Centre For Advanced Strategic Studies

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

The Centre aims at undertaking research and analysis of subjects relating to national and international security and development through seminars, discussions, publications at periodical intervals and close interaction with the faculty members and research students in allied disciplines in the Universities and Educational Institutions as well as the Armed Forces. In the coming future, the Centre expects to award research fellowships for studies in various areas of National Security and National Development. It aims to generate and promote interest among the academicians and public in related subjects, with a view to increase awareness to national security concerns. It has received very valuable support from the University of Pune in all its activities, especially from the Department of Defence and Strategic Studies. It has a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with Yashwantrao Chavan Avademy of Development Administration (YASHADA), Pune for enabling mutual collaboration in the academic activities. The Centre has held a number of seminars, panel and group discussions in the past. The Centre has also embarked on publishing a Quarterly Journal with effect from January 2014.

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EDITOR'S NOTE

On 21 Sep 2017, CASS completed 25 years. This is an important land mark in the history of this Centre which was established by luminaries in different fields namely, late Shri PVR Rao, IAS, formerly Defence Secretary, late Shri Ram Sathe, IFS, formerly Foreign Secretary, late Professor VG Bhide then Vice Chancellor of Pune University, Admiral JG Nadkarni, former Chief the Naval Staff, late Air Marshal YV Malse then retired Vice Chief of the Air Staff , late Shri Sharad Marathe, formerly Industries Secretary and Prof Gautam Sen, formerly Head Dept of Defence and Strategic Studies, Pune University. Doyen of industries, late Shri SL Kirloskar and late Shri Navalmal Firodia nurtured the Centre during its formative years. The Department of Scientific and Industrial Research, Ministry of Science and Technology, Government of India have accorded recognition to the Centre as a Scientific and Industrial Research Institution. The inaugural issue of the CASS Quarterly Journal was launched on 10th Jan 2014 in Pune by the Governor of Chattisgarh, HE Shri Shekhar Dutt, SM along with Shri Ram Pradhan and Dr VK Saraswat. This year we have launched two research projects.

In this issue we have included a wide range of articles. Kashmir has been in the limelight in the last year due to increased violence after Burhan Vani's elimination as also the stone pelting chapter which followed it. We have three articles on Kashmir in this volume. The first one , 'Red Zone Over Kashmir Valley' by Air Chief Marshal PV Naik brings out that the single thought that must prevail in our minds is that Kashmir is an integral part of India and it is our sacred duty to restore the Valley to its pristine condition. Hard decisions will have to be taken, some out of box, but our resolve must not waver. The author has mostly spoken of things military but the situation demands strong political will and public support.

It demands improving outreach to people and improved governance. It demands something which other people feel we as a nation lack. Ruthlessness. The second article, Regaining Paradise A New Covenant For J&K by Lt Gen Vinayak Patankar points out that the unrest in Kashmir, apart that arising out of public grievances, is largely of Pakistan's making. It is clearly war by other means being waged by Pakistan. It clearly suits its antipathy against India – a low cost high gain strategy for keeping India's internal situation unstable. The solution to bringing normalcy to Kashmir is largely political. Security agencies can only bring the situation under control but thereafter political initiatives need to be taken urgently to place the troubled state on a path to progress and prosperity. The way forward lies in beginning a new narrative and a fresh engagement with the people. This is what a new covenant will usher; a balanced, even-handed policy that not only brings normalcy in the physical sense but also give people their sense of identity and dignity back. In 'Kashmir: The Borderless Battlefield ' ,Parjanya Bhatt has analysed that for far too long New Delhi has tried to address the Kashmir conflict either through the military means or have offered lip service by stating its willingness to find solution through Kashmiriyat, Jamuhriyat and Insaniyat. Neither pure military nor political approach can bring about a change in the Valley. Only statesmen who can see future beyond petty political gains and soldiers who can think like their Pakistani counterparts can resolve the conflict within Kashmir.   A country or a society is not defeated till her cultural values are intact.

Extremist propaganda by Islamists is a major challenge which the world faces today. What are its ultimate goals, intermediate aims, and proximate objectives? What are the considerations that undergird and determine extremist agencies' selection of material for projection? What is the substance thus, of their ideological and operational propaganda? Mr Shrinivasrao Sohoni in the piece 'Key Ideas and Imperatives Transmitted in Extremist Proselitization, attempts to answer these questions. The countervailing argument attempted, based on benign verses in the Qur'an and humane and compassionate actions of the Prophet, record of which also exists, proves insufficient for two broad reasons. First, because of the dictum of Al Nasikh wa Al Mansukh (Abrogation and Abrogated) referred in the article ; and second because many of the verses in the Qur'an, enjoin humane and compassionate attitudes and actions on the part of pious Muslims towards not non-Muslims, disbelievers and apostates, but exclusively towards Muslims only.

'Computerized Weapons' by Dr Deepak Shikarpur reiterates the fact that With transformation in times, warfare techniques have undergone a sea change. The days of insisting that a weapon must conventionally appear like a weapon are

also passé. It is a fact that techniques employed in war strategies become outdated after a couple of years and the same are transferred to the common man's sphere. The Drone plane is one such example which during the last decade was used to attack dangerous locations with rockets, now deliver pizzas and books to people's homes. Milind Paranjpe has reviewed the book 'This Brave New World'. In this new comprehensive study Ms Anja Manuel, former US Department of State official responsible for South Asia, has summed up the comparison of China and India covering wide range of aspects from their recent history responsible for their existing structure, economic progress with disparities, corruption, population growth, pollution control, how the two nations are managing discontent, their investments in third countries, their influence on other countries particularly their neighbours to their militaries and strategies. 'Empowerment of Persons with Disability : A Contributing Factor of National Security' by Major General (Dr) Vijay Pawar, discusses that a well regulated and trained Human Resource of any country would always be an asset of a nation. Human Resource Department in corporates have identified the long lasting bonds the Persons with Disability (PWDs) would establish in their organisations. They would be permanent HR assets and not move from one job to another if given due care. Empowerment of PWDs is a Contributing factor to National Security.

