent India embarked on setting up large Public Sector Undertakings (PSUs) in the areas of steel manufacturing, thermal power plants, mineral exploration, oil exploration, defense equipment manufacturing, drugs manufacturing, aviation, shipping, mining and other strategic technology areas in collaboration with friendly countries like Russia. In parallel, the private sector also initiated technology collaboration with foreign companies in different areas like textiles, consumer goods, automobiles, drugs and pharmaceuticals, plants and equipment for chemical

industries, cement plants, mining equipment, etc. The country was in a hurry to catch up with the developed world technologically to meet ever growing domestic requirements. There was no investment in the defense technology sector by private industries. The Ministry of Defense set up new ordnance factories and defense PSU's to meet the requirements of the armed forces in collaboration, as part of the equipment acquisition programme.

By and large all defense PSU's including HAL, BDL, BEL, BEML and the ordnance factories acquired technology know-how as part of licensed production. This situation was not only in the defense sector but also prevailed in energy, aviation, oil and chemicals, mining, etc. Our planners had assumed that these PSU's will turn into centers of technology excellence and will start innovating new products and technologies. This did not happen, because we were completely dependent on collaboration, for strategic technology inputs like materials, forgings, castings, special manufacturing processes and even critical machines and test equipment. No design know-why was ever given by any collaborator. While this developed the capability to manufacture defense equipment like guns, ships, aircraft, missiles, radars, etc., but did not give us the capability of designing and developing and innovating any new equipment indigenously.

As a result, both in the public and private sectors, we continued to look for foreign technology for every new product. While India today has vast manufacturing infrastructure for specific products, it lacks a basic technology base in contemporary materials, sensors, electronics, composites, machine tools, functional materials, avionics, propulsion systems, micro electronics, micro machining, automated manufacturing, software development and now the emerging areas of nano technology, photonics and digital manufacturing. The list is fairly large and ever increasing. Certainly, we have acquired few benefits by licensed production, but remained a technology follower.

In parallel, when the PSU/OF built up was on, the vision of Pt Nehru also gave birth to three strategic departments, viz., Atomic Energy, Space and Defense R&D under the leadership of Homi Bhabha, Vikram Sarabhai and Dr. Kothari respectively. CSIR was also set up under the leadership of Dr. S.S. Bhatnagar. With a humble beginning of 10 labs in 1958, DRDO started working on the development of various technologies for our armed forces, and today have grown into an organization with over 50 labs engaged in a wide variety of technology disciplines ranging from aeronautics and naval systems to materials and life sciences, as also from soldier selection and protection to sophisticated ballistic missile defense, strategic missiles and armaments.

Defense Research and Development

The first two decades, i.e. the 60s and 70s saw the development of defense technologies for various sub-systems and components. Focus shifted to the development of major systems/platforms like missiles, aircrafts tanks, electronic warfare systems and sonars in the 80s and 90s in mission mode with concurrent engineering and concurrency of development and production. These programmes helped in the development of critical technologies for solid propulsion, liquid propulsion, inertial navigation, electro-hydraulic control systems, embedded on-board computers, strategic materials like maraging steel, titanium, carbon composites, Ni-based super alloys, magnesium alloys, IR seekers, command guidance system, ramjet propulsion, phased array radars, ceramic/composite radomes, armoured materials, high energy propellants, explosives, conventional warheads, mobile launchers, under-water launch capabilities, EW systems, sonars, etc.

In the last 50 years of its existence, DRDO has developed the following major systems:

Missiles: PRITHVI, DHANUSH, AKASH, AGNI-1, AGNI-2, AGNI-3, AGNI4, AGNI-5, B05, PRAHAR, BMD Systems.

Aeronautics: The development of the Light Combat Aircraft for the Airforce and Navy is in an advanced stage of induction and production at HAL. Development and production of unmanned aerial vehicles, viz., Nishant, Lakshya, Rustom-I, Mini UAVs have been carried out.

Armoured Vehicles and Engineering Equipment: Development and production of the MBT Arjun is a major technology breakthrough leading now to the development of MBT Mk-II and later

FMBT. It may be noted that MBT Arjun is superior to the T-90, a Russian tank presently with the Indian Army, in many aspects. Bridging equipment, viz., sarvatra and dossers, anti-mining equipment have been developed and delivered. The list is fairly long which includes NBC equipment, naval systems like torpedoes, life support systems, warheads, granades, armoured materials, special steels for ships, carbon composites for missiles, parachutes, aerostats, laser dazzlers, chemical detection sensors, NBC protection gear, camouflage nets, etc.

Radars: Indra, Rajendra, Weapon Locating Radars, 3D-Surveillance Radars, Rohini, Revathi, Long Range Tracking Radar (LRTR), Multi-Functional Radar (MFCR), Battlefield Surveillance Radar (BFSR) have been developed and are being produced by BEL. In this area, DRDO turned a

corner technologically by developing Electronically Scanning Active Phased Array Radars. The degree of self-sufficiency is evident both in DRDO and BEL – a close partner in the development and production of radars. Major programmes are underway to develop missile guidance radars for LRSAM/MRSAM and multimode radars for LCA, and maritime patrol airborne radar.

Electronic Warfare: Major programmes like Samyukta, Sangraha, Divyadrishiti have enabled technology and product development in all segments of EW mainly commint, elint, ESM. Covering ECM and ECCM features airborne and shipborne systems have been developed by DRDO and produced by BEL to meet significant requirements of the Airforce and Navy. Migration increasingly to the digital domain and better accuracy of direction finding and radar fingerprinting is in progress.

Sonars: Major technologies and products developed and delivered in this area are hull mounted sonars, towed array sonars, dunking sonars, anti-torpedo systems. The list is quite impressive, particularly keeping in mind that the country did not possess any industrial base.

As part of the programme's concurrency approach, the production infrastructure at BDL, BEL, HAL, BEML and many ordnance factories was augmented. In fact, in collaboration with ISRO, the DRDO setup an aerospace division at HAL Bengaluru for production of PRITHVI airframe and engine and PSLV. The production technology was upgraded to include CNC machines, automatic welding, magnesium casting, vaccum brazing, HIP, CIP, flow forming, investment casting and powder metallurgy products in special heavy alloys like Tungsten.

Special emphasis was placed on involving private industries in the development and production with a policy decision that all development partners would have a major share of production orders on a preferential basis with cost control exercised and monitored by a government appointed Expert Committee. This resulted in the growth of more than 40-50 industries across the country by eventually developing into B2P (Built to Print)/B2D (Built to Design) partners for future defense programmes (refer Figure 1).

The biggest gain of these programmes has been the development of the country's capability to combat Missile Technology Control Regimes

(MTCR) imposed by the developed countries in the late 80s and reinforced in 1998 after the second nuclear test. With the participation of Indian academia, industries and public and private and national laboratories including CSIR labs, the country could develop and produce servo valves, actuators, dry tuned gyros, accelerometers, magnesium castings including

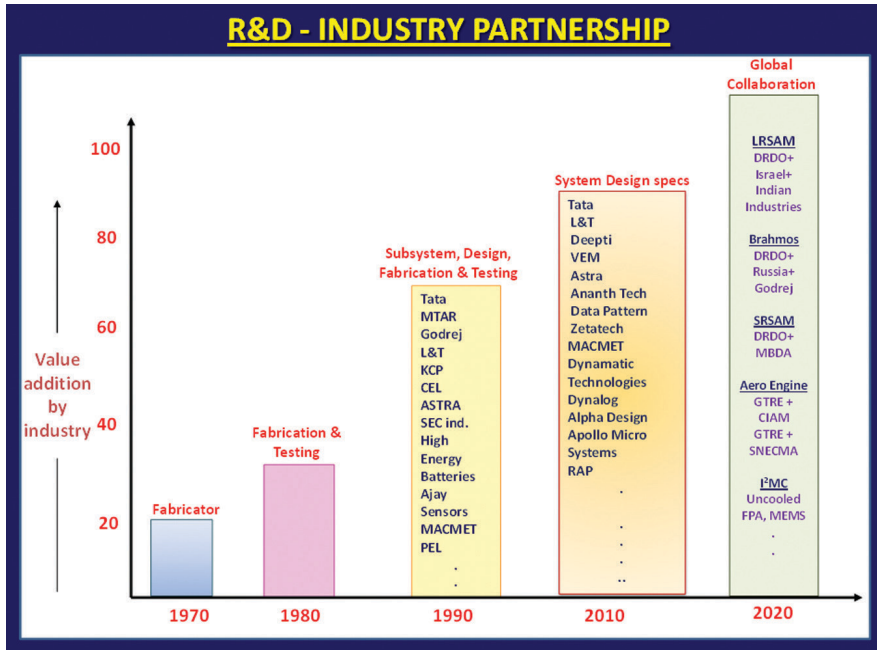


Figure 1

alloys, precision sensors and military certified electronics systems. In fact, while the impact of MTCR was felt in the form of delays in programmes, but the ultimate gain was in terms of self-reliance in some of the critical technologies.

The total value of DRDO products under production at Defence PSUs, ordnance factories in the last 5-7 years is more than 1,65,000 crores – a significant value.

What is the Problem then?

Despite these types of gains in the last 50 years and bringing the Self-Reliance Index to more than 45 percent, the fact remains that India is importing most of the equipment, weapons and critical technologies to meet its defense needs. What is the reason? Many experts have tried to analyse the problem and generally blamed the DRDO for taking too much time in development and also working in isolation of the armed forces.

To understand the issue in a correct perspective, the historical dimension discussed earlier is the key factor for our slow progress as a nation. Developing missiles of different types, light combat aircraft, MBT Arjun, EW system, sonars, Kaveri engine, aerostat, radars, torpedoes, special materials, NBC equipment, engineering Equipment, etc., in 25 years with

a limited infrastructure industrial base, little support from academia, no development culture in industry, limited funding and of course varying requirements of users and the kind of disconnect between DRDO and production agencies, technology control regimes and competition with multinational companies supplying weapons/equipment to armed forces compares well with the development time of 17-20 years taken by the US in developing joint strike aircraft, BMD system and many other equipments, inspite of having a well developed industrial and R&D base in the country and the definitive policy of the US Govt to not import weapons/equipment for defence. However, there are weaknesses in the system as described in the following section:

Valley of Death Syndrome

Many of our programmes have suffered from the Valley of Death Syndrome where basic research has not lead to applied research/innovation and proto-type development has not reached the market due to: Disconnect between universities/academic institutions and national labs/industries

Disconnect between national labs developing sub-systems/ systems/ platforms and the production agencies/industries Time and financial resources not factored in the project/ programme plans

This problem of transition has been identified by the US Congressman Ehler as the Valley of Death. The main reason in the Indian context is the lack of productionisation capability in industry because it has been trained for years for licensed production. Concepts like design for production, value engineering, digital manufacturing and system engineering are not followed judiciously by designers, and industries have no experience of introducing them resulting in poor quality and not very cost effective products produced at very low prices of production thereby not meeting the requirements of the market. In our transformation strategy we need to factor in these aspects.

Design Capability – An Achilles Heal

It has been acknowledged by all that our country does not possess

“DESIGN” capabilities in practically all spheres, mainly because of the environment of licensed production in the private and public industries.

In addition, the university/academic curriculum also has not paid enough attention on building design know-how and know-why among our engineers. This deficiency is evident during development of practically all platforms, viz., ships, submarines, aircraft, armoured vehicles and many armament and electronic systems, auxiliary systems like propulsion systems, machine tools, test equipment, measurement systems, etc. In addition, there

are basic technology problems in the area of materials, sensors, electronic components, functional materials, etc., acting as major stumbling blocks in the development of indigenous systems.

Transformation Strategy

- Special Features of Defense Systems
- In order to work out a strategy for future technology development, it is essential to understand the peculiarities of defense systems. Aerospace and defense systems are characterized by:
- Complex designs and long project cycles
- Large R&D investments
- Large investments in manufacturing and test equipment
- Special materials of unique specifications
- Requires advanced manufacturing techniques
- Physical sizes ranging from micro meters to meters
- Small batch size for production – in many cases like ships, etc., one off
- Quick technology obsolescence Diverse multi-disciplinary technologies Intensive technical, quality and safety requirements Stringent regulatory environment
- Poor supply chain management Poor linkage of R&D and production especially in the Indian context High emphasis on long product life requiring very efficient Product support systems.

Emerging Eco-System

Over the last twenty years there has been a significant change in the echo system of our country to take on ambitious large size highly technology intensive programmes. The emerging echo system is characterized by:

India has gained extensively through various projects

- Core technology base has been established within the country
- Enhanced industrial capability
- Increased role of industry
- Increased awareness and exposure to modern technologies of new scientists
- Vibrant industrial growth
- Changed perspective of government in terms of priority
- Buy and make Indian plus presence of off-set clause as opportunity
- Technology denial regimes becoming irrelevant
- New strategic relationships are emerging globally
- Focus on greater accountability
- Higher expectation and confidence of users
- Globalisation and global markets

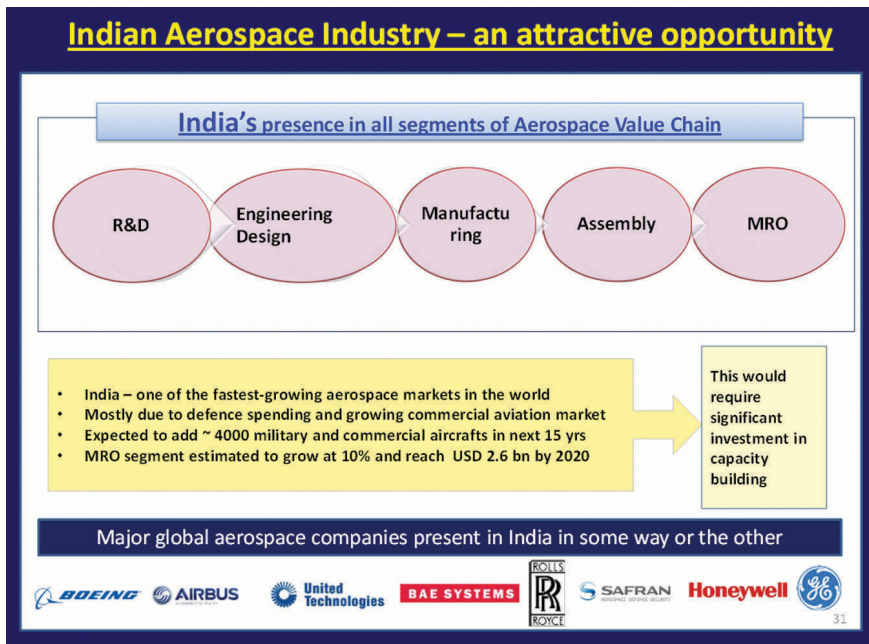


Figure 2

Indigenous R&D developing high performance, cost-effective products with efficient product life cycle support and technology obsolescence management Indian industry getting not only know-how, but know-why due to indigenous R&D and also change in philosophies from licensed production to joint ventures like Brahmos, LRSAM, FGFA, etc.

