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Editor's Note

A number of landmark events took place in the last quarter which have a direct/indirect impact on our national security. The most important was the President Trump Kim summit which took place in Singapore in Jun. While the Jury is still out on whether it was a success or not, nobody disagrees that it was a bold step and a good beginning. Does this give us a ray of hope that some day we could have a similar summit with Pakistan? The Joint Statement in Singapore was shy on detail but carried political promise. Instead of obsessing on the nuclear issue, it reflects clear recognition that a new beginning in U.S.-North Korea relations is possible only by replacing the 1953 Armistice Agreement with a permanent peace treaty and that regime security guarantee for North Korea is a prerequisite for denuclearisation. Mr Trump has accepted that the denuclearisation process will take time, but he wants to take it to a point that makes it irreversible. The affirmation of the Panmunjom Declaration (signed between the two Korean leaders in April) means that bilateral normalisation between the two Koreas will move apace and a meeting involving the US and possibly China to conclude a peace treaty can happen by end-2018.

The next event was the resumption of active operations against the terrorists in Kashmir after conclusion of Ramzan. With the Governors Rule being imposed, the security forces will have a free hand to do their work. The other important event was PM Modi-Xi Jin Ping meeting. The two leaders had their first informal summit in the Chinese city of Wuhan on April 27-28 to solidify the relationship in a broad spectrum of areas and ensuring better coordination between the border guarding forces of the two countries after the Doklam standoff. During their second meeting at Qingdao, which came nearly six weeks since the Wuhan summit, the

two leaders discussed a blueprint for deepening bilateral relationship and reviewed the implementation of decisions they had taken in the central Chinese city. One of the important outcomes of Qingdao meeting was that the Chinese accepted Prime Minister Modi's invitation to President Xi to have a similar informal summit in India in 2019.

Our current issue opens with the burning topic of rising petrol prices. In the article 'Price & Market Trends in the Petroleum Industry Major Issues & Strategic Aspects', Maj Gen S C N Jatar highlights that "Sustaining in Low Price Regime" and "Meeting the Climate Change" challenge are the two issues facing the petroleum industry today. Low price regime is a market trend while the climate change challenge is a policy trend. Due to the above trends, the world's energy needs are diversifying and changing quicker than anticipated and the industry will be compelled to cope with it. Hence, "course correction" is needed in the upstream petroleum industry. In 'Psychologists In Indian Defence Forces', Air Cmde AD Chhibbar concludes that the Defence Forces have suffered loss/wastage of human resources largely because of inept handling of its human resources. There is a need to adopt a professional approach towards this to arrest disturbing trends in the future. Like other advanced world Defence Forces, India too needs the services of qualified psychologists/counselors for its Defence Forces. Posting of such professionals would contribute significantly towards this objective. Prof. (Dr.) Vijay Khare in his piece on 'India's National Security Challenges and Hologrammatic Terrorism' highlights the changes in conflict and security issues brought about by revolution in technology and especially India's security issues in the era of globalisation. This security paradigm is also linked to the emergence of global terrorism and hologrammatic terrorism as a new threat to global peace and security as well as India's security issues. While some Indian analysts and politicians prefer to focus on Pakistan's role as a haven for a variety of militant groups, it is clear that India needs to dramatically enhance its domestic counter-terrorism infrastructure.

In 'Synergising Grey Zone Responses – An Area For Strategic Analysis' Rear Admiral Sudhir Pillai, states that Grey zone conflict has been defined as 'activity that is coercive and aggressive in nature, but that is deliberately designed to remain below the threshold of conventional military conflict and open interstate war'. Whilst normally grey zone challenges are meant to achieve gain without exposing the practitioner to penalties and risks that escalation may bring, as Hal Brands opines, recent grey zone strategies have potential to boil (over as in India's Doklam responses). In his article on 'Environmental degradation and India's National Security Need for a

new Paradigm Commodore Gokhale argues that rapid economic progress is causing rapid environmental degradation which creates its own problems. This is where the current dilemma lies. Efforts to mitigate poverty is causing irredeemable damage to environment. On the other hand, efforts to contain environmental damage impinges upon efforts to alleviate poverty which could cause mutiny of the poor. It's a Hobson's choice. There is an urgent need to find a new paradigm and boldly apply it to resolve this dilemma. In the piece titled Kashmir – The Tight Rope Walk ,Lt Gen Sanjay Kulkarni opines that the State of J&K was on boil even before Independence and most leaders today are descendants of those responsible for AZADI and the mess that we are in today. Is killing of Militants and all Over Ground Workers who are caught in cross fire the only answer or would dialogue deliver results or would punitive deterrence against Pakistan prevent Pakistan from adding fuel to fire or only development of the region and making it prosperous, the only answers to establishing normalcy in the valley. The answer is a right mix of all the above under Governors rule for at least ten Years. In his Paper on The Normative Aspects of India's Internal Security Mechanism ,Prof Gautam Sen has attempted to conceptualise the normative aspects of Internal Security mechanism and also examine the various issues and challenges that the country faces while addressing itself to solve the internal security problem which has plagued this nation state for over 70 years.

In his piece on Maoism/Naxalism /Left Wing Extremism - Present Status, Concerns And The Way Ahead, Brig Mahajan concludes that Maoist movement though unlikely to bloom into a full blown insurgency, is proving to be a serious threat to regional political stability and a big drain on the country's economy. Moreover, it generates social tensions, dividing people along caste, ethnic, communal, sectarian and regional lines and thus needs to be tackled in a comprehensive manner. The last article by Lt Col Gupta Ray deals with present strategic situation where China and Pakistan duo is continuing strategic pressure on India's security. Under these conditions how can India further grow its strategic power to become truly a reckonable regional power? Does she remain confined to her seven immediate neighbours or go beyond?

Enjoy the Monsoons and read on.



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

Price & Market Trends in the Petroleum Industry Major Issues & Strategic Aspects

By **Maj. Gen. S. C. N. Jatar, (Retd)**
Former CMD Oil India Ltd & ONGC Videsh Ltd

Introduction

“Sustaining in Low Price Regime” and “Meeting the Climate Change” challenge are the two issues facing the petroleum industry today. Low price regime is a market trend while the climate change challenge is a policy trend.

Due to the above trends, the world’s energy needs are diversifying and changing quicker than anticipated and the industry will be compelled to cope with it. Hence, “course correction” is needed in the upstream petroleum industry. Crude oil is a strategic commodity and its gradual replacement by renewables due to the above two trends will impact national energy strategies. It therefore behoves on the current players in the Indian upstream industry to apply their minds to the long term sustainability of their business plans, which are by and large on “business-as-usual” basis. The current thinking appears to be one of complacency and it is not uncommon to hear remarks such as, “The operations are profitable even at the current price and mandatory carbon pricing is unlikely to take shape for at least the next 30 years. Hence, no need for a change of plans.”

The two questions that I now pose to the industry are, “Is there need for a change of course towards greener and/or other energy businesses as a strategic shift driven by the above market and policy trends?” and secondly, “As the change towards other businesses has larger implications on national energy strategies and energy plans, how do you see these changes affecting the strategic, economic and defence plans of India?”

Price

Value of Net Energy

The cost of oil is not only the price at which it sells. The energy that goes into producing oil and gas also has a cost. This value of “net energy” can be measured by calculating Energy Return on Energy Invested (ERoEI). The world average value of ERoEI for hydrocarbons has reduced to 18 in 2006 from a value of 35 in 1999. The value of ERoEI for shale (2-3.5:1) brings out the decreasing value of net energy with increase in costs and decline in quality of crude oil. Similarly, the value of Liquid Fuel Return on Liquid Fuel Invested (LFRoLFI) has also reduced.

Oil Price Movements

The oil price floating around \$65 per barrel is not adequate to cover debt payments and may not even remain at this level. Some foreign oil companies cannot survive with \$50-\$55 prices, but U.S. oil businesses are profitable in the \$35-\$40 range.

OPEC and non-OPEC oil producers have been forced to cap production at 1.8 million bpd until March 2019 to drain the global supply glut and help prices climb above \$60. As mentioned in the book called “The Oil Card”, Jim Norman says, “You bring the price up and you checkmate China, you bring the price down and you checkmate Russia”¹. Thus, forecasting oil price remains an enigma.

Global oil consumption rose by only 1.6% above the 10-year average rate for a second consecutive year in 2016 while overall global energy demand was ‘weak’ in 2016 for the third consecutive year, growing by just 1% according to BP’s Statistical Review of World Energy. --

The demand for oil grew but the production dropped in spite of US shale revolution enabling it to produce nearly 10 mbpd earning the nickname “Saudi America”. The main reasons of drop in production were geopolitical and internal disturbances in oil producing countries. While the ceiling of 1.8 million barrels per day imposed on OPEC producers until March 2019 is so far going well, this system cannot obviously be taken as a long-term solution to improve prices.

Costs of Carbon Emissions

Main Emitters are Fossil Fuel Companies

100 active fossil fuel producers including ExxonMobil, Shell, BHP Billiton and Gazprom, are linked to 71% of industrial greenhouse gas emissions since 1988. Of these, 90% of significant emissions come from

publicly listed investor-owned and from state-owned fossil fuel companies companies.

Carbon Emissions and Share Price

A Contemporary Accounting Research study shows that the share price of the median company in the Standard & Poor's 500 reflects a penalty of about \$79 per ton of carbon emissions (based on data through 2012). Importantly, this research also shows that investors are able to assess this penalty from company disclosures and noncompany information available on climate change risk.

Social Cost of Carbon, Methane and Nitrous Oxide²

EPA (US Environment Protection Agency) and other US federal agencies use estimates of the social cost of carbon (SCCO₂) to value the climate impacts on rulemakings. The SC-CO₂ is a measure, in dollars, of the long-term damage done by a ton of carbon dioxide (CO₂) emissions in a given year. This dollar figure also represents the value of damages avoided for a small emission reduction (i.e., the benefit of CO₂ reduction).³

The Social Cost of CO₂, 2015-2050 (in 2007 dollars per metric ton CO₂) is expected to rise from \$36 in 2015 to \$69 per metric ton in 2050 discounting for inflation at 3%. The social costs of Methane discounted at 3% inflation are \$1000 in 2015 to \$2500 in 2050 and Nitrous Oxide \$13000 and 27000 respectively.

Climate Change

Obligations under the Paris Agreement

India ratified the Paris Agreement on 2 October 2016, which requires governments to present national plans to reduce emissions to limit global temperature rise to well below 2°C (3.6°F). The 2°C Scenario (2DS) reduces CO₂ emissions by almost 60% by 2050 (compared with 2013).

India has not prepared any national plan; at least it is not in the public domain. National plan will entail preparation by oil companies of their carbon management strategy, reporting of GHG emissions and pricing carbon. Currently, many international oil companies are working on a carbon price of \$100 a tonne of crude oil by 2030.

Working out EROEI and LFRoLFI to ascertain the net energy obtained in producing crude oil and natural gas and mandatory conduct of Stress Tests to see how the portfolio would perform in different oil and carbon price scenarios should also form part of the National Plan.

Investors Protest

Investors are raising concerns about actions that the publicly listed companies are taking about the risks of climate change in Europe and America, questioning about stranded assets (mainly oil and gas reserves that might have to stay in the ground due to limits on GHG emissions) and are anxious because fossil fuel companies' assets might depreciate in value over time. It is essential therefore that Indian companies working both in India and abroad should also be aware of how the petroleum industrial environment is changing and Government of India being the majority share holder in major Indian oil & gas companies should be raise concerns about effect of climate change on the valuation of its petroleum companies.

Western financial markets have already started pricing climate risk into oil and gas company stocks based on company reports and other data available from public and proprietary sources. Thus, markets, not politics, drive energy sector's push to cut greenhouse gas emissions.

Hesitancy in political direction and abdication of leadership are a direct cause for proliferation of legal suits and increased role for the courts. Steve Berman, perhaps best known for winning a \$206 billion settlement from tobacco companies in the 1990s and taking on big companies like Enron is setting his sights on fossil fuel companies now.⁴ A clutch of high-profile legal cases over responsibility for the effects of climate change will be fought out in courtrooms as claims stack up against both governments and some of the world's biggest oil and energy companies.⁵

Without sounding alarmist, it's best to face the reality of climate change. In November 2017, Norway's central bank urged the Norwegian government to consider divesting oil and gas company shares held in the \$1 trillion oil fund. Its assets include multibillion-dollar stakes in Exxon Mobil Corp., Royal Dutch Shell PLC, Chevron Corp. and BP PLC. Canada is introducing a carbon tax this year to limit greenhouse gas emissions from oil sands. Singapore has already announced a carbon tax from 2019 on large direct emitters of greenhouse gases.⁶

On 10 January 2018, New York City Mayor said he intend to divest the city's five pension funds of roughly \$5 billion in fossil fuel investments out of its total of \$189 billion. Other cities and entities selling off fossil fuel interests include Berlin and Washington, D.C.; insurance companies Swiss Re, Axa and Allianz; and educational institutions such as the University of Oxford in Great Britain, Stanford University in California

and Trinity College in Ireland. Philanthropies include the Wallace Global Fund and the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, notable because the late John D. Rockefeller grew his wealth as an oil baron.⁷

Additionally, the World Bank announced in December 2017 it will stop financing oil and gas exploration and drilling by 2019, in support of the Paris goals.

Growing Climate Change Awareness Globally

Governments are pushing policies cutting green house gas emissions from fossil fuels because climate change has become a mainstream industry concern. Note the trends:

- a. Royal Dutch Shell plans to halve its carbon emissions by 2050 by using natural gas for electricity generation.
- b. Saudi Aramco's initial public offering in 2018 is entirely to diversify the nation's oil-dependent economy away from oil.
- c. The American Petroleum Institute has announced its first program cutting air pollution, including methane emissions.
- d. French producer Total wants 20% of its total energy output to be low-carbon by 2035.
- e. Statoil is investing big in offshore wind, with up to 20% of its capital into renewables and lower carbon technologies by 2030.

Energy strategy extends across the spectrum of a nation's life; it includes economics and politics that beset the citizens, it has defence implications, its strategic impact on the security of the country is immense. In fact, it is capable of changing the ethos of a people because it affects the everyday quality of life of the citizen.

Energy strategy, therefore, should also encompass the crisis of smooth transition from hydrocarbon to alternative fuels, strategic reserves of petroleum, etc. The national fuel policy, which aims at ensuring adequate, secure and affordable fuel supplies to support economic and social development, and guarantee strategic and defence needs, evolves from the energy strategy.

Apart from lower prices and climate change becoming a strategic issues, the price of crude oil and in turn of energy, will be critical in national strategic planning.

What needs to be done

There is an urgent need for a fuel switch away from fossil fuels in electric power and for optimising application of nuclear, wind, and solar power on a wide spectrum apart from converting rail network to electricity, which should not be sourced from fossil fuels.

India does not appear to have initiated any studies to ascertain the energy received on energy invested (ERoEI) or liquid fuels returned by a liquid production process on liquid fuels invested to produce them (LFRoI) for any of the alternatives given above. Significantly, studies in the USA have shown that ERoEI/LFRoI on BTL (i.e. ethanol) is negative. India should weigh all options before allotting acreages for ethanol from *Jatropha*.

If an early start were not made in this direction, grave strategic, economic and social implications would follow. India needs to chalk out an Energy Policy to define her energy strategy to tackle the 'peak oil' conundrum. The task is challenging especially due to India's propensity towards delays in commencing projects and further to complete them.

Only a high level empowered task force, reporting to the Prime Minister, can succeed to save the situation.

The above short narrative gives some long-term strategic shifts and some short-term action to prepare for the long term.

The important actions are as follows:

- Commence calculating ERoEI and LFRoLFI for all fields.
- Work out a Carbon Management Strategy to including GHG emissions and carbon pricing.
- Work out a calculated shift towards natural gas.

¹ "The Solaris Report", February 4, 2016

² EPA Fact Sheet, Social Cost of Carbon

https://19january2017snapshot.epa.gov/sites/production/files/2016-12/documents/social_cost_of_carbon_fact_sheet.pdf

³ "The social Cost of Carbon",

https://19january2017snapshot.epa.gov/climatechange/social-cost-carbon_.html

⁴ This lawyer wants Big Oil to pay for climate change, Lacy Cooke, <https://inhabitat.com/this-lawyer-wants-big-oil-to-pay-for-climate-change/>

⁵ Climate change cases predicted to make a legal splash in 2018,

<https://www.reuters.com/article/us-global-climatechange-lawsuit/climate-change-cases-predicted-to-make-a-legal-splash-in-2018-idUSKBN1EM0IZ>

⁶ Towering S'pore's growth through green finance, Sophie Hares, Sebastien Malo,

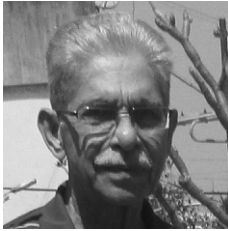
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⁷NYC sues, divests from oil firms over climate change, Frank Eltman Associated Press,

http://www.oanow.com/apwire/news/business/nyc-taking-steps-to-divest-pension-fundsof-fossil-fuels/article_a0c631d0-96fd-5f0a-a635-c8fe5f0f7904.html





Major General S.C.N. Jatar (Retd)

Commissioned in the Bombay Sappers, Corps of Engineers, Indian Army with seniority from June 07, 1954; important appointments held:

- Commander infantry brigades in Kashmir Valley and Rajasthan Desert, 1977-1981
- Staff Officer to the Expert Committee presided over by General K. V. Krishna Rao (1975-76) for the reorganisation of the Indian Army and for assessing external threats to India in a 25-year period.
- Commanded an engineer regiment (1971-1975) in the 1971 war in the Poonch Sector (J&K)
- Head of the Indian Military Training Team and Chief Instructor at the Nigerian Defence Academy, Kaduna, Nigeria, 1968-71
- Student Defence Services Staff College, General Staff Officer HQ Corps and Group Adjutant Bombay Engineer Group & Centre, 1966-1968
- Instructor at the Infantry School, Mhow, 1965-1966

Went on deputation to Oil India Limited (a public sector enterprise) in the wake of the oil blockade in 1981. He was CMD Oil India Ltd, CMD ONGC Videsh Limited, Chairman SCOPE, the apex body of the central PSUs and president of Petroleum Sports Promotion Board.

General Jatar was consultant to Hindustan Petroleum Corporation Ltd, president of RPG Petrochem and MD of Garware Shipping Limited. He served on the governing board of the Pune University Senate and Pune Stock Exchange.



Psychologists in Indian Defence Forces

Air Cmde AD Chhibbar, AVSM (Retd)

Introduction

In the last two decades or so the socio-economic changes have engulfed the entire world in general and Indian society in particular. The upheaval caused by these changes in the Indian society is phenomenal due to the urge to excel and prove to the world that we are a force to reckon with. People want to reach the top in the shortest possible time in their respective fields. This has led to untold stress and strain on an individual both physically and mentally. Due to this, the actions and reactions of humans are quite unpredictable and rationality, at times, takes a heavy beating. As a society, personnel of the Defence Forces are no different than their brethren in the Civvy Street and, therefore, are prone to similar trends in stress and strain. Technological advances in the field of military operations have placed even greater demands on its personnel.

Amongst all assets, human capital is the most precious asset of any organization and the Defence Forces are no different. It is unthinkable to have any potent force without better-managed personnel. Thus management of human resources assumes greater significance and is treated as one of the major activities of any organization. The Human Resource department is primarily responsible for selection, training, placement, promotion etc. It is also responsible for grooming of employees for higher appointments/responsibilities. Poor management of human resources leads to multitudes of problems linked with organizational efficiency, morale, motivation, and most importantly, the belief of subordinates in the system itself. Human intensive organizations like the Defence Forces are more vulnerable to poor organizational climate. Such poor climate may prove to be the root cause of many problems e.g. indiscipline, stress, anxiety, moral turpitude and host of other psychosomatic diseases. Military history stands testimony to the fact that even the best of gadgets, equipment and arsenals are rendered ineffective in the hands of de-motivated, ill trained and poorly led soldiers. Conversely, well-trained and motivated troops have conquered insurmountable odds even without advanced or sophisticated

weaponry and gadgets.

It is interesting to note that human beings act/react differently to a given situation, or even fail to act/react many a times. It is difficult to explain why a particular person behaves in a typical different from others in a similar situation. Why does an individual fail to react even when the situation is familiar? What is it that makes a high profile person succumb to unknown pressures? There are several such questions that keep bothering commanders all over the world but there are no simple solutions to these complex problems. Therefore, understanding human behaviour is all the more important for the well being of an organization. Professional psychologists assisting the commanders both at Headquarters and the field could fill this void in the Defence Forces.

Present System

Management of human resources in the Defence Forces is presently guided by conventional wisdom, time tested value system and patriotic spirit. Personal experience and skills of commanders also plays a major contributory role in this regard. To an extent, British legacy also plays a role of guiding factors in many issues of personnel management. Currently, those who are at helm of affairs of the Personnel Branches of the three arms of Defence Forces are not trained in the field of Human Resource Development (HRD) or Behavioural Sciences. This is a unique situation quite contrary to the management practices in vogue in all successful organizations. As a result, many a times a wrong person is placed for the right job or vice versa. In most cases, it appears that the Personnel Branch is focused primarily to ensure placement of a person in order to maintain mathematical figures of cadre/establishment. In such cases the human element is missing which leads to discontentment. It brings down the satisfaction level amongst personnel and gives rise to a feeling of insecurity. Under these circumstances, people are very vulnerable and may manifest in unhealthy behavioural pattern detrimental to the interests of the Defence Forces.

In an attempt to address the issue Defence Institute of Psychological Research (DIPR) under MoD has been tasked to help the Defence Forces in selection, training and research related with psychological well being of officers and troops. Unfortunately, in the present set-up, their role is limited to only selection and there is hardly any significant interaction with Defence units/formations in day-to-day activities. Importantly, in the existing set up there is no provision/system of help or counseling by a qualified psychologist either during training or at any time in the service career when the psychological well being of an individual is threatened.

Requirement of a Psychologist

As has been brought out, human behaviour is a complex activity, which at times defies logic. It follows no set pattern and no two individuals react in a similar fashion in identical situations. In the Defence Forces, personnel perform a myriad of tasks both complex and relatively simple from time to time. The aircraft, tanks, ships, weapon systems, radars etc are very costly equipment which demand the best attention from people who handle them at all times. Other supporting technical/administrative services have equally complex tasks to execute for achieving organizational objectives. To execute these kinds of tasks, personnel have to operate at their optimum efficiency at all times. Any decline in operational efficiency can lead to disastrous consequences, especially during war. It is generally seen that when personnel perform under such stress there is likelihood of an erratic behaviour getting manifested in them. Take the case of flying training. There are myriad situations wherein the crew of aircraft, both single engine and multi crew aircraft, demonstrate actions that defy logic. Fortunately, most such missions have a happy ending. This in turn tends to ignore the basis for deviations from the laid down SOPs/orders/instructions and the mistakes are forgotten faster than they occur. There is a need to understand the rationale behind each action if one has to ensure avoidance of recurrence. To provide the means of superior supervision it is not only desirable but also essential to examine the possible causes of such behaviour/symptoms and take timely corrective measures before any irreversible damage takes place. It is here that a professional psychologist would be able to assist the commander in achieving this task and more.