With the growth of cyberspace, analysts, politicians and scholars find it difficult to define its boundaries. Being unable to use conventional theories to understand cyberspace is what makes it unique and the future frontier for 'wars'. While the thought of controlling cyberspace is a contentious topic, states have been trying to demarcate their 'sovereign borders' in cyberspace by ensuring that certain sites are inaccessible through ISPs in certain countries. Prof.(Dr.) Vijay Khare and Gaurav Kokil in the article ,'The Cyber-Space in the Modern Terrorism Strategy', suggest that While governing cyberspace seems like a daunting task for states, recruitment of potential terrorists could be stopped by states by providing education to their citizens and helping them understand the true nature of terror outfits and their goals, thus reducing the spread of terror propaganda through cyberspace. Brig Hemant Mahajan's book on "India's Coastal Security, Challenges, Concerns & Way Ahead" brings us down to mother earth from the cyber space. The Reviewer Brig D A Paranjape, compliments the author for the valiant effort he has made to present the major issues concerning prominent stakeholders. The chief value of his work is the strong centrality that he has provided to the several practical and, in most cases, eminently viable recommendations that would significantly enhance coastal security. Having spoken first hand to a large number of diverse stakeholders,

the author has many primary sources of information, which lends his work both credibility and pertinence. 'India's Military Question A National Perspective On Civil – Military Relations ' By Brig R R Palsokar explores the issue of Civil – Military relations in independent India without revisiting   old arguments. The author points out that we are now seeing a new dimension to the debate on the size and role of the armed forces – affordability. The Services make much of the fact that less than two percent of the GDP is allocated for Defence forces to include both revenue and capital expenditure. The government on its part is concerned that it is not getting value for money, not adequate 'bang for the buck'. The setting up of the Shekatkar committee implies exactly this. Therefore, civil – military interface needs to be seen in the present context with a distant nod to the colonial and immediate post-independence heritage. In short, a modern national perspective is required. Legacy issues relating to colonial past and immediate post-Independence heritage must be laid to rest. That must remain the leitmotif of future reforms. We close the Volume with 'Professional Military Education in India: The emerging Scenario' by Dr Gautam Sen . The Professional Military Education (PME) in the Indian context has to be sensitive that Indian researchers and the think tanks and institutes of higher education have an onerous task to shift from the legacy of defensive defence analysis to more complex goal oriented strategic analysis, capture the global intellectual space in the research journals and book publications, learn to discard advocacy based perceptional analysis to more empirically verifiable methodology incorporating statistical methods, stop crying foul when Indian institutions are not given a place in world ranking and last but not the least to root out plagiarism which has started emerging and continue to taint the high and mighty in amongst the academic and the non academic community . It is heartening to note that the Indian Universities are now incorporating software to check all PhD Theses against plagiarism. PME in India have already become part of the Higher Education process as officers and even other ranks from armed forces have started enrolling themselves in research degree programs.

   Happy reading and best wishes for the festive season ahead.

                                             (BN Gokhale)
                                            Air Marshal (Retd)
Date: 30th September 2017   Director, CASS

Red Zone over Kashmir Valley

Air Chief Marshal PV Naik (Veteran)

> *Agar firdaus bar ruhe zamin ast*
> *Hamin asto,hamin asto, hamin asto*

Amir Khusrau, the great poet coined this beautiful couplet in the 13th-14th century. Centuries later in 1998, I was AOC Srinagar. Thanks to the then Chief acceding to my request, we had got the Suryakiran Aerobatic Team to perform over Srinagar. A crystalline morning with a trace of cirrus to provide the backdrop, the venue was Dal lake. The CM had invited us over at Shalimar for watching the display with a full scale Kashmiri breakfast as added incentive. The Suryakirans pulled off a fabulous display , as usual. The tricolour lingering in the skies after the Bomb Burst filled one's chest with pride. The CM asked me,"Isko kya kahen AOC saab ?" I ad libbed," Sir, Indian tricolour over the skies of Srinagar for the first time…..?" He said," No, no, no, no. The tricolour has always been in our hearts. Nothing new." Suitably chastened, I concentrated on the bakarkhani roti and rogan josh. A few hours later, on TV, I suddenly found the CM grabbing headlines with one of the most patriotic quotes of all times." What can I say? The Indian tricolour over the skies of Srinagar…"

I have been familiar with the Valley since the mid 70s when I went for Jungle & Snow Survival course there. How lovely the Valley was ! Mother Nature at her most picturesque; Some of the most beautiful picnic spots; the best flowers and fruits and, of course, unsurpassed female beauty. The people were friendly and laid back. But, even then, they thought of India as a foreign

country, in a benign sort of a way. Suddenly in 1989-90 the situation changed dramatically and kept going from bad to worse. Aided and abetted by Paki ISI Wahabi terrorism encroached upon the Valley. Many people and Governments mistook the attacks and the violence and the bandhs as an 'Azadi Movement'. Little by little, after witnessing the demographic shift and ethnic cleansing of Pundits, we realised that the whole game was of Islamisation and had nothing to do with Azadi except in the initial stages.

At present the whole Nation is wondering what the Govt is going to do to resolve the Kashmir issue. Today even a common citizen blames the people concerned about Article 370. About taking the Kashmir issue to the UN. About returning the hard won Haji Pir pass. About going soft on the Separatists and about releasing Kashmiri terrorists from jails. I would like to submit that it is very easy to be wise after the event. Retrospective criticism is, in fact, the hobby of a large section of intelligentsia residing in and around Lutyen's Delhi. One needs to put oneself in those times, in that environment. One needs to sense out what the pressures were under which such decisions were taken. Know the mistakes, by all means, but now think of solutions rather than recriminations and move forward. This Article is not entirely about solving the Kashmir imbroglio. It is about how better to use the medium of air and space to contribute to a solution.

The Kashmir valley is, paradoxically, designed for peace. The land is extremely fertile, thanks to the silt which Jhelum deposits regularly. No one is abysmally poor. You will not find a Kashmiri without a roof over his head. When peaceful, tourist trade thrives and traditional businesses of Shikaras, carpets, silver jewellery and Akrod woodwork flourish. Other than these areas there are no jobs. Thanks to article 370 no one is keen to establish industries in the Valley. The Indian Govt has been subsidising J&K since 1947. The Abdullas and their ilk ensured that the aid never reached the intended recipients. There was very poor governance. This, along with advent of wahabi Islam and, of course, the Paki ISI fuelled people's anger. The culmination was the killing of Burhan Wani and the pent up anger and violence exploded landing us in the present situation.

Were it up to me to seek a solution to the Kashmir problem I would go about it like so :-

• Ensure the situation meets all requirements to impose Governor's Rule. Once it is imposed it must remain in vogue for at least six months. In fact, it must be made abundantly clear to all stake holders that Governor's Rule will

remain for as long as required, until the situation is deemed normal and free elections can be held with active participation from all. In fact we had Governor's Rule for almost six years in the 90s when the situation was really bad. . During this time, isolate the separatist leaders like Geelani and jail them outside J&K. Ostensibly for their own safety. Give the Armed Forces full freedom to operate under full AFSPA protection. The Military must be cautioned that any abuse of these powers would invite swift justice. On the other hand, the public also must be cautioned about anti national and anti- Constitutional activities. These must invite strict action.

• As of last count there are about 200 to 250 foreign terrorists operating in the valley. Use the special forces with a clear mandate to seek and destroy. This would only be possible if Army re-establishes the Intel framework with locals. A few months of Governor's Rule should facilitate this activity.

• The Kashmir issue cannot be resolved by the military alone. Governance also has to be improved. I would select and depute a special team headed by a Spl Secy to look after this aspect under the Chief Secy. Their task would be to streamline working of Departments, ensure high efficiency and outreach to people. There should be special importance for developing our own 'Kathanak' or Narrative to combat the existing propaganda spewed by anti- nationals. The team needs to control the media and ensure that derogatory and inflammatory programs are not aired.