These characteristics also need to be factored in while evolving strategies. *Changing Face of Indian Aerospace and Defence*

India is present in all segments of the aerospace and defence value chain which is:

- Research and development
- Engineering design
- Manufacturing
- Assembly
- MRO design

India is one of the fastest growing aerospace markets in the world mostly due to high defense spending and a growing aviation market. It is expected that approximately 4,000 military and civil aircraft will be inducted in

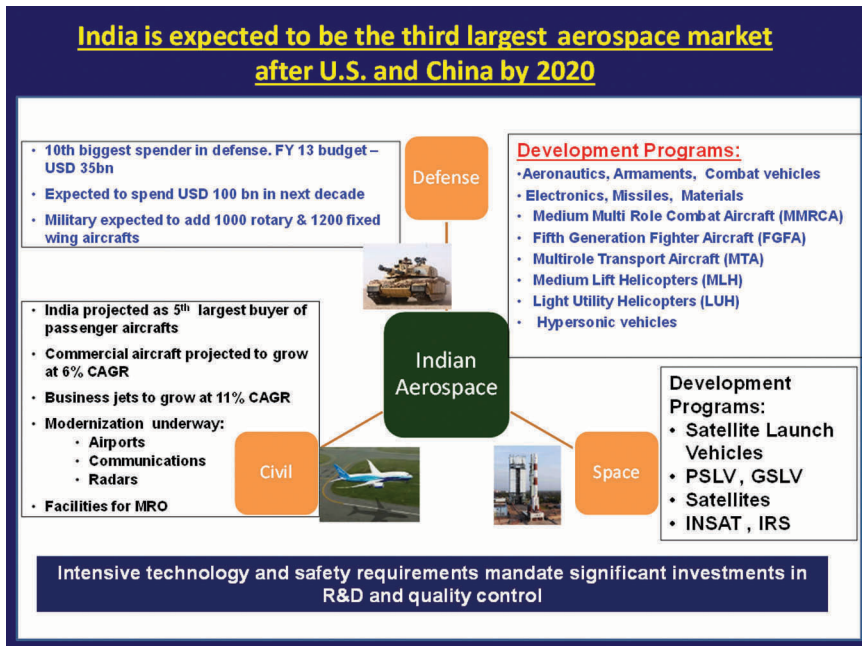


Figure 3

the next 15 years. This would require significant investments in capacity building. We also have presence of global aerospace and defense companies, viz., Boeing, Airbus, BAE Systems, Safran, Honeywell, GE, Raytheon, Rolls Royce, etc.

India has major development and production programmes in aeronautics, armaments, combat vehicles, electronics, missiles, materials and some of the sanctioned programmes are medium multi-role combat aircraft MMRCA, fifth generation fighter aircraft FGFA, multi-role transport aircraft MT, medium lift helicopters, light utility helicopters, LCA, LCA (Navy), 155 × 52 calibre guns, BMD systems, airborne EW systems, radars, FMBT, long span bridging equipment, satellite based EW and communication, strategic submarines and other naval platforms, NBC equipment, LRSAM, MRSAM, ATM, etc.

With these programmes, India is expected to be the third largest Aerospace and Defense Market after US and China by 2020/2025.

Proposed Strategy

In the light of the changing face of the Indian aerospace and defense

segment, along with the unique technological and market features of defense equipment, a multi-layered strategy is proposed to meet immediate requirements of the user/market and to build a strong technology base.

Procure, import and acquire weapons and equipment required by our services for immediate use (within the next seven years) with certain modified procurement policies and provisions of off-sets. The off-set obligations to be identified from core technology areas. If there is a requirement to manufacture the item in India, then the same to be organized/contracted with adequate provisions of production of more than 50 per cent of Class “A” items and total system integration to be carried out by Indian industry. It should be ensured that the country should have the IP to produce the required numbers without any reference to OEM and carryout modifications to cater for technology obsolescence and user driven operational requirements. R&D institutions of the country should be involved in this process to ensure absorption of know-how and know-why along with the identified production agencies presenting a unified approach to the foreign collaborator. A joint venture arrangement should be preferred over lopsided licensed production arrangements. The offset clause should be leveraged upfront to get the required technologies, production and testing infrastructure and even training in high end design and manufacturing processes.

Today, it is a global market with fluctuating world economies. Also Asia is the only geographical segment with high growth of the defense market. Since domestic consumption of defense equipment in Europe is limited and the US/Russia largely meet their requirements from domestic R&D and production, large numbers of established defense and aerospace companies are facing a severe market crunch leading to near closure of these industries. It's an opportunity for our country. The way our industry giants like TATA's/Mittal's/Mahindra's, etc., have acquired companies in coal, energy, steel and oil sector the same approach should be encouraged in defense and aerospace. Our country should mount a strong programme in collaboration with Indian industry giants, or otherwise, to acquire lock stock and barrel (design, development, manufacturing and testing facilities including captive trained manpower) from these firms and accelerate the process of bridging the ever increasing technology gap. We need to evolve a policy frame work in this regard to incentivize and facilitate the acquisition process.

This is the requirement demanding all out efforts to develop indigenous technologies and produce state-of-art weapon systems and equipment leveraging the gains of Level 1 and 2 and working with all stake holders in the country. Towards this one has to –

“Establish, build, evolve, inter-connect and integrate multiple institutions

as national base for development of advanced technologies. It will be a dynamic and vibrant process spread across the entire nation encompassing academic institutions, universities, R&D organisations, national laboratories, industries both in the public and private sectors and govt departments, defense services spin-off and dual use commodity markets.”

This layer needs detailing. The implementation strategy would involve the following steps: Build and develop requisite infrastructure to support and sustain new technology development processes, viz., setting up foundries for μ -electronics, photonics, FPA, high power microwave systems, test and evaluation infrastructure for aero-engines and its subsystems, tank engines, propulsion for ships and submarines, advanced manufacturing centres for lean, mean and green manufacturing, composite and ceramic manufacturing, etc.

Develop new policy framework to link and connect multiple agencies in a seamless manner and cater for failures in the development process.

Build systems/organizations to develop and produce products with lower time cycles utilizing the funds effectively.

Implementation Strategy

Eco-System

The first step for implementation would be to create an eco-system to facilitate accelerated growth of technologies in a synergistic manner. The eco-system should have the following features:

- Favourable and fair rules of the game establisher
- Funds and incentives to industries for R&D strategies
- A climate that rewards risk taking and tolerates failures
- An open business environment
- A decent quality of life
- A specialist business infrastructure that understands and is supportive of entrepreneurship Universities and R&D institutions that are incentivized and want to interact systematically with business.

Global Trends in Advanced Manufacturing of Aerospace and Defense Systems: Over the years, the framework for development and manufacturing has undergone drastic changes due to growth in technologies, particularly the convergence of bio-nano and IT technologies and ICT forming the binding layer for efficient design to the manufacturing cycle including future requirements of sustainability and sustainable engineering.

Obviously this change will have to be factored in our strategy for future

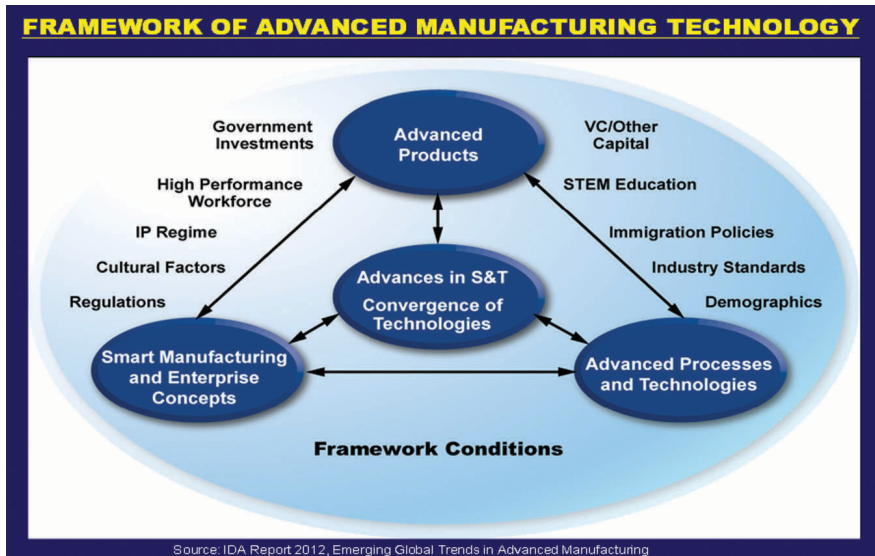


Figure 4

development and manufacturing (refer Figure 4).

As discussed earlier, advanced products are characterized by complex technologies, use of new materials and sophisticated and innovative designs. Advanced manufacturing consists of know-how and know-why of production with focus on advanced processes and technologies.

Smart manufacturing enterprise goes beyond the factory floor. Paradigms of “Manufacturing as Eco-System” have emerged. Smart enterprise creates and uses data and information throughout the product life cycle. It creates flexible manufacturing processes to cater to the changes in demand at low cost without damage to the environment. Products are designed to facilitate efficient production and recyclability.

All this is done with a strong R&D base in physics, chemistry, materials science and biology and their convergence associated with excellent capability in modeling and prediction with state-of-art computing power.

Upgradation of Production/Manufacturing Technologies in Indian Industry (Public/Private)

In order to compete globally in terms of quality and cost, it is essential to upgrade the manufacturing technologies of our industries. If we take a dispassionate view of our manufacturing base, it will be seen that we have not kept pace in this field also due to the licensed production culture prevailing

in industry by bringing in obsolete technology, machines and manufacturing processes. In fact, this fact surfaced quite clearly during the production of the LCA at HAL. Even in the area of machine tools the technology has to be imported because as of today after the closure of the HMT machine tools factory, other than CMTI, there is no institution engaged in development of new machines for future production frame work in line with global trends. India needs to induct the following manufacturing technologies/machines in the next decade at a very fast pace to meet the requirements of aerospace and defence programmes at hand.

List of Machines

- Water jet machining
- Hexapod machining
- Multi tasking machines
- Role extrusion for missile cases
- Single crystal based super alloys for gas turbines engines (BLISK)
- Integral fuselage design and manufacture (welded structures) –
• extrusions, laser beam welding, friction stir welding
- Near net shape manufacturing
- Advanced aluminum alloys and fabrication technologies for space transportation systems – near net extrusion
- Roll forging - cryogenic tanks
- Shear forging - adaptor rings
- Spin forming - tank domes
- Friction stir welding - internally stiffened extrusions
- High voltage electron beam welding
- Reactive material Ti-6Al-4V alloy
- Multiple tier welding, multi-thickness welding
- Friction stir welding
- Laser consolidation processing
- Laser engineered net shaping
- Vacuum plasma sprays
- Photo chemical machining

Future Technology Roadmap

With the emerging threat perceptions of conventional and asymmetric warfare and galloping technology growth influencing the Revolution in Military Affairs (RMA) and changing doctrines, it is essential that India should look at its plans and practices for development of future technologies, weapon systems and equipment.

India has to adopt a two pronged strategy as there are two dimensions

to Science & Technology – one basic science and scientific research and the other is futuristic technology development. We need to have continued growth in both these fields. The broad areas of focus should be:

Unmanned technologies for air, land and water – including autonomous navigation, intelligent decision making capability. Stealth and anti-stealth technologies including multi-spectral materials and multi-static radars to combat stealth. Under-water communication for naval application, blue green laser for communication, VLF, ELF, software defined radios, cognitive radios with security layers. Hypersonic technologies including materials, aerodynamics and propulsion. New computing technologies, viz., quantum computing, photonic and si-molecular computing which is likely to change the shape of computing in future. Special functional materials like gallium nitride, indium phosphide, silicon carbide, germanium vanadium oxide, etc.

High power microwave devices

Advance mathematics, statistics and computing technologies for cyber security, viz., cryptography and cryptanalysis, automatic target recognition, decision support systems, artificial intelligence speech recognition and multi-spectral image processing.

Network centric operation technologies and adaptive networks

Special Materials and manufacturing processes like single crystal blades with super alloys/inter-metallic compounds, cooled blades, functionally graded composites, carbon-metal composites, carbon-carbon carbon-Si composites for rocket engines, gas turbine engines and scramjet engines.

Directed energy weapon technologies with focus on high power lasers, high power microwaves with attendant technologies which call for high tech electronics including adaptive optics and beam steering, etc.

Space based systems: Space security is going to be the main concern in the future. Hence, it is essential to build competence in critical technologies, viz., reusable entry vehicle technology, space based ELINT, satellite based EW technologies, space denial technologies, low cost satellite launch systems, anti-satellite systems, etc.

Cyber security: Technology for cyber forensic network hardware with secured layers, robust and trusted computing platforms, communication elements like routers, switches, critical criteria testing systems, crypt analysis tools, next generation encryption algorithms development, malware detection and mitigation.