The changing values of society, high human expectations/aspirations also pose higher challenges to personnel. These contribute in further enhancing their stress levels. To tide over such difficult moments in their lives, the personnel expect more flexibility from the organization. They want to be cared, heard and looked after in a professional manner as never before. As mentioned earlier, human resources are the most precious assets of an organization therefore, it cannot sustain when its personnel are not working at optimum efficiency. An erring behaviour is a cry for help, a distress call, an indication of perceived blocked roads, and it calls for proper psychological investigation before such a person becomes nonproductive for the organization.

Most advanced Armed Forces of the world refer human problems to the psychologist who, in turn, advises the commanders in tackling these sensitive issues in the most appropriate manner. To cite an example, there exists an Army Psychologist Corps in the Australian Army where psychologists are recruited as regular uniformed personnel. They perform multifarious duties, which include selection interviews, research works, stress management, clinical

assessment, support to troops in distress etc. They strongly believe that each and every individual is a unique biological, sociological and psychological entity who needs individual attention at the time of distress. This, perhaps, keeps their troops in better psychological health. Similarly, USAF/USN has clinical psychologists on their strength. In the Indian Defence Forces, while officers in the hierarchal ladder do detect and counsel the affected personnel, the desired results have rarely been achieved. The ever increasing cases of fratricide and officer/ other ranks conflicts are a testimony to this fact. A qualified psychologist could provide the commander/senior officer with relevant tools to study and provide an optimum solution to the problem.

Conclusion

The Defence Forces have suffered loss/wastage of human resources largely because of inept handling of its human resources. There is a need to adopt a professional approach towards this to arrest disturbing trends in the future. Like other advanced world Defence Forces, India too needs the services of qualified psychologists/counselors for its Defence Forces. Posting of such professionals would contribute significantly towards this objective. Availability of a behavioural scientist (Psychologist) in the system, in order to study and assess the behavioural pattern of all personnel with a view to finding possible solutions to many behaviour related issues, may be the key. Defence Forces the world over have now resorted to such professional advice in an attempt to understand human behaviour under different levels of stress. Such a move has helped save valuable people, money and assets/equipment. A country like India, and its Defence Forces, can ill-afford huge losses in its inventory of human resources and equipment due to poor management of personnel. Thus, the availability of a psychologist in the Defence Forces as a regular employee is an inescapable necessity.



Air Commodore Ashok Chhibbar,

AVSM was commissioned in the IAF as a fighter pilot in Aug 1969. Apart from commanding a fighter squadron and two airbases, he has been Air-I of an Operational Command and Deputy Commandant of Air Force Academy. He is a regular contributor to the Air Force Flight Safety Magazine and has authored two books – Raindrops, and The Accidental Pilot. He and his wife, Veena are settled in Pune.



India's National Security Challenges and Hologrammatic Terrorism

Prof. (Dr.) Vijay Khare

The use of high-tech concepts by global terrorist organizations which were formerly utilized by transnational corporations to propagate covert messages in their commercial advertisements is not a hyperbole. In order to enhance an international terror effect, the projection of subliminal (beneath the consciousness) by using the mass media as the medium is a force multiplier in the hands of these terror organisations. Sometimes the minutes by 24X7 media channels transforms a 'this can happen' image into a 'this can happen to us' fear which some governments like China and Israel have attempted to counter by restrictions on globalised communication network. India, which is a frequent victim of a proxy war conducted through terrorist means, contributes to the global fear in this new paradigm of warfare by other means.

This article highlights the changes in conflict and security issues brought about by revolution in technology and especially India's security issues in the era of globalisation. This security paradigm is also linked to the emergence of global terrorism and hologrammatic terrorism as a new threat to global peace and security as well as India's security issues. It can be said that terrorism in the twentyfirst century was caused by a gap in the international system and the bipolar logic of the Cold War. India has to tackle post-Cold War terrorism and its subsequent development into hologrammatic terrorism with traditional security challenges. This article is premised on this argument. Many strategic and defence analysts, considered as oracles, focused on the particularities. Terrorism being a political subject has been a part of modern political dynamics for almost 200 years. On this basis, the UN Security Council, in its resolution 1566 (2004), uses three cumulative criteria to characterize terrorism: (i) Intent; (ii) Purpose; and (iii) Specific conduct, consisting of the following:

Intent : Criminal acts, including against civilians, committed with the intent of causing death or serious bodily injury, or the taking of hostages.

Purpose : Regardless of whether motivated by considerations of a political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic, religious or other similar nature, with the purpose of provoking a state of terror in the general public or in a group of individuals or particular individuals, intimidating a population or compelling a government or an international organization to carry out or to abstain from carrying out any act.

Specific Conduct : Which constitute offences within the scope of, and as defined in, the international conventions and protocols relating to terrorism.

The cumulative approach applied in resolution 1566 to define terrorism was supported by the first UN Special Rapporteur on the promotion and protection of human rights while countering terrorism.

What is unavoidable in today's society is cyberspace and virtual dimension. However, this space can be dangerous and risky if not monitored well. Hence, the international community has put in a lot of effort to assure certain responsibilities and terms in this virtual space. The increasing rate at which this space is used is alarming and the factors which have led to this are many. Some of the main factors are:

1. Increasing computing technology dependency.
2. Lack of security and privacy awareness among computer users.
3. Easy and widespread accessibility of software tools that can be used for computer hacking.
4. Variety of new types of threat actors in cyberspace.
5. Non-existence of state borders in cyber-attacks and asymmetric nature of cyber-attacks.
6. Insufficient preparedness and coordination of governments and international institutions for this virtual dimension of the society—the cyberspace.¹

It has been reported that the new terrorist groups are more violent and have access to new types of weapons. As a consequence, dangerous forms of terror which can be called super terrorism, envisaging mass casualties is fostered.

¹ Aleksandar Klaić (2015), A Method for the Development of Cyber Security Strategies Office of the National Security Council, Croatia, [Online: web] Assessed on 15 March 2018 URL :https://bib.irb.hr/datoteka/808228.AK_Method_for_CS_strategy_development_NATO_SPS_2015.pdf

Super terrorism when loosely defined is something that projects the future use of chemical, biological, nuclear and radiological weapons or WMDs by terrorist groups. Ehud Sprinzak, an Israeli terrorist expert, opined that super terrorism is based on two propositions taken in the context of an attack on America but one which may be relevant in the case of India as well, given our susceptibility to terror strikes.

While there is no universally accepted definition of terrorism its motives or means, nor there is a clear line between terrorism and the legitimate use of violence, however there is one commonly agreed denominator: a symbiotic relationship linking terrorism and the media. In a society that is contemporary and is an information based one, in which attention is grabbed only when it is highlighted by the media, terrorists are efficiently capable of exploiting the media for propaganda. This medium is used by them not only to convey their messages, sponsor their causes and recruit new adepts, but also has the capacity to influence political decision-making and public opinion. Terrorist propaganda seeks to mobilise domestic and international support, manipulating people's suffering and creating a general sense of fear and vulnerability aimed at destabilising society and its institutions.

It is calculated that, the more terrorist events are reported in the media, the more visibility and exposure they get. Whenever a terrorist attack is broadcasted, it produces a series of media interference waves: the hologram of terrorism. Hologrammatic terrorism aims to complete the action and ingrain the image of its attack into the world. While it is technically not a holographic image in a strict sense, it lives in us and in our nightmares, making threats and risks that may not exist or appear as real. This optical effect is useful to feed the social massive concern and to influence political decisions. The representation of terror is more efficient than its organization. Hologram is three-dimensional image formed by the interference of light beams from a laser or other coherent light source.²

Security Framework

There have been changes in security trends in the post-Cold War era. A broader and a non-traditional concept has taken over the traditional concept

² Definition of the hologram, [Online: web] Assessed on 20 March 2018 URL: <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/hologram>

of security which stresses upon entailing vast concerns of social, political, economic and environmental issues leading to a more comprehensive security which is becoming a more popular version of security.³ With globalisation and revolution in technology taking a fast pace, the issues being faced by States are getting complicated and comprehending security becomes crucial for the betterment of humanity.

The definition of security is to be safe from threats. But one can ask as to how safe the states are, with a number of threats being faced other than the military ones. With the complexity of threats the concept of security is ambiguous. The traditional military oriented security was seen in world politics in 1940 till the end of the Cold War from the then prevalent Realist scholar who emphasised on the attainment of military power. The Realists were the traditionalists who dominated the international relations in the 1940s. They believed in 'power politics' with States as the main actors, laying stress on attainment of more and more military power. Throughout the Cold War the traditional concept of security remained a dominant paradigm as both policy makers and strategic experts strongly adhered to the conviction that international relations are essentially conflictual and that what is the only solution, a bitter reality that cannot be overlooked or denied. State security remained a primary concern and objective of followers of traditional concept of security. To them, state is the pre-eminent actor in world politics and all other actors such as individuals, international organisations and NGOs etc. are either secondary or unimportant. From the Realist prospective, states face security dilemma and national security is achieved through the military means. The core values of traditional concept of security are national security and state survival; foreign policy of any state is formulated around these two basic priority or values.

New Perceptions

Contemporary writers who are growing in number have sought an 'expanded conception' of security, including a wide range of consideration. As the Cold War came to an end, the concept of security became a flaming subject of debate, dissection and discourse not only among the scholars but also among the strategists, policymakers and economists. The traditional

3 Umbreen Javaid (2008), "The Changing Trends of Security: Influence on South Asia", [Online: web] Assessed on 25 March 2018 URL: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/309282948_the_changing_trends_of_security_influence_on_south_asia.

concept had emphasised on the 'centrality of State as pivot of political life'. However, today we are living in a world where change is intense and swift, knowledge seeks supremacy over 'the mindless first', communication technology has tossed us into a 24-hour society that never sleeps and the transnational boundaries on our globalised planet make us at once interdependent and wary of each other. Security perceptions have also changed, moving on from the mere defence and territory concerned to identifying other areas of conflict where nations can explode into threats of national security. The concept of national security is being redefined. The gamut of its operations has undergone a paradigm shift. A few years ago, understanding how to distinguish the terrorists was a problem. The classification of subjects of terror could be built on the basis of the revealing definitions, useful to define the characteristics of some over others. In general the characteristics also indicate the profound connotation, the main motivation; even the political nature of the indicated subject identified e.g. the terrorist attack typology after the train explosion in Madrid and other parts of the world has finally entered a new phase of transition. Therefore, the terrorists were identified on the basis of their motivation to act and were identified on the basis of their politic. The criteria for distinction were mainly three:

- 1.) Political statements such as terrorist demand.
- 2.) The political connotation of terrorists like Marxist or Fascists, Islamic, Third world or anti American.
- 3.) The regions they belong to, politically and geographically etc.

Three Terrorist Strata:

Local groups of terrorist: Local groups of terrorist which act in well-defined areas, whose action is aimed at addressing the causes of domestic power struggle.

Global terrorist organisations: Global terrorist organisations, which act everywhere in the world to produce major events and attacks that will remain in the collective imagination for a long time. It will be stored such as historical events in collective consciousness of the world community for longer time (e.g. 9/11 attack on Twin Towers).

Global terrorist groups: Which act in certain areas of the world with a strategic local action in order to spread global terror such a German Bakery bomb blast at Pune and broadcast through the internet and media.

Global terrorist groups have attracted our attention for two very basic reasons, as the global structure of terrorist organisation is completely new

and it adopts a particular morphology that is connected with analysis called 'Skyline Unusual' and it requires a totally new analytical skill because the function of global contemporary terrorism cannot happen without the fundamental contribution of communication and the network of the mass media. From the local groups the global cells have taken the technique of urban warfare and the technique of political attack planned in time and in space. Local claim has strengthened the presence of global terrorist groups. Local terrorist activities are based on local action for global terrorism. This is the hologram of Al Qaeda that appears even when it is not involved in covering the international terrorist network that is structured to oppose the global and democratic west, through the management of terror generated by the partnership between international cell and local groups.

The Communicative Shock

Contemporary democracies are responsible for their citizens including the enemies of democracies as well. Hence, the long-term military action could become self-defeating. Errors are more likely to occur and the communicative shock could paralyse us and turn us into preys in the hunt by terrorists. The static nature of military strategy army, police, parliamentary forces and law can serve as a strategic advantage for the terrorist communication network which is increasingly capable of transmitting fundamentalism, based on the extension of anti-western resentment from the government to the nations and from the nation to the people.

The international terrorist network aims to spread panic by attacking the organisation / public institutions (or places) such as airports, railway stations, supermarkets, coffee shops in order to attract global publicity and terrorise global society.

There are six types of communicative shocks used in hologrammatic terrorism:

- **Index of Violence:** It is the physical state of individuals or groups.
- **The Degree of Subversion:** It is the index that is attributed to all activities that is not formulized and is aimed at destabilising the regularity in terms of governance or the maintenance of political power.
- **Resonance Communicative:** They are all the terrorist events that have or could be incorporated into at least 5 or 10 national newspapers and on major public and private radio and television newscast throughout the world.
- **Recurrence of the Subject** should be selected as potential actors in terror

immediately recognisable and attributable to the overall strategy of the terrorists those individuals already known to have previously acted with a certain degree of regularity during at least 3 years.

- **Significance of the Object:** The acts that characterize local terrorism are also selected on the basis of a strategic goal to which the attacks are aimed, either directly or indirectly.
- **The Deterrent Effect:** The deterrent effect is difficult to determine with mathematical precision, but it is strongly indicative of the attacks aimed to address the political decision and to spread insecurity and fear in the population.

Projection of Holograms

Terrorist attack can take place anywhere such as train station or in any market place. The effect of an explosion is very devastating. It can be a terrorist attack, but it can also be hologram that appears, visible yet ethereal, overwhelming, in front of perplexed eyes. By Hologram means “entire transfer” in the two-ways of a transferred images and an overall transfer attack impact. The complete meaning of contemporary terrorism can be found in the representation of the transferred image into the western daily destruction. Hologrammatic terrorism is a particular type of terrorism that completes the act by making it last as an image. Perhaps it isn't yet technically a hologrammatic image. But it lives with us and in our nightmares, making real the threats and the risks that don't exist. Hologrammatic terrorist action consists of a political process divided in two phases, terrorist bombing which produces the hologram through media image; the image then gets reflected in the media, a terror hologram gets created that is not necessarily projected on terroristic threat.

Mind Management:

Areproduction of the image is responsible for recording the terroristic presence and the imprinting of the cognitive structure of the audience. The hologrammatic image is real, different from the traditional journalistic photography. It is real because it lives in the mind of the audience. After the attack, the terrorists behave as total strangers. As images don't trouble on a single television channel, the creating of political hologram is due to superimposition.

With globalisation, the role of information and communication is changing the perception about global peace and security. Information is one sided and communication is two sided. In order to achieve their goal the terrorist groups use internet and other resources like Facebook, YouTube,

various blogs, video games, mobile, TV, for projecting their activities at the global level. However, these modern means of communication within the civil society have been banned by few nation states, for example the Israeli and the Chinese governments tried to shut down the websites. New terrorist groups are reportedly known to use more belligerent ways and new types of weapons as a result, more lethal and dangerous forms of terror which are new are being fostered which can be called super terrorism, envisaging mass casualties.

Super terrorism loosely defined projects the future with the use of chemical, biological, nuclear and radiological weapons or WMDs by terrorist groups. As per Israeli terrorism expert Ehud Sprinzak, super terrorism is based on two propositions, taken in the context of an attack on America but one which may be relevant in the case of India as well, given our propensity of terror strikes.

1. The Capabilities Propositions: This assumes that raw materials and information to construct WMDs are far more readily available than they have been in the past.
2. The Chase Propositions: More extremist groups than in the past have a heightened interest in launching an attack on the American soil.

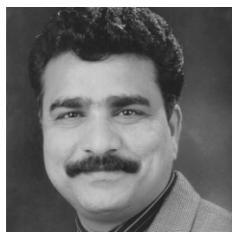
India's Security Challenges

A dynamic global security environment has defined India's security concerns and the perception that the South Asian region is of particular global security interest. When it comes to defence vigilance and preparedness of India, there has been vigilance keeping in mind the continuing presence of terrorist and fundamentalist forces in its neighbourhood. Although, India is prepared to face any challenges in terms of its security, there is complexity in these challenges that India faces. India faces a series of low intensity conflicts characterised by ethnic and left wing terrorism and ideologies, and also the proxy war conducted by Pakistan and various radical Jehadi outfits through the instrumentality of terrorism. A major concern for India has been drug trafficking and proliferation of small arms and it is a fact that these two neighbours with nuclear weapons and missiles have a history of aggression and war.

Conclusion :Need for Enhanced Counter Terror Infrastructure

Four major conventional border wars have been fought by India besides an undeclared Kargil war. India has always responded to these threats and challenges with a lot of restraint, calculation and moderation keeping in

mind its peaceful outlook and reputation as a peace loving country. India has emerged as one of the world's most consistent target of Islamic militants. Although the Mumbai attack of November 2008 attracted global attention the most, they were nearly the most recent and dramatic in terms of bloody terrorist incidents throughout urban India. On 11 July 2006, for example, terrorists planted seven bombs on the Suburban Railway of Mumbai which led to a casualty of more than 200 people. The November 2008 attacks however highlighted the inability of the Indian security apparatus to anticipate and appropriately respond to major terrorist incidents. As one prominent analyst wrote, the government's response to the Mumbai attack was 'comprehensive failure from the point of view of India's security establishment.' While some Indian analysts and politicians prefer to focus on Pakistan's role as a haven for a variety of militant groups, it is clear that India needs to dramatically enhance its domestic counter-terrorism infrastructure. Improvement will require significant infusion of resources, policy consistency and political will, that are often lacking in India.



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Synergising Grey Zone Responses – An Area for Strategic Analysis

Rear Admiral Sudhir Pillai, NM, Indian Navy (Retd)

- Scholars involved in strategic studies are exploring much deeper into an area that has come to be identified and called as the 'grey zone'. What we witness(ed) in the South China Sea or in Ukraine and Crimea or in Syria, is now increasingly recognised as grey zone conflicts.
- Grey zone conflicts has been defined as 'activity that is coercive and aggressive in nature, but that is deliberately designed to remain below the threshold of conventional military conflict and open interstate war'. Whilst normally grey zone challenges are meant to achieve gain without exposing the practitioner to penalties and risks that escalation may bring, as Hal Brands opines, recent grey zone strategies have potential to boil (over as in India's Doklam responses).

Salami Slicing Along Our Borders

- While Doklam has been in the news with India responding militarily (tactically), many other similar scenarios (with provocations remaining below a threshold) get played out, thus not inviting similar military responses. These can all be characterised as grey zone methods, with strategic objectives being pursued through diverse means such as, blocking passage of pilgrims to Kailash Mansarovar through Nathu La, or road construction, in the Doklam region. Whilst initially the Chinese said the pilgrimage had been stopped due to mountain landslides, they would later agree to, the stoppage being a result of 'security concerns'. The Chinese appear to also be prodding the Bhutanese to agree to 'complete border negotiations with them and allow Beijing to establish an embassy in Thimpu' through a grey zone tactic of a 'constant influx of yak herders and medicinal herb collectors from China'.

Indian Responses – An Analysis

- For India, many lessons need to be learnt on how to approach the issue from a strategic point of view as against the tactical responses one sees as in sending in Indian Army troops to halt the advance of Chinese construction in Bhutanese territory. Indian responses in the past to Chinese confrontations may have been to respond in a myriad of military ways as happened in clashes at Nathu La and Cho La in 1967, or the 1987 skirmish in Sumdorong Chu Valley.
- However, in this day and age, given China's rise as an economic, military and political power, confrontations such as in Doklam, have a potential to boil over very differently. This is given the very different nature of China and their military at this stage. The scenarios were quite different in 1967, when China was faced with the complexities of the Cultural Revolution. The conciliatory nature that Rajeev Gandhi encountered in 1988 with Deng Xiaoping stating "this is a moment to forget those unpleasant things and look to the future" and Premier Li Peng stating that "the border issue could be resolved with mutual understanding and mutual accommodation", was in a period when Deng appears to have been 'biding his time; maintaining a low profile'. This has been commented upon by the former Chinese diplomat, Zeng Xyyong, who worked as a councillor at the Chinese Embassy in Delhi.
- As Joel Wuthnow, et al, write in *War on the Rocks*, 'China has quietly maintained, and in some ways deepened, its presence in and around Doklam. In late August, just after the standoff was resolved, a Chinese defence ministry spokesman **stated** that the PLA would increase patrols in Doklam to "resolutely safeguard" the country's sovereignty claims. In December, Indian media reported that China had continued to deploy **roughly** 1600 troops, about the size of an army regiment, in the contested area. These were **reportedly** supplemented by an increase in the number of advanced PLA fixed-wing and rotary aircraft based across the border in Tibet. In January, India's Army Chief General Bipin Rawat confirmed that the PLA had remained over the winter and "carried out some infrastructure development," though Delhi **rejected** the assertions of some hawkish Indian **analysts** that China had undertaken a more significant military build-up. In March, Indian Defence Minister Nirmala Sitharaman **noted** that PLA forces had built "sentry posts, trenches, and helipads" designed to facilitate year-round deployments. In short, China's tactical withdrawal during the crisis did not imply abandonment of its larger objectives to resolve the dispute on favorable terms and gain military advantage vis-à-vis India.'
- Ed Luttwak in 'The Rise of China vs the Logic of Strategy', has succinctly

opined that “instead of seeing leaders striving to act pragmatically in pursuit of their goals and preferences within the operative political constraints, I see them as trapped by the paradoxes of the logic of strategy, which imposes its own imperatives, all the more so when they retain the delusion of free choice in the presence of conflict. “No matter at what level, from a knife fight in an alley to the multidimensional and multilateral engagements of grand strategy in peacetime, the logic is always the same: action evokes reaction, which need not stop the action, but which does prohibit its simple, linear progress.”

- If students of strategic studies, agree with the logic that I adapt from one of the world's foremost strategic thinkers, we in India, could do well to ponder as to what should be India's strategy under the circumstances and in the face of 'grey zone', or rather indirect and asymmetric methods; or non-state provocations. What can be our strategies that keeps our responses within our means and below the escalatory threshold? What can we do to deter and confront such activities that threaten the peace and can boil over in uncontrollable ways?

Tackling Ambiguity – Need for a Strategy

- A U.S. Special Operations Command white paper defines Grey Zone activities as “competitive interactions among and within state and non-state actors that fall between the traditional peace and war duality . . . characterized by ambiguity about the nature of the conflict, opacity of the parties involved, or uncertainty about the relevant policy and legal frameworks.
- As Hal Brands states in his e-note for the Foreign Policy Institute: “Grey zone challenges are inherently ambiguous in nature. They feature unconventional tactics, from cyberattacks, to propaganda and political warfare, to economic coercion and sabotage, to sponsorship of armed proxy fighters, to creeping military expansionism. Grey zone challenges, in other words, are characterised usually by incremental aggression. They represent that coercion that is, to varying degrees, disguised; they eat away at the status quo one nibble at a time.” Grey zone approaches seek to achieve the fruits of war, in the form of territorial gains, and revision of existing (or non-existing) arrangements.
- Captain Sam Tangredi USN (Retd), Professor of National, Naval and Maritime Strategy at the Center for Naval Warfare Studies, U.S. Naval War College highlights a possible strategy in handling Grey Zone incidents. The Chinese seizure on 15 December 2016 of an Unmanned Underwater Vehicle (UUV) operated by the U.S. Naval Service (USNS) vessel *Bowditch* (an auxiliary) in international waters, has been called by him, as one of the most

brazen acts yet in ongoing grey-zone conflicts. Usually grey-zone incidents in the South China Sea are carried out by the Chinese maritime militia, but, ‘the use of a PLAN ship to violate international law in international waters was indeed brazen and an escalation of activities’. Captain Tangredi suggests “taxing China for Grey Zone Infractions by imposing a high tariff on a select group of Chinese-made electronic imports, as an initial step. US businesses, profiting from Chinese imports, would be aghast by such actions and some may say call it an over-reaction for a ‘mere oceanographic drone’. This action will not set off a war, but it would send a message to an export-dependent economy.” The Captain opines that ‘China is a mercantilist, not a free-trade nation; it will get the message’.