• There will be a lot of flak. The peaceniks would be crying hoarse. The entire world opinion may turn against us. I do not think it would invite sanctions but a lot of political mileage will have to be used up if we are to succeed in this endeavour. All this requires tremendous political will and public support. This is where our Narrative will come in handy.

One area which I feel is under- utilised is the use of the medium of air- the strength of air power. Surveillance of trouble spots and preventing Trans LOC infiltration are key areas in the search for a solution. This cannot happen overnight. It needs a lot of planning and specialist resources. Let us have a brief look at what is involved.

Intel is the first prime requirement. Networks both sides of the border need to be reenergised. Sources need to be actively pursued. Intel sources within the Valley are dwindling. This state must be reversed on priority. We need to create a single agency which will collate and manage intel from many agencies centrally. A central data base needs to be created with easy and quick access to Intel teams. Identification remains a key but elusive area. Face matching, DNA

matching, Fingerprint matching facilities will be needed.

Centralised Planning is essential. We must have a central agency involving the military, PMF, police, R&AW, IB and rep from the State Intel branch working together from a single, secure, protected location.

Communications are extremely vital. We have to go in for Data Link, SATCOM, Laser and other forms of cutting edge communications. This is the backbone. The Network must be able to deliver filtered, exact , timely intel to the lowest in the chain on demand.

Hardware as per me will comprise UAVs, Attack Helicopters, Fixed Wing ac on the lines of AC-130s of USAF and for boots on the ground. Spl Forces Teams.

Comd &Control is vital for such combined ops to succeed. It must be unified, transcending inter Service boundaries. It must have a flat structure for quick decision making. Authority and on line decision protocols must be in place.

Red Zone Declaration is something that is mandatory for this scenario to succeed. I remember, during my tenure as Chief, some pressure tactics were employed to get us to use air power offensively against Naxals. I had flatly rejected the suggestions. Caught a bit of a flak also because of the refusal. My reasons were two. One was unreliable intel leading to blue on blue or fratricide or killing innocent civilians. The other was the collateral damage inherent to aerial weapons. I feel there is an intrinsic difference between the Naxals/ Maoists and the terrorists/ separatists. The former have arisen because of absence of governance. They are still within the constitution and do not want to separate from the Union. Whereas the latter want to separate from the Union. In the Valley, we need to declare Red Zones in infiltration prone areas near the LOC. Each Zone should be a bubble 10 km in depth and include airspace above. This is the zone in which any unauthorised movement will be treated as inimical and prosecuted. These would be promulgated, publicised. Offensive options would be permitted freely in Red Zones.

The scenario would go something like this. The resources would be C-130 ac modified with radar controlled 20mm gun and a 105 mm howitzer similar to the AC-130 of USAF. HALE UAVs on station covering either the Red Zones or on demand over trouble spots. Attack choppers on standby during day for any contingency. SF teams ready along with Mi-17 V5 class choppers to move them. Data link and seamless communication among air & ground resources. In a classic case the UAV spots targets. The same tgts appear on the screens of

the C-130 who tracks & neutralises the tgts. In Red Zones no clearance would be required except to ascertain that they are not own troops. The same method could be used when large mobs gather. Here we could transport SF troops if required to contain the situation. Of course, offensive use of weapons would not be called for.

The above scenario appears simplistic. It is not. It will take lot of planning, long lead time, lot of training and practice. It will consume a lot of resources including manpower. Some capabilities already exist and some will need to be acquired. But we must start thinking along these lines if we are to be effective in controlling terrorism in the Kashmir valley.

I have left a lot of things unsaid. A lot of things cannot be discussed in the public domain. The single thought that must prevail in our minds is that Kashmir is an integral part of India and it is our sacred duty to restore the Valley to its pristine condition. Hard decisions will have to be taken, some out of box, but our resolve must not waver. I have mostly spoken of things military but the situation demands strong political will and public support. It demands improving outreach to people and improved governance. It demands something which other people feel we as a nation lack. Ruthlessness. Et voila.

Air Chief Marshal Pradeep Naik (Veteran)

Air Chief Marshal Pradeep Naik, PVSM VSM was born on 22 July 1949 and commissioned into the Indian Air Force on 21 June 1969. After initial schooling in the Sainik School, Satara, he graduated with the 33 course from the National Defence Academy.

In a distinguished career spanning forty years, the Chairman COSC and CAS has flown a wide variety of combat and trainer aircraft. After initial training on the HT-2, he has flown the Vampire and the Hunter, and has had extensive operational experience on all variants of the MiG-21. He is a Qualified Flying Instructor with vast instructional experience and a Fighter Combat Leader from the prestigious Tactics and Air Combat Development Establishment (TACDE). He was selected as one of the first eight pilots to convert to the MiG-23 BN in the erstwhile USSR, and was responsible for its induction into the IAF. Besides commanding a front line fighter squadron, he has commanded an important fighter base and air force station at Bidar. He has been the Directing Staff at TACDE and the Defence Services Staff College.

During his career, the Air Chief Marshal held numerous important staff appointments in different headquarters. He was the Senior Air Staff Officer at HQ Western Air Command, the Air Officer Commanding-in-Chief of Central Air Command and the Vice Chief of Air Staff, prior to his appointment as the Chief of the Air Staff. He also took over as the Chairman, Chiefs of Staff Committee on 01 April 2010.

The Air Chief Marshal is a graduate of the Defence Services Staff College, and an alumnus of the National Defence College. He is a recipient of the Param Vishisht Seva Medal and Vishisht Seva Medal.

Regaining Paradise
A New Covenant for J&K

Lt Gen Vinayak G Patankar (Retd.)

INTRODUCTION

The state of Jammu and Kashmir (J&K) continues to simmer. The unrest in the state has largely been confined to the Kashmir valley but its effects have been felt even in the Jammu region. Beginning as civil disorder in 1989, the unrest turned into militancy and then to terrorism. There have been many ups and downs in the intensity of unrest; periods of relative peace and improvement in the state of law and order interrupted by terrorists strikes and breach of public peace. It has been abundantly clear since the mid-1990s that, it is no longer a people's movement. This is apparent from the dwindling number of terrorists – from an estimated strength of over 2,500 terrorists in 2002, it is now believed to be about 150. It is in fact *'war by other means'* being prosecuted by Pakistan.

The unrest has two distinct facets; civil disorder through violent protests and terrorist strikes by various terrorist organisations *(tanzeems)*. Pakistan has employed many a stratagem to control and manipulate the leadership of both facets. The state and union governments are continuously trying to thwart such attempts. However, there appears to be lack of coordination and cohesion in such efforts resulting in frequent breakdown of peace. There does not appear to be a well defined, desired end state and a possible road map to get there. It is not clear if there is a 'Kashmir strategy' at all.