This would require a technology development strategy with active participation of academic institutions, industries, national laboratories and enhanced funding by government for setting up critical infrastructure for

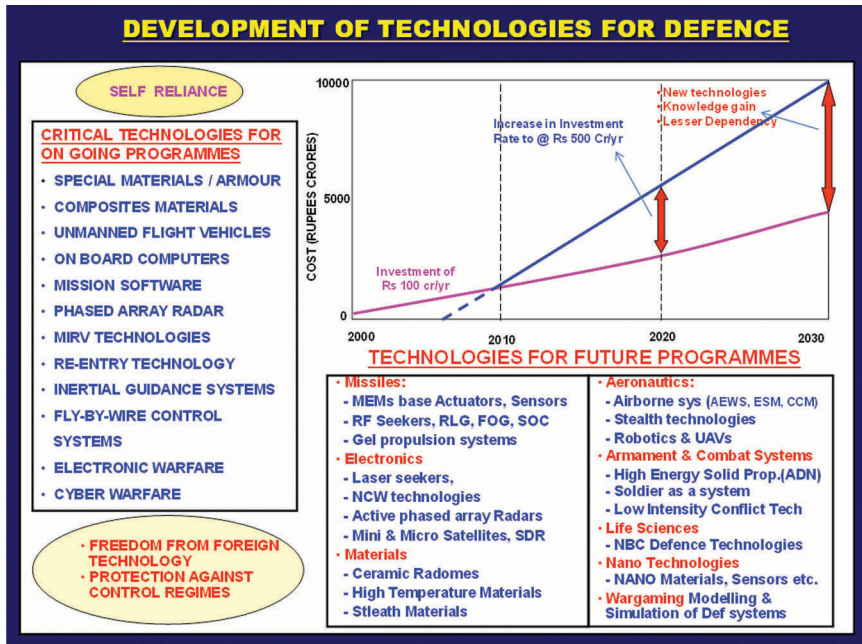


Figure 5

development. Investments to the tune of ` 500 cr/year would be needed in a focused manner for technology development. One time investments in setting up foundries for nano technology, photonics and next generation of micro-electronics, focal plume arrays, quantum well detectors, etc., It may be noted that without adequate investments and synergy among all stake holders, developing these technologies would remain wishful thinking and the technology gap will continue to increase. All technology development programmes should bring the technology to a maturity level of TRL 3-4 so that product development can take off without any hiccups. This would require an effective mentoring and review mechanism at different layers of development, to ensure directed basic research and development without losing focus and avoiding operation in silos which have been a major negative factor in the past.

Research and Development as a Centre for Enhancing Industry Base

As brought out in earlier paragraphs advancement of indigenous technologies in missiles, radars, EW systems, UAVs, electronics, space, strategic systems and engineering equipment and associate growth of the

industry base in both the private and public sectors have taken place due to directed and focused mission mode programmes taken up by our country. It is strongly felt that R&D should continue to take leadership in this area and incorporate the following features for higher rates of progress and improved R&D culture and investments by industry.

(i) Projects and programmes should involve industry during technology and product development for

- Built to Print (B2P)
- Built to Development (B2D)
- Built to Requirement (B2R)
- System Integration

Choices in this respect have to be based on capability and capacity of industry. Efforts should be made to continuously upgrade industry partners from component manufacturers to system integrators through strong hand holding during the process of development.

The relationship should transform from vendor to project partner wherein success and failures are jointly shared and accounted for. This would require transformed contracting procedures with empowered committees/teams for review and mentoring the process of shared development and also maintaining the required level of accountability.

- (ii) R&D should plan strong technology transfers in concurrent mode ensuring that know-how and know-why are transferred and absorbed by production partners. ICT should be extensively used along with modern tools for managing design, development, production and product support using ERP, PLM, etc.
- (iii) R&D should earmark certain funds for investing in production centers for upgrading the production processes and support productionisation including risk management and redundancies due to concurrency of development and production.
- (iv) R & D should be allowed to invest in production infrastructure in private industries also. It is essential that a policy and investment mode, taking into account transparency, accountability and continued support by industry throughout the life cycle of the product and maintaining the quality of the product at mutually and scientifically arrived costs should be evolved
- (v) Defense and aerospace systems require extremely complex and costly test and certification infrastructure. Loading this investment on industry partners would not be a cost effective solution. To overcome this problem, a cluster of industries should float a holding company

with share holding of each partner and this holding company should set up common facilities for usage by all, on payment basis. Alternatively, facilities available in R&D centers, defense public sector units/OFs be made available to all industry partners.

(vi) For long term association, it is proposed that R&D and industry should set up joint ventures to promote technology development, product development and production. JV partners to be chosen based on technology capability, financial strength, long term aims, objectives and business plans of the industry partners. Issues of IP and other legal aspects should be addressed by professionals on a mutually agreed basis, with the sole aim of enhancing the technology strength of the nation for global competition and growth of the economy.

Synergy between Innovation and Design

In order to overcome the problem of design capability, we have to follow the 21st century, innovation paradigm enunciated by MIT, US. This would require universities/academic institutions to be research intensive, utilizing technology and design centric pedagogy in their educational approach.

Since, the paradigm shift in the university scenario is a long term solution, it is proposed that the country should establish national design houses in the areas of:

Aeronautics including general systems of aircraft (manned/ unmanned)

Propulsion (rockets, gas turbines, ramjet/scramjet, PDE, air independent propulsion, IC engines for automobiles, electric propulsion, etc.)

Advanced materials and composites

Long range radars, avionics and control elements

Also to promote the growth of the next generation of manufacturing processes linked with the design of future generation of systems, we need to establish national centers of excellence in the following disciplines:

Advanced manufacturing research centre

National composite centre

Nano-technology centre with emphasis on convergence of nanobio-ICT – photonics

The vision of these centers should be to develop next generation technologies and automated machine tools for digital manufacturing and sustainable engineering. These centres should feed industry, small and medium, with the design of new machines and manufacturing processes.

Constitution of DARPA Type Institute in INDIA

Acquisition of advanced technologies which are revolutionary in nature,

with high potential to give strategic advantage and with high risk in their development may not be taken up under normal methods of development. It is necessary to create an organization with special powers to undertake development of such breakthrough technologies by engagement and promotion of multiple sources. DARPA like organization will conceptualize such technologies and leverage the available capabilities in the country, or create the same through innovative approaches for their full scale development. This approach will accelerate the process of bridging the technology gap.

Management of Defense and Aerospace Equipment Development Programmes

Experience has shown that many of our programmes do not yield good results due to poor planning and execution. While it is an extremely complex topic involving many facets of programme management, a few important steps are proposed for incorporation in the programme planning process. All programmes to have:

Integrated design and manufacturing

System engineering approach

Ultra low cost tooling, reconfigurable and adaptive

Focus on processing of advanced materials (ceramics/composites)

Through life digital engineering

- Design for X (manufacture sustainability cost and reliability)
- Supply chain planning and execution
- Strong simulation and modeling Metrology
- Product life cycle evaluation
- Computer aided manufacturing

Defence Production Policy (DPP)

Off-Set Policies

Government policies in awarding weapon system acquisition contracts go with offset policies. As Indian industry starts working in globally competing markets, suitable policies may be formulated to get technology based offsets rather than on generic fabrication based offsets. This way there is the possibility of acquiring “high end” technologies through the offset policy. In some cases, policies should be modified to accept vendors at L2 or L3 costs, if the vendors are willing to deliver advanced technologies along with products. Technology experts should be involved in a big-way in finalizing the off-sets.

Investments by Industry in R&D and PPP Working

Post 1991 liberalization policies, Indian industry is in direct contact with global markets and competitive conditions. Industry is expected to compete to survive. This requirement can be met only through in-house R&D, innovating advancements of technologies, new products, new processes and new ways of formulating complex systems. Industries should make investments in R&D to progress technology-wise and product-wise developments in order to compete and supply advanced systems to defense. Indian industry is capable of evolving R&D processes and the government can provide the necessary incentives for the same through tax concessions, etc.

Government to formulate policy guidelines for –

- (a) Classification of industry based on technology or discipline
- (b) Formation of PPPs for performance to deliver systems

Models for PPP

It is proposed that the following approaches may be tried out:

- Royalty model (outright sell off of mature technologies)
- Total risk-revenue partnership sharing model (partnership from the stage of conceptualization)
- Partial risk-revenue sharing partnership model (partnership from certain level of maturity)

Government Owned Corporate Operated (GOCO) Model

As discussed in earlier paragraphs, defence equipment is low volume

– high tech and high cost items. As such, industries do not find it a profitable venture to start development and production. Investments for setting up such a production system are high, returns are not assured and low. In such cases, it is proposed that government/R&D labs should set up facilities for production of such systems and ask industry to operate them. This approach has the following benefits:

Minimizes additional investments

(a major concern of the corporate sector for fluctuating loads)

Efficient management of facilities and increased productivity

Enhanced assets performance

Micro Financing in Industry

Another approach to tackle this problem would be to promote micro finance in sensitive and strategic areas, particularly in industries which have basic infrastructure and the same requires upgradation technologically and

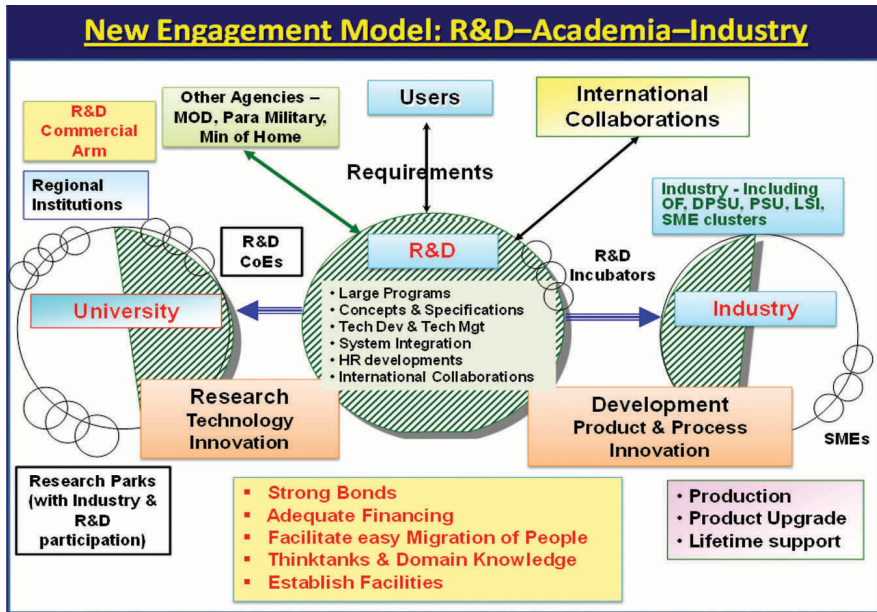


Figure 6

augmentation for increased rates of production. This approach is essential to achieve sustainability in supplies to the armed forces. Modes of micro financing to private industry could be:

- Micro financing by government
- Micro financing by private institutions
- Availability of subsidized loans
- Operation of facilities on GOCO basis

New Engagement Model: R&D–Academia–Industry

Figure 6 provides a model for engaging industries and academic institutions in development of technologies from TRL-1 to 9. However, a cluster approach is proposed, wherein around major regional universities/academic institutions one needs to create clusters of SMEs or research parks with participation of industry and R&D. This initiative has recently been taken by DRDO at IIT (Chennai) Research Park to facilitate R&D and technology development with participation of regional industries (SMEs generally) and regional academic institutions. While R&D labs will have major stake holding in this venture, the collaboration with SMEs will be extremely useful to annul the stigma that “universities can develop but

they do not deliver". This approach will also be used to set up centers of excellence with focus on research and technology innovation. It is expected that technologies upto TRL-4 may be attempted through this arrangement.

R&D centers will collaborate with medium and large industry partners for incubation of R&D culture in such industries through development programmes requiring product development and process innovation. The industry canvass will cover public, private and ordnance factories and SME clusters, all part of a level playing field based on technological capabilities rather than merely on the cost factor. R&D will encourage international collaboration to bridge the technology gap and also facilitate international collaboration in a tripartite mode with Indian industry partners.

Users which include armed forces, para-military forces, home-land security forces, etc., would interact with R&D centers for coordinating technology development based on their requirements. This does not mean that users may not directly interact with industry. However, this direct interaction would require a strong technology, knowledge base and programme management to oversee these interactions at service headquarters. Even the R&D centres would have to enlarge their interaction mechanisms multifold, to handle the ever growing demand from users. Many R&D centres should set up commercial arms to handle the productionisation, marketing and product support, the tail end activities of product life cycle management.

Users will have to accept the spiral development philosophy to facilitate growth of indigenous technologies and increase self-reliance. R&D and industry, then, will have the motivation to deliver Mk-I in the required time frame and develop Mk-II without waiting for repeated discussions and contracting delays. The world over spiral development in high technology areas has been practiced with excellent results.

Finally, this model would require strong bonds among the three stake holders through share of funding in an appropriate manner. Shared funding would ensure commitment to indigenous development. Together they should rise or fall. This approach also demands easy and purposeful migration of scientists, service officers, engineers, technicians, professors and students from one centre to the other. This will harmonise the process of development and the impermeable walls existing between institutions would become porous for easy flow of knowledge and ideas, and efficient utilization of costly facilities.