- While such strategies may or may not work for India, we must be mindful of escalation dynamics as China grows muscle and can, with India not show much restraint as they may do against a formidable US military machinery.
- Adam Elkus in ‘50 Shades of Gray’ cautions that Grey War Concepts often appear to lack strategic sense. They can be a strategy in itself. He cites Pakistan as an example. ‘During the Cold War, the Pakistanis directed insurgency and terrorism against the Soviet Union and its local allies in Afghanistan. Because Pakistani security was guaranteed by the United States, Pakistan felt free to foment rebellion against Moscow and its puppet regime as long as the operation did not push the Soviets into open combat with Islamabad. The Pakistanis also have always engaged in low-intensity conflict operations against India and sponsored insurgency and terrorism with the expectation that they could operate below New Delhi’s threshold for retaliation. This assumption has motivated every Pakistani operation from its sponsorship of Kashmiri terrorists and insurgents to its own gambit during the 1999 Kargil War.’
- But every such strategy needs a counter-strategy lest our policies boomerang.
- With Pakistan we could do much, such as bring air power to play as we did in Kargil, or undertake surgical strikes across the border.. We have over recent years resorted to much, short of full-scale war, faced with what is differently called proxy warfare, salami-slicing, coercive strategies, escalation dominance, or compellence. We seem to believe that with Pakistan, they can be compelled to forcibly do as you wish by hurting them — and raising the threat of future harms. But with China it can be very different and we need to strategise lest, we fall short, or, their responses are too big.

Russia – A Case Study

- Dr Mark Galeotti, in his blog entitled ‘In Moscow’s Shadows’ analyses statements of General Valery Gerasimov, Chief of the General Staff of the

Russian Federation. In an article written in the *Military-Industrial Kurier* (27 February 2013), the General had stated that 'before 2008, when the wartime army numbered more than 4.5 million men, these tasks were handled exclusively by the armed forces. But conditions have changed. Now, countering 'diversionary-reconnaissance and terroristic forces' can only be organized by the complex involvement of all the security and law-enforcement forces of the country. We need well-grounded recommendations on the use of interagency forces and means for the fulfilment of territorial defence, methods for combatting the terrorist and diversionary forces of the enemy under modern conditions'. Dr Galeotti perceptively opines that Russia increasingly engages in 'politically-focused operations' as seen in Russia's operations in Crimea and Eastern Ukraine and comments as follows:

- Russia chooses such guerrilla geopolitics options based on 'an appreciation of the fact that in a world shaped by an international order that the Kremlin finds increasingly irksome, and confronted by powers and alliances with **greater** raw military, political and economic power, new tactics are needed which focus on the enemy's weaknesses and avoid direct and overt confrontations'. He opines, 'To be blunt, these are tactics that NATO, an alliance designed to deter and resist a mass, tank-led Soviet invasion—finds **hard** to know how to handle.'
- The role of non-military means of achieving political and strategic goals has grown, and, in many cases, they have exceeded the power of force of weapons in their effectiveness. In other words, this is an explicit recognition not only that all conflicts are actually means to political ends—the actual forces used are irrelevant—but that in the modern realities, Russia must look to non-military instruments increasingly.
- Russia uses to great effect 'what meagre assets it has, rather than any real strength in depth'. Who are Russia's allies? Venezuela and Syria. Their grand strategy includes pragmatism that builds partnerships with China and furthers its relationship with Iran, as during the nuclear debates.
- Many lessons can be learnt from such Russian approaches!

Synergising Policy Options for India

- I query 'Is India and its Army, in Doklam, using the wrong approaches, for what should be handled as grey-zone challenges? Let us clearly recognise China as a formidable and growing military, political and military power?'
- The setting up of a Defence Planning Committee headed by the NSA, a former Director of the Intelligence Bureau, is interesting, if we are to expand our options especially in a non-linear manner.
- Whilst doing so, military representation within that Committee, could do

well to emphasise, that the role of militaries is conventional. Our Military Strategy must flow from a National Security Strategy that has analysed in depth political, diplomatic, economic, military and geopolitical strengths and weaknesses and tempered by realism, as against idealism.

- Let us smell the coffee and seek to analyse the Grey Zone and potential counter-strategies well. India needs to understand how to synergise warfare in a myriad of non-military ways. Our military, is a conventional arm of the nation, and to expose this arm to grey-zone strategies, without adequate forethought, or a clearly articulated strategy, could be a folly. Military options must remain that force of last resort, and that too only after the necessary preparatory efforts are in place. India needs to rise above its reactive approaches, such as when its military instrument reacts tactically by default, when the status quo is challenged, in areas such as Doklam or Bhutan.
- The tactical mindset that dominates national security decision-making prioritises military means over political ends and confuses activity (such as surgical strikes or counter bombardment) with progress. Schadlow emphasises this when she says: 'Because the use of military force is not connected to operational plans for subsequent political consolidation, we vacate the space between war and peace. Given force asymmetries, it is in this space — battlegrounds of perception, coercion, mass atrocity (as in Mumbai in 2008) — that enemies and adversaries would seek to operate.'
- As Dr Galeotti articulates: 'The role of non-military means of achieving political and strategic goals has grown, and, in many cases, they have exceeded the power of force of weapons in their effectiveness. In other words, this is an explicit recognition not only that all conflicts are actually means to political ends—the actual forces used are irrelevant'. One can infer that a modern reality is that nations must look to non-military instruments increasingly.

Organising Grey Zone Strategies

- Can there be a message in this for India? In facing powers and alliances with greater raw military, political and economic power, new tactics and strategies are needed which focus on the enemy's weaknesses and avoid direct and overt confrontations.
- We need to give greater thought to the use of 'interagency' forces and means in defending our territories, methods for combatting terrorism and diversionary forces that the enemy or adversary may choose to employ. All this is supplemented by military means of a concealed character, including carrying out influence operations and information warfare; and the actions

of embedded/covert special-operations forces.

- Could we respond with low-intensity capabilities such as para-military or grey or little green 'special' forces, while keeping military forces ready in the background ready for any higher-intensity dominance needed to control escalation, and to prevent grey-zone challenges from progressing to more overt, conventional aggression? In raising this questions many policy issues come to mind that we need to give greater thought to. The following is a sampling of such thoughts:-
- Can 'grey' Special Force be employed to challenge aggressions that seek to achieve significant strategic objectives?
- The Special Frontier Force (SFF) was raised in November 1962 for such roles. Could a strategy include revitalising such forces and even raising it to a much larger force?
- Can force like the Assam Rifles and ITBP, be synergised through unitary leadership, such as under a Special Operations Command as against our penchant for diluting their roles under the Home Ministry?
- Is the recent attempt to shift the Indian Coast Guard under the Home Ministry a good move given concepts such as we debate?
- What can be the other indirect and asymmetric means that one can use under circumstances as this article debates?
- While we debate the need for increased jointness within the military and suitable structures towards an effective unitary command & control systems and strategic leadership, we appear to be disjointed for adapting structures that can be synergised for grey-zone strategies.
- Andrew Erickson and Conor Kennedy have written about how China adapts to synergise some of her grey-zone forces between the military and local government.
- The leadership of the Maritime Militia follows a dual military-civilian structure with institutionalised mechanisms for bringing local civilian and military leadership together in militia building.
- This dual-leadership system begins at the Provincial Military District level and goes down to the county/township People's Armed Forces Department level.
- The institution that binds the two into one decision-making body is the National Defense Mobilization Committee (NDMC) system, a consulting and coordinating body "in charge of organizing, directing and coordinating nationwide national defense mobilization."
- At the national level, the State NDMC is led by the Central Military Commission and State Council, and an NDMC is formed at each corresponding military and government leadership level from the province

down. Because there is no Military Region (MR)-equivalent level of government, an intermediary NDMC is formed from the leaders of each provincial NDMC within that MR.

- These structures appear to be akin to structures we now have in place under the National Disaster Management Act and National Disaster Management Authority. Can we similarly seek synergetic organisations in other areas as a national security imperative?

Conventional Deterrence

- All this is not to suggest that conventional readiness or deterrence and dissuasive measures can be lowered. As far as the military is concerned, we need to synergise our operational thinking as never before. India can do well to expand its thinking, beyond parochial turf related military bottle necks. The Chiefs of our three military forces must collectively articulate unitary Command & Control structures towards formidable deterrence against any mis-adventurism. The military knows better than anyone else that China has risen to levels that can't be ignored, or handled tactically, as in Doklam.
- Georgii Isserson, the Soviet military theoretician predicted: "War in general is not declared. It simply begins with already developed military forces. Mobilization and concentration is not part of the period after the onset of the state of war as was the case in 1914 but rather, unnoticed, proceeds long before that."
- Our penchant is to approach challenges as the Chinese pose by tactical thinking with discussions often focused on the correlation of forces needed for victory. However, at the operational and strategic levels, a much different approach is required.

Indirect Strategies

- 'Indirect and asymmetrical means', has come to characterise warfare in this day and age given the deterrent power of nuclear and conventional capabilities. The 'indirect and asymmetrical means' can employ a vast array of forces and instruments. In the Russian way of thinking, war could commence with the installation of a political opposition through state propaganda (with news agencies like CNN and BBC drumming up the crescendo), the Internet and social media, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), and a myriad of below the horizon systems. After successfully instilling political dissent, separatism, and/or social strife, the legitimate government has increasing difficulty maintaining order. As the security situation deteriorates, separatist movements can be stoked

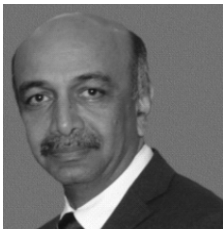
and strengthened, and undeclared special operations, conventional, and private military forces (defence contractors) can be introduced to battle the government and cause further havoc.

- Doklam was a small area I chose to urge new ways of looking at things. But, we can do well to look far beyond including within our boundaries, in areas such as Kashmir and the Red Belt, to get our act together against non-military ways of waging war, and its primacy in this age and into the future.

Summary

- Strategies to handle Grey Zone violations need to be recognised and the Indian State must put together robust response mechanisms and structures lest the pot boil over in use of the military to curb grey zone issues. While, this could serve as a subset of our Military Strategy, we must be mindful that these strategies can be effective with a big power only when conventional military deterrence and readiness is ensured.
- India must evolve its organisational and institutional models to tackle the middle ground between war and peace. Intellectually, we need to discern how to avoid the predictability and rigidity that is characterised by overt military responses. A strategy for 'Grey Zone' responses needs study urgently by a wider section of academia, besides the closed door deliberations that a few must be indulging in.
- Food for thought that I could leave for academics and students that read this publication is to look at Grey Zone challenges strategically rather than through operational or tactical lenses. Future wars would be conducted by a rough 4:1 measure of non-military and military means is what General Gerasimov opined in his eminently readable article where he emphasises "New Challenges Demand Rethinking and the Forms and Methods of Carrying out Combat Operations".

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Environmental Degradation and India's National Security A need for a new Paradigm

Commodore Hari Anant Gokhale

India's birth on 15th March 1947 was a bloody affair. Massive and violent mass migrations happened across western and eastern border of the nation. Thousands and thousands were killed or displaced. Indian Armed forces were pushed into a massive rescue and rehabilitation effort. After Maharaja of Kashmir signed the accession deed with India, Pakistan decided to precipitate the situation by sending regular forces and unruly and violent tribal to annex Kashmir. Pakistan almost succeeded in its misadventure till they were stymied by Indian Army and Air force and pushed back. Saga of unending border conflict had commenced which continues to date. This was followed by annexation of Goa from Portugal, 1962 war against China, 1965 war against Pakistan, 1971 war against Pakistan which resulted in splintering of Pakistan and creation of Bangladesh, Sumdorong Chu Standoff in 1987,

Kargil war against Pakistan in 1999 and repeated border incidents against China precipitating into a tense standoff in Doklam in 2017.

In popular imagination, including that of men women in uniform, National Security is visualized as a war fought with an enemy for preserving territory of India. National security has meant soldiers slugging it out with rifles, guns, mortar, tanks or ships firing guns at each other or classical dog-fights in the air with front guns blazing at enemy aircraft caught in the crosshair. In the 90s the picture was essentially the same except use of better hardware like helicopter gun-ship and missiles at sea and in the air. Spate of English movies like "The Longest Day" or "Guns of Navarone" or own like 'Haqeeqat' and 'Border' further concretized this image of national security.

With passage of time and new technological inventions newer threats to

national security emerged of which cyber warfare was the most potent one. Psy-warfare is a recent threat which uses fake news and data-trading as its tools. Alleged sale of data by Facebook to Chinese communication majors like Huawei and Lenovo is the latest stunner in this regard and impact of which is still being assessed.

Trade warfare has been a threat to national security in the past but it is gaining fresh impetus because it is less risky and allows one power to prevail over another without the physical act of occupying territory. Russia has used economic sanctions against Georgia and Ukraine and USA is now using it against Iran and North Korea. USA has started brandishing this threat against even bigger powers like Russia and China and the world waits with bated breath.

Essentially all these threats are external in nature. It can be convincingly argued that we, through use of our military, diplomacy and increasing economic clout, India has fairly succeeded in containing them.

Realization by Pakistan that it cannot defeat India in a conventional warfare, made it adopt the doctrine of “thousand cuts”, with tacit approval of China and tacit blind eye of USA. Saboteurs were the new soldiers of this warfare. They were trained and supported to exacerbate India’s fault lines of religious, caste and class conflicts. They caused bomb blasts, terrorist attacks and sabotage of critical infrastructure like Indian Railways. A number of train blasts in Mumbai and Delhi, attack on iconic Red Fort, Kandahar aircraft hijack, attack on India’s parliament and the last act of 26/11 mayhem in Mumbai made India’s security establishment reel. On number of occasions, war between India and Pakistan seemed imminent. India has bled, and continues to bleed in Jammu and Kashmir, but India’s security establishment has managed to contain this threat as well.

Today a new threat challenges India’s security establishment. It is the threat of Naxalism. This threat is born out of abysmal poverty of tribals in states of Andhra, Odisha, Maharashtra, Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh, Jharkhand and Bihar. Threat by the abysmally poor has been underestimated because India’s poor are fatalistic. Till recently, poverty was considered a punitive measure for sins committed in the previous births. Situation changed after the Arab spring of 2010 which tore apart countries like Tunisia, Egypt and Yemen. Narendra Modi’s promise of egalitarianism has further sharpened the anger and expectations of the deprived. The poor of India no longer want to remain poor. They have learnt to mobilize within hours and bring the local government to its knees. Riots by Patidars of Gujarat, Jats of Haryana, flash anger by Dalits against Supreme Court ruling over atrocities act and Pan-India agitation by farmers are posing new challenges to India’s

national security. Rapid economic progress alone can contain and manage this new threat.

Immediate fall out of rapid economic progress is the degradation of our environment. This paper takes a position that in the longer run, this could be a cure worse than the disease. This is where the current dilemma lies. Efforts to mitigate poverty is causing irredeemable damage to environment. On the other hand, efforts to contain environmental damage could impinge upon efforts to alleviate poverty which is not at all acceptable to any ruling dispensation because that would be the shortest path to not getting elected again. There is an urgent need to find a new paradigm of security management and then apply it boldly to resolve this dilemma. The military can play a major role in finding solution for two reasons. Firstly, threat assessment to national security and then fighting such threat is the *raison d'être* of any military. It is in their DNA. Secondly the military is a very human-centric profession. Officers and men depend upon each other for their mutual wellbeing and survival which creates a natural and a fairly honest bond between the two. Similar bond is needed to be developed between the rulers and the poor of the country.

Genesis and evolution of perception about Environment as a Threat to security

USA was the first to articulate threat of environment to national security. Since end of cold war, USA has not restricted its security to strategic and military alliances and nuclear strike capabilities.(Note 1*) Its security policy now tackles environmental degradation, poverty, infectious diseases, drug use etc.The environment as a potential threat to national security is causing considerable debate in the discipline of political science. As expected, there is no unanimity and it is not clear what precisely the environmental issue is, when it is a national security issue, or how we can manage the threat.

Former Secretary of State Warren Christopher (1996) was probably the first high-ranking US official to make a categorical reference to the threat of environmental degradation when he said, "As we move to the 21st century, the nexus between security and the environment will become even more apparent."

Many environmentalists welcomed this statement because they felt that the unprecedented pace and scale of population growth, resource depletion and global environmental change demanded a redefinition of security. This lobby rejected the state-centric and militarized definitions of security. They supported more holistic definition of national security that extend beyond protecting the state from external aggression.

Opposition to this approach comes lobbies of various hues. The liberals feared “eco terrorism”, militarization of environmental issues and infringement on civil liberties. They also feared of intervention by bigger and more powerful nations into affairs of smaller and weaker nation using the figleaf of concern for global environment. There are also those ‘status-quoists’ who maintain that raising the profile of environmental issues at the time of diminishing budgets is dangerous and analytically muddled. Some feel that for an intrinsically isolationist nation like of USA, this is a dangerous distraction. This lobby of doubters against threat of environmental degradation seems to be having an upper hand during presidency of Donald Trump.

Jury is still out about these two conflicting concerns about impact of Environment on national security. Are environmentalists unduly alarmist or are the ‘status-quoists’ refusing to see the light? In recent times though, there is an increasing feeling that environmental degradation may prove to be the undoing of the world. Stephen Hawking (a scientist) and Amitav Ghosh (a novelist) have begun to fear for the world. Stephen Hawkins, in his signature blunt manner has said that “We are in danger of destroying ourselves by our greed and stupidity. We cannot remain looking inward at ourselves on a small and an increasingly polluted and overcrowded planet”. Novelist, Amitav Ghosh, takes the concern of environmental degradation to a different level. While travelling the world talking about his new book (“The Great Derangement: Climate Change and the Unthinkable”), he specially blames writers, artists and filmmakers; who are meant to look ahead and open doors; for being blind to the issue of environmental threat to humanity. He says, “It’s like death, no one wants to talk about it”.

Countries like USA and China can afford to wait out this ambivalence in understanding of threat of environmental degradation. USA is a rich and powerful country which can manipulate world situation to its advantage (like withdrawal from 2015 Paris Agreement on climate change mitigation). It can throw money for immediate mitigation (like installing a bevy of air purifiers in its Embassy in Delhi during the worst days of air pollution in 2017). China is a totalitarian state which can muzzle and totally blank out any dissent, doubt or an environmental incident like the Bhopal gas leak of 1984.

Why does Indian need to hurry?

India does not have this luxury of postponing efforts against the emerging threat of environmental degradation. India has too many poor who have become too aware too fast and are demanding rapid change in their situation. On the other hand, any whiff of environmental damage is

bringing people on the streets and forcing closure of the offending industry. Latest imbroglio in Thoothukudi (Tuticorin) between Sterlite industries and the local populace which resulted in violent agitation, police firing and death of 11 people shows how urgent the situation is. Sterlite industry has hit back equally strong saying that closing down of the copper plant would mean loss of 30,000 jobs for populace of Tuticorin. Government of Tamil Nadu still has not found a way out of this dilemma.

How bad is India's poverty?

India's poverty is abysmal and mind-numbing. 60% of world's poor live in India. I will not embarrass the reader by the infamous "Rs.32 a day poverty line" of planning commission of 2011. A blog written by (Note 2*) two city-bred, upper-class aspiring entrepreneurs from Bangalore, TusharVashisht and Mathew Cherian, who tried to subsist on just Rs. 100 rupees a day, gives a surreal feel of Indian poverty.

Some statistics picked up from 2016 World Bank are (Note 3*): -

- 27 crores (that is 1 in 5) Indians are poor.
- They live on less than ₹120/- per day.
- Of which 56% is spent on food alone.
- Even then, 15.2% of Indian children are undernourished and another 15.2% are malnourished.
- India has the highest out of pocket private healthcare costs for families.
- Only 15% of poor finish secondary school.
- Only 6% of the poor have access to tap water.
- Only 21% of poor have access to latrines.
- Poverty amongst Scheduled tribes is twice the national average which is the root cause of Naxalite movement which is the most potent internal threat to India's national security.

What do these numbers say? It is not easy to analyse the data because its multiplicity of origin and intent. Still, it should leave a scar on the minds of an average well placed Indian, especially, the plight of children. Where are we failing? Why is the poverty in India still winning? These questions need to be answered by both, the government and us as citizens.

On other parameters like Infant mortality, malnutrition, school drop outs etc. India competes with sub-Saharan Africa. It is not that these problems are of recent creation. For last one thousand years, colonial exploitation broke India's back and India's spirit. For last 70 years, we have been making valiant efforts to climb out of the pit but progress has not been fast enough to catch up with rest of the more prosperous world. Collectively, South Asia

is still a markedly unhappy place to be born in and live through mainly because of India's inability to progress fast enough.

This is where we have now come against our most severe dilemma. Grow we must if we have to remain in existence as a nation, but growth comes at the cost of worsening ecology which could be a medicine more dangerous than the disease. This dilemma has been spelt out by "Climate Change and Global Security - American Security Project"(Note 4*)by stating "According to the National Intelligence Council, by 2025 unprecedented economic growth, coupled with 1.5 billion more people will put pressure on the world's resources – particularly energy, food, and water – raising the specter of scarcities emerging as demand outstrips supply." For us in India, this prognosis has stepped out of the confines of a report and become a reality. This document singles out South Asia by stating that "Though climate change will have global implications, there are specific "hot-zones" that (US) national security planners should focus on. These include Sub-Saharan Africa, South Asia, Middle East, Latin America, East Asia-Pacific, and Arctic." South Asia is mentioned because of its "heavily militarized borders". For US these threats are strategic and far away in an antipodal country. For India and especially for the Indian Military, these threats are here and now.

This document also mentions another causal effect of environmental degradation which has adverse security implications. It states that "Climate change will also cause an increase in frequency of disaster. Natural disasters like droughts, floods and storms have an obvious impact on food security. They also have a long term adverse impact on critical infrastructure and key community assets". What the Tsunami in 2004 did to the IAF base in Carnicobaror Cyclone Hudhud did to airbase in Vishakhapatnam in 2014 shows how even sturdy military infrastructure can be devastated by a single event in just a few hours.

The Ecological cost of progress.

'Physiological needs' forms the base of Maslow's pyramid of the Hierarchy of needs. Physiological needs consist of Air, Water, Food, Sleep, Clothing, Shelter and Sex. Physiological needs are the physical requirements for human survival. If these requirements are not met, the human body cannot function properly and will ultimately fail. Environmental degradation will do exactly that – disallow proper functioning of human body and ultimately fail it. Can there be a greater threat to a nation's security? Cape Town is running out of water and so is Bangalore. Citizens of Beijing have difficulty in breathing so do citizens of Delhi. It would not be an exaggeration to state

that India's security is being threatened at the most basic level of Maslow's model by foul unbreathable air, inadequate and contaminated water and food shortages.

How bad is environmental degradation in India?

Here we will take up the absolute essential listed out in physiological needs by Maslow. These are the absolute basics needed for human survival. We shall see why they are polluted, what effects it has on human beings and remedial measures.