This paper is an endeavour to offer a way forward towards breaking the

sinusoidal wave of tranquillity and violence and ushering more lasting peace and development. The paper is divided into following parts: -

(a) Part 1: A brief review of the unrest in J&K.
(b) Part 2: A new covenant -
       (i)   Why do we need one?
       (ii) What should it be based on?
       (iii) How should it be structured?
(c) Part 3: Executing the covenant -
       (i)   Short, medium and long term objectives.
       (ii) Socio-political aspects.
       (iii) Dealing with miscreants and terrorists (to be treated
           differently).
(d) Part 4: Employment of security forces (SF).

PART 1

A Brief Review and Analysis of the Unrest

A Brief Review of the Unrest

Public protests began in the aftermath of elections to the state assembly held in 1987, which were reported to be rigged. To begin with the agitations were peaceful but became violent gradually with protesters indulging in arson and destroying public property. After 1989 the unrest evolved from agitations and protests to active militancy. Violence soon turned to killing government personnel, kidnapping important people to secure release of jailed terrorists as well as attacking and looting police posts. In the initial years Jammu & Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF), which had been known to resort to terrorist activities, spearheaded the agitations. It soon began launching armed attacks and killing of government personnel. Later various tanzeems took control of the protests and full blown militancy commenced .Pakistan lost no time in seizing the opportunity and declared moral (and more so, material) support to JKLF; even inviting its leaders to hold detailed discussions.

By early 1990s, it became apparent to Pakistan that JKLF wanted its support only to secure independence from India and not for merger with it. Pakistan thereafter cut off all support to JKLF. It further encouraged a

rival tanzeem like *Hizbul Mujahideen* (HM) to edge out JKLF and take over the leadership of militancy in Kashmir. By the late 1990s Pakistan was disillusioned with HM also and started inducting more of its own terrorist groups like *Lashkar-e-Taiba* (LeT) and *Jaish-e-Mohammed* (JeM).

All this while the state and union governments tried to regain control over the situation. When it was realised that it was beyond the capabilities of the police and central police forces, the Army was called in towards the end of 1992. By mid-1993 the Army had fully deployed counter-infiltration and counter-terrorist operational grids (CI/CT grid). Its presence and operations soon began to show results; infiltration across the line of control (LOC) and terrorist activities slowly but surely started declining.

The period 1997 to 2002 saw further decline of militancy. In July 2000, Abdul Majid Dar, the HM commander in Kashmir, announced a unilateral ceasefire by his tanzeem. That caused a vertical split in HM. It was a major watershed in the militancy as terrorist activities in the Valley reduced considerably thereafter and have never risen to the earlier level since.

In another defining moment, the Local population participated enthusiastically in the landmark election to the state assembly held in 2002. There was unprecedented turn out of voters since the unrest had begun. Optimism and anticipation among the people was palpable as the government under Mufti Mohd Sayeed took charge. The next few years saw further reduction in terrorist activities by local tanzeems. However there was some rise in the activities of JeM and LeT who obviously wanted to diminish the 'feel good factor' rising in the minds of ordinary people. In 2008, after another successful election, Omar Abdullah became chief minister. He conducted gram panchayat elections, raising hope and enthusiasm among the people once again. The hopes were, however, belied because of lack of follow up action for empowerment of the panchayats. After raising people's hopes, that came as a huge disappointment.

To make matters worse, unprecedented and devastating floods in 2014 caused widespread damage and destruction in the Valley. The State Government was tardy in providing succour and assistance to those hit by the calamity because its own administrative infrastructure too was severely affected. Unsatisfactory performance of the state govt in rescue and rehabilitation caused severe despondency and resentment among people.

Since 2010-11, protests have taken the form of by well organised stone pelting. When it was first adopted by the protesters as new tactics, the police

were ill prepared to deal with it. A response by the police resulted in more than 110 deaths (over a period of about a month). The methods employed by the police and the response of the state as well as union government was seen as ham-handed and came in for sharp criticism, especially for the use of pellet guns. It took over a year for the government to assuage people's sentiments and public opinion. The stone pelting tactics, however, not only continue but are now being used to disrupt counter terrorist operations by the security forces.

The election in 2014 resulted in a hung assembly. PDP and BJP formed a coalition government, which in itself was another landmark. After the new government took charge, al beit, after several months of bargaining between the two constituents, for a few weeks there was a lull in agitations involving stone-pelting but it soon resumed. The terrorists also began using social media; videos of local terrorists began creating a Robin Hood-like image of the young terrorist capturing the imagination of the youth. In fact there was an upsurge in terrorist activities and angry protests after the killing of one Burhan Wani. Although his was not a cataclysmic killing, the manipulators of agitation and terrorist activities exploited it to inflame young minds and trigger fresh violence. Since then the intensity of protests has reduced but the areas traditionally used for such acts continue to simmer.

A Brief Analysis of the Unrest

Unrest in the Kashmir Valley ranges from hartals and sloganeering to violent protests involving stone-pelting to terrorist strikes involving use of improvised explosive devices (IEDs) and armed assault. A common refrain often heard during such events is *'azadi'*. Interestingly enough, firstly, the cry for azadi (freedom) is not heard in at least 16 districts (out of 22 districts) of the state and, secondly, whenever dialogues are specifically held to discuss what exactly is implied by *azadi* the responses have seldom been coherent or comprehensive.

Several interlocutors and delegations have tried to ascertain from the supporters of protests and agitation what exactly is implied by the *'azadi'* they seek. Any meaningful discussions on *azadi* tends to indicate that it is to do with freedom from poor governance, freedom from assault on traditional way of life – preservation of *Kashmiriyat*, freedom from religious extremism and that from intimidation and harsh laws. Then again different groups (such as political activists, supporters of human rights, academicians, students, media

persons and so on) define their concept of azadi differently. The plaint of older generation usually centres around the lack of development and consequently little change in the quality of their lives. The youth are inflamed by the lack of opportunities, unemployment and little hope for fulfilment of their aspirations. Then there is the resentment over corruption, apathy and neglect by government servants and institutions and so on.