Engineers/scientists/technicians from R&D labs and industry should be deputed to operational units, workshops, repair centers of services for understanding the nuances of technology solutions and features required by services for user and environment friendly and maintenance free equipment

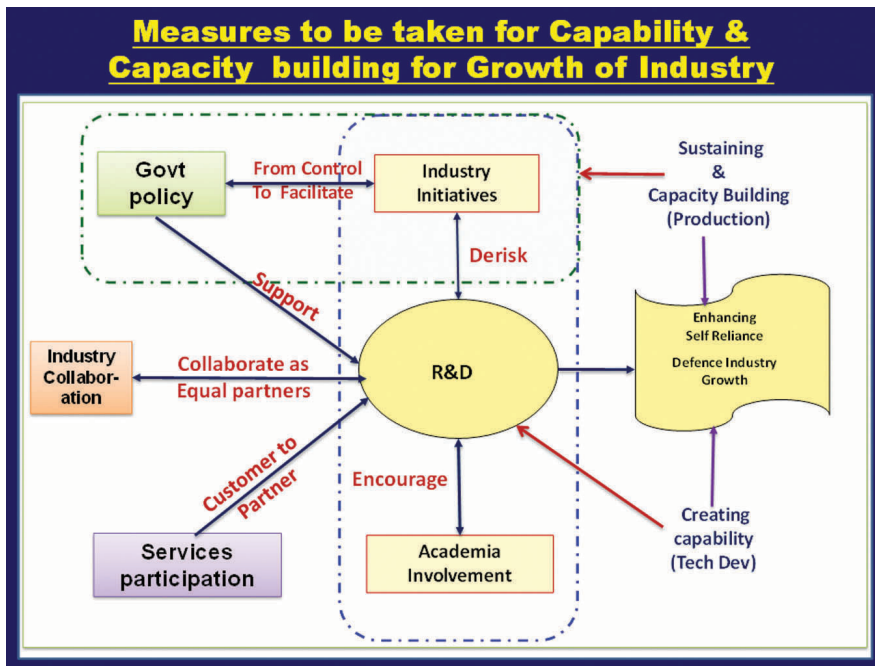


Figure 7

for effectively performing the task at hand.

This proposal should be backed by resolution of all issues concerning IP, contracting risk/redundancy management and cost sharing upfront, to reduce delays in implementation in an autonomous manner.

Measures to be Taken by All Stakeholders Including Government to Improve the Eco-System

Figure 7 provides the steps to be taken for improving the eco-system for building capability and capacity building for the growth of the aerospace and defense industry in the country. Government should facilitate industry initiatives rather than controlling them. Industries should function in an autonomous mode. It should support R&D initiatives in all R&D centers whether they are in the public domain or private sector with the bottom line that failures are part of the development process and these should be accepted as much as successes.

Large R&D centers should do handholding of industry as collaborators and derisk their efforts through technology backups, mentoring, analysis of failures, review of designs/development programmes, making costly test

facilities available to industry and finally entering into contracts on a cost-plus basis for development. However, this would require that the accounting/costing system of all industries be made transparent and a committee with the participation of CAG appointed auditor/IFA/addl. FA should oversee the details of man-hour costs, logging system in industry and profit margins, etc. This would go a long way in solving the problem of enormous delays in contracting and one can follow, L1, T1 route rather than L1 alone.

R&D centers should encourage academic involvement and be equal partners in research programmes, rather than reviewing them once in a while and waiting for results without any commitment.

User services should be considered as partners rather than customers. Commitment of the user for the success of the programme should be unhindered and without any conditions. It should be kept in mind that self-reliance in defense equipment is the joint responsibility of all stakeholders and not of R&D alone.

Industry should set up design and research centers for technology development, technology absorption, technology collaboration and for carrying out the task of productionisation, process innovation, product support and take measures for technology obsolescence without going back to original R&D centers, collaborators or technology providers.

Cross movement of professionals from R&D and universities to industry and vice-versa would catalyze the process of creating R&D capability in industry.

National Aerospace and Defense Commission

Sixty years of efforts by our country in building indigenous technologies and bringing self-reliance in the crucial area of aerospace and defense, have paid rich dividends in terms of excellent industrial growth, excellent academic institutions and excellent R&D centres. However, since technology is continuously growing, the gap also widens despite our best efforts. The need of the hour is to consolidate the disjointed efforts, remove disconnects among stakeholders by laying down a strong policy frame work and creating the right/effective eco-system for accelerated growth of this sector.

It is proposed that India should set up a National Aerospace & Defence

Technology Commission to coordinate, review, prioritize and take decisions on investments, collaborations, joint ventures and acquisitions, export and give directions to aerospace and defence production for improving the country's self-reliance, and GDP to find the rightful place as a developed nation in this sector against global competition.

Conclusion

Despite missing the Industrial Revolution of the 19th Century, no industrial base existed in pre-independence and very slow industrial growth post-independence till 1970-80, yet defense research and development activity has done exceedingly well in developing technologies in the area of missiles, radars, EW systems, sonars, armoured vehicles like MBT, life sciences, unmanned aerosystems, propellants, explosives and strategic systems, materials and electronics, to the extent that the production value of indigenously developed product has reached more than ` 1,65,000 Cr in the last 5-8 years and the Self-Reliance Index has shot up from 30 percent to close to 45 percent and more. This is no mean achievement.

However, there are still technology gaps in many areas and the urgent need is to bridge the same in an accelerated mode to ensure that India does not remain a follower of technology and our import of defense equipment comes down drastically. This requires identification and acceptance of facts that India still has:

Inadequate design capability in critical areas like aircraft, gas turbine engines, long range electronic scanning radars, robust cyber proof computing and communication systems, robotics and unmanned systems (air, water and land).

Disconnect between R&D and production. Level playing field between private enterprises and public funded institutions does not exist in practice despite many efforts by the government of India.

Impact of Valley of Death syndrome in terms of conceptual design/innovation not reaching technology maturity levels and products developed by R&D centers not reaching the market.

University/academia teaching and research portfolio is not focused on being design centric and innovation intensive features which are essential for development of technology and human resources.

The eco-system does not support industrial growth, and R&D in industry, low volume – high input cost of production, synergy among academia, industry, national labs and user agencies like the armed forces.

Very low investments in defence research and setting up critical infrastructure for development, testing and manufacture of defense systems (aero, electronics/micro electronics, materials, automation and robotics, etc.).

Not leveraged the “off-set” provisions to acquire high end technologies for bridging the gap.

Unless we take strong policy and implementation decisions in all these areas, create new models for shared responsibility for development of defense equipments among stakeholders, create the right eco-system, and make investments and collaboration decisions immediately, it is felt that

the technology gap will continue to widen, and we will remain the largest importers of weapons and equipment in the world. There is an urgent need for re-engineering academia, industries and research laboratories and transforming users from a customer to partner with preference for indigenous products and adopting the strategies discussed in this article for accelerated growth of defense technologies.

To give a concrete shape in terms of policies and plans, it is further felt that a National Commission for Defense and Aerospace should be set up to laydown policies, coordinate development and production, laydown priorities, make decisions on investments, collaboration, acquisition of foreign technology centers and exports, create a strong industry base for defense equipment in the country and finally guide this great country to compete globally and find its rightful place as a technology leader among the developed countries in the world.

Future is bright. Let us work together to make India a super power in the strategic defense sector.

Dr. V.K. Saraswat

Dr. Vijay Kumar Saraswat, a renowned scientist, has more than four decades of experience spanning over several fields and areas in both basic and applied sciences of defense research. Apart from being a scientist, he is a rare combination of an innovator, technologist and a visionary. During his illustrious career, from Scientist to Scientific Adviser to the Defense Minister, Director to Director General DRDO and Secretary to Dept of Defense R&D, Dr. Saraswat has been credited with development of Liquid Propulsion Rocket Engines and missiles namely PRITHVI, DHANUSH, PRAHAAR indigenously. He is the principal architect of the ballistic missile defense programme which included major technology breakthroughs.

Dr. Saraswat has brought new dimensions to the strategic defense scenario through successful test firing of AGNI-5; SHOURYA; Initial Operational Clearance for Light Combat Aircraft TEJAS and induction of INS Arihant. Under his leadership, DRDO has been transformed from a technology importer to a pioneer in providing integrated technology and process solutions on weapon delivery platforms.

Dr. Saraswat's pioneering efforts have taken shape in the establishment of the Research & Innovation Centre at IIT Madras; MILIT- Centre for Training needs of the armed forces on S&T; CERT for reporting, auditing and handling emergency response of information security incidents; CHESS – futuristic technology centre for high energy laser and microwave devices and many other such centers.

Dr. Saraswat presently is the DAE Homi Bhabha Chair Professor and

shouldering many more key positions in government and academic institutions. Dr. Saraswat is the recipient of many national and international awards including, the Padmabhushan (2013), Padmashri (1998), Vikram Sarabhai Memorial Award from the Indian Science Congress (2011); Jawaharlal Nehru S&T Award (2009) by the Government of Madhya Pradesh; FICCI Annual Award; Academician of International Academy of Engineering, Russia (2007), ARYABHATA Award (2011) from the Astronautical Society of India and National Aeronautical Prize (1998) to name some.



Dr. Saraswat is also a Fellow of many professional bodies including the Indian National Academy of Engineering, Aeronautical Society of India, Institution of Engineers, Astronautical Society of India to name a few. Honoris Causa has been conferred on him by more than 18 universities including Andhra University and NIT. He has also authored and presented several papers at national and international conferences.



The New Great Game in Afghanistan and Its Impact on India

By Major General BK Sharma, AVSM, SM & BAR (Retd)

Introduction

From the ancient times, Afghanistan has remained at the center-stage of geopolitics in the Indian subcontinent. The 'Old Silk' Route formed the trans-regional conduit of trade and spirituality, connecting the Indian subcontinent-Central Asia-West Asia and China. On the security side many invasions; staged through Afghanistan into the India-subcontinent thus altering the sociopolitical landscape of the region. Empire after empire has failed to pacify Afghanistan, giving it the ignominious title of 'Graveyard of Empires'. Afghanistan was the fulcrum of the first 'Great Game' of the 19th century between the British India and the Russian Empire. The British Army had abandoned Afghanistan after declaring it as a buffer state. Gen Roberts, the then British commander, had aptly surmised: "the less the Afghans see us, less they dislike us". The 2nd 'Great Game in the Eighties between the US- Saudi Arabia - Pakistan alliance against the Soviet Union legitimised the use of Islamist Jihad as an instrument of state policy. It ended in the humiliating withdrawal of the Soviet Army from Afghanistan and the triggered the break-up of the Soviet Union. Post the US exit, the Af-Pak region emerged as the epicenter of International terrorism. Pakistan's military establishment directed Afghan trained Jihadists to wage a proxy war in Kashmir. Post 9/11, Afghanistan has become the arena of the 'New Great Game' of the 21st century. President Ashraf Ghani at the time of assuming office had remarked, "History will not be repeated, we have overcome the

past”. However, the evolving geopolitical scenario in Afghanistan is pointing to what noted Spanish philosopher George Santayana had said: “those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it”. History is repeating itself in Afghanistan that has emerged as the epicenter of the ‘New Zero Sum Cold War’ in Eurasia. As in the past the evolving security scenario in Afghanistan will have strategic ramifications for India. India’s strategic interests in Afghanistan devolve around harnessing its potential as a bridge to gain access to Central Asia, import energy from Eurasia and combat Jihadi terrorism. India has invested more than \$3 US in infrastructure development in Afghanistan and has potential to invest more in the peace and development of Afghanistan. Chahbahr-Zaranj-Delaram Axis or International North South Transit Corridor (INSTC), TAPI pipeline passing through or in the vicinity of Afghanistan are extremely important for India’s access to Eurasia and energy security. India seeks transformation of conflict – ridden Afghanistan into a stable and democratic state under and ‘Afghan owned and Afghan led, Afghan controlled peace process’ that is duly supported by the regional countries and the international community. However, the evolving geopolitical developments concerning Afghanistan do not bode well for regional peace or for India. It is, therefore, pertinent to examine the evolving scenario in Afghanistan, analyze its impact on India’s strategic interests and dilate on India’s strategic engagement with Afghanistan.

Socio-Political Scenario

Decades of instability and violence have turned Afghanistan into a very fragile state (ranking 9th lowest in fragility and at 169 in HDI out of 188 countries¹. According to the UNFPA 63.7 percent of the population is below 25 years with a very high unemployment levels². The UN Office for Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) estimates at least two million Afghans are at risk of starvation³. The economy is in regression, with foreign aid contributing to 90 of the country’s GDP⁴. The political scenario in the country is in ferment with warlord factionalism and ethnocisation of politics. Creditably, Afghans defied extreme violence and about 3 million (40 percent voter turn out) people participated in the October 2018, Wolesi Jirga elections in 31 provinces. However, there were major glitches with the newly introduced Electronic Voting Machines and voter’s lists. There has been inordinate delay in the declaration of results. In the meanwhile, the presidential election scheduled in April 2019 is being postponed to an uncertain future date. The National Unity Government is facing intense tension within its ranks as is seen from spate of resignations of ministers holding high portfolios.⁵ The overall sociopolitical scenario does not augur

well for sustained peace and security in the country.

Security Scenario

The Ideology and Strategy: Afghanistan ranks very high in the terrorism index (2 out of 163)⁶. Out of 98 globally recognized terrorist groups, about 20 such groups are operating in the Af-Pak region. They are adherents of extremist Wahabi- Salafi ideology. They want to create a Caliphate based on Sharia or Nizam e Mustafa. The cliché that, “Americans have the watches, whereas, we have the time” demonstrates their resolve for a protracted conflict to fulfill their goals. Taliban and their ilk are determined to make Afghanistan as the new frontier of pan-Islamist Jihad.