Air Pollution

There are examples in history where civilisations, kingdoms or nations have ceased to exist because of lack of water, the most recent finding being about our own Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa. But history does not have an instance where lack of breathable air threatened human survival. Humanity seems to be heading towards achievement of this distinction. Plight of Delhi and Beijing is too well known to be repeated here. Here I would narrate a personal experience which to me is worth more than tomes of research papers. Ten years ago I came to Induri village 50 kilometres away from Pune to teach in a Nautical college. Star recognition is an essential navigational skill for which I would take cadets out in the open on a new moon night. We could see many stars on a clear night. Today there is so much dust in the air that I see only the moon and a few close by planets like Venus and Mars. The air has been heavily polluted by dust and smoke raised by deforestation, building activity and increased traffic. I am lucky that I can still breathe. Morning walks and outdoor exercises in Delhi and many other cities are considered unsafe because the air is foul even in early mornings. In the Environmental Performance Index by the Yale University, India ranked at 174th position out of 178 countries on air pollution. As usual the children suffer the most. Among hospitalized children in India, 13% deaths are caused by the acute respiratory infection. For those who do not die outright, foul air causes allergies, cardiovascular and heart diseases, gradual breakdown of immunity system, long-term damage to nerves, brain, kidneys and liver, and birth defects. These unfortunate people will age early, have poor quality of life and low productivity.

Main causes of air pollution are: -

- Fossil fuel based power plants –
- Ever-increasing transportation vehicles
- Urbanization

- Deforestation
- Massive use of hydrocarbons based fuels pollutes the
- Burning of garbage.
- Excessive use of plastic
- Spraying of insecticides and use of chemicals in agricultural activities –
- Emission of greenhouse gases from various sources.
- Forest fires & big volcanic eruptions
- Mining Procedures
- Household products causing air pollution
- Dust constantly adding up to air.

Cursory examination of the 13 causes listed above shows that all these are closely connected with infrastructure building, intensive agriculture, urbanization and heavy industrialization which are essential to pull poor Indians out of their abysmal poverty. No sane Indian can dispute the fact that India's national security hinges on the success in alleviation of current poverty level. Nor can he overlook damage to breathable air.

Water Pollution

Mr. Sharad Rao was a powerful union leader of Mumbai Municipal Corporation. All feared him when he called a strike and Mumbai was brought to its knees. Once he overplayed his hand and cut off Mumbai's water supply. Within 24 hours, rage of Mumbai's women exploded. They came out on the streets and made Mr. Rao eat a humble pie. That was a rare occasion when this fiery union leader had to withdraw his strike unilaterally. That is the power of water over human destiny. In the past, civilisations have disappeared when rivers changed their course and it is predicted that future wars are going to be fought over water. Simmering tensions between Karnataka and Tamil Nadu is too close for comfort. To sins of overuse, misuse and abuse of water, Indians have added another sin - Water Pollution.

Next to air pollution, water pollution is the next biggest challenge faced by India. Main causes of water pollution are untreated sewage and run off from the agricultural sector. This problem is so serious that almost 80% of the waterbodies in India are highly polluted. It is ironical that the holiest of rivers in India, Ganga and Yamuna, are the filthiest. Indrayani is one is a sacred river in Maharashtra, intimately connected with the stalwarts of Bhakti movement like Dyaneshwar and Tukaram who, even after 800 years, rule the spiritual life of this land of 11 crore people. I live in the proximity of this river and drink water from it. I have seen this river becoming

increasingly dirty over because of dumping of untreated sewage and run-offs for industries. This year, the river has begun to die. It is blanketed over by water hyacinth. I now want to leave my current abode in Induribecause I do no more trust the water I have to drink every day. This scourge in unstoppable because of increasing urbanisation and developmental activities along all river banks of India. These are the same developmental activities which have fouled the air. Same developmental activities which are essential to pull out India's poor from their abysmal poverty. Same dilemma of threat to national security by wrath of the poor or wrath of nature. Same dilemma of being damned for acting and alsodamned for not acting.

Effect of Water pollution is same as air pollution. Need for water cannot be postponed even by a few hours. It means that people have little choice but to drink polluted water (like I have drink water of Indrayani river) which cause debilitating disease like cholera, tuberculosis, dysentery, jaundice anddiarrhoea. Another monster effect of polluted water is that polluted water reduces fertility of soil which reduces food production.

Solution to pollution

Solution to reduce air and water pollution go hand in hand. Common measures are use renewable energy, reforestation and afforestation, sharing of vehicles and more public transport, using of bicycles, holistic approach to garbage disposal,saying no to plastic, dust control (so effectively done by the Japanese while building Delhi's metro system) and creating awareness amongst people.

Government has been working overtime to legislate environment. Air (Prevention and Control Pollution) Act was passed in 1981. Central Pollution Control Board, a Ministry of Environment & Forests has established a National Water Quality Monitoring Network comprising 1429 monitoring stations in 28 states and 6 in Union Territories on various rivers and water bodies across the country. But pollution continues to outpace all corrective measures. For example, major cities of India produce 38,354 million liters sewage per day, but the urban sewage treatment capacity at 11,786 MLD is merely 30% of the total sewage output. That means 70% of filthy untreated sewage flows into our waterbodies in its pristine foul form. Even this inadequate capacity is hobbled because shortage of electricity. This begins another vicious cycle. To produce electricity, there are environmental costs to pay in the form of air and water pollution from Thermal plantsor radioactive pollution from nuclear plants. Alternate energy are less polluting but capital intensive and lack of capital has been the bane of Indian economy for a few centuries. So whichever you look at this problem, it all ends up in

continuous increase in water pollution.

Food Security

Food riots is one single event which any politician or a ruler fears the most. Most of India does not eat enough causing chronic hunger and malnutrition. When 836 million Indians live below subsistence level and over 20 crore Indians sleep hungry every night and one crore Indians die every year of chronic hunger and hunger-related diseases, do concepts like National Security have any real meaning? The environmental degradation is making the food situation even worse. UNWFP Report on Climate Impacts on Food Security (Note 5*) states that environmental degradation exacerbates the risk of hunger and malnutrition through: -

- Extreme Weather like increase in droughts, floods and storms which destroy crops, critical infrastructure and key community assets.
- Rising sea level which will affect coastal areas and river deltas. Glacial melts are going to affect water availability in our perennial rivers.

The cause and effect cycle of Food insecurity starts with less food availability because of fall in production of staple crops, which hits the poor first by reducing Food access because food becomes expensive, which then impinges on food utilisation through Poor nutrition creates creating vicious cycle of disease and hunger, which finally upsets food stability and food security strategies which in the end impact national security (Note 5*)

How should we treat the poor?

Most of privileged part of the society subconsciously follow Friedrich Nietzsche when thinking of the poor of India.

Nietzsche states that "Pity preserves things that are ripe for decline, it defends things that have been disowned and condemned by life, and it gives a depressive and questionable character to life itself by keeping alive an abundance of failures of every type. - - - - - pity negates life, it makes life worthy of negation, - pity is the practice of nihilism. Once more: this depressive and contagious instinct runs counter to the instincts that preserve and enhance the value of life: by multiplying misery just as much as by conserving everything miserable, pity is one of the main tools used to increase decadence - pity wins people over to nothingness! - - - - - You do not say 'nothingness' : instead you say 'the beyond'; or 'God'; or 'the true life'; or nirvana, salvation, blessedness ... This innocent rhetoric from the realm of religious-moral idiosyncrasy suddenly appears much less innocent when you see precisely which tendencies are wrapped up inside these sublime words: tendencies hostile to life."

To put it simple terms Nietzsche's thought could be interpreted to mean that poor will always die first and that is the law of the nature. Look carefully at a city-bred lower middle class child in India today or those pathetic scrawny figures working in city malls. Almost all of them look undernourished and have vacant look in their eyes. But the bad news for us, the privileged ones, is that the threat of environmental degradation is impartial. It is going to kill our kind also, may a bit later, but kill it will. Threat of air pollution treats all equally – from slums as well as those from gated communities. National security for unhealthy and deteriorating future generations sounds absurd.

The way ahead

Let me reiterate the dilemma faced by India's security establishment.

There are too many poor in India, who refuse to remain poor. They have learnt to mobilise quickly using modern social media and can paralyse any local government almost instantly. They get immediate attention and sympathy of society through visual media like 24-hour news channel. This new threat can only be mitigated through rapid economic progress. After centuries of waiting, the poor are ready to give just five years or even less to any ruling dispensation. The rulers now know that they only have time between two elections to alleviate the poverty of the poor. Repeated failure of the system to reduce poverty may lead breakdown of current order and then the nation itself as we know. When there is no nation, there is also no national security.

Situation becomes more complex because rapid economic development means inexorable environmental degradation which will affect the health and wellbeing of all – the rich as well as the poor. National security has no meaning if the population is going to be increasingly ill and dying.

A new approach towards economic progress without damaging the environment has to be found.

This writer can offer no immediate and concrete solution. He can only offer a long term road map, which is meant to alter the understanding of progress and make it more sustainable.

The Broad guide lines

First step would be to make the society change its understanding of the concept of Progress.

To achieve this, current consumerist approach to happiness like "More is better" or "Bigger the better" or "Shop till you drop" has to be forgotten. This approach has been the curse of the Americans which makes each and every one aspire to the US standard of living. This is physical and mathematical

absurdity because world does not have resources to let every citizen live like a well-off US citizen.

Undoing this consumerist approach to life is not achievable through mere sloganeering and pamphleteering. This has to be a mass movement like what Mahatma Gandhi started against British Textiles. Spreading of 'word' is much easier today than the era of Gandhiji. Someone has to find the correct word.

Supreme Court directive for Compulsory teaching of Environmental Science is a timely step because indoctrination about environment should start from the childhood. I will be teaching a 50-hour package on this subject to first year college student and I am looking forward to this task. But one swallow does not make a summer. How many teachers and students are going to be enthused about this task which will not be a scoring subject?

There is a natural distrust about the poor in the minds of policy makers and implementers. Poor are given little chance to determine and chart their destiny. This mindset actually flies in the face of experience of The Grameen bank of Nobel Laureate **Muhammad Yunus** of Bangladesh. Default by his micro-creditors, mostly women, was almost zero. The older paternalistic model of "telling the poor" is bound to fail because if poverty alleviation fails, the poor will not be in listening mood and situation will further deteriorate.

The final guideline is about transparency. The poor are ready to trust and suffer hardships if they see sincerity in the doings of the rulers. Prime Minister retains his popularity in spite of hardships faced by the common man during demonetization only because they trust his sincerity and honesty.

To bring about this major behavioral change there is a need for a committed cadre. I feel that veteran from the Indian Armed forces can build such cadre. Generally, a veteran is used to working for a cause, He is used to being rational in issuing instructions (called orders when in uniform) and honest in their implementation. As a whole, his honesty and integrity quotient is much higher than any such organization in India.

The veteran has shown how disciplined action can obtain results by getting the government to grant OROP. By involving ourselves in helping the government to improve the plight of the poor as well condition of our environment, we shall win even greater appreciation and gratitude from our fellow Indians.

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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 off 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



Kashmir-The Tight Rope Walk

Lt Gen Sanjay Kulkarni

My finest moment came when an agitated First year Delhi University Student while on a train journey with me wanted to know, as to how come we are stuck with Pakistan in J&K and what is the way forward to resolve these daily killings of our soldiers and civilians along the LOC. For a moment I was taken aback as I was not expecting this question but at the same time I was happy to note the concern of the young generation to live in peace.

I tried to check the awareness level of the student to know how much does he know of the reason for the present crisis. Most of them around him knew in bits and pieces of the wars with Pakistan and most of them attributed the wars to Hindu Muslim confrontation between the two nations with Pakistan representing the Muslim interests and wanting to annex the state of J&K.

With that as a background I began telling them how the Kingdom of J&K came into existence in 1846. The Raja of Jammu Gulab Singh who was a Vassal of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the founder of Sikh Empire and who had his Capital at Lahore had consolidated the Sikh factions into one Empire and had assumed the title of Maharaja on the day of Baisakhi in 1801 at the young age of twenty. The Sikh Empire founded by him in 1799 was based around Punjab which included regions from Khyber Pass in the West to western Tibet in the East and from Mithankot in the South to Kashmir in the North. Zorawar Singh the Dogra General extended the empire to Ladakh in 1834. Maharaja Ranjit Singh was feared by the Britishers and they dare not attack or annex any territory of Sher e Punjab till he was alive and was succeeded by his son Kharak Singh in 1839.

Gulab Singh was born in a Dogra Rajput Family in 1792 to Mian Kishore Singh. In 1820 in appreciation of the services rendered by the family of Mian

Kishore Singh and especially Gulab Singh, Maharaja Ranjit Singh bestowed Kishore Singh with the honours Raja of Jammu in 1820. On the death of Raja Kishore Singh in 1822, Gulab Singh was conferred the title of Raja of Jammu by his suzerain, Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Jammu was annexed in 1808 by Ranjit Singh. In 1837, after the death of Hari Singh Nalwa, the Muslim tribes of Tanolis, Karrals, Dhunds, Satis and Sudhans rose in revolt in Hazara and Kashmir. Gulab Singh was entrusted to crush the rebellion which he did and established his headquarters at Kahuta to deal with Kashmiri Insurgents. Meanwhile General Zorawar Singh conquered Kargil, Ladakh and Baltistan. The Tibetans were defeated at Chushul and the boundary between Ladakh and Tibet was governed by the Treaty of Chushul.

It is interesting to note that after the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1839 and the continuing intrigues at Lahore, bad times fell on the Sikh Empire and they made Gulab Singh pay Nanakshahee Rupees 27 Lakhs to the Maharaja to enable him to pay the salaries of Khalsa Soldiers. Gulab Singh subsequently sided with the British in the Anglo Sikh Wars and by the Treaty of Lahore, Jammu was transferred to Gulab Singh, unable to pay for the cost of war, the Sikhs transferred Jullunder to the British and the payment of 75 lakhs war indemnity was paid by Gulab Singh to the British which enabled British to recognize Gulab Singh as Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir. The Governor of Kashmir rebelled but his rebellion was defeated. The Treaty of Amritsar formalized the Kingdom of Maharaja Gulab Singh and truncated the Sikh Kingdom and made British Supreme. Maharaja Gulab Singh died on 30 June 1857. Jammu and Kashmir was ruled from 1846 by Gulab Singh and his Jamwal Rajput Dogra ancestors till 26 Oct 1947 when the then Maharaja Hari Singh signed the Instrument of Accession with India. The vacillation by Maharaja Hari Singh led to annexation of his kingdom and a third of his Kingdom referred to as Pakistan Occupied Kashmir was captured by Pakistan with the connivance of the British leading to the present problem of J&K. India fought the first war with Pakistan commencing 27 October 1947 and Pakistan continues to bleed India with thousand cuts by launching Proxy war even though it was convincingly defeated in 1971 conventional war leading to Simla Agreement and repatriation of over 93000 Pakistani Prisoners of War. Pakistan Army has not reconciled to this humiliating defeat hence the Proxy War has been launched by Pakistan giving rise to an Armed Insurgency since 1989 in J&K. Pakistan uses terrorism as an instrument of state policy.

Kota Rani was the last Hindu Sovereign of Kashmir till 1339, the Sultanate of Shah Mir in Kashmir lasted till Akbar invaded Kashmir in 1588 and the Mughals reigned till 1752 and thereafter the Afghans ruled

till 1819, virtually a continuous Muslim rule from 1339 to 1819. The Sikhs ruled Kashmir from 1819 till 1845 thereafter the Dogras ruled Kashmir till 26 October 1947. The Dogras were suzerain to the British, despite that, the British instigated Muslims in the valley to revolt against the Hindu Maharaja when he refused to give Gilgit to the British in 1930. Abdul Qadir was planted by them to seek Azadi from the Maharaja, charged for treason, the people instigated by Sheikh Abdullah and by Mir Waiz Maulvi, grand father of the present Hurriyat separatist leader, Mirvaiz Umar Farooq revolted against the Maharaja and 22 people lost their lives in the firing opened by the state forces on 13 July 1931. The State of Jammu and Kashmir till date observes 13 July as Martyr's Day. Gilgit was ceded to the British in 1935 and transferred back to Maharaja in 1947. Gilgit is now occupied by Pakistan and has a total area of 72,971 Square Kms.

Mr Jinnah wanted Kashmir to cede to Pakistan being a Muslim Majority state. Kashmir had 94% Muslims, Jammu province had 64% Muslims and Ladakh region including Gilgit and Baltistan had 84% Muslims. Jinnah wanted no referendum or wishes of the people to be heard and instead he wanted the Rulers to decide the Fate of their kingdoms hoping the Maharaja would accede to his request. The Maharaja of J&K procrastinated and toyed with the idea of 'Switzerland of the East' that is neither Pakistan nor India and instead he wanted J&K to be an Independent Nation and to that effect to gain time he signed a 'Stand Still Agreement' with Pakistan. Sheikh Abdullah and his associates who had floated a party called Kashmir Muslim Conference in 1932 later rechristened as National Conference in 1938, instigated people against the autocratic rule of the Maharaja and demanded Naya Kashmir. Mir Waiz Maulvi represented yet another group of people which wanted to be suzerain to Pakistan for external affairs, defence and communication, this group is now active in the valley as Hurriyat, Mr Jinnah's Muslim League wanted total merger of the state of J&K with Pakistan being contiguous and with Muslim majority. Partition, which was hurriedly brought about in 72 days by Mountbatten on 15 August 1947, gave three most frequented land routes from Pakistan, the only rail link to Jammu was from Pakistan, there were only two airstrips one at Jammu and the other green grass air strip at Srinagar, the less travelled slushy land route from Madhopur to Jammu and onward to Srinagar over the Banihal Pass, there was no tunnel then, was from India. Snowfall used to cut off the valley from Indian side the roads from Pakistan were all weather metalled roads to Srinagar. Sheikh Abdullah was appointed Head of the Emergency Administration by the Maharaja as part of the Interim Government but he had plans to replace the Maharaja and was willing to cede the three subjects to India as mandated

in the Instrument of Accession. The Instrument of Accession signed by the Maharaja is no different than the one signed by any other ruler who acceded to India. Jinnah having failed to get the Maharaja's consent launched 7000 Razakars under training by the regular troops and equipped them at the Pakistan Military Academy in Abbottabad where incidentally Osama was killed by USA, these raiders on 22 October advanced to Srinagar Valley with the promise of Loot and Plunder of the valley for the services rendered, the Maharaja sensing threat to his life and Kingdom requested for help from India, Mountbatten, the Governor General of India, offered help on one condition that he must first cede to India, the Maharaja ceded to India by Signing the Instrument of Accession with India on 26 October 1947 and entrusted his state for administration to Sheikh Abdullah.

Sheikh Abdullah in his zeal to grab power, pretended to be loyal to India but was involved in double talk and treacherous conduct and was found involved in anti national activities and was jailed on charges of Conspiracy for nearly 11 years. He was released in 1964 and he immediately rushed to Pakistan to meet Ayub Khan and to China to meet Chou en Lai. He was arrested on return once again and jailed. The leadership of National Conference till date follows in his footsteps and the new party in power in J&K the PDP also believes in similar policies with some difference to remain in power to consolidate its hold in the State for furtherance of their agenda of Soft Separatism. Sheikh Abdullah watching the turn of events after the creation of Bangladesh signed the 1974 Indira – Sheikh accord and gave up the demand for plebiscite and was elected Chief minister and remained so till his death in 1982.

From the above narrative it reveals that the State has a Group, strongly aligned to Pakistan with a desire for Autonomy and that group is Hurriyat. The second Group comprising the NC and PDP is pretending to be with India but desires total autonomy which is nothing but separatism. The third party playing a destructive proxy role in the state is Pakistan supplying arms, ammunition, training to the militants and disregards the Simla Agreement and keeps raising the Kashmir issue on International Platforms. The fourth is the silent majority of the people comprising of Muslims, Nomadics, Hindus, Sikhs, Christians and Buddhists, who want to live in peace and be a part of the future of India.. All the Four Groups have people's support in the state of J&K despite the ethnic cleansing and mass migration by the Kashmiri Hindus. The Union of India is playing an extremely difficult role of holding to the Valley with regional Parties pretending to be with India and are inwardly ambitious and exploiting the Islamic and Kashmiri card for breaking away from the Union of India on some pretext or the other in the

future.

Stone pelters, local militants, subversion by locals, the spread of Wahabism, presence of LeT, JeM, JuD, HM and host of other militant organizations, Talibanization, radicalization and influence of ISI and now even ISIS, is manifestation of the dirty politics, double talk and deceitful conduct by the people and their representatives encouraged by Pakistan and liberal funding from countries like Saudi Arabia. India's appeasement policies with a hope of a change in the hearts and minds of the people and regional political parties has failed miserably. The people of Kashmir are beneficiaries of the roaring 'Militancy Industry' and this number is growing and they are quick to align with those regional parties and organizations in India who lend them their shoulders to shed crocodile tears and fill their pockets. They are playing the dangerous Islamic Card and putting the lives of all patriotic Muslims in India as doubtful citizens. The people in India today are unfortunately vertically divided.

Jammu and Kashmir has a total area of 2,22,236 Sq Kms of which Pakistan occupies 78,114 Sq Kms, 5180 Sq Kms was ceded to China by Pakistan in 1963. China occupies 37,555 Sq Kms and only 1,01,380 Sq Kms is held by India of which Jammu constitutes 26%, Srinagar 15% and Ladakh 59%. There are 22 districts of which primarily the five districts of South Kashmir are Insurgency prone. Armed Insurgency took its root in J&K with the help of Pakistan in 1989. Anti Hindu feelings are deep rooted in the Valley from the time of the Dogra Rule. Even in 1947 when the Razakars plundered, looted and raped the women of the state, the people of Kashmir were silent but in the cross fire with the armed Razakars even if two locals were killed Sheikh Abdullah would raise hue and cry, so much for his love for India. Sheikh when cornered in 1947 with the treacherous conduct of the civilians in the valley would dismiss the argument by saying that the village in question is notorious, so much for his double talk and deceitful conduct. The cause for war like situation in the state since 1947, is purely ideological and even if the state is paved with gold and thousands of Govt jobs are provided there is no question of a change of heart with the present dispensation. The demand for Azadi is laden with danger and would not end there, the people of Kashmir must understand that it is in the interest of the state that it must stay with the Union of India and that the grant of Azadi would open the flood gates in India. Article 370 is making the state Insular and its true incorporation would best be achieved by abrogating the Article to enable free movement of the people of state any where and every where with reciprocity. One sided availing benefits are harmful for the image of the state, the state should voluntarily give up its availing benefits in other states,

till it extends reciprocity facilities since accession by the Maharaja to India was not with any rider, the riders are an afterthought, many years later by the vested interests.

Pakistan disputed the legality of Instrument of Accession, which led to the first Indo Pak War of 1947-48. A ceasefire was proclaimed on 01 January 1949 and India referred the issue to UN Security Council. UN Resolution of 5 January 1949 stipulated demilitarization prior to conduct of Plebiscite, Pakistan failed to demilitarize the Pak Occupied Kashmir and hence plebiscite could not be held. On 17 October 1949, Indian Constituent Assembly adopted ARTICLE 370 of the constitution as 'Temporary'. The Article was adopted on 17 November 1952. Supreme Court has in its recent judgment in 2018 ruled that this temporary provision is Permanent and the accession to India on 26 October 1947 is Final.