Another interesting aspect is that the agitations are confined to the Kashmir valley and that too to only about 4-6 out of 10 districts of the Valley. Why has it not manifested in the Jammu and Ladakh regions? In fact even within the Valley, how is it that the unrest is to be found in a few districts only? Is somehow governance better in other parts of the state? Are there no concerns on account of unemployment and jobs outside the Valley? Has it to do with ethnicity and religious orientation of the majority of the population in different regions of the state of J&K? Or is it that it is happening only in those areas where Pakistan has created a support base within the Valley and where it finds it convenient to instigate, initiate and pursue anti-India activities thence? (Please see map).
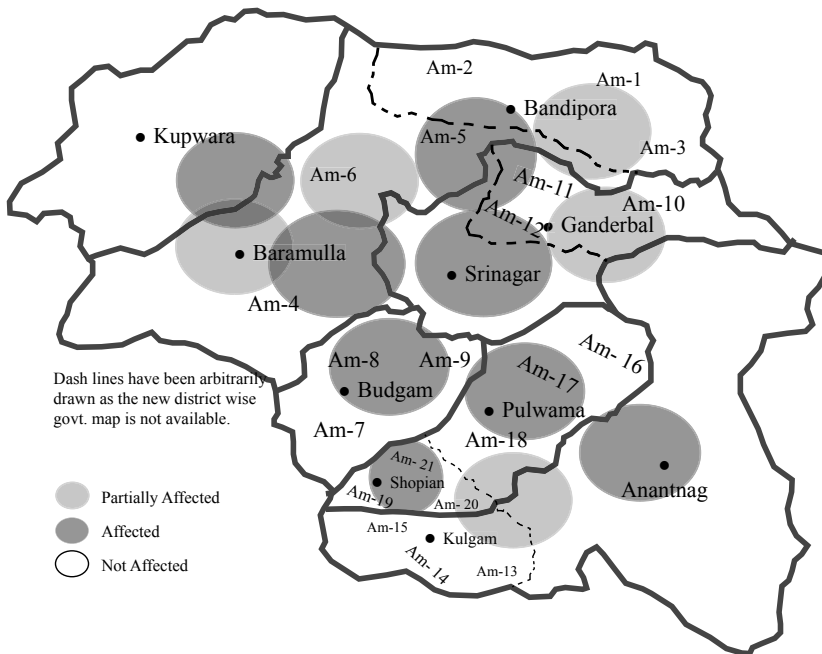
Map showing affected areas of Kashmir Valley **(not to scale)**

It can be seen that terrorists tanzeems realising that their numbers are rapidly reducing have now resorted to putting civilians in the line of fire. The new tactics gives the terrorists two distinct advantages. Firstly it makes it appear as a largely popular, unarmed protest and thus gets public sympathy and the other is that it helps to save dwindling numbers to focus on more lethal terrorist strikes.

Since terrorist activities began, there have been peaks and troughs in terms of total activities and degree of violence. After each period of trough, Pakistan, reassessed the changed situation, introduced new elements and made course corrections. The following events would illustrate this point.

(a) In the aftermath of the unilateral declaration of ceasefire by Abdul Majid Dar, Pakistan lost faith, once again, in the ability of the Kashmiri tanzeems. It therefore, stepped up support to the Pakistan based tanzeems like LeT and JeM. This became evident from the appreciable rise in the number of terrorist strikes which bore the unmistakable signature of the Pakistani tanzeems evident from the level of brutality and other tell-tale signs (aimed at striking fear in the minds of the local population).

(b) As far as protests and the overall situation are concerned, after 2010 there have been two perceptible changes; change of tactics by the protesters and invocation of radical Islam.

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PART 2

A NEW COVENANT

Why a New Covenant?

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As mentioned briefly earlier, Pakistan controls and manipulates the leadership of protests and terrorist activities. It is apparent that it tries to create a chasm of distrust between the people of the state (mainly those of the Valley) and the rest of India. It is accentuated and directed against various agencies that represent the state – the union and state governments and its various instruments of governance (such as police, administration and security forces). Obviously our attempt should be, on the one hand, to ensure that Pakistan does not succeed in deepening the abyss and, on the other, to heal the fissures in the social fabric.

We need a new covenant, a new compact with the people of Jammu and Kashmir in general and, in certain aspects, with those of Kashmir Valley in particular. A certain line of action and dialogue has been pursued over the past

three decades or so. Course corrections have also been made to the approach during that period. Yet there is no gainsaying that long lasting normalcy has not returned to J&K; there have been periods of normalcy, tourism has resumed (although below optimum) but just when we are lulled into believing that calm has returned, we are confronted with storms more vicious than earlier ones. This could not be pure coincidence but more likely the result of machinations of Pakistan. There are many examples to support this theory; for instance, it is almost predictable that a terrorist strike would occur whenever an important event (like visit by a foreign dignitary or the Prime Minister) is to take place. In the most current example, on the day the Prime Minister was inaugurating the longest tunnel of the country - a vital link in the road connectivity with J&K, a grenade attack took place in the Valley . Obviously, such attacks – minor or major- are but a signal by the anti-national elements (both foreign and domestic) that they will continue to disrupt and deny normalcy in J&K. Regrettably the governments have also got used to lowering their guard after a crisis is over and not taking follow up actions immediately to ensure it does not recur. Lessons learnt are forgotten in favour of political expediencies.

A new covenant is in fact a change of narrative; one that addresses the aspirations of the people of all three regions of the State. It must be such that indicates unequivocally that, while all contentious issues have been taken note of and all earlier actions have been considered, a fresh initiative is proposed.

A New Covenant

In my view, the new covenant should adhere to the following principles:

(a) Internal integration within the State, is as important as that between the State and the rest of the country.

(b) Even-handed approach by the State Government towards all three regions. This is   important to dispel any impression that those parts of the State that do not participate in the unrest, are discriminated against in terms of development and fulfilment of   regional aspirations.

(c) The Central Government should be seen only as facilitator and not attempting to run the State. In fact the Central Government must be seen to fulfil all promises made to the State (for example let people know how and in what form the Rs.80,000/ grant announced by the Prime Minister on 07 November 2015 is being utilised).

The new covenant should also attempt to change the context by focussing on : -

(a) The future; special care should be taken to convey the message to the people that it is an attempt to start on a clean slate.

(b) Aspects of governance that show concern and emphasis on empowerment, employment and entrepreneurship working bottom upwards.

(c) Accent of all actions by the government on confidence building and maintaining dignity of ordinary citizens.

Many more aspects could be added to the new covenant but its greatest chances of success would be if it is kept simple and brief. That will ensure that it is executed fully in letter and spirit. After its success, another, more ambitious covenant could be prepared. Setting out specific objectives could help to guide execution of the new compact with the people of J&K State. A few examples of objectives aimed at bringing governance to the doorstep of ordinary citizens could be as follows: -

(a) Empowerment of people from grassroot upwards by activating gram panchayats and regional councils. It is a good way of giving people a sense of participation in governance and ensuring that local issues get the attention they deserve.

(b) Delivery of governance through local bodies as mentioned above will ensure greater accountability and build trust.

(c) Execution of small development projects at panchayat level will also create job opportunities at local level.

(d) Social issues like preservation of local life style, customs and aspirations could be better addressed thus building confidence in democratic processes and institutions. It could also create a bulwark to arrest spread of religious radicalisation and even roll it back.

It is not enough to proclaim and promulgate a new covenant. It must be firmly supported by an execution plan.

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PART 3

EXECUTING THE COVENANT

A Change of Narrative

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One of the guiding principle of good governance should be to act for the many not for the few. At present our thought process is so influenced by the current state of unrest that the first thought is how to douse the immediate fires. While it is important to restore order as quickly as possible, it should not be at the cost of the majority of the population who are non-participants in the violence. The fact that there are at least 16 other districts in the State that do not have any unrest is often glossed over. Even the six affected districts do not have the same level of unrest; in some there is only sporadic violence and that too instigated by the terrorists. Why should the majority not benefit from the various development schemes as do those in the rest of our country?