Terrorist Network⁷: Strategic experts assess that the terrorists in Afghanistan can be placed in four concentric circles. The first category consists of global terrorists, namely al-Qaeda (AQ), and the Islamic State of Khorasan (IS-K) with approximately 500 and 3,800 fighters respectively. About 70 percent IS-K's fighters are from the Urukzai and the Afridi tribes, hailing from Pakistan's Frontier region, the rest consists of Afghan, Arab, Uzbek, Tajik, Chechen, Russian and other nationalities. It seeks to expand its influence in the northern and northeastern regions of Afghanistan expand sectarian violence in Iran and Jihadi conflicts in Central Asia. The second category consists of about 2,000 fighters, organized into four major terrorist groups such as East Turkistan Islamic Movement (ETIM), the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU), Jamaat-e-Ansarullah, and Jundullah. These groups are active in 13 provinces in the eastern, southern, and northern parts of Afghanistan. They carry out operations in coordination with one another, in Afghanistan, Xinjiang Province of China, and Pamir areas of Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, the North Caucuses, even Russia. The third category estimated about 9,000 fighters consists of Pakistani terrorists, namely, Lashkar-e-Tayyaba (LeT), Tehrik-e-Taliban- e-Pakistan (TTP), Etihad-e-Jehad-e-Islami (IJU), Sepah-e-Sahaba-e-Pakistan (SSP), Lashkar-e-Islam (LeI), Lashkar-e-Jhangvi (LeJ), Jaesh-e-Mohammad (JM), and Mujahedin-e-Albadr (MeA). They operate in 15 provinces in the eastern, southern, and northern parts of Afghanistan. The TTP besides attacks in Pakistan has struck against Shias. The fourth category consists of the Afghan Taliban, estimated around 45,000 terrorists across the country. They are organized around the Quetta Shura at the center, and the Peshawar, Miramshah, and Zahidan military commissions connected to it. They seek to replace democratic system by establishing a Sharia run Islamic state.

Terror Finance and Influence: It is estimated that Taliban earn US \$ 500 million every year through narco- financing. As per the latest SIGAR report, 13.8% of Afghanistan's districts are under insurgent control or influence,

whereas, Government controls 58.5%⁸; the remainder being contested. ISK is active in about 30 districts and it mostly indulges in sectarian killings.

Cross-border Terrorism: There is a near consensus that the principal driver of Afghan conflict stems from Pakistan's 'Durand line' dilemma, the resultant expansionist territorial design and cultivated threat of encirclement by India. Jihadi ideology has been superimposed to motivate Taliban to fight a proxy war in the name of religion. Afghans firmly believe that no matter what concessions Afghanistan makes to Pakistan, its mistrust of Afghan people and its obsession to foist a pliant regime in Afghanistan will persist. According to noted Pakistani journalist Najam Sethi, "Pakistan's relations with Afghanistan will not improve until the Afghan Taliban are disrupted and defeated or compelled to sue for peace."⁹ President Ashraf Ghani has stated on several occasions that, "Peace Initiative taken by Afghanistan with Pakistan is not successful as Pakistan differentiates between good and bad terrorists in practice"¹⁰ In the meanwhile, Pakistan and Afghanistan have renewed Afghanistan- Pakistan Action Plan for Peace and Solidarity (APAPPS) that seeks non use and non violation of each others territory, avoid blame games and institutionalize system of joint working groups, joint check posts and exchange of liaison officers at the headquarters for coordination of efforts. Nonetheless, these initiatives have yet to render any tangible results on ground as is evident from Pakistan's direct involvement in recent Taliban attacks in Ghazni province and assassination of police Chief of Kandhar province. It is ironic that Afghans and international community are fully aware that Pakistan provides safe havens and material support to Haqqani network or other Jihadi outfits. Yet, instead of pressurizing Islamabad, they molycoddle Pakistan, hoping that it will open gates for them to prevail upon Taliban to enter the reconciliation process.

Counter Terrorism Campaign: The Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF) despite facing serious constraints has resisted Taliban onslaughts in Southeastern and Northern provinces of Afghanistan. The underlining aim of Operation KHALID 2017 and Operation NUSRAT 2018 has been to prevent capture of communication centers, secure roads and developmental projects. ANSF has been fairly successful in defeating Taliban offensives in Kunduz and Ghazni provinces. On the whole, to put in the words of Gen Nicholson, "a state of strategic stalemate prevails in Afghanistan". According to Department of Defence (DOD) Report, the ANSF's total authorized (strength was 352,000 personnel, including 227,374 Afghan National Army and 124,626 Afghan National Police personnel¹¹. Presently, ANSF are structured on the basis of six ANA Corps, one Kabul division and several Afghan National Police zones. There are about 30 commando companies, deployed and 20 more companies of Special Forces are being

raised. Anti terrorist operations are being supported by Afghan Air Force with a range of aircraft and helicopters such as, AF-A29-A Light AC, MI 17/35, MD 530, UH-60, Black Hawks and UAVs backed up by the US/ NATO Air Superiority Fighters. Afghan National Territorial Units are being raised to replace weak local auxiliary units. The ANSF are being supported by 15653 troops (8475 from the US) and remainder from about 38 NATO / allies), deployed in Operation Sentinel (hardcore counter terrorism operations) and Operation Resolute Support Mission (Train, Advise and Assist Missions) respectively¹². Despite major restructuring, improvement in firepower and logistics support, the ANSF has suffered about 30,000 casualties since 2015. Abnormally high casualty rate has dampened the morale of the security forces. The US and NATO troops too are reportedly extremely cautious due to fear of 'Green over Green' attacks. The response of ANSF to attacks against the soft targets, particularly in the population centers, is abysmally poor. This has created a sense of insecurity in the minds of civil population and further emboldened terrorists.

Zero Sum Power play in Afghanistan

Geopolitics of Great Game: The international community has espoused support to 'Afghan led Afghan owned Peace Process'; be at the Warsaw Summit, Brussels, international donors conference or declarations made at the 'Heart of Asia', BRICS and SCO summits. However, in practice, major players are adopting contradictory approaches to deal with the problem. The US policy of direct talks with Taliban under the tutelage of US Special Representative on Afghanistan Zalmay Khalilzad, is casting doubts on the efficacy of the President Trump's South Asia policy and hints at the invincibility of Taliban. The ensuing unsavory developments do not bode well for Afghan national mood or the morale of ANSF. There is a growing perception that the US is desperately looking forward to ending its Afghan war and not the war of Afghanistan with Taliban or Pakistan. Doubts are gaining traction that the US will do a patchwork of Taliban - NUG reconciliation as a prelude to its exit from Afghanistan. The decision of President Trump to reduce strength of US troops by about 50 percent has further deepened the uncertainty. Afghans call this decision as a big betrayal by the US.

Moscow has for years opposed the Taliban, calling them terrorists, and supported the anti-Taliban 'Northern Alliance'. Zamir Kubalov, Putin's special representative for Afghanistan termed ISIS in Afghanistan a bigger threat than the Taliban.¹³ In December 2015, a senior Russian diplomat declared, "the Taliban interest objectively coincides with ours". China perceives security in the region from the perspective of mitigating ETIM

threat to Xinjiang, Belt and Road corridors, energy corridors, securing investments in mining and oil exploration projects in Aynek and North Amu Darya. China seeks to expand its engagement from economic sphere to security arena. For China, it implies keeping Pakistan and Taliban in good humor and at the same time subtly aligns with Russia, Iran and Central Asia, without being overtly hostile to US. Iran too had supported Northern Alliance against Taliban but now favors engaging Taliban. Recently, Iran has conducted two rounds of talks with Taliban delegations. Iran would like to see an early US exit from Afghanistan and ipso-facto align with any anti-US alliance.

Reconciliation with Taliban: Taliban has spurned President Ashraf Ghani's ceasefire offers. They do not recognize the Afghan constitution or the elected government; harp on the withdrawal of foreign troops and intent to make Afghanistan a Caliphate¹⁴. Taliban had not participated in the renewed Quadrilateral Coordination Group (QCG), comprising US, China, Pakistan and Afghanistan, held in Muscat on 16 Oct 2017¹⁵. They remained indifferent to appeals made at the Jakarta Trilateral Religious Scholars Conference, or the Fatwa issued by Afghan clerics or urging at Mecca religious conference to shun violence and join the negotiation process. At the recently concluded 'Moscow Conference, on 09 November 2018, the Taliban delegation was allotted 15 minutes to articulate their concerns and demands vis a vis Kabul supported High Peace Council, which was allowed to speak for barely 05 minutes. The Moscow event was projected a great diplomatic success by Moscow to position itself as a principal player and Taliban as the legitimate stakeholder in the reconciliation process. In fact, the series of talks being undertaken by the US special representative on Afghanistan, Zalmay Khalilzad, with Taliban and Pakistan are reportedly aimed at finding some via-media to accommodate Taliban in the reconciliation process before the presidential elections. In the meanwhile, President Ghani is marginalizing the High Peace Council, established by Hamid Karzai in 2011, by constituting an eleven-member 'Peace constitution Board' under Salam Rashmi, his Chief of Staff, purportedly to negotiate with Taliban. Ironically, be it Americans or the NUG, they are negotiating with Taliban from a position of weakness. Pakistan, the villain on the chessboard, has become the new darling in the reconciliation process. Even President Trump has approached Prime Minister Imran Khan to help in the US-Taliban dialogue process. There is an effort afloat to find a modus vivendi between Taliban and the Afghan Government. In sum, the evolving scenario in Afghanistan is mired by multitude of critical vulnerabilities that are bound to impact regional peace and spin off strategic ramifications for India.

Strategic Implications for India

Afghans admire our shared civilizational and democratic values and consider India as a reliable strategic partner. Afghans are highly appreciative of India's principled stand of not talking directly with Taliban and fully supporting; 'Afghan owned, Afghan led and Afghan controlled peace process'. India, in contrast to many other donor countries, is respected for not looking at engagement with Afghanistan as a mercantilist donor - recipient relations but as an honorable India - Afghanistan development partnership. Afghans feel that India should shed off its mindset of lack of direct access to Afghanistan and maximize capacity to access the country via Iran and Turkmenistan along the Chahbhar and INSTC.

India, with the increasing influence of Taliban/Pakistan would face major security risks in Afghanistan. India has been a victim of terrorist attacks in the past. Recently, six Indians were among the seven people who have been abducted by unidentified armed men from Baghlan province in Afghanistan. On 6 June 2017, a Taliban fired rocket hit the Kabul home of India's top envoy to Afghanistan, fueling security concerns. After 2009 attack on Indian mission in Kabul, then Foreign Secretary Nirupama Rao had said that Indo-Afghan relations are impermeable to such attacks and India has "unwavering commitment to pursue our bilateral development partnership and assist the people of Afghanistan in realizing a democratic, peaceful and prosperous Afghanistan¹⁶." The Indian mission, consulates and about 150 personnel working on various projects are vulnerable to Taliban attacks. Pakistan is wary of India's growing footprint in Afghanistan and is trying to offset with strengthening its strategic depth in Afghanistan through its proxies. Lt Gen Vincent Stewart, Director, US Defence Intelligence, during a hearing on Afghanistan at the Senate Armed Services Committee in 2017 stated, "They (Pakistan) view all of the challenges through the lens of an Indian threat to the state of Pakistan. So they hold in reserve terrorist organizations. So that- if Afghanistan leans towards India, they will no longer be supportive of an idea of a stable and secure Afghanistan that could undermine Pakistan interests.¹⁷"

The previous top US commander in Afghanistan Gen Nicholson had confided to a visiting USI delegation in 2016 that during his meeting with Gen Qamar Bajwa, the latter had emphatically stated that Pakistan's Afghanistan policy would remain India - centric. In this context, it would be pertinent to examine the initial conditions placed by Pakistan on the Afghan government *Vis a Vis* India and the demands put forth by Taliban at the recently concluded Moscow conference. As per Dr RD Spanta, the former Afghan NSA, Pakistan had urged Afghan government to restrict India's activities in Afghanistan by closing down the consulates, particularly

in Kandahar and Jalalabad, not allow India to undertake construction work, curtail business activities, stop training of Afghan security personnel, civil servants & diplomats, and intelligence sharing and decline military hardware from New Delhi. In lieu of Indian assistance, Islamabad had offered a joint consortium of Pakistan and China, which among other things included investments in the mining sector of Afghanistan.¹⁸ It would be in order to co-relate the aforesaid, with the demands made by Taliban at the Moscow conference. The Taliban asked for redrafting of Afghanistan's constitution, making it Sharia centric, withdrawal of foreign troops, removing Taliban from the UN declared terrorist lists and release of Taliban prisoners. There are indicators that the Taliban may be provided safe zones in the southern and eastern provinces and make them de-facto rulers in that region, with some representation at Kabul. Therefore, in the light of ongoing developments, Pakistan through its proxies is likely to create conditions that will not only result in the heightened risk to our people and projects but also place demands for India to reduce its diplomatic profile and tone down the pace of developmental projects and other assistance being rendered to Afghanistan. Also, India is facing an inimical geopolitical alignment in Afghanistan, wherein, the interests of Russia-China-Iran and Pakistan coincide vis a vis US and India. These countries are hobnobbing with Taliban, whereas, India believes that such an approach is only emboldening Taliban. India is at the cross-roads of its strategic destiny in Afghanistan.