The solution to the present crisis is to ruthlessly eliminate all armed insurgents sponsored by Pakistan, ISIS or local militants, no appeasement whatsoever as the state today has one of the highest per capita income amongst the states of India, the state has cent percent land reforms, the state has amongst the highest number of Government Employees, the state has no household without electricity and water, all this the state of J&K has achieved due to largesse by the Union of India and with subsidies and tax reliefs. The reduction of security forces in the present context is not recommended due to animosity with Pakistan as is evident from over 1000 Cease fire violations in the first 120 days of 2018 and the Chinese presence in POK. The people of the state alone are responsible to pave the way for conflict resolution and simultaneously multi pronged approach for creating a viable political climate must be ensured. The people of Kashmir will see Peace, will get Peace if they want Peace, in case if they have outsourced their agenda to Pakistan and simultaneously encourage home grown Militants, allow inflammatory speeches by Maulvis at their congregation and pretend to settle disputes and indulge in double talk and deceitful conduct then they are trudging the path to break into pieces. No Interlocutor appointed by the centre can help in such a scenario.

The people alone can get rid of militancy and ensure peace prevails to make Kashmir 'Paradise on Earth'. Militancy is provided oxygen by the People, it will suffocate to death if people cut off the oxygen, Kashmir is in ICU, Militancy is kept alive by the people. What is it that is inspiring the young and dashing to commit Shahadat? What do they gain by becoming a Martyr? What is drawing them to become a Mujahid? What role does Pakistan play in keeping the Separatists alive and kicking and how is it that Osama was heard and had followers when he was either hiding in the

Cave or at Abbottabad. Believe you me, I can't get my only wife and daughter to Follow Me and here Hafiz Sayeed , Lakhvi, Maulana Masood Azar and the ISI and ISIS are calling shots. That means the cause of Militancy is disgruntlement of the people and their role models are rogues in our eyes and KhudaGawah in the eyes of the people of the Valley. The people have to be addressed, either they must be eliminated or their grievances addressed. Elimination alone of armed militants is only a short term measure. What then is the Way Forward.

The problem is Ideological, the people of the valley have been brought up to hate any body and everybody who is not a Follower of the Book. History tells us the advent of the Dogra Rule is the cause of the disenchantment because the Dogras were not Islamic and neither followers of the Book,Dogras are Idol Worshipers and the Britishers found it convenient to keep the Maharaja on his toes by instigating the Muslim subjects against the Hindu Maharaja. To simplify it by saying the Dogras were Tyrannical would be pushing the dirt under the carpet. Yes, they were hard task masters and so were the British and so was Sheikh Abdullah who wasworst than the Dogra Administration when entrusted with the Emergency Administration post 26 October 1947.After signing the Instrument of Accession with India by the Maharaja,Mr Jinnah with whom he had signed the Stand Still agreement unleashed 7000 Armed Raiders to capture the state of J&K, forcing Maharaja to stop dreaming of Independence and retreat.He left for Jammu and subsequently to Mumbai where he breathed his last.

From the above Narrative it is quite evident that the State of J&K was on boil even before Independence and mostleaders today are descendantsof those responsible for AZADI and the mess that we are in today. Over 70 years have passed, the exploitation of the people by the vested interests in the Valley, and also by disgruntled elements in Pakistan and now even funding from abroad with a caveat to spread Wahabism and radicalization and sheer mishandling of the situation by the Indian Leadership since 1947 and the greed and cunningness of the people of the valley to exploit one and all for money and for Soft and hard core separatists to remain relevant has led to this grim situation in the valley. Is killing of Militants and all Over Ground Workers who are caught in cross fire the only answer or would dialogue deliver results or would punitive deterrence against Pakistan prevent Pakistan from adding fuel to fire or only development of the region and making it prosperous, the only answers to establishing normalcy in the valley. The answer is a right mix of all the above under Governors rule for at least ten Years as the cancer is deep rooted and requires fresh thinking with open mind and no pre conceivedideas. Then,may be, step

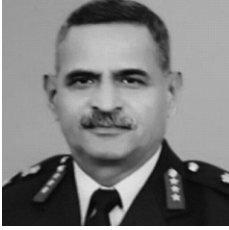
by step we could be moving towards an amicable solution which has the approval of the Political Leadership in the Valley and the Public at large with no inflammatory speeches by Hurriyat and Imams most of whom go from the Gangetic plains. Divide and rule practiced by the Britishers will not succeed now, Kam, Dam, Dand, Bhed in right proportion with no malice is a possible way forward.

Terror paralyzes peoples mind and they are paranoid of a perpetual threat to their lives and to the lives of their loved ones, it destroys their ability to think rationally and the sporadic bloody violence by the terrorists who melt into general public seeking shelter, that creates an illusion of being omnipresent and the status of demi gods by their looks with long hair and brandishing AK 47 and firing once in a while and picking the woman of their choice to show their invincibility. The attainment of Shahadat by these local militants is ultimate for the families of these dead militants, as it now allows them to live honourably and is regarded as a token of acknowledgement of their contribution for Azadi. ' In the face of a terror campaign, one's rationality is the last line of defence.' Victory is gained not by the number killed but by the number frightened says an Arab Proverb. Fear becomes chronic and intense and more irregular and more violent the strikes, more the people start behaving irrationally, terrorists and their handlers are crafty people, resourceful and adaptable and they can create uncertainty in the mind of the citizenry. Stone pelting, burning and looting is hysteria which reveals the level of madness and reflective of how the society and culture at large are now captive to this madness. It is not surprising to see in a Kashmiri family, one child is a militant, yet another a school teacher, third a farmer, fourth a policeman or in the army or a SPO, two or three unemployed or are daily wagers, the girls are cheer leaders in their families, even if employed as school teacher or in a Government job. The Psychological pressures are greatly increasing in the Valley casting long shadows on mental health, in 1990 there were just about six patients reporting to the Psychiatric ward in Srinagar Hospital daily, in 1994 the figure rose to 18000 annually, in 2003 to 50,000, in 2006 to 82000 and in 2015 to 1,30,000. Militancy is taking a heavy toll of mental health.

I don't know how much did the group which had swelled by now, had understood the complex problem but surely we parted at the New Delhi Railway Station convinced that the problem is deep rooted and can be resolved only by the silent majority of people to whom Kashmiriyat, Insaniyat and Jamhooriyat is fundamental as the majority want to live in peace with honour and as part of India and want to get back to work once again to make Kashmir, 'Paradise on Earth'. Sooner the better as 'Slender

was the Thread' in 1947 and still slender is the thread in 2018.

Lt Gen Sanjay Kulkarni, PVSM, AVSM, SC, SM, VSM (Retd)



was commissioned into 4 KUMAON in 1977. In his illustrious career of 39 years, he served in various types of terrain and participated in Operation Polar Bear and Operation Meghdoot, as a Captain in 1983 and in 1984. For leading his Platoon to unfurl the National Flag on Bilafond la he was decorated with Shaurya Chakra. He commanded a Rashtriya Rifles Battalion in thick of of the Insurgency and later commanded an Infantry Battalion, an Infantry Brigade and a Division along the Line of Actual Control in Arunachal Pradesh where he was decorated with the Governor's Gold Medal. Alumni of National Institute of Defence Studies, Japan and of National Defence College, New Delhi, he retired as Director General Infantry.



The Normative Aspects of India's Internal Security Mechanism

Gautam Sen

Preamble

It is a well-established fact that India has been an old civilisation but a young nation state. There was hardly an understanding of the concept of “nation state” amongst those political leaders who lead the freedom struggle and take the country out of the colonial bondage from the British. The only exception was Nehru with a world view. His complex mindset, understanding of the fallout of the WWII, the vicissitudes of cold war politics, internal turmoils in India's centre state relationship, and many other issue which connected India internationally with her domestic issues of security shaped many a decision making on strategic and internal security matters. But for Sardar, Nehru's indecisiveness on Kashmir would have made India loose J&K permanently. Unfortunately his successors learnt very little as to how to handle internal security issues and created a more permanent headache by neglecting to resolve the border issues with China and failed to take advantage in post 1971 war to resolve the border demarcation with Pakistan in J&K.

Before 2014, there has been a systematic neglect of the North East of good governance, not allowing the local political parties to integrate themselves with the mainstream of Indian politics, permitted China to take advantage over India internationally and domestically. Today, China is adamant about the locus-standee of the Mac Mohan line, has been successful to ferment discontent against the central government in the North East, nurtured a variety of secessionist, guerrilla and separatist movements involving both the youth and radical elements whose spread has been in seven states of India differing from the perineal problem in the state of J&K, where the

separatist leaders have operated with impunity over the past decades. These apart from other differences between the Centre and the State on the basis of language, governance, unemployment, reservation issues, developmental planning and rise of corruption and a crisis of identity, have all given rise to another set of internal security issues.

At the preamble itself, if we have to modernise our Internal security mechanisms, then we have to classify every anti-government movement. Broadly there are the following types of movements which needs to be taken note of and the government has to take a policy decision to label every disruptive organisations causing internal security dilemma in amongst the states:

1. Revolutionary Movements
2. Guerrilla Movements
3. Secessionist Movements
4. Freedom Movement
5. Separatist Movement
6. Terrorist Movement
7. Religious Radicalisation Movement
8. Combination of all the above in varying degrees whose answers they themselves do not know.

Therefore, if Internal Security Mechanism is to be modernised and if the practitioners and the private/public sectors have to chip in to have an integrated approach to address the Internal Security issues, then ideally the normative aspects should take precedence over technological solutions offered by the industries coupled with an efficient Central Police Force to use the coercive powers where needed to enforce measures to suppress and neutralise the above mentioned disruptive forces acting against the citizens and the state.

At the heart of the normative aspect is the element called “the crisis of identity” which has propelled those who take up arms and disruptive activities against not only law and order but also disrupt the very core of governance, legitimacy of the constitution and radicalisation of the minds of the people both young and old. The “crisis of identity” is caused by the neglect of social, political, economic preconditions of the people in a geographical area. However, it goes to the credit of our founding fathers that India has never faced the problems of religious identity except in recent times after the “pandits” were expelled from the valley under the threat of

death destruction and worse.

All issues of security internal as well as those related to external threats are ensconced in “cultural preconditions” As wars are a cultural phenomenon so is the problems of internal security are also a cultural phenomenon. There has never been a technological solution to war and so is the case with internal security. As technology has assisted in winning war so can technology be of assistance to resolve internal security crises and pave the way towards a cultural and social integration for a permanent peace, good governance, with economic and social security to every person in those states where disruptive forces have been prevalent. As the Government has to address the larger question to ensure good governance to usher equity, inclusiveness and equality for every citizen so has the corporate and private sector has the responsibility to create and implement a strategy of corporate social responsibility towards the citizens to assist the policy makers to usher peace and harmony in areas affected by decades of unrest and under development.

India has a demographic dividend where 52% of her population is below 25 years of age. Education, ethics and values, plus employment for them are the key elements to strike at the very nerve centre of internal unrest leading to the internal security problems. Having said that we have to be realists and take cognisance of the ground reality of unrest which has plagued a large number of states due to internal security threats. I wish to record that this conference is perhaps the forerunner of all other conferences which will allow to apply our minds to catalyse our efforts to allow the private sector having the ability to provide technological platforms for the assistance of the security forces to overcome the menace of disruptive movements that have plagued the nation from within. We have to first subdue and then neutralise this menace before we start even considering the normative aspects. Therefore, the ideal solution of imposing the normative aspects to modernise the mechanism to solve India’s Internal Security issues will have to take a back seat and be routed through exactly on the outcome of the deliberations of this conference which aims to bridge the gap between the support that the private and corporate sectors can provide as technology to assist the paramilitary forces in particular while carrying out their tasks to strategically, tactically and administratively to act as a deterrence, achieve tactical superiority to disruptive movements and provide strategic outlooks/ rationale for the political decision makers to make appropriate policies to neutralise the menace which has existed for many decades.

There are no soft choices left for the Government from undertaking punitive actions, nor the private sector only to work for profit or the security forces accepting to working with their hands tied at their back.

These disruptive forces are enemies of the state and have been successful by instilling fear amongst the local population, used them as human shields/hostages while confronting the security forces, have not refrained from using any form of unethical means, abused the fundamentals of human rights, and have not refrained from practising extortion or even creating a parallel economy by collecting money in the form of taxes.

In this context, it is essential to take note of the observations of the Hon Home Minister in the past 15 days. On 9 May 2017 he addressed the Chief Ministers of Naxal affected States. He again addressed another meeting on 16 May 2017 stating that “Radicalisation in Northeast a serious security threat, may lead to terrorism”. Both the news coverages are added as appendix to this paper for your ready reference. It will be essential to highlight the Home Minister’s perception and the sense of policy direction that he has given to strategise as to how Internal Security Mechanism should be modernised by integrating the technological capability of the private sector with the operational capability of the security forces in an interdependent mode. He also stressed the need for greater use of technology like trackers in weapons and biometrics in smart guns, which are some of the new tech to check the use of looted arms by the militants. He opined that

“It would be advisable to have trackers in weapons, as well as biometrics in smart gun triggers — as a tracker can locate a looted weapon wherever it is taken or used, while biometrics can make a smart gun useless for anyone other than the authorised user. Trackers should also be embedded in shoes and bulletproof jackets,” the minister added. In addition, Mr Singh said, unique identification numbers could be used in gelatine and other explosive materials.

Referring to use of Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (UAVs), the home minister said this should be further augmented and more such surveillance gear should be procured and given to the security forces. “We need to use high-resolution PTZ cameras, GPS tracking, hand-held thermal imaging, radar and satellite imaging,”

The Home Minister has also enunciated a policy direction by stating that ““We have to bring aggression in our policy, there should be aggression in our thinking, aggression in our strategy, aggression in deployment of security forces, aggression in operations, aggression in bringing development, aggression in road construction.....” His main thrust was that:

1. We must focus on the concept of” Samadhan” — which means S-Smart Leadership, A-Aggressive Strategy, M-Motivation and Training, A-Actionable Intelligence, D-Dashboard Based KPIs (Key Performance

Indicators) and KRAs (Key Result Areas), H-Harnessing Technology, A-Action Plan for Each Theatre, N-No Access to Financing,”

2. Stressed the need for greater use of technology, actionable intelligence, choking financial channels and adopting an aggressive strategy to target the top Maoist leadership.
3. Underlined the urgent need to set up a strategic unified command, saying unity of purpose was needed among all affected states.
4. That with a new strategy in place, the anti-Naxal operations will be more successful in future. The states, he added, should play a bigger role in such operations and “take ownership”.
5. That with a new strategy in place, the anti-Naxal operations will be more successful in future. The states, he added, should play a bigger role in such operations and “take ownership”.....the strategy could be recalibrated to make it more effective and to reduce casualties among security personnel.

Security Paradigm

Till now security planners in India were attempting to carry out their tasks on the basis of their past experience or what they learnt from the industrialised countries. Often there was a time lag in absorbing the experience of industrialised countries after analysing what would be applicable to our security environment. As mentioned earlier, our understanding of national security was not future oriented. Even in the rest of the world where countries have a strategic tradition, the common saying till recently used to be that generals were used to preparing to fight the last war. It is no longer possible to deal with the problems of national security on the basis of past experience though that experience is very valuable as a learning process. Today's national security challenges call for thinking ahead to anticipate which state and non-state actors entertain hostile intentions towards our state, our society and our value systems and what they are likely to do and to devise ways and means of checking them.

Therefore, it needs future oriented research into international, national, political, social, economic and technological developments to keep abreast with the thinking of potentially hostile state and non-state actors. This is why in other countries national defence universities have been established to keep a step ahead of the potential adversaries. Unfortunately, the recognition that national security today calls for high intellectual inputs and is not a routine bureaucratic management exercise by both people in uniform and civilians is yet to develop in this country. That raises further questions of training, periodic refresher courses, updating of knowledge

and information for officers in the defence and intelligence services and to the civil servants. The present culture of depending on generalists has become outdated and counter-productive.

Security is not a luxury and is not merely a function of the state; it is a way of life. India has to and can overcome the general inability of democracies to put together the political will, the resources and the strategies that are necessary to prevail over all internal security threats. Real reforms that would remove or minimise economic and religion/caste-based inequalities, good and honest governance and effective policing are pre-requisites for the marshalling the total resources of the nation in these efforts. The Government of India should also be prepared to lower the threshold of tolerance in relation to cross-border terrorism and to serve credible notice that India has the capabilities and the determination to inflict prohibitively high and unacceptable cost on the state sponsors of terrorist acts against Indian interests.

Internal security is a very complex issue. The security of the country is a shared responsibility. It is a responsibility that is shared by the Central Government and the State Governments. The constitution of India, which assigns law and order and police to the State Governments, has also assigned the responsibility of protecting every part of India from external aggression or internal disturbance under Article 355 of the Constitution. The founding fathers were very wise people; that is why they have made national security or internal security a shared responsibility

History

Looking back, from 1947, onwards, the country has faced varied internal security problems. Some of the more serious threats have emanated from Pakistan's unceasing efforts to seize J&K and its sustained strategy to create chaos and disorder to de-stabilize and "break up" India. India has been facing increasing internal security threats in the past years and, as today, the public order in about 40% of the districts is seriously affected by insurgencies, terrorist activities or political extremism.

From around the early 1980s the Pak ISI succeeded in launching terrorist activities in Punjab which suffered enormous human and economic losses for over a decade, till the situation was normalised. Benefiting from the experience gained from its foray into Punjab, Pakistan launched a proxy-war in J&K in end 1989. Over the past nearly two decades now, the continuing wave of terrorism has resulted in the loss of thousands of innocent lives, ruined the economy and, worst of all, shattered the historical secular fabric of Kashmir. In the North East region, several States have continued to face

varying insurgencies, many of which have been accentuated by Pak's ISI cross-border networks.

The illegal immigration from Bangladesh has led to a demographic upheaval and generated serious communal, political, social and economic tensions and conflicts in several areas of the NE region. Instigated by the Pak ISI, and spurred by domestic factors, there has been a steady increase in the growth of pan-Islamic militant outfits which have been preaching fundamentalism and spreading subversion and violence. Over the years, the reach of these networks has spread to areas in Central and South India. The Left-Wing extremist groups, specially the People's War Group and the Maoist Communist Centre, have been continuing to enlarge their violent activities which have progressively spread to cover vast tribal areas in several States. Several organised crime and mafia groups have linked up with Pak ISI supported networks and progressively extended their criminal, subversive and communal activities.

The narcotics and drug mafia outfits, also involved in the smuggling of weapons, RDX and other materials for causing death and destruction, have been carrying out large scale hawala and money laundering operations. The enormous funds generated by the unlawful activities of these groups have been utilised for spreading Islamic fundamentalism, creating violence and executing terrorist activities.

Serious threats to internal security have emerged from the Pak ISI linking up with organised crime and mafia outfits and exploiting this nexus to organise major violent incidents in various cities of India, virtually at their will.

For the past nearly three decades now, ever since Pakistan's initial venture to foment militancy in Panjab, the Centre has been kept incessantly engaged in dealing with serious internal security problems in the North East region, Panjab, J&K, in the various States affected by the activities of the Naxalite groups and in all the areas affected by violence caused by Islamic fundamentalist groups.

The restoration of normalcy in any disturbed area has inescapably involved the application of co-ercive power which, in other words, means the deployment of the required strength of Central Police Forces and, as required, contingents of the Indian Army. From the experience gained in combating militancy, insurgencies and terrorist activities in the past years it has become abundantly clear that the responsibility of the disturbed States does not end merely with the deployment of State or Central Police Forces, or even the Army, to restore the disturbed area to normalcy. The Armed Forces of the Union are deployed in aid of the civil authority and, constitutionally,

the concerned State remains entirely responsible till normalcy is fully restored. It is necessary to recognise that the deployment of Central Police Forces, or the Army, for carrying out anti insurgency/terrorist operations may not yield the expected outcome unless the entire State administrative machinery, led by the Chief Minister, devotes continuous organised attention to sensitively dealing with the root causes which contributed to the breakdown of the public order.

Time bound initiatives would need to be implemented to identify and resolve the social and economic problems or the political demands and aspirations of the agitating groups. Simultaneously, the entire State administration apparatus would require to devote close and continuous attention to providing effective governance, systematic attention being paid to resolve the day-to-day difficulties faced by the common man, particularly those which may have emerged on account of the ongoing disturbed situation. Instead of slackening its functioning on account of the prevailing disturbed environment the administrative apparatus shall need to work overtime to ensure that all socio-economic development and poverty alleviation programmes are implemented with high efficiency and honesty and within an urgent time frame. To timely deal with arising internal security problems, the State Governments need to exercise constant vigilance, particularly in regard to the restoration of complex pending issues, and launch prompt initiatives to open meaningful dialogues with the leaders of the aggrieved groups or communities.

In this context it needs being recognised that issues relating to the management of internal and external security have got inextricably interwoven and, as such, the Centre would need to evolve an holistic approach to internal security management, in close coordination with the States. I would re-iterate that in the security scenario which has evolved over the past three decades and more, it would be impractical, in fact extremely hazardous, to deal sectorally with the management of internal and external security issues. Internal security cannot be maintained satisfactorily in the country unless the States effectively discharge their constitutional duty of maintaining peace and public order in their realms. The States cannot pass on this crucial responsibility to the Centre, as has been the continuing trend in the past years.

A signal failure of the States has been the continued neglect and the political exploitation of their Police organisations. This has most adversely affected the discipline, morale, efficiency, honesty and trustworthiness of the constabulary. It is essential that every State undertakes a time bound programme to enlarge, train and equip its Police to effectively manage the

existing and emerging challenges as well as to provide very strong support for the implementation of the Centre's initiatives to maintain public order in the entire country, or supported by terrorists somewhere else.

In pre-independence India, conventional wisdom had it that external security threats stemmed from hostile countries and internal security threats were all totally indigenous. In the six decades since then, the internal security situation has undergone a sea change. Many internal security threats are externally sponsored or guided or inspired or supported or tolerated.

Maritime & Cargo Security

Apart from the conventional maritime threats to India's national security, special attention needs to be paid to the protection of Indian Interests

Dimensions of Internal Security Threats

The various dimensions of the internal security threats faced by India may seem extremely frightening and may lead to theories of "conspiracies" against India's inevitable march towards becoming a major actor in the international arena. India has the human and material resources for overcoming the problems and for ensuring her internal security; but some significant changes in our mind-set and in our policy-making are necessary.

Firstly, and foremost is the need to recognise that our internal security can be ensured only if there is a consensus on national security policies.

Secondly, Political entities need to agree to eschew the temptation of exploiting (for narrow party interests or for creating/maintaining vote-banks) divisive issues which have the potential of posing threats to national security and cohesion.

Thirdly, parochialism (whether in Assam or Tamil Nadu or Karnataka or Mumbai or anywhere else) should not be allowed to over-ride overall national interests, particularly relating to national security and national integration.

Fourthly, Local and minor issues should not emotionally be blown up to become a major national issue. Local and regional concerns no doubt require attention, but they could be pursued with a proper sense of proportion; and discussion and negotiation should become the first choice – instead of agitation, merely to attract the attention of the media and the public. All sections of the media need to resolve that they would demand and encourage such a change in the priorities for the procedures to be adopted for the resolution of potential (and existing) conflicts of interest.

Fifthly, On the part of the government, it has to recognise the public perception that while considerable progress has been made in the area of

collection of intelligence, through technical means, about the activities of terrorist and militant groups, such progress does not seem to have been matched in the areas of penetration of those groups and collection of intelligence through human agents. If this perception is correct, necessary measures to rectify the imbalance need to be initiated urgently.