In keeping with the guiding principle, the State government should concentrate on the major concerns of the people – development, employment generation, rendering basic civic services and facilities. The change of focus will place the aspect of agitations in the right perspective – giving it appropriate attention it deserves but not ALL attention. That will also ensure even handed approach by the State government to all districts and regions. Though there is no Pakistan factor to deal with, let us not forget that Madhya Pradesh and Chhattisgarh have made significant progress in spite of facing serious enough threat with regular killing and kidnapping by Left Wing (Naxalist) Extremist movement for many years.

Let the fruits of development be seen. People are very perceptible. When people in the affected areas actually see benefits of development and better quality of life in those areas that do not support terrorism, their support to terrorists will begin to fade. All the average citizens wants is peace and prosperity for themselves and their families. My experience in Kashmir valley suggests that villagers stand together for development of their areas even if it means facing the wrath of terrorists.

A Phased Action Plan

Five 'e' words could turn things around in J&K : -
(a) Engagement and empowerment.
(b) Employment (generation).

(c) Enablement, and,

(d) Encouragement to entrepreneurship.

The actions mentioned above are triggers that, in my view, relate to the phased action plan quite nicely. To begin with, the state government needs to closely engage with people to restore their faith in the administration. As an extension of this effort, it should, on its own, take some steps immediately to empower its people. It should also start, near concurrently, unfolding plans that would result in employment generation. Long term overall development of the state will need not only detailed plans but large financial outlay. One way to obtain funding for such plans from the central government is to dovetail them into national (five year) development plans. It would, therefore, need detailed deliberation and discussion with the union government, Niti Ayog and other agencies.

Action plan envisaged should be phased for ease of implementation and allotment of the right priorities and resources as follows: -

(a) Immediate (engagement and empowerment).

(b) Mid-term (employment generation and enablement).

(c) Long term (development of entrepreneurship / setting up enterprises).

Immediate plans should be given the highest priority and activated expeditiously. If it means setting up special vehicles to ensure implementation, it should be resorted to as short term measure. Mid and long term actions must be based on a definite road map. It may not be possible to clearly articulate the desired end state just yet but a broad perspective must be drawn up and explained to all those who will execute present and future plans. The aim is to ensure that all agencies involved, pull together and in the same direction. In the past, considerations of 'guarding individual or organisational turfs' have often (if not regularly) diluted well thought out plans. Any individual or institutional bias should be ruthlessly stamped out by exemplary and immediate action, in the interest of the State.

Immediate Actions

The need of the hour is engagement; all organs of the government should be seen to be reaching out to people. Actions that will bring succour to people and restore their faith in the state administration should be taken immediately. Some actions would bring immediate visible relief in the physical sense whereas some others will have an indirect psychological impact, In my view,

both are equally important and will pay dividends. Only a few suggestions are mentioned below, however, with inclusive and comprehensive debate, more actions could be launched.

(a) Rehabilitation, re-settlement and payment of compensation to those who were affected by : -

   (i) Flood of 2014.

   (ii) Riots, particularly those during 2010 and 2016.

   (iii) Cross border firing by Pakistan (particularly in Poonch, Rajauri and Jammu regions which is a recurring phenomenon.

(b) Holding panchayat elections and devolving powers to them as well as to the regional councils within 90 days of declaration of results.

(c) Commence de-silting of dams and reservoirs. It has three major advantages as follows: -

   (i) It will generate employment of semi-skilled and unskilled labour, energise the transport sector and local economy.

   (ii) It will increase capacity for storage of water and hence increase generationof hydro-electric power. Surplus power could be given to the national grid which will earn additional revenue for the state.

   (iii) Increased capacity to store water will act as a flood control measure.

(d) Release those charged with minor offences. It should also ne ensured that juveniles   are not detained with other (adult) criminals or under-trials but kept separately.

(e) Set up FM radio stations to broadcast national programmes and those in sub- regional languages. This is particularly necessary in areas bordering Pakistan Occupied Kashmir (POK); it costs little to implement.

(f) Start air ambulance service in remote areas, particularly in Poonch, Gurais, Kargil and Ladakh.

(g) Decrease visibility of security forces, other than J&K State Police, from major urban areas.

(h) Power projects which were to be transferred to J&K should be transferred immediately to demonstrate earnestness in fulfilment of promises.

(i) Begin meaningful dialogue in earnest with displaced Kashmiri Pandits in order to prepare a plan for those who may wish to return. This will at least begin the process of restoring their dignity and faith in the government.

Mid Term Actions

Even before all actions suggested to be taken immediately are completed, some steps for mid-term and long term actions should be initiated. As mentioned earlier, the second most important action relates to employment generation. This is a process that will have to be spread over a few years. While it may be possible to create unskilled or semi-skilled jobs relatively quickly by starting some construction based activities, those needing specific skills demand preparation and creation of 'enablers'. Thus stress should also be laid on enablement; the two major routes to achieve it could be through basic and higher education as well as broad spectrum skill development. It is ideal to create jobs that simultaneously promote fulfilment of 'felt needs' and welfare activities.

Mentioned here are just a few initiators to kick-start the process of employment and enablement as part of the new covenant. As action begins, several other actions could be initiated. Some important steps are as follows: -

(a) Setting up small and medium enterprises (SMEs); to generate employment for a wide section of the population, both unskilled and skilled.

(b) Setting up vocational training institutes like ITIs as well as institutes of higher learning (like universities, IIT,IIIT,IIM) preferably in different regions to prepare trained man power for long-term development projects and industries.

(c) Setting up first rate hospitals in the three regions for major surgeries / treatment and upgradation of existing facilities. This will ensure that people of Kashmir do not have travel too far away for treatment which is both time consuming and expensive. This a welfare measure that is long overdue.

Long Term Actions

Long term actions must not only take into account the needs of the state but those affecting the rest of the country as well. People of J&K state must also have a stake in the country's overall development, security and long term national interests. Keeping this aim in view a few ideas are mentioned in subsequent paragraphs; they are to be treated as initiators of a thought process and to initiate public debate.

As India asserts itself regionally as well as globally on the strength of its economy, it will be necessary to demonstrate its national strengths and capabilities. Ideally while doing so it must accomplish certain developmental goals for the betterment of our people. China is our regional as well as global competitor. It is essential, therefore, to demonstrate that our capabilities, even

if not matching those of China, are building up rapidly. One such area is rail connectivity. China has demonstrated its capability by creating what is clearly a major engineering feat by connecting Tibet to the main land. Though on a smaller scale, we too could show-case our capabilities by connecting J&K with the rest of the country. The Kashmir valley should be connected within less than the next five years and work must also be taken up to connect Ladakh by rail. Considering that we have already lost a lot of time by progressing by metres rather than kilometres, we should now take it up as a major challenge and do so in record time. This is entirely achievable since we have already demonstrated our prowess in building the Konkan railway (which is an equally challenging feat of engineering) and more recently the longest tunnel of the country in J&K. Good connectivity is not just a physical thing, it also brings people close psychologically.