India-Afghanistan Engagement

India's engagement with Afghanistan is guided by Strategic Partnership Agreement 2011, which is steered by a council of foreign ministers. At the multi-lateral level India actively participates in deliberations at the SCO Contact Group on Afghanistan, Russia- India - China (RIC), BRICS, Heart of Asia Conference, Moscow format, Indo- Iran- Afghanistan trilateral agreement, India, US, Afghanistan trilateral dialogue and other international forums. At the 2nd meeting of SCO-Afghanistan Contact Group in Beijing held on 28 May 2018, India extended firm support to the Afghan led reconciliation process and role of SCO in peace building.¹⁹ India has agreed to undertake joint projects with Russia²⁰, China and²¹ Uzbekistan in Afghanistan. The Pentagon report titled 'Enhancing Security and Stability in Afghanistan' underlined that "India is Afghanistan's most reliable regional partner and the largest contributor of development assistance in the region,"²²

India has invested \$2 billion for civil capacity building, such as, construction of Salma dam, roads, power lines, parliament building and telecommunication infrastructure. Assistance is provided by way of

developing TV industry, agriculture sector, irrigation, health, transport and grant of gratis vacancies to Afghan students in academic institutions in India. Liberal of medical visas for treatment in Indian hospitals is being issued. India has successfully completed the Phases, I and II of the Small Development Projects (SDP) scheme designed for border districts of Afghanistan.²³ The inauguration of the Dedicated Air Cargo Corridor in June 2017 between Kabul-Delhi and Kandahar-Delhi has provided a fresh impetus to bilateral trade.²⁴ Apart from Kabul, two more cities-Mazar-e-Sharif and Herat were connected to New Delhi by air in October 2017.²⁵ India also operationalized Chabahar port for supply of grains and other products through Zaranj- Delaram axis. During the second meeting of India-Afghanistan Joint Working Group on Development Cooperation (JWG-DC) on August 9, 2018, the Afghan side appreciated India's timely assistance of 170,000 tonnes of wheat and 2,000 tonnes of pulses at a time when large parts of the country are suffering from drought.²⁶ In order to give further impetus to multi-modal connectivity, India has agreed to build a 500-km railroad from Chabahar to Zahedan, the provincial capital of Sistan-Baluchistan, close to the Afghan border.²⁷ Under the enhanced India-Afghanistan-US partnership, India organized "Passage to Prosperity", the India-Afghanistan Trade and Investment Show, supported by USAID, in 2017- 2018 in Delhi and Mumbai respectively.²⁸

Under the next generation 'New Development Partnership', India has pledged \$ 1 billion aid to Kabul for construction of 116 high- impact community development projects to be implemented in 31 provinces. In addition, six new projects in low cost housing for returning Afghan refugees in Nangarhar province, road connectivity (to Band e Amir in Bamyan province), national park, economic development, water supply schemes (Shahtoot Dam and water supply for Kabul and Charikar city in Parwan province), establishment of gypsum board manufacturing plant in Kabul, construction of polyclinic in Mazar e Sharif are being undertaken.²⁹ Some of the ongoing projects India has undertaken are Development of communication infrastructure (optic fiber) and Surobi 2 hydropower plant with capacity of 180 MW. During the 2nd Strategic Partnership meet, the two countries had also signed Motor Vehicles Agreement for the Regulation of Passenger, Personal and Cargo Vehicular Traffic. A MoU was signed for mutual cooperation in the field of pharmaceutical products regulation, as well as the Orbit Frequency Coordination Agreement was signed between India and Afghanistan on South Asia Satellite (SAS).

India is providing technical and financial assistance for the establishment of Afghan Mining Institute in Kabul. After reconstruction of the Habibia High School, Kabul at a cost of \$5.1 million, India has been supporting

the school by way of upgradation of facilities, training of teachers. Besides these government-funded projects, Aptech, a private firm, is providing IT training for Afghan youth in the country. Liberal medical visas are being issued for Afghans for the treatment in Indian hospitals. According to the figures of the Ministry of Tourism, the inflow of medical tourists coming from Afghanistan increased in 2017 and has reached to 55,681.³⁰ India is fast turning out to be most affordable medical destination for Afghans.

In terms of security assistance, India has supplied non-lethal military equipment, and four-helicopter gunships request from Afghanistan to repair of MI 35 helicopters, transport planes and supply of other military hardware is under consideration. About 1000 military personnel and a fair number of civil servants, policemen and other specialists are being trained in India. 100 beds are earmarked for battle casualties in multi- specialty military hospitals. India will also provide 500 scholarships for graduate studies in India for the next of kin of ANSF martyrs for the academic year 2018- 2019 to honor their sacrifices “for the cause of entire humanity” and ensuring the safety of Indians working in Afghanistan. Additionally, the Union Cabinet chaired by the Prime Minister has given its approval for signing an MoU between India and Afghanistan on Technical Cooperation on Police Training and Development. It will help in capacity building of Afghanistan National Police and improving the security apparatus in the region.³¹

Enhancing Bilateral Security Cooperation

During the course of strategic conversation with Afghan policymakers and strategic experts, it emerged that the two countries must consolidate their strategic engagement, particularly in the domain of security in the following key areas :-

Intelligence Sharing and Sustained Counter Terrorism (CT) strategy: Since both the countries face similar cross border terrorism, there is need to institutionalize a system of intelligence sharing by establishing a Joint Working Group and Joint Intelligence Centre as part of sustained CT strategy.

Military Training: It would be more advantageous to train ANSF in the border management, counter infiltration and CT operations on a terrain and environment that is akin to operational imperatives obtaining in Afghanistan. More emphasis should be on training in special operations and neutralizing terrorists in built up areas.

Medical Assistance: India should provide resources for casualty evacuation, train medics in casualty management and supply medical equipment and lifesaving plasma and drugs.

Wining the Hearts and Minds of Population: India should share its experience in WHAM (Winning Hearts and Minds) operations with Afghanistan. The civic actions in the conflict areas should be designed to keep Afghan characteristics, combining the efforts of ANSF, government, civil administration, aid agencies, NGOs and the local population. Counter radicalization and empowerment of youth should form key components of this initiative.

Propagation of Narrative of Enlightened Islam: India, Central Asian states and Afghanistan share Sufism, the syncretic strand of Islam. There is a great scope to promote Sufi culture and traditions as an appealing alternative to puritanical Wahabism.

Military Arsenal: Afghanistan looks at India as an alternate source of military hardware. Indian supplied helicopters are grounded due to lack of maintenance and spares. India should take a long view of Afghanistan's defence needs and in order to preserve its territorial integrity, provide it with both lethal and non-lethal military equipment on sustainable basis.

Conclusion

India needs to consider long-term scenarios of its political, diplomatic and military options. The rising profile of Taliban and Pakistan in the Afghan imbroglio cannot be ignored. Nobody should be an untouchable as far as diplomatic outreach by India is concerned. For a larger regional role, India should work diplomatically towards the creation of a "concert of regional powers" for capacity building in Afghanistan.³² India should advocate the primacy of the UN and SCO in conflict resolution and peace-building in Afghanistan. Afghan people have strength, wisdom, courage and perseverance to start a new and peaceful life for the sake of prosperity of their children and future generations. India is against zero sum and does not favour Afghanistan being used as a chessboard for proxy conflicts. India strongly favors that the neighboring countries and the international community at large should join hands in defeating terrorism and supporting Afghan owned Afghan led peace process for global peace and security. On its par, India needs a very deft handling of the geopolitical developments and continually assesses its policy, strategy and capacity to preserve and promote its strategic interests in Afghanistan.

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Maj Gen BK Sharma, AVSM, SM, and Bar (Retd), Deputy Director Research and Head of Center for Strategic Studies and Simulation at United Service Institution of India (US), New Delhi. He specialises in Strategic Net Assessments, Scenario Building and Gaming. He is editor of four books, digital magazine, ‘Strategic Perspectives’ and USI year book besides authoring monographs and articles. He participates in

TV debates and international conferences regularly.



The Criticality Of The VSHORAD Case

By Lt Gen (Dr) V. K. Saxena

It appears that the eight year long wait for the procurement of Man Portable Air Defence (MANPAD) missiles, also referred to as Very Short Range Air Defence System (VSHORADS) is likely to get over with the Ministry of Defence announcing that the Russian conglomerate Rosoboronexport has been declared the lowest bidder in the ongoing procurement case of VSHORADS.

This article attempts to answer the question- Why VSHORADS are critical in the family of Ground Based Air Defence Weapon Systems (GBADWS)?.

On Criticality

“Air threat drives air defence”, implying that the qualitative and quantitative developments in the severity and the lethality of the air threat is tied to the development of GBADWS in a cause-effect relationship.

The air threat has revamped exponentially over the years. In that, the erstwhile duo of aircrafts and helicopters as main threat vehicles, are today joined by a multi-dimensional strike punch consisting of attack helicopters, unmanned aerial systems (UAS), tactical ballistic missiles, cruise missiles, precision guided munitions (PGMs), anti-radiation missiles (ARMs) and the now emerging soft-kill offensive weapons.

To negate the above threat, the ground based air defense component consists of a layered-and-tired defense provided by successive layers of Long, Medium and Short range missiles (LRSAMs, MRSAMs, SRSAMs) covering the entire spectrum of ranges altitudes from terminal end to hundred plus

kms.

Such a defense is capable of delivering successive and seamless fire on the incoming threat as it draws in from long ranges to its intended target. This taken together with their associated BMC2 and control and reporting linkages is referred to as the Integrated Air Defense System (IADS).

At the terminal end of the IADS are deployed the VSHORADS.

There was a time around sixties when only the air defense guns were considered a good fit for the terminal end deployment but today, keeping the threat in view the a gun-missile mix is considered inescapable.

Terminal end actually signifies 'the last line of defense.' This line will actually face a determined/smart/techno-savvy attacker who has either successfully penetrated and survived in transiting through the multiple layers of missile defenses based on its technological muscle of EW, stealth, or superior avionics and more, or has made a surprise attack taking advantage of other factors like terrain and (or) weather The VHORADS alongside the terminal guns at the last line of defense provide the basic minimum quantum of fire to take on such a determined attacker.

Besides just enriching the quantum of fire, the VSHORADS in a gun-missile mix also provide the following:-

Provide the capability of dynamic deployment wherein, a defender can continue to switch between different options of combining guns and missiles, be unpredictable and be ready to surprise an attacker by bringing effective fire on it from a totally unexpected position/direction.

In certain critical deployments, especially in mountainous/high altitude or glaciated terrain, an asset being protected can be approached only from a particular direction(s). VSHORADS in these cases greatly help in increasing range, reach and kill effectiveness along the said possible avenues of approach.

Most of the VSHORADS, being quick reaction (fire-and forget heat seeking/beam riding, et al), prove to be ideal for suddenly appearing threats - typical of attack helicopters following the nap of the Earth technique of attack.

VSORADS provide avenues to the defenders to be innovative in the following ways:

Deploying missiles way out of the gun ranges thus increasing kill envelopes along likely avenues, albeit with certain gaps at known and acceptable volumes of space.

Laying air ambushes along 'inescapable avenues of approach' that pass through narrow valleys and steep passes thus increasing the overall kill



effectiveness in unconventional deployments.

Normally the VSHORADS bring in their own surveillance resources for early warning and fire control. These add to the sensor capability of radar-controlled gun layouts or end up in providing the essential 'eyes and ears' to the gun missile mix, where the gun component is fair-weather.

In a typical and a widely practiced attack technique of the attacker adopting suppression of enemy air defense (SEAD) tactics and suppressing the fire control radars of terminal guns, the VSHORADS sensors normally operating at different frequency signatures provide a way out and a possibility of returning effective fire.

A similar way out is provided by VSHORADS when the sheer quantum and multiplicity of attack vehicles surpasses the target handling capability of the gun layouts.

So much on the criticality and inescapability of VSHORADS in the IADS.

The Ongoing Case

The current VSHORAD procurement case is going on since 2010. Three vendors have been in the fray, namely, MBDA (French led consortium), Rosoboronexport (Russia) and SAAB (Sweden) fielding Mistral 2, Igla S and RBS 70 NG VSHORADS, respectively.

Mistral is an infrared homing fire and forget missile with an effective range of 6 km and altitude ceiling of 3500 m. Igla 1S is a dual waveband infrared homing fire and forget missile with a range of 6km and altitude bracket

of 10-3500m. RBS 70 NG is a laser beam riding missile with a range bracket of 250m-8 km and altitude up to 5000m. The initial projected requirement for the three Services was for 800 launchers and more than 5000 missiles. This order may be scaled up in the future to address VSHORAD voids after the initial ones are addressed. All the three missiles have been put through successive field trials in 2010, 2012 and 2017. While there are reports about MBDA and SAAB challenging the appropriateness of the “technical compliance” and selection of the Russian system which they have claimed was deficit both in tracking of targets and targeting of adversarial aircrafts. The counter reports from the authorities have however stated that due process of the DPP has been followed in the procurement case.

These mutually contradicting positions are not discussed here except for possible outcomes which are stated below

Possible Outcomes

Keeping in mind the urgent operational requirement of the VSHORADs as explained above, it is the unbiased and earnest hope of the author (read user) that the procurement case goes through (with any of the three vendor) and the operational voids get addressed.

The current case can and will progress forward from its present end if and only if the MoD is able to prevail on the strength of the due diligence process claimed to have been followed in consonance of the DPP and is thus able to quell the complaints and queries of the other two vendors in the competitive process.

Should the above not happen due to any reason whatsoever, the only option will be to foreclose the case as fourth retrial with warring vendors is not a viable option anymore. In the worst case of foreclosure, not only the critical requirement will remain un-addressed, the restart to maturity of a new case will put the Services back by 5-6 years (sic).

MoD recently took a very correct decision of waiving the offset clause for S-400 deal. There are huge issues with offsets- inherent delays, thinly disguised hiking up contract cost, finding appropriate Indian offset partners and more. In the instant VSHORAD case as well, the costs are likely to cross a whopping 27000 Crs. A deliberate call on offsets based on cost/time benefit analysis will be called for.

There are also reports of the DRDO claiming the capability to make VSHORADS in India. It is the sense of the author that it is too late to tinker with the current end state with this new input. The DRDO's claimed capability (if there is) could be suitably factored in the form of ToT, joint production, buy back etc at the contract stage.

LT GEN (DR) V K SAXENA, (RETD) PVSM,AVSM,VSM



Gen Saxena is the former Director General of the Corps of Army Air Defence. Currently, he is a Distinguished Fellow at the Vivekananda International Foundation and holds a Chair of Excellence at the United Services Institution of India.

He is also a UN scholar with an M Phil and a PhD and a law scholar pursuing qualifications in Human Rights, Child Rights and Medical law and Ethics.

The General is a prolific writer. He has to his credit hundreds of articles in various defence magazines and counting. His core competency domain includes air defence, aerospace, ballistic missile defence, unmanned aerial systems, military communications, cyber security, nuclear security and defence procurements.

He has authored five books which include

1. Ground Based Air Defence - Contemporary Issues,
2. Amazing Growth Journey of UAVs and Ballistic Missile Defence Capabilities,
3. Future of United Nations in the 21st Century
4. United Nations and Human Rights - Past performance and Future Challenges and
5. Ground Based Air Defence in India: Challenges and Opportunities.