Sixthly, though the required mechanisms are stated to have been created for effective co-ordination between state and central agencies, as also amongst central agencies themselves, the results do not reflect the effectiveness of these mechanisms. What the public see and hear, soon after any “incident” or “failure of security”, is a prompt litany of complaints from state and central security agencies, , though mostly indigenous against each other. This effort to shift “blame” often takes precedence over speedy investigation and relief measures.

Seventhly, The variety of internal security threats makes it essential that coping with those threats cannot be left to be the sole responsibility of the state security agencies.

Lastly, there is an inescapable need effectively to involve all other state agencies, all political and religious entities, private security agencies, educationists, social workers and the civil society as a whole to protect our nation. Prevention should be the primary objective, with effective detection and deterrent punishment (when prevention fails) as the backup. It is in the area of prevention that the total involvement of the nation could be made most effective.

Other Considerations

External Factors

Pakistan has been using state-sponsored and state-supported cross-border terrorism (primarily in Jammu & Kashmir) as an instrument of its state policy.

China had, at one stage, provided shelter and support to ethnic-separatist militancy in the north-east.

Various militant groups operating in India's northeast have often found safe haven and operational bases in Bangladesh.

The linkages between the Maoists in Nepal and those in the bordering states in India remain a cause for major concern.

Jihadi terrorism, inspired by externally generated ideas about taking revenge for perceived wrongs committed against Islam over the centuries and the grandiose ambition of establishing an Islamic Caliphate across international borders, is posing a major threat.

The increasing numbers of Indian Muslims seen to be involved in such

activities calls for special attention.

The so-called “global war on terror” is not likely to be of much help to India.

Jihadi terrorism, based only on Islamic extremism, is eventually most likely to fail in South Asia, even as Muslims themselves (as well as the Islam-based power structures within the sponsoring/supporting states) increasingly become prime targets.

One of the unfortunate consequences of the rise of Islamic fundamentalism is the mostly indigenous “retaliatory” rise in fundamentalist revivals amongst Hindus and other religionists. Such revivals have the dangerous potential of being accepted by the majority as totally justified.

Ethnic Militancy as a Factor

There has been some success over the years in handling ethno-centric militancy in the northeast. Successive governments in India have been following the dual path of negotiation on grievances and firm handling of violence.

A potentially dangerous development is the “opportunistic” and “unprincipled” (but limited) international support to the declaration of independence by Kosovo. Ethnic separatists like ULFA, NSCN and those in Manipur could try speciously to apply the Kosovo precedent to their areas. The Government of India should therefore take note of this potential land-mine and be very careful in framing its reaction and response to the developments in Kosovo.

Maoist Insurgency

Maoist (Naxalite) movements have gripped a significantly large portion of India and presently pose one of the most serious threats to our internal security. Though the “ideology” and the “methodology” may be imported, the basic causes are indigenous. There is a wide-spread perception that “land reforms” and efforts at redressal of genuine grievances have only been superficial and that the “exploiters” continue to “exploit” the poor and the landless agriculturists.

It cannot be a coincidence that the Maoists are most effective in areas of past maximum exploitation. If, however, this perception is wrong, it is for the state agencies to inform the public of the correct position. On the other hand, if there is any element of truth in this perception, urgent steps are required to remedy the situation on the ground.

A majority of India’s small farmers have been facing severe economic problems due to various factors, including globalisation, credit crunch

(compounded by usurious money-lenders), non-inclusive economic progress etc. It would not be difficult for the Maoists to project themselves as the sole protectors of the poor farmer's interests and the militant way as the only viable redressal procedure available to them.

Challenges of Internal Security in India

Terrorism

The dawn of the 21st century has witnessed the rise of a most serious crisis in the form of global terrorism. Irrespective of their position, power, influence and progress, all nations across the globe have experienced the disastrous impact of terrorism. India has been a particular victim of this form of warfare for at least the last four decades. In the backdrop of the growing and altering non-conventional and conventional threat perception and the metamorphosis of the world into a global village coupled with easier access to technology, today terrorism is one of the most challenging internal security threats that India is dealing with.

The term 'terrorism' is exceedingly difficult to explain. A Chinese philosopher describes it as, "to kill one and frighten a thousand". In simple words, "terrorism is the indiscriminate use of force to achieve a political aim". It involves committing outrageous acts in order to precipitate political change. Terrorism is also distinguished by its non-state charter even when terrorists receive military, political, economical and other means of support from states. The object of a terrorist act is to deliberately target the innocent with surprise use of violence.

Terrorism in India has had a long and violent history going back several decades. But, in the recent past it has witnessed a series of strikes in many parts of the country. There are subversive/extremist/terrorist activity in Jammu and Kashmir and various States in the North- Eastern region particularly Assam and Manipur; Left Wing Extremism is concentrated in five or six States but is found at some places in other States also."

Poignantly, the Mumbai terror strike in 2008 exposed the fissures in the India's internal defence apparatus as it was caught unaware and unprepared. However, the incident provided the Indian government an important lesson to prepare itself and deal with the new-age terrorism. A stringent series of measures have since been initiated to revamp its existing homeland security apparatus to shield and secure the country against future terror aggressions.

The Annual Reports of the MHA have identified a number of new measures undertaken by the government to strengthen the country to meet the grave challenge posed by global terrorism. These include operationalization of the National Investigation Agency (NIA), establishment of four National

Security Guards (NSG) hubs to ensure quick and effective response to any possible terror attack, augmentation of the strength of Intelligence Bureau (IB), strengthening of the Multi-Agency Centre in the IB to enable it to function on a 24X7 basis and strengthening coastal security.

With an alarming rate, the threat of terrorism is changing and becoming more and more deadly. Terrorism is no longer confined to a particular region or state, but it has become globalized and operates in a network system. With globalization and advancement in technologies, terrorism has also spread in the veins of all nations and India is no exception. Before 11 September 2001, terrorism was perceived as a local affair. It was condemned but not seriously dealt with by the international community. However, the massive blow of 9/11 came as a wake-up call to the international community and shattered the earlier complacency. Today terrorism is no longer considered an internal affair of one state, but one that has an international connotation. Each act of terror, no matter where, is often linked to the exclusive economic zone, to the protection of the (lives and) interests of Indian fishermen, to threats of sabotage/drug trafficking/smuggling posed by container traffic etc.

The potential of the presence of the Sea Tigers in the Palk Strait (and of the clashes between the Sri Lankan Navy and the Sea Tigers in that area) becoming a serious threat to India's national security cannot be forgotten or ignored.

Cyber Space

India is becoming notorious as a major originator of spam and "phishing" on the internet. Cyber-based economic offences like illegal money transfers to anti-social entities, laundering of black money, share market manipulation, bank frauds etc. are on the increase, though specific and reliable data is not available.

Crisis of Individual Identity as a Threat to Internal Security

Strategizing to counter the crisis of identity in a multi-racial, multi-religious and multi-lingual Indian nation state to counter the problems of terrorism, internal security, migration and religious fundamentalism is matter of national importance today.

Scenario:

A simple narrative of ADHAR based identity proof of an Indian citizen can demonstrate what disaster is in the making when India is already confronted with illegal immigration across the Bangladesh, Myanmar, Nepal and Pakistan borders. It poses a major threat to internal security of India.

The ADHAR provides an unique NUMBER to an individual whose BIOMETRICS are part of the data base associated with the ADHAR number. In other words the BIOMETRICS is a PASSWORD if the person is authorized access to classified information. The BIOMETRIC of a high security cleared person either by hacking into the ADHAR data base or even created by photographing the ten fingers of the person concerned by high speed high resolution camera like it was done in case of the German Defence Minister while she was giving a speech standing on the podium with palms facing outwards on the edge of the podium. The story goes that the German Defence Minister's secure files were accessed by using the Unique Identification number with his BIOMETRICS created through photographing her palms. Hence BIOMETRIC as a PASSWORD will make any secure data vulnerable and a threat to National Security. Even if a set of three different BIOMETRICS are required to activate the launch of nuclear weapons, they can be accessed for a complete disaster. Britain under Cameron destroyed all BIOMETRIC data for which every UK citizen had paid to acquire a Unique Identification Number.

Hence BIOMETRICS presently is a method to distinguish one-person identity from another. But to use BIOMETRIC as a methodology to identify a person is absolutely erroneous. Therefore, to find out a solution in case of determining the identity of a person as the person who it ought to be is a challenge for security verification and indicates the vulnerability as well as threat it poses to national security.

In essence methodology chosen will have to be based on the problem. It is not creating a method and call it a methodology to solve a nonexistent problem.

Indian VIP as a Threat to Internal Security

Great Britain has an official number of 84 VIPs. France has 109, Japan has 125 and Germany has 142. The total number of VIPs in the USA are 252, Russia 312 and the total number of VIPs in China is 435. India has a total no of 5,79,092 VIPs. It is sickening. Cutting down this no to below 300 is as urgent a reform as any. Remember this huge Army of largely political VIPs are squandering valuable national resources meant for the common people's security in this country.

Examining the Role of Police Force

Policing in our country has become increasingly complex over the years. Social tensions, religious disputes, growing economic disparities and

regional, linguistic and ethnic differences have long been major challenges to effective policing in India. But of late the growing presence of non-state actors, fundamentalist groups & left-wing extremists has further complicated matters. The growing inter-linkages of the destabilizing and criminal forces, across states and across Indian borders, call for far greater vigilance and coordination between the security agencies than ever before. Therefore, over the past decade, we have institutionalized deliberations and structured interactions at various levels.

After a relative lull in 2009, the challenges to our internal security seem to have re-emerged in more virulent forms. The Naxalites are our own people and are ready to talk to them provided they abjure the path of violence. We also stand committed to making special efforts to develop the areas affected by Naxal violence, many of which are inhabited predominantly by our tribal brothers and sisters.

Despite the curtailment of militant activities in Jammu & Kashmir, the public order dimension in the state has become a cause for serious concern

In the North East, the situation in general is better today than it was in the recent past, but some areas of concern still remain.

India also need to be continuously remain vigilant against the rise of communal tensions. Modern means of communications have enabled adversarial forces to mount powerful and convincing propaganda. Our response to this development needs to be improved.

Over the past decade, the Central Government has sought to assist states in addressing their manpower requirements through financial support for India Reserve battalions, Special Police Officers, and the setting up of village defence committees. But, it appears that recruitment to the regular State police forces has not yet picked up as effectively as it should. The quality of recruitment also remains an area of concern.

For example, a successful stint in an extremism-affected district, should result in greater career benefits to the officers.

Procurement of equipment is another area where speed and quality remain areas of concern. there is a need to take a re-look at procurement procedures and examine ways of creating adequate testing capacities, coupled with databases of certified equipment, empaneled suppliers and benchmark prices. This if acted upon will save a lot of time and effort in procurement.

Recommendations For Police Forces

Several countries have similar fora that continuously deliberate upon issues of police relevance and bring out papers on suggested best practices

and standard operating procedures for various situations and purposes. In one of many earlier addresses to this very gathering, I had proposed the setting up of a Standing Committee of DGPs to provide policy inputs. It is recommended that such a Standing Committee should begin work in right earnest

Training of our officers and men engaged in this theatre should particularly engage our systematic attention. We need to revisit standard operating procedures and crowd control measures to deal with public agitations with non-lethal, yet effective and more focused measures. We also cannot have an approach of one size fits all. The writ of the State should be firmly established in all these areas. The State police and the central paramilitary forces should take firm action against those who take the law into their own hands.

We have to challenge disinformation, often masquerading as objective third party expert opinion, not through suppression or in position of censorship, but by ensuring the availability of better and informed opinion to public at large.

Within the police forces, the current system of promotion is based essentially on seniority. It needs to be suitably recalibrated to catalyze better performance and motivation

Technologies for Homeland Security

The following are important to consider:

1. The security forces comprising of paramilitary forces and state police forces and the industries must come to know each others characteristics, capabilities and the methods of operations.
2. Interphase between the user (security forces) and the developer (industry) has to be attempted by an organized R&D entity. The Indian Armed Forces have the DRDO working to create appropriate technologies for use by the Armed Forces for a very long time though the Armed Forces have not been fully satisfied. If this interphase is successful then a much needed Jointness will take place between the industry and the security forces. This will also enable the members of the security forces to develop the much needed scientific temper needed to assimilate the state of the art technologies.
3. The Hon Home Minister during his interaction with the Naxal affected States has listed 12 key technologies to be made available to the security forces to operate more effectively against the Naxal menace to contain and neutralize this disruptive element. The tabulated list can be seen in Appendix 1 of this paper.

4. The most important technology that the security forces need is for intelligence gathering. It is expected that the Industry representatives will be discussing the incorporation of appropriate technologies for the users i.e.. the security forces. This we feel will be far more important than the technologies needed for the weapons that the security forces need to use.
5. It is important to note that availability of state of the art technologies and affordability of the same is assessed well. Such technologies have to be delivered on time to be effective.
6. One must understand that fundamentally the security forces are severely handicapped as they have to operate within the law of the land and hence if effect they are operating with their hands tied at the back while the disruptive elements be it Naxal, separatists or the terrorists do not follow any rules or the law of the land despite being the enemies of the state. No technology can overcome this asymmetry and needs to be resolved by framing appropriate legal remedies.
7. At the beginning of this presentation it has been recorded that appropriate labelling of the disruptive elements have to be carried out so that they come under the category of “enemy of the State” and hence the security forces assisted by appropriate technologies to aid them can neutralize the disruptive elements which has cause and continue to cause immense harm to the safety and integrity of the nation.

Conclusion

This paper has attempted to conceptualise the normative aspects of Internal Security mechanism and also examine the various issues and challenges that the country faces while addressing itself to solve the internal security problem which has plagued this nation state for over 70 years.

Appendix 1

See Asian Age, 9 May 2017 <http://www.asianage.com/india/all-india/090517/more-tech-use-aggressive-line-in-war-on-naxals.html>

Rajnath asks states to use more tech to tackle Naxal menace

New Delhi: Virtually declaring an all-out war against the Naxalite menace, Union home minister Rajnath Singh stressed the need for greater use of technology, actionable intelligence, choking financial channels and adopting an aggressive strategy to target the top Maoist leadership. Speaking at a conference of 10 Naxal-infested states here on Monday in the wake of the recent killings of CRPF personnel, Mr Singh underlined the urgent need to set up a strategic unified command, saying unity of purpose was needed

among all affected states.

National security adviser Ajit Doval and top security and intelligence officials from the Centre and states also took part in the meeting, which decided to evolve a uniform strategy to take on the Naxals. Sending a tough message, the home minister said he was confident that with a new strategy in place, the anti-Naxal operations will be more successful in future. The states, he added, should play a bigger role in such operations and “take ownership”.

The meeting, sources said, discussed how the strategy could be recalibrated to make it more effective and to reduce casualties among security personnel.

Choking the Naxals' financial resources was the “most basic mantra”, the home minister said, as resources play a major role in any war. He also stressed the need for greater use of technology like trackers in weapons and biometrics in smart guns, which are some of the new tech to check the use of looted arms by the militants.

“It would be advisable to have trackers in weapons, as well as biometrics in smart gun triggers — as a tracker can locate a looted weapon wherever it is taken or used, while biometrics can make a smart gun useless for anyone other than the authorised user. Trackers should also be embedded in shoes and bulletproof jackets,” the minister added. In addition, Mr Singh said, unique identification numbers could be used in gelatin and other explosive materials.

Referring to use of Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (UAVs), the home minister said this should be further augmented and more such surveillance gear should be procured and given to the security forces. “We need to use high-resolution PTZ cameras, GPS tracking, hand-held thermal imaging, radar and satellite imaging,” he said.

On intelligence-gathering, the minister said surrendered Naxals should be used “more effectively” to obtain information. Mr Singh also claimed that in order to evolve actionable intelligence, it was important that all intelligence agencies and security forces establish a good network with the local people.

Talking about the welfare of securitymen deployed in Naxal-affected areas, who often face fatigue and stress, the home minister said it was important that their camps have better facilities for power, water and mobile phone connectivity. It was imperative that the security forces follow the laid-down Standard Operating Procedures (SOPs) and remain alert about their own security.

“We have to bring aggression in our policy, there should be aggression in our thinking, aggression in our strategy, aggression in deployment



Rajnath asks states to use more tech to tackle Naxal menace

(Key Result Areas), H-Harnessing Technology, A-Action Plan for Each Theatre, N-No Access to Financing,” the home minister said.

Bihar chief minister Nitish Kumar criticised the Centre for stopping funds for crucial schemes to fight Naxals and for refusing the state’s request for a helicopter for quick deployment of forces in anti-Maoist operations. Mr Kumar said the UPA government had introduced some schemes for capacity enhancement of the security forces and to address local disparities in LWE-affected states like Special Infrastructure Scheme, Integrated Action Plan and Security Related Expenditure.

The Bihar CM claimed these schemes had shown good results but since last year some were discontinued and ironically when they were hoping the government would strengthen these schemes and enhance resources. It was decided at the meeting that such schemes will continue. Mr Kumar suggested changes in the Money Laundering Act to check the funding of Naxal outfits.

Speaking at the meeting, Chhattisgarh CM Raman Singh, heading the state that is possibly the worst affected by Naxal violence, suggested greater use of air power which could target the Naxal leadership, and continuous work for development, among other things. It was also decided to operationalise the airport at Jagdalpur, the nerve centre of Naxal activities.

Jharkhand CM Raghubar Das sought more assistance from the Centre to establish an Air Surveillance Unit in Ranchi and modernisation of madrasas to deal with the Naxal problem. Most states demanded more helicopter support and use of modern technology in anti-Naxal operations.

The CRPF has, meanwhile, decided to further beef up the presence of elite CoBRA commandos in Chhattisgarh’s Sukma district by deploying 2,000 more security personnel. The force has already shifted its anti-Naxal ops command centre from Kolkata to Raipur to further strengthen its operations in the state.

of security forces, aggression in operations, aggression in bringing development, aggression in road construction... We must focus on the concept of ”Samadhan” — which means S-Smart Leadership, A-Aggressive Strategy, M-Motivation and Training, A-Actionable Intelligence, D-Dashboard Based KPIs (Key Performance Indicators) and KRAs

Appendix 2



Radicalisation in Northeast a serious security threat, may lead to terrorism: HM

<http://www.deccanchronicle.com/nation/current-affairs/160517/radicalisation-in-northeast-a-serious-security-threat-may-lead-to-terrorism-hm.html>

The high-level meeting was also attended by NSA chief Ajit Doval and Union Minister Jitender Singh. (Photo: PIB)

New Delhi: Home Minister Rajnath Singh on Tuesday described religious radicalisation as a serious security threat and said if not checked in time, it could lead to terrorism.

Singh, who reviewed the security situation in the Northeast with chief secretaries and DGPs of the region here, also expressed concern over the proliferation of illegal arms in the region and asked the police chiefs to launch organised campaigns against arms smugglers.

“If we talk about the future security threats, radicalisation has come as a huge security challenge. Radicalisation is a trans-national phenomenon. If we can’t check it, it will turn into terrorism,” he said at the meeting which was also attended by NSA Ajit Doval and other top security officials.

The home minister said because the Northeast was especially vulnerable to attempts of radicalisation, it was essential to identify those behind it.

“Some of these agents are operating in the name of religion while some others are operating in the name of NGOs or carrying out development programmes for individuals, socio-culture uplift and education,” he said.

Singh said it was necessary to monitor their activities and take pre-emptive action. “Some of these agents even get foreign funding. So it is

necessary to closely monitor their foreign funding and utilisation,” he said.

The home minister said though most of the Northeast was free from militancy, the proliferation of illegal arms was a problem that needed to be tackled.

“The proliferation of illegal arms in such large numbers leads to more crimes. I urge the DGPs to launch an organised campaign against illegal arm traders,” he said.

Singh said arms, narcotics and fake Indian currency notes were being smuggled into India through the international border abutting the Northeast.

“These borders are practically un-policed. There is need to set up more police stations on the border areas as these will check cross-border crimes and bring a sense of security to the people who live in these remote areas,” he said.

The home minister, however, said there had been a significant improvement in the security situation in the Northeast in last few years.

“Most of the areas are now free from insurgency and militants have been losing support even in the few pockets where they have influence,” he said.

Singh said this had been made possible by effective counter-insurgency operations, a responsive development orientation and improved relations with neighbouring countries.

“(But) in some areas, armed gangs are indulging in extortion, kidnapping and abduction in the name of militancy,” he said.

The home minister also asked the police chiefs to ensure that surrendered militants staying in designated camps did not indulge in crime.

“There is a need to keep all cadres of underground groups, which are engaged in peace talks with the government, in designated camps and ensure that they follow agreed ground rules. I am told some are involved in violent criminal activities such as extortion and kidnapping,” he said.

Professor Gautam Sen



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Maoism/Naxalism/left wing terrorism/left wing extremism (LWE)-present status, concerns and way ahead

Brig H H Mahajan

“...It would not be an exaggeration to say that the problem of Maoism is the single biggest internal security challenge ever faced by our country..... We need to give the problem a very high priority.....”

- Dr Manmohan Singh

(during PM's conference of CMs of Maoist affected states on 13 April 2006)

Maoist plot for 'Rajiv-type incident'

Advocate Surendra Gadling, an accused in the Bhima-Koregaon violence, has been sent to police custody till June 25. Naxal links emerged during the interrogation of the accused in the case. Pune police are investigating three letters, including one which suggests a Maoist plot to execute a “Rajiv Gandhi-type incident” as well as a plan to “end the Modi-raj”. The three letters were part of the documents and electronic evidence recovered during the searches conducted by the police at different locations in Delhi, Mumbai, Nagpur and Pune in connection with the clashes at Koregaon Bhima.

Scrutiny of these documents led to the June 6 arrests of five people with alleged links to the banned Communist Party of India (Maoist) — Rona Wilson from Delhi, Sudhir Dhawale from Mumbai and Surendra Gadling, Soma Sen and Mahesh Raut from Nagpur. District government pleader Ujjwala Pawar read out the relevant line that suggests the plot, while arguing before special judge A S Bhisare for the custodial remand of the five suspects. “We are thinking along the lines of another Rajiv Gandhi type incident”. The court case & investigations are continuing.

The Home Ministry presented latest update on India's Internal Security Status in its Annual Report Ministry of Home Affairs 2017-2018. available at <https://mha.gov.in/documents/annual-reports>

Overview: Internal Environment

Nation building process has been marked by religious fundamentalism, ethnic tensions and economic disparities. There is continuing militancy/insurgency in Kashmir and North-Eastern States. Rising Maoist influence across central India has linkages with many terror networks.

Pakistan's intelligence agency ISI is continuing to exploit internal weaknesses. Various ,sabotage cases ,subversion are manifestation of ISI designs.

**ISI IS BLEEDING INDIA BY 1000 CUTS. GOVERNMENTS MAY CHANGE BUT
ISI WILL NEVER CHANGES ITS GRAND STRATEGY.**

While the Indian political parties are busy fighting with each other.

Fatalities in Left-wing Extremism:
2005-2018 India Year Wise Breakup

Years	Civilians	Security Force Personnel	LWE/ CPI- Maoists	Total
2005	281	150	286	717
2006	266	128	343	737
2007	240	218	192	650
2008	220	214	214	648
2009	391	312	294	997
2010	626	277	277	1180
2011	275	128	199	602
2012	146	104	117	367
2013	159	111	151	421
2014	128	87	99	314
2015	93	57	101	251
2016	123	66	244	433
2017	109	74	149	332
2018	59	43	127	229
Total*	3116	1969	2794	7879

* Data till June 10, 2018

The Maoists claim to have established domination over Abujhmadh & Dandakaryna area, which comprises of tribal areas of Jharkhand, Chattisgarh, Bihar ,Orissa ,Madhya Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh.