In similar vein, we should build some large industries in the state. These need not only be manufacturing industries; even the existing tourism industry could be built up to rival the best in the world like that in Switzerland and elsewhere. High class research laboratories that need large spaces and clean environment could also be set up in Ladakh.

Part 4
Employment of Security Forces

In the subsequent paragraphs, the term 'security forces' (SF) is used to denote all uniformed forces from state and central police organisations, para-military forces right up to the armed forces deployed to maintain law and order as well as to undertake counter-terrorist operations in J&K.

Break down of law and order covers a wide range of circumstances, from a minor fracas to grave situations in which lives and public property are threatened. There is a well established and time-tested system of dealing with the entire spectrum of situations. It is based on graded response which is commensurate and proportionate to the requirement.

The Principle of Graded Response

Situations may vary from minor affray, which is limited in terms of area affected and people involved, to a grave ones affecting large areas and large sections of the population. Sometimes such situations may escalate to cause destruction of lives and property. It could even pose a threat to national security

(as it currently does in J&K).

Methods to be used for crowd control are clearly explained in police manuals. Even the armed forces have training manuals that explain in detail how to render aid to civil authority when it is requisitioned through due process. Additional SF are deployed when a given situation escalates beyond the capabilities of force(s) already deployed. There should be clear guidelines for such additional deployment. Similarly as control is gradually regained, additional forces should be de-inducted.

Thus there is a need to create a policy that includes a matrix covering a ladder of escalation of breakdown of order and violence. At each level or step, as additional forces are deployed, a clear system of command, control, communication, sharing of intelligence and dissemination of information /should be clearly laid down. *(It would be recalled that during the attack at Mumbai on 26 November 2009, this was a major omission that resulted not only in delay in eliminating the terrorists but also in avoidable casualties).* A matrix for de-escalation should also be prepared. Codification of norms that control induction and de-induction of SF is also sometimes referred to as entry and exit Strategies. When drafted, such policy must encompass actions to be taken by various elements of the administration and judiciary besides the SF. The policy could also be useful for disaster relief with some difference.

The armed forces are the final bastion of the state's physical power. They have the onerous responsibility of safeguarding the nation against any threats to it's security. Threats could emerge from land, sea, air, space or cyber space; they could also be direct or by proxy. It is an imposing task. The armed forces should, therefore, not be employed for any other tasks except on occasions where aid is required to be rendered to civil authority to restore situations arising out of riots, terrorist strikes and for disaster relief. Unfortunately this aspect is glossed over by government and administrative mechanism in our country. The most vivid example of it is the prolonged deployment of the Army in aid to civil authority in various parts of our country – notably in J&K and the North-eastern states.

Armed forces are like trump cards; they must never be overused. Any extended employment of the armed forces in general, and the army in particular, is undesirable because it is always at the cost of their remaining effective for their primary task. Further the Army may get sucked into carrying out police-like functions for which they are neither equipped nor trained. Familiarity among the local populace owing to long presence is unavoidable and, therefore, entirely undesirable. The fact that, in Kashmir protesters have become emboldened

enough to interfere in anti-terrorist operations of the Army by pelting stones is adequate evidence of familiarity breeding contempt (for authority).

If situation continues to be 'disturbed', the answer does not lie in continuing with deployment of the Army indefinitely but in making all other SF more capable. The operational capabilities of J&K Police force have improved by leaps and bounds and they are today a far more effective force than they were in the early 1990s. They need to be made even more potent to deal with the special challenges they face. They must be better equipped and trained. In order to ensure that they get adequate rest and relief, it may be necessary to increase their strength (at the cutting edge, not by adding more senior posts). They also need to have better communications, forensics and intelligence gathering equipment to ensure that they are able to keep a step ahead of the terrorists. In fact what is true for J&K Police is applicable to all police forces in India in general. Police reforms are vital and long overdue.

Need for a Doctrine

The Army already has a doctrine for fourth generation warfare (dealing with war waged by non-state actors). If the central police forces and para-military forces do not have a similar doctrine, it is essential that they too develop one because equipment, training, tactics and concept of operations are all based on the basic doctrine. Operations driven by doctrine are bound to enhance efficiency of the police force. When faced with an efficient force, terrorists and even stone-pelters will become more wary and circumspect in launching their activities.

A doctrine is a fundamental policy or a set of military strategies based on principles. Any proposed doctrine should cater for various methods adopted by miscreants ranging from stone pelting violent mobs to terrorists strikes of the Mumbai and Pathankot variety. Obviously since the level of ferociousness and threat varies from mild to violent, the doctrine should cover a broad range of graded responses. Since it is not intended to prescribe a comprehensive doctrine in this paper, some principles on which it should be based is illustrated in an example in the subsequent paragraphs.

There are three main guiding principle of all counter-terrorist operations: -
(a) Safety of citizens.
(b) An iron fist in a velvet glove.
(c) Use of minimum necessary force.
Since safety of citizens is of paramount importance, people should be

treated as the centre of gravity. Counter-terrorist operations are quite often carried out in close proximity of civilian population. They are difficult to execute because they involve subduing the terrorist and at the same time seeing that civilians come to no harm. Obviously there is always the danger of collateral damage. This is precisely which the policy of 'an iron fist in a velvet glove' is based on. It essentially means – tough against miscreants but gentle and considerate towards others. It is a difficult policy because during conduct of operations, it virtually restricts the SF to fight with one arm tied behind their backs! Despite grave provocation arising from seeing one's comrades getting injured or killed in the process of safeguarding civilian lives, severe restraint has to be practiced. The third principle to be followed is one of use of minimum necessary force which is self-explanatory. It is a principle that has been scrupulously followed throughout the three decades of unrest in J&K.

It follows, therefore, that even in dealing with stone-pelters the approach should involve walking the fine line between necessary tough action and the use of minimum necessary force.

Dealing with Stone-pelters

It is to be remembered that the current stone-pelting is a well thought out strategy of the terrorist in J&K hence stone-pelting there should not be compared with what one may encounter elsewhere in the country. The latter is generally spontaneous though even that too may be instigated on the spot by the more violent among rioters. In J&K stone-pelters could be 'casual' or 'trained'. Casual pelters are those who get encouraged by a sudden upsurge of emotions and may also do so because of peer group pressure. The trained ones can be fiendish and dangerous. They tend to be well trained not only as stone-pelters but as rabble rousers and instigators. They come well prepared with precise slogans, mis-information and inflammatory propaganda. They are usually small in number and not always native to the area of the agitation. They often travel to various villages, work with local contacts there and plan a major riot. It is they who we need to deal with firmly.