A part sample of General's published work can be accessed at the VIF site using the link <https://www.vifindia.org/search/node/LT%20GEN%20V%20K%20SAXENA>

Gen Saxena is also regular on Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha TV. His contribution can be accessed at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mUZKnUUpRVQ> https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-oqj3M_SoZ8 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w1XobI9MZQo> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SsJ1JwyX-r8> <https://youtu.be/SsJ1JwyX-r8> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZH9YAawqjZ8> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZH9YAawqjZ8&feature=youtu.be>

The General has been decorated three times by the President of India. He has also been awarded by Institution of Electronics and Telecommunication Engineers for his contribution to radar design.



Gilgit Baltistan – Political Control Under Pakistan Occupation

By R Chandrashekhar

The Gilgit and Baltistan regions of Jammu and Kashmir State, amongst the most scenic and spectacular regions of the world with enormous natural resources with several mineral deposits, have been under illegal occupation of Pakistan since 1947. Culturally, geographically and linguistically the region differs vastly from the rest of Pakistan.

The Gilgit Agency

An appropriate start point for the purpose of this discussion is 1877, when the then British Government in India sought to establish a Gilgit Agency comprising the Gilgit Wazarat; the State of Hunza and Nagar; the Punial Jagir; the Governorships of Yasin, Kuh-Ghizr and Ishkoman, and Chilas.

In 1935, the British sought direct control over most part of the Agency and requested the then Maharaja of J&K State to lease the area for a period of sixty years, a request the Maharaja could not but acquiesce. During this period of lease, the Agency was administered by a Political Agent based at Gilgit and responsible to Delhi, initially through the Resident in Jammu and Kashmir and later through the British Agent in Peshawar. During this period the Jammu and Kashmir State flag remained hoisted over residency along with the Union Jack. However, the J&K State no longer had troops in

Gilgit. The Gilgit Scouts, a mercenary force, was formed, commanded by British Officers and paid for by the Government in India.

In April 1947, with the prospect of Indian Independence becoming clearer, the then British Government decided to formally retrocede the leased areas to the J&K State. The transfer took place on 01 August 1947. Notwithstanding its status as an Agency under direct British control, State elections had been held in the region in 1937 and 1941, with the region being represented in the last State assembly that terminated in 1947.

The subordinate chiefs under the Governor of Gilgit at that time were the Mir of Hunza, the Mir of Nagar, the Raja of Punial, and the Chieftains of Koh Ghizar, Yasin and Ashkoman of whom the Mirs of Hunza and Nagar were hostile to the Maharaja re-assuming rule of the region. Their hostility was to seriously damage the future of the region as a large majority of the troops of the Gilgit Scouts were from the Hunza and Nagar regions. Subedar Major Babar Khan, a key troop commander of the Gilgit Scouts was the uncle of the Mir of Nagar and married to the sister of the Mir of Hunza.

Baltistan too was a part of the erstwhile Jammu and Kashmir State. Both Baltistan and Ladakh were administered jointly under one Wazarat of that State - of which Baltistan was the Skardu tehsil (Kargil and Leh were the other two tehsils). At the time of accession to India, the Gilgit Scouts which overthrew the Governor at Gilgit also captured Baltistan. Gilgit and Baltistan have thereafter been under Pakistan's control.

The Gilgit Scouts Rebellion

On 01 November 1947, (a few days after Maharaja Hari Singh acceded to India on 26 October 1947), a mutinous Operation codenamed 'Datta Khel' was carried out by Major William Brown, the then Commander of the Gilgit Scouts, Captain A S Mathieson and Subedar Major Babar Khan, in which the Governor Maj Gen Ghansara Singh, was overthrown. On the next day, 02 November 1947, the Pakistani flag was raised over the Headquarters of the Gilgit Scouts with Maj William Brown and Capt. Matheison proclaiming their opting for service with Pakistan. (Pertinently, despite his abjectly disloyal actions that were contrary to the British Government handing back the region to the Maharaja, Major Brown was awarded the "Most Exalted Order of the British Empire" in 1948, an indicator to the then British Government's complicity and support to mutiny).

Initial Post-Mutiny Administrative Arrangements

After the overthrow of the J&K State Governor, a provisional government was initially established by the Gilgit locals with Raja Shah Rais Khan as the President and Mirza Hassan Khan as Commander-in-Chief. Two weeks

later, a nominee of the Pakistan government, Sardar Mohammed Alam, was appointed the Political Agent. In follow up to Major Brown's coup in Gilgit, Sir George Cunningham, then Governor of North-West Frontier Province, instructed him to restore order, thereby giving Pakistan de facto control of the region.

Imposition of the Frontier Crimes Regulations (FCR)

Upon the region coming under control of Pakistan, the colonial law of Frontier Crimes Regulations (FCR) was enforced over whole area as had been imposed in all the agencies annexed with Pakistan including Federally Administrative Tribal Areas. Under FCR, it was a Civil Servant exercised all judicial and administrative powers (in contrast to the independent judicial system with right of appeal before the Kashmir High Court during the Maharaja's rule).

The Karachi Agreement (28 April 1949)

In April 1949, an agreement was reached between the government of Pakistan and the illegal Government of POK through which the administrative control of Gilgit and Baltistan was temporarily transferred to the Government of Pakistan. The affairs of Gilgit and Baltistan thereby came under the control of Political Agent appointed by the government of Pakistan.

The signatories to the Agreement were Mushtaq Ahmed Gurmani, Pakistan's 'Minister without Portfolio' in charge of the Ministry of Kashmir Affairs, Sardar Mohammed Ibrahim Khan, the 'President' of POK and Chaudhry Ghulam Abbas, Head of All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference. Interestingly, the text of the Karachi Agreement of 1949 was kept as a 'Secret' document until the 1990s when it was revealed in a verdict on Gilgit and Baltistan by the High Court of Azad Kashmir. It was thereafter officially published as Appendix XVII of The Constitution of POK only in 2008.

The Karachi Agreement of 1949 is in three parts.

- **Part I** being the structure and operation of the 'Civil Administration',
- **Part II** dealing with financial arrangements by which Pakistan would advance money and
- **Part III** with the 'Division of functions between the Governments of Pakistan, POK and the Muslim Conference.

It is in Part III that the Pakistan government allocated to itself eight important matters including Defence, negotiations with the UNCIP, foreign

policy, publicity in foreign countries, coordination of refugee relief and rehabilitation, coordination of all arrangements for a plebiscite, all activities within Pakistan with regard to Kashmir and, finally, all affairs of the 'Gilgit and Ladakh areas' (which were then under the control of the political agent at Gilgit).

Initially, the Political Agent was also placed under the Political Resident of the NWFP, but in 1950, the affairs of the Northern Areas (the term then used to refer to Gilgit and Baltistan Regions) were brought under the administrative control of Ministry of Kashmir Affairs and Northern Areas.

A post of Political Resident was created in place of the Political Agent and in 1952; a Joint Secretary of the Ministry of Kashmir Affairs was appointed Resident for the Northern Areas. Two Political Agents were appointed, one each for Gilgit and Baltistan, the two 'Agencies'. Administrative and judicial authorities thus remained centralized with the Resident with there being no political representation.

Significantly, the geographic details and explanation of the areas under Pakistan, as given in the Constitutions of 1956, 1962 and 1973, do not cover the Northern Areas as part of Pakistan. When Martial Law was imposed in 1958, it was not extended to Northern Areas, because according to the principle stand of Pakistan, these areas (still) did not belong to Pakistan.

In 1967, powers of the High Court and Revenue Commissioner to the Resident and appointment of a Political Agent each for Gilgit and Baltistan. District level powers were delegated to the Political Agent who could thereby act as District and Session Judge, Revenue Collector, Commissioner for FCR, Chief of Police and the Controlling Officer of Cooperative Societies.

Advisory Council for Northern Areas (NAAC) (1970)

The NAAC, constituted through an order of the Ministry of Kashmir Affairs and Northern Areas on 18 November 1970, comprised of 21 elected and non-elected members. The Resident for Gilgit and Baltistan was its Chairman. (Eight elected members from the Gilgit Agency and six from the Baltistan Agency; Five Official Members were nominated by the Resident (including a representative each from the Ministries of Finance and Foreign Affairs).

Re-designation of Resident as Resident Commissioner (1972)

Through a Presidential order issued in 1972, the post of Resident was re-designated as Resident Commissioner of Gilgit and Baltistan Agencies. Gilgit and Baltistan were sub-divided into 'Districts' with a Deputy Commissioner for each.

The Reforms Package of 1972

An administrative and judicial reforms package was announced in 1972 in which:

- (a) The system of Feudal Lords, Rajas, Mir of Nagar and Agency was abolished. (The Rajas of abolished States were given government jobs and maintenance allowances).
- (b) Gilgit and Baltistan agencies were given the status of Districts;
- (c) "Resident" and "Political Agent" were renamed Commissioner and Deputy Commissioner, respectively.
- (d) A general amnesty was granted.

In September 1974, the then Prime Minister ZA Bhutto visited Northern Areas and declared Ganche and Ghazar to be two new districts and of the State of Hunza being abolished.

Under President Zia-ul Haq

The Majlis-e-Shuraan, an Advisory Council was constituted under a Presidential Order on 24 December 1981.

In April 1982, the President Gen Zia-ul-Haq stated that Gilgit, Skardu and Hunza were not "disputed" areas, but part of Pakistan. Addressing the Majlis-e-Shuraan 09 May 1982, he stated that "I am not talking of Kashmir; I am talking about the Northern Areas, which make part of Pakistan."

Reforms Package of 1994

A Northern Areas Executive Council with 24 elected members was set up though with limited authority and the Northern Areas Rules of Business framed. Major administrative provisions of the 1994 'package' were:

- The Federal Minister of Kashmir Affairs, to be the will be the Chief Executive of the Council and to be assisted by a Deputy Chief Executive to be elected by the Council.
- Three to five members of the Council to be taken as Advisors to the Chief Executive who will enjoy the status of provincial ministers. Their appointment however will be at the discretion of the Chief Executive.
- The post of Judicial Commissioner was abolished, and a 3- member Chief Court constituted under the chairmanship of a retired Judge. The Court was however, not authorized to hear writ petitions.
- For the first time, a Chief Secretary and four Secretaries of the federal government appointed in the area.

A positive outcome from the package had been that party-based elections were held for the first time in 1994.

Petition before the Pakistan Supreme Court (1999)

In a petition brought before the Supreme Court of Pakistan by Habib Wahab al-Khairi (founder of Al-Jihad Trust, Rawalpindi) in 1999, for which the Secretary, Ministry of Kashmir Affairs and Northern Areas was made Defendant, a plea was made to restore the basic human rights of the people of the area on grounds that though the constitutional position of the Northern Areas is that they are part of the state of Jammu and Kashmir, there is persistent confusion in the administrative and judicial structure that gave rise to various problems and the people of the area that needed to be redressed.

Judgement of Pakistan Supreme Court

In their judgement, the Pakistan Supreme Court held that the two million residents of Gilgit Baltistan were citizens of Pakistan and directed the Federal Government to assure they are given rights as provide in the 1973 Constitution. The Judgement also asked the Federal Government to ensure that the region's Chief Court be equated with a High Court and the powers of the Courts in the region be enlarged to include the powers of entertaining constitutional petitions seeking fundamental rights. The Judgement set a period of six months to bring about necessary changes in the statutes, laws and regulations to give effect to its judgement.

Response of the Government of Pakistan to the Supreme Court Directions (October 1999)

In response to the Pakistan Supreme Court's directions, the then Minister for Kashmir Affairs and Northern Areas Lt Gen (Retd) Abdul Majeed Malik made a detailed visit to the area and on October 2, 1999 where after he announced Government's intent to bring a constitutional reforms package that would elevate the Northern Areas Council into Northern Areas Legislative Council. The Federal government also announced the holding of elections for the Council and local bodies.

The main features of the 1999 Reforms Package were:

- Northern Area Council was renamed "Northern Area Legislative Council" and authorized legislation on 40 subjects.
- Membership of the Gilgit Baltistan Council was raised to twenty-nine. Five seats were reserved for women - one elected indirectly, from each district.
- "Chief Executive" will not be from amongst the Council members.
- Speaker of the Council to be elected by the majority of Council members

and would preside over Council's meetings.

- The Council Members to be empowered to approve development schemes.
- The Deputy Chief Executive to be authorized to transfer officers of various grades but not the Deputy Commissioner or the Superintendent of Police (for which he would need prior approval of the Chief Secretary).

Though it was expected that the "package" would lead to the setting up of local government with powers being devolved, the real transfer of power and decision-making the elected representatives did not take place and power continued to vest with the bureaucracy. However, even as the modalities for holding elections under the Package were under deliberation, Pakistan came under martial law once again on October 12, 1999. The new government nevertheless decided to hold the elections as scheduled and these were held under the supervision of the Military.

- **Establishment of Apex Court (2005):** A Northern Areas Court of Appeals was established.
- **Empowerment of NALC (2006) :** Six Advisors were appointed from the NALC members and NALC members brought at par with members of POK Assembly for pay and privileges.
- **NALC Renamed (2007):** NALC was renamed as Northern Areas Legislative Assembly.

The Gilgit Baltistan Reforms Package 2007

On August 23, 2007, President Parvez Musharraf visited Gilgit and declared the promulgation of an amended version of the existing Legal Framework Order (LFO) to fulfil a longstanding demand of the local people.

As per the new amendments, the powers of the federal Ministry of Kashmir Affairs and Northern Areas have been curtailed and vested in the elected government. The Deputy Chief Executive was promoted to the position of Chief Executive, while the Minister of Kashmir Affairs and Northern Areas would be the Chairman of the Northern Areas government.