Intelligence reports and captured literature from the Maoist bases have revealed that the Maoists in India have established linkages with many groups within and outside India. It is in the intersection of these two corridors and Bastar in Chhattisgarh, that the Maoist central leadership is said to be in hiding.

The Maoist movement is the main threat which is affecting the nation today. It is more dangerous than the situation in Jammu and

Kashmir.

Statement of the Problem

The aim of this Research Paper is to analyze the ongoing Maoist movement , its impact on the internal security situation in India and suggest measures to overcome the same. Is it a social problem or a law & order problem? Or Maoist is another form of terrorism ?What can the state, society & security

forces do to overcome this problem?

Justification for the Study

In their strongholds, they are known to run a parallel government. They resort to killings, kidnappings, abduction, extortion, improvised explosive device (IED) blasts and destruction of property. The developing threat from the Maoists, has very serious security implications for the country.

It is therefore desirable that a detailed analysis of the ongoing Maoist movement be carried out and workable solutions be identified before the situation goes out of control. The subject will be covered as under:-

- Present Status
- State-Wise Break Up OfLWE Violence
- Measures Taken By The Government To Combat LWE
- Urban Maoism: Strategy And Modus Operandi &Fourth Generation Warfare (4gw).
- Comprehensive Strategy To Combat Maoism
- Recommended Actions By Army
- Conclusion

Present Status

The last four years have seen an unprecedented improvement in the LWE scenario across the country. An overall 20% reduction in violent incidents (1136 to 908) and 33.8% reduction (397 to 263) in LWE related deaths in 2017 as compared to 2013 has been reported. At the same time, the developmental outreach by the Government of India has resulted in an increasingly large number of LWE cadres shunning the path of violence and returning to the mainstream.

Chhattisgarh (373 incidents and 130 deaths) remains the worst affected State followed by Jharkhand (251 incidents and 56 deaths), Bihar (99 incidents and 22 deaths), Odisha (81 incidents and 29 deaths) and Maharashtra (69 incidents and 16 deaths). Chhattisgarh, despite being the core area for LWE activity, recorded a 5.6 % decrease in incidents of violence. The State-wise break up of LWE violence profile is given in the following table:

The CPI (Maoist) continues to be the most potent among the various LWE outfits in the country and accounted for more than 80% of total LWE violence. Amidst increasing reverses, the CPI (Maoist) has been making efforts to expand to new areas along inter-State borders without any significant success. The Maoists have been forced to remain in a state of strategic defence in most of the States, however now they are moving to urban areas for fueling violence.

State-wise extent of LWE violence during 2010 to 2017

State	2010		2011		2012		2013		2014		2015		2016		2017	
	Incidents	Deaths	Incidents	Deaths	Incidents	Deaths	Incidents	Deaths	Incidents	Deaths	Incidents	Deaths	Incidents	Deaths	Incidents	Deaths
Andhra Pradesh	100	24	54	9	67	13	28	7	18	4	35	8	17	6	26	7
Bihar	307	97	316	63	166	44	177	69	163	32	110	17	129	28	99	22
Chhattisgarh	625	343	465	204	370	109	355	111	328	112	466	101	395	107	373	130
Jharkhand	501	157	517	182	480	163	387	152	384	103	310	56	323	85	251	56
M.P.	7	1	8	0	11	0	1	0	3	0	0	0	12	2	3	1
Maharashtra	94	45	109	54	134	41	71	19	70	28	55	18	73	23	69	16
Odisha	218	79	192	53	171	45	101	35	103	26	92	28	86	27	81	29
Telangana	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	8	4	14	5	11	2	7	0	5	2
Uttar Pradesh	6	1	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
West Bengal	350	258	92	45	6	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Others	5	0	6	1	8	0	7	0	8	0	10	0	6	0	1	0
TOTAL	2213	1005	1760	611	1415	415	1136	397	1091	310	1089	230	1048	278	908	263

Measures taken by the Government to Combat LWE

Ban on the CPI (Maoist): The CPI (Maoist) has been banned under the existing Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act 1967 since 22nd June 2009.

Strengthening the Intelligence Mechanism: Several steps have been taken to strengthen and upgrade the capabilities of intelligence agencies at the Central and State level. This includes intelligence sharing through Multi Agency Centre (MAC) at the Central level and through State Multi Agency Centre (SMAC) at the State level on 24x7 basis. Other steps which have been taken to strengthen the intelligence mechanism include, setting up of Joint Command and Control Centre at Jagdalpur and Gaya, strengthening of technical and human intelligence, better cooperation amongst the Security Forces, district police and intelligence agencies, thrust on generation of real time intelligence and creation/ strengthening of State Intelligence Bureaus (SIBs) in the LWE affected States for which Central assistance is provided through the Special Infrastructure Scheme (SIS).

Raising India Reserve (IR) / Specialised India Reserve Battalion (SIRB):

The LWE affected states have been sanctioned India IR battalions mainly to strengthen their security apparatus at their own level and also to enable the states to provide gainful employment to youth, particularly in the LWE affected areas. 56 IR battalions have been sanctioned to 10 LWE affected States, of which 38 have been raised. In addition, Government has sanctioned raising of 10 new SIRBs in the LWE States of Bihar (01), Chhattisgarh (02), Jharkhand (02), Madhya Pradesh (01), Odisha (03) and West Bengal (01).

Security Related Expenditure (SRE) Scheme: The GOI reimburses the LWE affected State Governments the security related expenditure incurred on ex-gratia payment to the family of civilian/security forces killed in LWE violence training and operational needs of security forces, compensation to LWE cadres who surrender in accordance with the surrender and rehabilitation policy of the concerned State Government, community policing, security related infrastructure for village defense committees and publicity material

Special Infrastructure Scheme (SIS)

The earlier Special Infrastructure Scheme which was under implementation from 2008-09 to 2014-15, has now been revived for a period of 3 years from 2017-18 to 2019- 20 for strengthening of the intelligence mechanism & Special Forces of the States and for fortification of Police Stations. Main objectives of the Scheme are:

- Funding training infrastructure, weaponry, vehicles, and other related items for up-gradation and filling critical infrastructure gaps of the Special Forces of LWE affected States.
- Support to the LWE affected States for strengthening their Special Intelligence Branches meant for LWE operations.
- Construction of 250 fortified Police Stations/Outposts in 7 LWE affected States. The 35 districts in 7 States are the most affected LWE districts, which contribute to more than 90% LWE violence in the country. All these 35 districts are badly deprived from basic infrastructure and facilities. In the current Financial Year 2017-18, an amount of ` 175.00 crore has been allocated under the Scheme.

Assistance to Central Agencies for LWE Management Scheme

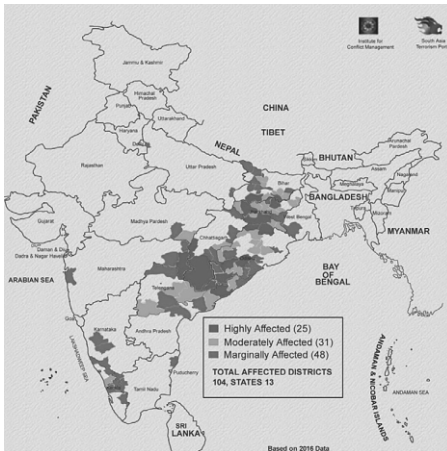
Road Requirement Plan-I (RRP-I):- The Government has been implementing RRP-I since 26.02.2009 for improving road connectivity in 34 LWE affected districts. The scheme envisages construction of 5,422 kms of roads and 08 critical bridges, of which 4537 km roads and 02 bridges have

been completed with an expenditure of ` 6,719 crore.

Road Connectivity Project for LWE Affected Areas – (RRP-II): The Government approved a Centrally Sponsored Scheme for LWE Affected Areas” on 28.12.2016 to improve the rural road connectivity in the worst LWE affected districts. The scheme envisages construction/upgradation of 5411.81 km of road and 126 bridges/Drainage works at an estimated cost of Rs. 11,724.53 crore in 44 LWE affected districts. The roads to be constructed under the scheme have been identified by the governments and the security agencies.

LWE Mobile Tower Project:In order to address connectivity issues in LWE areas, a scheme for installation of Mobile Towers is being implemented by the Department of Telecommunication, Ministry of Communications and Information Technology. Under this scheme, in Phase-I 2329 Mobile Towers in 10 LWE affected States have been operationalised. Phase-II of Mobile Tower Project in LWE affected areas is under consideration.

Forest Land To Forest Dwelling Scheduled Tribes



The Government has enacted the Act to recognize and vest the forest rights and occupation on the forest land to forest dwelling Scheduled Tribes and other traditional forest dwellers, who have been residing in such forests for generations, but whose rights could not be recorded. As on 31.10.2017,

a total of 14,63,855 title deeds (Individual- 14,06,530 and community-57,325) had been distributed in 10 LWE affected States.

Urban Maoism: Strategy And Modus Operandi

Urban Maoists are the ‘invisible enemies’ of India, some of them have either been caught or are under the police radar for working for the movement and spreading insurgency against India. One common thread amongst all of them is that they are all urban intellectuals, influencers or activists of importance.

They indoctrinate the youth by pretending to be concerned about social

issues. However, they never tried to find a solution to social problems. Dictated by the politburo strategy, they just exploit the situation by organising protests and mobilising masses which can be used for party building. They encourage students to take admission in different colleges and fail so that they can continue longer on the college campus.

With the help of these students they attract new students and organise 'boot study camps'. An investigation by the Maharashtra Anti-Terrorism Squad (ATS) into the arrest of some people has revealed that the banned outfit Communist Party of India (Maoists) had organised a 15-day camp in Pune. Seven men and four women participated in the 'study camp' called 'teachers training programme'.

The new strategy focuses on a six-stage approach called – survey, awareness, agitation, recruitment, resistance and control. In an essay on the issue P V Ramana quotes a state intelligence official, "They have completed the first stage of survey, that is, identifying the target groups, potential areas of discontent and flash-points in urban areas. Now they are in the process of implementing the second and third stages of their strategy."

In a detailed article in *Mainstream Weekly* titled 'Metastasis of Maoists Network in Urban India' where its author Sudhansu Bhandari details Maoists urban strategy. He writes:

"This is achieved through the creation of the following types of frontal organisations:

(1) Secret revolutionary mass organisations, (2) Open and semi-open revolutionary mass organisations, and (3) Open legal mass organisations, which are not directly linked to the party. Urban work within the third type of organisations can further be subdivided into three broad categories: (a) fractional work, (b) partly-formed cover organisations, and (c) legal democratic organisations."

The legal democratic organisations are the most dangerous for national security, as they try to subvert constitutional authority surreptitiously by building mass support through subtle manipulation of grievances against the state.

These organisations work closely with disgruntled groups of trade unions, student bodies, women's fronts, caste-abolition organisations, nationality organisations, writers' associations, lawyers' organisations, teachers' associations, cultural bodies etc.

The Urban Perspective document clearly highlights that the Maoists leadership's rhetoric is not all loud talk with no substance. That it is composed of educated persons holding the highest educational qualifications, and who are motivated enough to a cause (however blighted) for which they have

spent their entire lives.

1. To accomplish their urban objectives, Maoists have employed multi-pronged tactics.
2. To recruit or install Maoists sympathisers in key public sector industries.
3. To infiltrate into the enemy camp in critical departments like finance, military, police, power, IT, defence production and disrupt the activities from within by gaining control over the workers. Slowly, passive protests and continuous grievances lead to a domino effect in an already disgruntled nation.
4. To create a network of doctors and hospital attendants sympathetic to their cause who shall treat their injured cadres with utmost secrecy.
5. To create cadres in urban areas who are technically qualified to handle the latest arms and ammunitions.
6. To create groups of highly motivated individuals who constitute what the Maoists call as 'city action teams'. These members are entrusted with the destruction of high-value targets or the annihilation of individuals of importance. The identity of such members is unknown even to the local urban party structure.
7. The collection of centralised intelligence and cyber-warfare. The party tries to use modern electronic means to infiltrate into the enemy's networks and collect vital information. For this, they need to have individuals with requisite skills, who can only be found in urban areas and who, because of the nature of their job, need to be based therein. Such persons are under the direct control of the highest party echelons.
8. To create cultural unrest with the help of propaganda platforms like Kabir Kala Manch.

Maoists Engaged Fourth Generation Warfare (4GW).

The Maoists movement is engaged in 4GW. This war is waged by a blurring of the lines between war and politics, combatants and civilians. If they have reached this stage, we have no one but our political leaders to blame.

Their expertise is in becoming and then remaining members of the establishment. Their reality is covert politics and not the competence or expertise. This 4GW is complex and long term. It's decentralised, small in size and lacks hierarchy. The strategy is to make a direct attack on Indian culture, including genocidal acts against civilians, and wage a highly sophisticated psychological and cultural warfare, especially through media manipulation and law warfare. All available pressures are used – political, economic, social and military. For this purpose, legal professionals are required,

media professionals are required, creative people, varied intellectuals and academicians are required, and civil society leaders are required, especially those who are connected with non-governmental organisations. It begins with low-intensity conflicts where actors attack from different platforms.

Strategy and Tactics' and 'Urban Perspective Document' take a long-term approach as they believe direct confrontation for quick results won't help. The document admits that enemy is very strong in urban areas and, therefore, never to engage with the enemy until the conditions are favourable. And to make them favourable, it suggests exploring and opening of opportunities, organising people through frontal organisations, targeting the 'vulnerable group' of minorities, women, Dalits, labour and students through influencers who work undercover for a long time and accumulate strength. The document stresses on uniting industrial proletariats, the weak and students, and use them as vanguards who can play a direct role in the revolution.

The city becomes the money source, shelter for cadre as transit points, source of weaponry and legal protection, medical aid, media attention and intelligentsia network.

They have identified Pune-Mumbai-Ahmedabad as the Golden Corridor, the Delhi-Kanpur-Patna-Kolkata as Ganga Corridor and KKT's (Kerala, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu) Chennai-Coimbatore-Bengaluru as tri-junction.

"Mass organizations are operating under the garb of human rights NGOs. These are manned by ideologues, including academicians and activists," the Ministry of Home Affairs (MHA) said in an affidavit filed in the Supreme Court, detailing the new strategy of the Maoists movement.

According to the home ministry, ideologues and supporters of Maoists in cities and towns have undertaken a concerted and systematic propaganda against the state. "In fact, it is these ideologues who have kept the Maoists movement alive and are in many ways more dangerous than the cadres of the People's Liberation Guerilla Army," the affidavit says. The tactics employed are extremely effective and media-attention grabbing. These range from using aggressive agitations and propaganda provoking Dalits to take up arms to programmes on anti-capitalist policies to target controversies in history. They work with feminist groups, atheist groups, anti-superstition movements, intellectuals, students, labourers, slum groups, farmers, journalists, competitive exam centres and so on. They take up genuine issues with the aim not to solve them but to create unrest and anger against the system and make people believe in armed struggle. This is how the 'vulnerable group' unknowingly becomes their vanguard. (Urban

Naxalism: Strategy And Modus Operandi-Vivek Agnihotri-Accessed on 21Jun 18))

Comprehensive Strategy To Combat Maoism

Maoism has to be tackled simultaneously at four levels, i.e. political, socio economic, psychological and military.

Socio-Economic Measures. Maoism is a socio-economic problem and addressing this is of utmost importance. Some of the reforms we need to address are as given in the succeeding paragraphs.

- (a) **Land Rights and Reforms.** Feudalism needs to be eliminated. Surplus land must be distributed among the poor and landless and state protection provided to them. Redistribution of agricultural land in China, Japan and South Korea has been 43, 33 and 32% respectively¹, ensuring equal distribution of land to the tillers.
- (b) **Improved Irrigation Facilities.** The suicide cases by farmers are an indicator of the dire need to provide irrigation facilities.
- (c) **Improve Education and Health Care.** The education system has neither been able to provide universal education nor develop skills for gainful employment. The benefits have not reached the people in these areas. It must be ensured even with the help of NGOs working in the area. The institutions of Baba Amte (Anand Van) and R K Mission have made inroads into these areas in these fields.
- (d) **Forest Policy.** The affected areas are densely forested and the inhabited most by the tribals. Since ages, the tribals have co-existed with the forests. The policy is in place but its implementation requires improvement.
- (e) **Industrialisation.** Some of the Maoist areas are rich in mineral wealth, and coal deposits. These are ideal sites for setting up of industries. The government must encourage setting up of industries in these areas to bring in overall development.
- (f) **Social Reformation.** Our social, women and religious organizations must be encouraged to go into interior areas to usher in, social and cultural changes. It is a known fact that the society cannot be changed by enacting and enforcing laws but only by social reformers and organizations.
- (g) **Infrastructure Development.** The construction of roads, bridges, power, irrigation projects, factories and effective public distribution system etc will help in development of these neglected areas and provide employment opportunities.
- (h) **Monitoring of Development Projects.** Creation of a Central TF to monitor progress of Central and State development projects in affected

states.

- (j) **Economic Development.** Increase options of generation of employment within the area. This should aim at providing minimum wages to people, improve farming practices to make the people self reliant, which will need providing the latest knowledge and technical backup for the same. Small scale industries need to be given special impetus.
- (k) **Law and Order.** There is a need to improve the standing of the police and the administration. Dynamic and honest administrators and police officials need to be posted in these areas. There is a need for speedy and fair justice to be seen by the population and thus a requirement of transparent governance.

Political Measures.

- (a) **Participation in Electoral Politics.** The Maoists groups should be encouraged to join the mainstream politics. This will enable the state to engage them and the people to judge their true commitment to social equality. The model followed by Andhra Pradesh to allow extremists to function openly in 1990 with some modifications can be tried again. Open political engagement in all affected states simultaneously is a must. The central government and state government must through a joint strategy carry this out as done in NE. Possibility exists that the taste of power at various levels may corrupt Maoists leaders and cadres, and expose them to the people for whom they are seeking social justice. They should get an opportunity to improve their socio-economic conditions themselves and be accountable for the success or otherwise.
- (b) **Improve Governance.** This is a pre-requisite for both Central and State Governments. The governance at village, block, district and regional level has to be responsive to the needs of the locals. The central institutions like judiciary, banks, forest, revenue etc. and state administration, like police stations, agricultural institutions, and district administration have to function at optimum efficiency for the people in the affected areas to regain their lost confidence in the government machinery.
- (c) **Self Governance.** Our tribal areas have long and well tested mechanism of self governance. This must get state recognition and allow tribes to function in an autonomous manner in accordance with their established cultural and traditional laws. Creation of autonomous district councils in such areas may be considered. This is no violation but only complimentary to the governance at state and national level.
- (d) **Peace Talks.** Engage Maoist in peace talks simultaneously in affected states as a prelude to their eventual assimilation in mainstream politics.

Psychological Aspects.

Effective and imaginative psychological initiatives should be undertaken by the state to wean away people from Maoism. Some possible themes could be:-

- (a) Maoist ideology is outdated and idealist.
- (b) After death of Mao, even China has dumped Maoist ideology.
- (c) Without globalisation and liberalisation, a state cannot become an economic power.
- (d) Economic prosperity is difficult in a communist state with state controls.
- (e) Communist state of USSR collapsed in 1992 even after initiation of reforms of change and openness (Perestroika & Glasnost) by Gorbachev.
- (f) Maoists violence is an obstacle to development activities.
- (g) Penetration of criminals in the extremist Organization.
- (h) Socialism is achievable in a democracy.
- (j) Democracy empowers people to choose their leaders.
- (k) Maoists leaders live in comfort while the cadres dwell in misery.
- (l) The belief that present sys of governance is unsuited should be replaced by a resurgent drive to reinstall faith.

Security Measures.

- (a) Maoists problem is not based on any issue specific to a particular state. Over a period of time, different states have followed diverse policies in dealing with Maoism. There is a need to set up an apex level unified command structure to issue common directions and guidelines to be followed by the affected states.
- (b) A unified approach driven by Ministry of Home Affairs (MHA) needs to be adopted to tackle Maoism. A unified command under MHA consisting of DGPs of affected states and Intelligence heads of state and central Intelligence agencies needs to be set up to tackle this problem. The charter of the Unified Command could be:-
 - (i) Planning and co-ordination of interstate ops.
 - (ii) Sanitisation of Dandakaranya.
 - (iii) Intelligence co-ordination and sharing amongst affected states.
 - (iv) Uniform training of Task forces.
 - (v) Modernisation of weapons and equipment used by Task forces.
- (c) Modernisation of Police Force.

Existing police to population ratio of 1:10002 to be enhanced to min of 3:1000 in Maoists affected areas. Sensitive police stations to be headed by selected police officers. Protective vehicles should be provided to police

forces to counter the threat from landmines. Police communications should be upgraded to interconnect the police stations to the district police HQs and the district police HQs of the affected states.

Recommended Actions By Army

Maoism is an existing problem with no direct involvement of the army, a situation that existed in NE before 1960s, in Punjab before 1984 and in J&K prior to 1990. The problem has all the ingredients of developing into a major internal security problem if the present state of indifference by state governments continues. As an Organization, the army needs to be proactive, imaginative and be prepared to deal with the problem as and when called upon by the govt.

Intelligence Management at Army Level. In Central Command, the Army had set up an informal intelligence collection set up through regular interaction with intelligence agencies, civil administration and police forces operating in the affected states. There is a requirement of formalising this adhoc intelligence set up by obtaining approval from MHA for army reps to attend meetings of the various intelligence agencies in the affected states. Central Command has developed an interactive intelligence management package which hosts database of all Mao related incidents in the affected states in Central Command. There is however an imperative need for creation of a centralised data base of Mao activities at Army level by DGMI. Such a package should be able to carry out instant trend analysis of violent incidents as well as dynamic assessment of the Maoist.

Survey and Mapping. The army has the requisite resources and technology for survey and mapping. As a first step, we should carry out the survey and mapping of the most affected areas of Dandakaranya and Abujmadh. This area is not surveyed and mapped and if in future, the Army is required to operate in these areas, it will be an extremely difficult task. We should be prepared now.

Recommended Role For Army

- When time comes, its response should be precise and yields quick results.
- Recommendations. The Armed forces especially the Army with its vast repository of retired manpower can be used to evolve a unique structure in the following lines:-
- At the Central level, an officer of the rank of a retired Lieutenant General can be nominated to head a task force to review the existing policy, tactics and the execution of various tasks pertaining to Maoism.
- An officer of the rank of a retired Lieutenant General could also be either appointed as a Governor or the Chief Advisor to the affected State

Governments.

- At the state level, retired officers of the rank of Major General/Brigadier could be appointed to act as advisors to the respective State Directors General of Police.
- At the Range/Sector level, retired officers of the rank of a Colonel could be appointed as advisors to the DIG.
- Serving officers of the rank of Lieutenant Colonel/Major could be deputed at the level of Police Stations.
- Establish an intelligence grid and effective source network.
- Co-operation is to be ensured with police forces.
- Additional recruitment quotas in Mao affected areas.
- Setting up a nodal agency to carry out comprehensive study and survey/map of affected areas.
- Establishment of a Jungle Warfare School in Combat Revolutionary Zone.
- Showing presence by acquisition of land for field firing and training activities. Special Forces Training School is under consideration for relocation at Chakarbhathi, Chhattisgarh from Nahan, HP. Land for the same has already been provided the Chhattisgarh govt.
- Unit and formation level exercises to be conducted in the affected areas with the view to achieve sanitization of this area and gaining of vital intelligence.
- A myriad of adventure activities like cycling, trekking, river rafting could be conducted by the army all over the country.
- Engagement of Combat Engineers/Boarder Road Organisation to undertake infrastructure development activities and procurement of IED equipment.
- Ex-servicemen may be recruited in State Police under aegis of Directorate General of Resettlement, Ministry of Defence for counter Mao operations.
- Provision of UAVs for surveillance.
- Air Force. Employment of UAVs for surveillance and helicopter effort for surveillance, casualty evacuation and transportation of troops/logistics.
- Navy. It can be employed to monitor and intercept supply of arms to the Maoists through the sea routes.

Conclusion

Through a combination of development and security related interventions, the LWE problem can be successfully tackled. However, it is clear that the Maoists do not want root causes like underdevelopment be addressed in a meaningful manner. They resort to targeting school buildings, roads, railways, bridges, health infrastructure, communication facilities etc. in a major way.

Maoism movement though unlikely to bloom into a full blown insurgency, however, is proving to be a serious threat to regional political stability and a big

drain on the country's economy. Moreover, it generates social tensions, dividing people along caste, ethnic, communal, sectarian and regional lines and thus needs to be tackled in a comprehensive manner.

Military operations should be well orchestrated, with complete unity of command at the apex. Human rights must be respected and there should be no recourse to short-cut methods. Intelligence available with different agencies must be shared and external involvement and support, where it exists, must be cut-off. The local police needs to be energised and motivated to engage the Mao outfits. The Central Armed Police forces require greater mobility, weaponry and improved communications. Infusion of a well trained and committed set of Army officers may prove to be the ideal requirement of the day to combat the malaise of Maoism.

Maoism can no longer be dismissed as a socio economic issue peculiar to any particular state. It is devoid of any ideology and aims at destroying the very fibre of our democratic society through terror, which needs to be tackled through a unified approach and a National Strategy which could act as guideline for all the affected States who can peruse it individually in accordance with States socio-economic and political compulsions. Further developments in LWE growth needs to be watched.

PM Shri Narendra Modi has emphasized, on the need to strengthen the local police on all fronts, improve intelligence setup, and enhance joint ness amongst Maoist affected states. The Government has taken a number of steps to improve Inter- State coordination through periodic Inter-State meetings and also facilitating interactions between the bordering districts of LWE affected States. The multi-pronged efforts of the Government are slowly but surely showing positive impact. LWE violence has seen a significant decline in the last four years. The improvement in LWE scenario can be attributed to greater presence and increased capacity of the Security Forces across the LWE affected States, better operational strategy and regular monitoring of development schemes in affected areas.

It has been reported that coordinated offensive will be launched by the security forces against the Maoists. Let us hope that the present live & let live policy is replaced by taking Maoists head on. The path to peace is long but with stern political will & resolute action by security forces we can avoid creation of Naxalistan.



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Strategic Alliance with Neighbours and beyond to Achieve India's Strategic Aim

Lt Col M K Gupta Ray (Veteran)

With the turn of the century, India is fast growing into a strategic power and stands firm among four major powers i.e. USA, Russia, China and India. India holds her own strategic place in the geo-political situation in south, southeast and central Asia in controlling world trade route and military affair in the Indian Ocean zone. It is the most strategically situated country to wield its power provided she builds herself to the level that demands adequate military and economic strength with political stability to counter other powerful nations. While it is always welcome to develop oneself to become regional/world power, it also attracts adversaries. China is vying with India to retain its dominant position in world trade as well as military power. It is obvious to observe that China is trying to compete India in all respects to retain its superiority. At small pretext it is creating a defense issue along the border with its large defense forces and having vast economic lead. China is among the top exporters in military hardware and commercial goods.

Similarly, in the western front Pakistan is constantly trying to militarily engage India and having permanent agenda in Kashmir to keep terrorism and military issue alive. As the phrase goes, enemy's enemy is a friend, China and Pakistan having long term association and friendship since 1950 when Peoples Republic of China was formed by breaking relation from Tiwan. Both countries are having close friendship pact since then.

This paper will deals with present strategic situation where China and Pakistan duo is keeping strategic pressure on India's security. The present Chinese aggressive poise in both military and economic field, One Road One

Belt (OROB), rapid expansion of navy, domination of Indian Ocean area and creating various important naval bases around India with special reference to China – Pakistan Karakoram Highway is making India uncomfortable. At the same time Pakistan's systematic bleeding of India in Kashmir and keeping the pot boiling is also matter of concern. In this context what would be India's counter measure by developing strategic relation with near and far neighbours thereby countering China's vice-like grip around India and Pakistan's constant belligerent approach and violation of border too often. The analysis would be how the strategic alliances with close and far neighbours along with creating balanced defense forces with adequate emphasis on blue navy, strategic air command and army would impact on effective conduct and control on the future wars. Indian forces need to have capability to undertake operation beyond Indian border, be across land or sea. But sea route and strong navy along with strategic bases is gaining importance.

While we understand the reasons of belligerence on the part of Pakistan with one and only one agenda of fostering world terrorism and anti India stand, China's aim is greater. It would not allow growth of India lest its hegemony in economic and military region is competed by India.

Leaving Pakistan and China, we have seven countries, Nepal, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Myanmar, Shrilanka, Maldives and Seychelles in our immediate neighbourhood which may work as force multipliers providing with essential depth, launching pad and early warning, provided we create good relationship with them and provide necessary economic and military support. Or else those may act adversely if China is able to influence them, which it is already doing, and we fail on our part. Under the present scenario these countries will be unable to live independently without being protected by either of these two regional superpowers. Now all depend on who takes initiative and prevails upon.

The basic necessities to remain loyal to a powerful country by a smaller one depends particularly how much one feels secured or protected - militarily, economically and politically - by aligning with that greater power. Whichever country can provide these securities will have the lien from the other.

However, we may analyse the present geo-political situation specially of India and China to get a total perspective.

India is a large peninsula, geo-politically most well situated with open seas in three sides, a small stretch of flat area in the west and a massive formidable mountain in the north, the Himalayas, which has always been standing as a barrier from the north. We have about 3,300 km of boundary

with China along the Himalayas. It is basically impregnable excepting few passes which allows limited infantry based operations. The deploy-ability, terrain and weather do not permit any mechanized warfare.

While it is protected by natural barrier from all sides which would give enough early warning before confronting foreign invasion, India has a free hand in carrying out any major operation in the Indian Ocean between eastern Africa on one hand and western part of Southeast Asia covering Malacca strait up to north-western Australia. This, together with India's strong economy, powerful defence and large population, makes India the pivotal country for Asian maritime security and Indo-pacific domination. All most all the countries on southeast and far-east Asia, which are tensed with China's attitude of hegemony over the neighbouring countries and constant endeavour to control all the maritime activities in East and South China sea, Indian Ocean in particular and all the sea lanes in general, those carry its mercantile goods including most essential oil and petroleum product of which 70% is imported from West Asia and East Africa, look up to India for providing safe and well policing sea lane through which their mercantile ships and other liners can pass through to reach at their respective countries.

India's geographic advantages and its role in India's grand strategy were clearly grasped by Lord Curzon of Kedleston, former Viceroy of India during the British Raj. Lord Curzon understood the geographic advantages of a state that ruled the subcontinent, truths that hold true today for an independent India. In his 1909 essay "The Place of India in the Empire," he wrote:

It is obvious, indeed, that the master of India, must, under modern conditions, be the greatest power in the Asiatic Continent, and therefore, it may be added, in the world. The central position of India, its magnificent resources, its teeming multitude of men, its great trading harbors, its reserve of military strength, supplying an army always in a high state of efficiency and capable of being hurled at a moment's notice upon any given point either of Asia and Africa- all these are assets of precious values. On the west, India must exercise a predominant influence over the destinies of Persia and Afghanistan; on the north, it can veto any rival in Tibet; on the north-east and east, it can exert great pressure upon China, and it is one of the guardians of the autonomous existence of Siam. On the high seas it commands the routes to Australia and the China Sea.

India is now one of the key players in the Indo-pacific region. Entire world is looking up the India, which is the center of an entire network of trade and communication in this region, to control the safe sea lanes lest

it is grabbed by China. China America and certain European countries are the other sea powers but proximity to India gives it a new edge. India is discovering its natural strategic horizons. India's strategy for increasing its influence in Asia must be guided by its location and play to its geographic advantages. India's central location in the Indian Ocean makes it the natural naval power in that ocean.

It can increase its naval involvement in both the eastern and western extremities of the Indian Ocean, near the Straits of Malacca and in the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea. India would be able to increase its influence and earn the gratitude of smaller powers. As yet, India has no major rivals in the Indian Ocean, so it is extremely important for India to strengthen its naval capacities before such rivals appear, especially China. This is especially true since the ocean is one area where India, can in fact, exert maximum influence. Indian navy, in case of war, can easily block all the commercial and military supply of China at the Indian Ocean specially at Malacca Strait and Jakarta Gap, only two places to enter into South china Sea.

Under these situations how can India further grow its strategic power to become truly a reckonable regional power? Does she remain confined to her seven immediate neighbours or go beyond?

Let's have a look at the South and Central Asia, Part of East Africa, India Ocean, South East Asia, North of Australia, the sea lanes to East and South China Sea and up to Japan. Mere look at the map will give any observer the geo-strategic advantage that is being enjoyed by India as against China. Not taking any advantage of this natural location now will pass it to China which is already trying to expand her naval fleet specially to dominate Indian Ocean, East and South China Sea, Malacca Strait and Arabian Ocean which would act as her life line for all are imports from West Asia and East Africa.

China is trying to circle South Asia and India from east to west to negate India's power. China's interests in South Asia include attainment of a matching role against India, containing the terrorist threats and expansion of her economic base. The principle strategy of China is to contain India's rising power in the Indian Ocean Region. It tries to enhance its need of constructions of port facility according to China's strategic interests. It tries to isolate India and not allow expanding her influence by managing better ties with South Asian neighbors. It has already have port facilities in Chittagong, Sonadia, and Pariya in Bangladesh, Hambantota in Srilanka, Gawadar in Pakistan, Kayakpu, a deep sea facility in Mayanmar, Maldiva and at many more places where its navy is sprawling. Beside that it is creating a string of artificial lakes around itself by developing submerged islands where it is making bases. China has already made underwater shelter for

its submarines. One can look into the map below to grasp the geopolitical situation.

Map 1



While India is in the center of the activity, China, on the contrary, has to mobilise its forces far from its bases in main land or create bases which it is trying. China is keeping complete control on East and South China Sea and area around. Therefore, China's overall military modernization program has the long term potential to significantly enhancing its ability to project military power into the Indian Ocean. The priority of defence development has shifted from traditional People's Liberation Army to People's Liberation of Army Navy. Scope of battle unlike yester years is being shifted from traditional land battle to naval battle with support of strong air force and adequate army for blue sea and amphibious battle in order to dominate blue water and occupying strategic bases by force if needed. Battle of logistics today is even more important with the huge logistical support that modern war demands. The Indo-Asia route is the lifeline for China, India and all

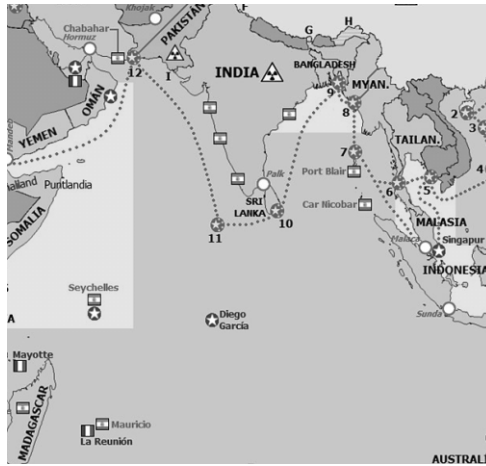
most all countries of the world. This route is also utilized by USA for its maritime requirement thus US Navy shows its constant presence. China's overall military modernization program has the long term potential to significantly enhance its ability to project military power into the Indian Ocean. China would perhaps not allow South Asia to be India's sphere of influence.

In the western side China has Pakistan as a strategic partner. Between the two, this alliance can pose simultaneous threat to India from both North and West. Besides this, after the fall of USSR, China is developing economic and military treaty with the entire Central Asian countries like Kirgizstan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Mongolia and other East European countries, which were once part of USSR, to have greater hegemony in the region. It is pouring money into its neighbourhood to the extent that it wants to isolate India. A piece in the Economic Times of India stated "Debts are turning into equity and finally ownership for Chinese firms that will not only adversely impact Sri Lankan, Pakistan and many other such countries economies but also create security implications for India due to China's constant presence in the periphery.

The situation above corroborates the argument that China is gradually eclipsing India as the main trading partner with South Asian states. Additionally China has favorable trade balances with all South Asian countries including India. This has major lessons for Bangladesh and Nepal where China has assured to invest billions." Such rising Debts and investment dependence from China may influence South Asian states to adopt pro-Chinese policies. Its recent establishment of port Djibouti in Eritrea indicates its growing interest in the Indian Ocean area.

This entire process of encircling India and Indian Ocean is being termed as String of pearls. It is a geopolitical theory on potential Chinese intentions in the Indian Ocean region. It refers to the network of Chinese military and commercial facilities and relationships along its sea lines of communication, which extend from the Chinese mainland to Port Sudan. The sea lines run through several major maritime choke points such as the Strait of Mandeb, the Strait of Malacca, the Strait of Hormuz, and the Lombok Strait as well as other strategic maritime centers in Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, the Maldives, and Somalia. The term as a geopolitical concept was first used in an internal US Department of Defense report, «Energy Futures in Asia.» The term has never been used by official Chinese government sources, but it is often used in Indian media.

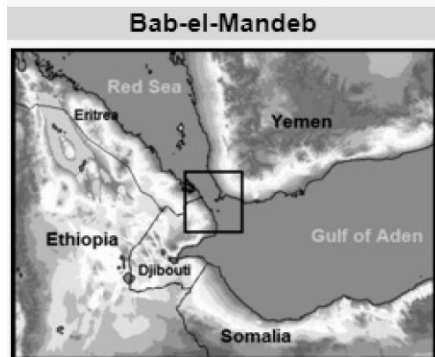
Map 2



Map 3&4



Gwadar Port is located in southwestern

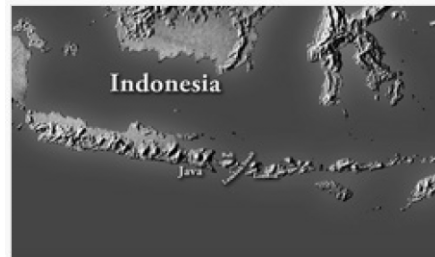


Port Sudan
بور سودان



Port Sudan Harbor

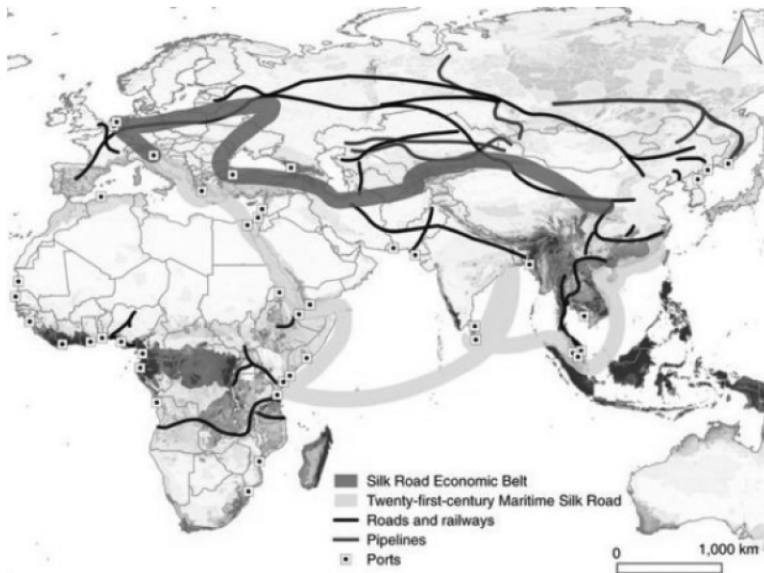
Lombok Strait



The emergence of the String of Pearls is indicative of China's growing geopolitical influence through concerted efforts to increase access to ports and airfields, expand and modernize military forces, and foster stronger diplomatic relationships with trading partners. The Chinese government insists that China's burgeoning naval strategy is entirely peaceful in nature and is only for the protection of regional trade interests. But it is creating security dilemma for India and almost all countries using this route for commercial and also military purpose to take suitable counter actions.

Another factor which is going to act adversely on India's security equation with China is its Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). As currently planned, it will involve some 7,000 separate infrastructure or extractive industry projects scattered across 70-odd nations, with a total price-tag of \$8 trillion. It'll span half the planet—from Asia to Africa, Europe and the South Pacific. It'll affect every facet of human endeavor, in one way or another. It directly affects India's defense preparedness as at many places the BRI is going dangerously close to the Indian border.

Map 5



The North belt would go through Central Asia, Russia to Europe. The Central belt goes through Central Asia, West Asia to the Persian Gulf and

the Mediterranean. The South belt starts from China to Southeast Asia, South Asia, to the Indian Ocean through Pakistan. The Chinese One Belt strategy will integrate with Central Asia through Kazakhstan's Nurly Zhol infrastructure program.

For the Chinese, this is a part of a long-term gambit to broaden their geopolitical influence and economic might. They see it as a means to influence—both via friendly and, if necessary, more coercive means—other nations to align with their views and support their very ambitious international agendas for Chinese trade, political expansionism, economic dominance and military dominance. This would also raise the value of Yuan as the primary currency of the world by supplanting the dominance of US and other strong European currencies.

While China is aggressively trying to include India in this project, India is the only country which is not signing the agreement due to various reasons including non-acceptance of China-Pakistan-Economic-Corridor as some part of it is passing through Pak-occupied Kashmir.

Pakistan which has come out from the womb of India is most active in creating adverse situation against India. It has already had three rounds of war and maintaining constant war-like situation along the Indo-Pak border. Kashmir issue and religious difference are the main bones of contention. The amount it has spent since 1947 could make many Pakistan out of the Pakistan.

Strategically it is located at the gateway to West Asia for India. It can influence the northern part of Arabian Sea and the West Asian countries like Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Wakhan corridor in north; part of north-eastern Afghanistan's Badshakhan province separating Pakistan from Tajikistan. Pakistan has link with China through occupied Kashmir, Aksai Chin. It is connected by Karakoram Highway from Xingjian of China to Abbottabad in Pakistan.

Pakistan by itself has major military influence on west/south Asia. At the same time it is a haven for all terrorist organizations. Since the attainment of independence it is on war path against India. Since the last decade of twentieth century and from beginning of twenty first century Pakistan is providing all kinds of possible assistance to the militants. Kashmir of India is its prime target.

According to author Daniel Byman, "Pakistan is probably today's most active sponsor of terrorism. Writing in an article published by The Australian he stated, «Following the terror massacres in Mumbai, Pakistan may now be the single biggest state sponsor of terrorism, beyond even Iran, yet it has never been listed by the US State Department as a state sponsor

of terrorism. Till recently, it used to get outright support from USA both militarily and economically. It was believed to be the strategic partner of USA to retain balance in this region. Things now are changing. America is realizing how deep Pakistan is in the sinister game of international terrorism. USA is trying to control all its support to Pakistan. For some time there have been constant introspections about allotting further funds to Pakistan or not. Many senators are raising same issue in the senate. Lately the Trump administration has announced an inter agency review about giving further assistance to Pakistan.

India's comprehensive neighbourhood policy

India is practically being flanked by two major adversaries whose combined forces will be matter of high concern for India. It is apparent that India should also fashion a comprehensive neighbourhood policy. India must have counter ring policy by holding strategic places. The South and South East Asian region constitute India's immediate neighbourhood and is vital for its security and prosperity. Thereafter it must create good relations beyond immediate neighbours, in places like Iran, Oman and Afghanistan which she has already done. PM Modi's visit to Oman has provided India's access to Oman's Duqm Port putting the India in Indian Ocean's geopolitical spot. Iran's Chabahar Port, developed by India will control Gulf of Oman. It will provide easy access to Persian Northern Arabian Sea. Between these Duqm and Chabahar Ports Indian Navy is likely to put the Pakistan Navy in corner. Chabahar Port has also opened a new strategic transit route between India, Iran and Afghanistan that would by-pass Pakistan. Other favourable nations could be Saudi Arabia, Masket, United Arab Emirates, Yemen in the West Asia and countries in Central Asia and countries like Somalia, Kenya, Tanzania, Mozambique and South Africa along the East Coast of Africa will give good counter hold to India in the area of Indian Ocean. Fleets in these places will act as quick action team as well as help in pincer movement. India must develop herself to become a pre-eminent military and economic power in the region without becoming a hegemonic.

We are aware that Mr. Trump, President of USA, is openly naming India to be its strategic alliance in this region of Indian Ocean. In many occasions he has openly said that India and USA will remain strategic defense partner for hundreds of years. The United States has renamed its strategically important Pacific Command (PACOM) as US Indo Pacific Command, in a move widely seen as a public expression of Washington's keenness to count India as a key partner in its strategic planning. Donald Trump Administration is using term Indo-Pacific instead of Asia Pacific its

original official name.

It is quite evident that India and China are so big and powerful that other than creating local disturbances there cannot be a full scale war with the intension to capture one by the other as terrain and vastness of the countries and their military and economic power do not permit that. The Himalayas, though being breached at certain places, with modern facilities, where passes exit, will not allow mass deployment or mechanized warfare. Even partial conflict will be very costly in terms of men and material which would not bring any permanent solution. However, local war(s) may lead into missile and naval warfare primarily to enforce hegemony. Under this condition, strategic alliances with neighbouring countries and beyond will help to stop or mitigate escalation of future wars for the benefit of the posterity.

To counter China's aggressive attitude in North East India, we may explore reviving Tibet issue. But India needs to be powerful in politics, economic and military field. India needs to have a stable policy in all these three accounts.

As regards Pakistan, to counter Kashmir, we may make Baluchistan and North Western Frontier Province active. Pakistan may be sandwiched between Afghanistan and Iran in the west with India in the east. It is matter of time and constant effort which may turn the situation to our favour.

Map 6



But what is likely to happen is fighting economic warfare with strong military at the back, i.e., chocking the maritime route, forcefully influencing

the smaller states by inundating them with all types of manufacturing goods and undertaking major structural contract thereby overpowering the local economy. In fact China is playing same game with many countries.

Six countries lay overlapping claims to East and South China sea, an area that is rich in hydrocarbon and natural gas through which trillions of dollars of global trade follow. As it seeks to expand its maritime presence, China is being met by growing assertiveness by countries like Japan, Vietnam and Philippines. The increasing standoff, spans from Diaoyu / Senkaku on China's eastern flank, to long stretch of archipelagos in South China Sea. Disturbed with China's aggressive posture in East and South Sea area. They are looking up to India for leadership. USA has heightened role in military deployment in this area. US wants India to be its strategic partner. Though we have moved considerably away from Russia or former USSR, we cannot totally delink our relation with Russia; it is still a power to reckon with and one time friend.

India has to play astute strategic game with powerful military forces as backup for countering China's aggressive policy.

Lt Col M K Gupta Ray



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He retired on 25th May 1999. He had the honour of participating in 1971 Bangladesh war and Operation Pawan in Srilanka in Oct 1987. He has authored two books: Srilanka Misadventure along with Lt Col Goutam Bose and Birth of a Nation on 1971 Bangladesh war by himself.





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