Gilgit Baltistan Empowerment and Self-Governance Order, 2009

On August 29, 2009, the Gilgit Baltistan Empowerment and Self-Governance Order 2009, was passed by the Pakistan Cabinet and later signed and promulgated as law by the President of Pakistan.

The major provisions of the Order are:

- (a) Grant of self-rule to the people of Gilgit- Baltistan, by creating, an elected Gilgit Baltistan Legislative Assembly and Gilgit Baltistan Council. Gilgit Baltistan thus gained de facto province-like status

- without constitutionally becoming part of Pakistan.
- (b) Gilgit Baltistan Legislative Assembly to be a 33-seat unicameral legislative body. Of the 33 seats, 24 are filled by direct elections. In addition, the reserves 3 seats for technocrats and 6 seats for women.
 - (c) A Speaker and a Deputy Speaker to be elected by the Assembly from amongst its members. After the election of the Speaker and the Deputy Speaker, the Assembly cannot transact any other business unless it elects the Chief Minister.
 - (d) The Chief Minister is elected in a special session, summoned by the Governor on a day specified by the President. The Chief Minister obtains vote of confidence from the Assembly within 60 days of assuming office.
 - (e) The Legislative Assembly has powers to make laws on selected 61 subjects. (Council, in contrast, had the powers to legislate on 52 subjects including mining, tourism and water resources).
 - (f) A Gilgit Baltistan Consolidated Fund set up and the annual budget to be presented to the Assembly and voted upon as per practice in other Provinces (of Pakistan).

Longstanding Grievances

Imposition of ‘Nizam-e-Mustafa’: General Zia-ul-Haq who assumed power as the Martial Law Administrator through the 1980s imposed Sharia with a distinct pro-Sunni bent and interpretation. Several Sunni Islamic parties and Deobandi Groups had come up during his rule which caused disaffection amongst the majority Shia community in Gilgit Baltistan.

Tilting the Demographic Balance: There has been a perceptible policy, since the Zia era, of altering the demographic balance of Shia-dominated Gilgit Baltistan by settling outsiders in the area. It is reported that, as of January 2001, the old population ratio of 1:4 (non-locals to locals) has now changed to 3:4 (non-locals to locals). The Shia pockets of Skardu and Gilgit are witnessing a constant increase in the population of non-Shias. In the Gilgit and Skardu areas, large tracts of land have been allotted to non-locals. Other outsiders have purchased substantial stretches of land since they are economically better off than the locals. The rapid induction of Punjabi and Pushtun outsiders has created a sense of acute insecurity among the locals.

Political Rights as in other Provinces of Pakistan: This has been the consistent political demand of the people of Gilgit Baltistan that they did not enjoy equal rights as citizens of Pakistan and had thereby come to be ‘secondclass’ citizens with no or little stake in the political process. Gilgit Baltistan to be a Province of Pakistan: The amalgamation of the region into Pakistan, first announced by then President Zia-ul-Haq in 1982, be taken to its logical conclusion and Gilgit Baltistan be made the fifth province of

Pakistan.

The Protests of 2016 and the CPEC Factor

Hundreds of protesters took to the streets across Gilgit-Baltistan region against human rights abuses and crackdown by the Pakistani security forces. Angry protesters said these young men were imprisoned for demanding political rights and asking the Pakistani Army to leave the soil of Gilgit.

An important reason for the discontent among the people of Gilgit against Pakistan is the growing presence of China. The CPEC, signed in 2013 passes through Gilgit and is widely seen as a project that benefits China and Punjabi traders with little gain to the region. There were also growing apprehensions due to an increasing number of Chinese workers and soldiers becoming visible. Angry protesters took to the streets in Gilgit town, Astore, Diamer and Hunza with some even raising “anti-Pakistan” slogans.

The ‘Anti Tax’ Movement of Nov-Dec 2017

The Gilgit Baltistan Council Income Tax (Adaptation) Act 2012, had been passed by the GB Council in 2012 that authorised the adaptation of Pakistan’s Income Tax Ordinance, 2001 to all of Gilgit Baltistan. Large scale protests had broken out throughout the region against the new tax regimen and saw a ten day ‘Shutter down’ in all districts of Gilgit Baltistan. The agitation subsided after notification by the Department of Inland Revenue Gilgit-Baltistan directing tax agents to withhold collecting tax until amendments have been made in the Income Adaptation Act, 2012 by Gilgit-Baltistan Council.

The protests were on the principle that there should be ‘No imposition of Taxes until GB is a constitutional part of Pakistan’. In subsequent developments, the GB Council decided that instead of bringing a new taxation Act, the existing Gilgit Baltistan Council Income Tax (Adaptation) Act, 2012 shall be amended by incorporating the desired changes in consultation with all the stakeholders.

The Sartaj Aziz Committee

A nine-member constitutional committee headed by Sartaj Aziz, the then adviser to the PM on foreign affairs, was formed on Oct 29, 2015, to recommend steps to bring political and constitutional reforms in GB. The mandate of the Committee included:

- (a) Review of the current constitutional and administrative arrangements in Gilgit Baltistan and analyse any shortcomings in relation to aspirations of the people.

- (b) After studying the historic record and relevant treaties, examine whether the existing eternal boundaries of the territories that constitute Gilgit Baltistan overlap with territories that formed part of the state Jammu and Kashmir and if so, make recommendations for corrective measures;
- (c) Recommend constitutional and administrative reforms for GB, keeping in view the implications of these recommendations vis-a-vis the UN resolutions on Kashmir.

The Committee, which submitted its Report to the Pakistan Federal Government on 10 March 2017 which inter alia recommended:

- (a) A de-facto integration of GB with Pakistan but not a de-jure change since that will affect Pakistan's principle position on Kashmir. It recommended delegating further legislative, administrative and financial powers to GB to enhance the people's sense of participation and to improve service delivery.
- (b) The GB Legislative Assembly be brought on a par with other the provincial assemblies, with all legislative subjects, other than those enumerated in article 142 of constitution of Pakistan and its fourth schedule be devolved from the GB Council to the GB Legislative Assembly.
- (c) The GB government may be given representation in constitutional bodies like NEC, ECNEC, the NFC, and IRSA as an observer.
- (d) One or more SEZs be set up in GB under CPEC to provide larger employment opportunities for GB people.
- (e) People of Gilgit Baltistan be given special representation in the parliament.

On July 3, 2017, the Sartaj Aziz Committee was reconstituted to include the Ministers of Finance, Law and Kashmir Affairs. The Committee thereafter submitted a Supplementary Report on 26 September 2017 making some further recommendations, importantly:

- (a) Provision of funds through an agreed formula to cover the revenue deficit in GB budget.
- (b) Transfer of development funds directly to Gilgit Baltistan Government rather than through the ministry of Kashmir Affairs.
- (c) Shifting of budget of Gilgit Baltistan Supreme Appellate Court and Chief Court to Gilgit Baltistan Council.
- (d) The Ministry of Kashmir Affairs to consult the Government of Gilgit Baltistan before extending any federal government notification to Gilgit Baltistan.
- (e) Gilgit Baltistan to be accorded 'Observer' status in the Executive Committee of the National Economic Council (ECNEC), the National

Economic Council (NEC), the Indus River System Authority (IRSA) and the Council of Common Interests (formed under 1973 Constitution and presently consists of the Prime Minister of Pakistan and all four provincial Chief Ministers. The CCI is mandated under the Constitution to meet at least once in 90 days). The suggestion to give representation to Gilgit Baltistan in the National Assembly and Senate was not accepted.

Annulment of the Gilgit Baltistan Council

In February 2018, Pakistan's Prime Minister Abbasi announced the decision to annul the Gilgit-Baltistan Legislative Council (established under GB (Empowerment and Self Governance) Order in 2009 and headed by the Prime Minister of Pakistan had the mandate to legislate in 52 subjects). While some hailed the decision as 'historic' others thought it as a ploy to shift the Council's powers to the Ministry of Kashmir Affairs and Gilgit Baltistan.

There was also no clarity on other demands of the people such as representation in the Pakistan Parliament and in bodies such as the Council of Common Interests, the National Finance Commission and the Indus River Systems Authority. A 'technical' objection raised by the Secretary, Ministry of Kashmir Affairs and GB to the disbanding on grounds that the Council was set up under a Presidential Order and hence cannot be abolished through a Government order, which was resolved.

The Gilgit Baltistan Order, 2018

The Gilgit Baltistan Order of May 2018 replaces the Empowerment and Self-Governance Order of 2009 and seeks to bring Gilgit Baltistan region on as per par with other provinces by devolution of devolve greater authority and financial powers, empower the Gilgit Baltistan Assembly with the same legislative powers as other provinces of Pakistan including powers under the Schedule-IV of Pakistan's Constitution.

Under the new law, the Prime Minister has obtained imperial powers over Gilgit-Baltistan; he is not answerable to the region's courts, he can annul any law passed by the Gilgit-Baltistan Assembly, and he will enjoy complete immunity for his actions in the region.

Several powers hitherto dealt by the Gilgit Baltistan Council would henceforth be dealt by the Gilgit Baltistan Assembly have been included in a List of subjects that both the Prime Minister of Pakistan as also the GB Assembly can pass orders / legislate with the proviso that Orders of the Prime Minister would require to be considered and passed by the GB Assembly and approved by the GB Governor. These include the subjects of minerals, hydropower and tourism.

Insofar as residents of the region are concerned, hitherto they had been guaranteed only 17 basic rights and that too was limited only to GB. In terms of the Order, they are now empowered to those rights anywhere in Pakistan and have access to all apex courts of Pakistan.

Orders Suspended and Restored

On 21 June 2018, the Supreme Appellate Court of Gilgit Baltistan suspended the operation of the GB Order 2018. However, on 08 Aug 2018 these were restored by the Supreme Court of Pakistan with the directive that "...it was the Government's responsibility to ensure that the people of GB are treated the same manner as the citizens of any other part of the country".

Pakistan PM Imran Khan thereafter set up a high-level reforms Committee to evaluate the legal status of Gilgit-Baltistan, as per instructions given by the country's Supreme Court. The Committee recommended to change the status of Gilgit-Baltistan to an interim province and for the people of the region to be given due rights. These recommendations had been accepted in principle by Prime Minister Imran Khan who directed they be placed for approval before the Federal Cabinet.

The China Factor

The Karakoram Highway (KKH) that wind through Gilgit Baltistan provides the link between roads in Xinjiang AR of China and the road network of Pakistan. There is no gain saying the importance of both the road and the region for the China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), which is premised on that connectivity. China's strategic interests in the region are therefore inevitable. The GB Region are a rich trove of minerals, potentially also of uranium.

As Pakistan's debt builds up and its ability to pay off that debt declines, a Shakhmurov hand over of territory model or a Gwadar /Hambantota long lease of territory type model of settlement are not difficult to envisage.

The aspect of China's commercial interests clearly underlies the promulgation of the GB 2018 Order. A number of infrastructure projects are planned in Gilgit Baltistan, under the CPEC and otherwise. There is considerable public awareness on these projects, their impact on the region and the development and employment spinoffs they provide.

The constraints on the GB Assembly and Government to approve major infrastructure projects would be immense. Seen from a Chinese lens, obtaining approval and guarantees from the Federal Government is less cumbersome and far more pragmatic and that is the cause the GB Order of 2018 effectively serves – retaining substantive powers with the 'single window' of the Federal Government.

On the other hand, grant full province status to GB would be against the grain of that Chinese interests. How the Federal Government under Prime Minister Imran Khan seeks to balance these interests vis-a-vis the aspiration and interests of GB and its people is the challenge.

India's Position and Concerns

India has vehemently opposed Pakistan's move to announce Gilgit-Baltistan as its fifth province.

On 28 November 2018, just a day before Pakistan's Federal Cabinet was scheduled to consider the issue of provincial status to GB, India's COAS had made sharp observations. In his words "Pakistan was changing the demography of Pakistan-occupied Kashmir (PoK) and Gilgit-Baltistan, and seeking to take over the people" and that "People from Gilgit-Baltistan are also now being taken over gradually. So, to say that there is an identity between our side of Kashmiri and the other side, then identity thing has gradually been eroded very cleverly by Pakistanis. That is an issue we have to look at". He also emphasised that "Pakistan has very cleverly changed the complete demography of so-called Pakistan-occupied Kashmir, Gilgit-Baltistan. So, one is not very sure as to who is an actual Kashmiri, whom we're addressing these issues to..." and that "Every time something happens on our side (J&K), we must always address it to say that it is also going to have a radical effect on the other side (PoK). The issue is, on the other side, the complete demography has changed..."

On 27 May 2018, the Deputy High Commissioner of Pakistan to India was summoned to the MEA and a strong protest made against the issuance of the "so-called Gilgit Baltistan Order 2018". The MEA Media Release, which reads as follows, states the position of the Government of India:

"...the entire state of Jammu and Kashmir which also includes the so-called 'Gilgit-Baltistan' areas is an integral part of India by virtue of its accession in 1947. Any action to alter the status of any part of the territory under forcible and illegal occupation of Pakistan has no legal basis whatsoever, and is completely unacceptable. Instead of seeking to alter the status of the occupied territories, Pakistan should immediately vacate all areas under its illegal occupation". It was further conveyed that "such actions can neither hide the illegal occupation of part of the state of Jammu and Kashmir by Pakistan nor the grave human rights violations, exploitation and denial of freedom to the people residing in Pakistan occupied territories for the past seven decades".

India has no doubt been consistent and unswerving on that stated position. However, geo-strategic realities on ground, in, and around GB, are fast changing. A principled stand as such, with little economic, military or

political force to back it, may not be adequate to sustain those principles in the time to come.

There is hence an urgent need for India to candidly review its position in the context of these obtaining realities.



R Chandrashekhar, erstwhile member of the Armed Forces Headquarters Civil Service (1978-2013) is a Senior Fellow at the Centre for Joint Warfare Studies, New Delhi. His areas of interest are Civil Military Relations and Higher Decision Making Structures and understanding India's neighborhood.





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