Detect, Deal with, Deter

The first step is, therefore, to identify leaders or hard core supporters. They are a mix of rank and file; leaders as well as followers. They could be identified either through prior intelligence or by setting up surveillance of suspects and also by scanning photographs or video footage of riots elsewhere. Where possible videography should be carried out by employment of drones. Even sting operations

could be launched to get hard intelligence. All this is time consuming and painstaking but extremely essential in order to obtain conviction in a court of law through admissible, clinching evidence. *(In the past many terrorists have had to be released for want of sufficient evidence. The advantage in doing detailed ground work is that some hard core leaders and not just stone-pelters – some foreigners too – could be in the net to be dealt with at the right time).*

Having identified the hard core stone-pelters and others, the next step is to deal with them. The most effective way to deal with hard core elements is to do so when they are indulging in anti-national acts. The casual pelters should be separated from the hard core leadership first; the latter should be dealt with sternly as per due legal process. As stated earlier, they must be brought before a court of law as soon as possible and conviction obtained based on incontrovertible (and admissible) evidence. The casual, first time offenders could be released with strong warning – experience has shown that very few of them are likely to return to pelting again. A data bank of known stone pelters, instigators, sympathisers, suspected over ground workers must be maintained and shared at appropriate levels so that it could be accessed quickly when needed.

Finally tactics will need to be reviewed periodically to ensure that they remain relevant. Along with preparation of doctrine, a small cell should be maintained by each constituent of SFs to study threat patterns, change of modus operandi and so on. It could act as the 'Red Force' to think and act as the opposition (terrorist organisations) during discussions. They could be asked to come up with new tactics that the terrorists may develop in future for further deliberation. Solution thus arrived at would be well scrutinised, debated and questioned before they are applied on the ground.

Some of the threats that we face currently have social connotations; one such threat is radicalisation of the society. That too appears to be spreading through well trained agents or religious leaders. They attempt to subvert well established religious beliefs and practices through mis-information, propaganda and even coercion. An approach similar to that against the stone-pelters could be adopted to deal with them. The form and substance could vary depending upon how the new challenges manifest and the extent to which they harm the larger cause of peace and development of the State.

CONCLUSION

The unrest in Kashmir, apart that arising out of public grievances, is largely of Pakistan's making. It is clearly *war by other means* being waged by Pakistan. It clearly suits its antipathy against India – a low cost high gain strategy for keeping India's internal situation unstable. The solution to bringing normalcy to Kashmir is largely political. Security agencies can only bring the situation under control but thereafter political initiatives need to be taken urgently to place the troubled state on a path to progress and prosperity.

The way forward lies in beginning a new narrative and a fresh engagement with the people. This is what a new covenant will usher; a balanced, even-handed policy that not only brings normalcy in the physical sense but also give people their sense of identity and dignity back. This needs speedy implementation.

It will have to be done through adroit handling of the situation. The policy of *iron fist in a velvet glove* needs to be applied deftly. It is not just the SF that need to act as the iron fist but the governments at the centre and in the state should also pursue a zero tolerance policy against terrorism. Consequently tough measures need to be taken against Pakistan's crafty machinations – politically, diplomatically and militarily, if necessary. Equally governments should act in unison to promote development of the state on a fast track; show that the velvet glove is a hand of friendly and concerned administration.

We need to regain the paradise;
we need to replace the sounds of gunfire with the sound of music and laughter;
we need to assure the young generation hope, peace and prosperity.

We need to demonstrate to the world at large and to our neighbours
that, India has the understanding and wherewithal
to deal with challenges.

We could then justify our claim to a seat at the high table
of the international community.

Lᴛ Gᴇɴ VG Pᴀᴛᴀɴᴋᴀʀ (Rᴇᴛᴅ)

During his four decades in the Indian Army, Lt Gen Vinayak Patankar held many important appointments including those in highly sensitive and active operational areas in the North-East and in J&K. He served for nearly nine years in the Kashmir Valley. Inspired by Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj, he too practiced a policy of a steel fist in a velvet glove – though against the enemies of the State and kind towards ordinary citizens. His humanitarian approach and people-friendly operations not only won him many a heart and mind but also resulted in bringing normalcy in Manipur and the Kashmir Valley.

Lt Gen Patankar now works with volunteer groups and institutions Like ASEEM and SARHAD devoted to national integration. He has contributed many articles to leading journals and newspapers and is invited frequently to participate in seminars and panel discussions at many prestigious fora and on Television.

Kashmir: The Borderless Battlefield

Parjanya Bhatt

Introduction:

It is too simplistic to classify a war into conventional and unconventional or traditional and modern or small and big, because over the years the line distinguishing these concepts has become blurred. The landscape of warzone has expanded and from war fronts it has made inroads into our metropolis, living room and the cyber world – where we have a digital identity. In the current international order, large scale military operations, popularly known as conventional wars have become rare, but have not disappeared. All nation states are heavily armed to protect their national interests against conventional threats and continue to fight low intensity conflicts along their borders or inside country's conflict zones. Simultaneously countries are developing capabilities to engage enemy in the unconventional ways.

War is morphing. The distinction between war and peace has vanished. The combatants & non-combatants are on the rise. In earlier times the combatants came in military uniforms – plundering civilizations, maiming millions and captured territories for the forceful establishment of their cultural, racial, colour, economic and military supremacy. World Wars I and II are the finest examples, which modern times can offer, when nation states waged bloody military campaigns against each other. The post-war period gave rise to international institutions and the mechanism of fighting constant wars was brought under

control, but their animosities and struggle for establishing supremacy still continues. The bi-polar world ended with the collapse of the Soviet Union and the unipolar world is about to be replaced with multi-polarity as the United States of America has started to lose its hegemonic edge to the rapid development of countries like China and India. Multiple power centres have emerged with massive conventional military capabilities, nuclear technology, non-state actors, information warfare and economics as a negotiating tool.

While diplomacy remains a powerful tool to prevent nations from waging conventional wars against each other and negotiate on larger common interests, they have chosen to engage the adversary without having military boots on the ground. Employment of Taliban with the state patronage against the Soviet Union in Afghanistan and Russia's annexation of Crimea are the classic examples of unconventional war also known as 'hybrid warfare'. This type of warfare falls outside the purview of the conventional capabilities to achieve desired results without putting national interests at stake. However, sometimes hybrid warfare is unleashed with simultaneous application of conventional capabilities. This type of warfare is also known as dirty war or war of mass disruption.

Different authors define hybrid warfare differently. According to Frank Hoffman, in hybrid warfare, the enemy employs all forms of wars and techniques, perhaps simultaneously.[1] According to him, the war is fought amongst the people and governments are very slow in shaping institutional response, adding that, states need to take urban encounters very seriously, and catagorising them as too difficult and costly must come to an end. Geraint Hughes[2] and Mark Galeotti[3] elaborate on Russia's annexation of Crimea where Moscow used militias, gangsters, special forces, carried out information campaigns, intelligence operations, political warfare and sabre rattling. They state that it is not new for Russia to employ multitude warfare types.[4] Again with reference to Russian

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1 Frank Hoffman, Conflict in 21st century: The Rise of Hybrid Wars. Potomac Institute for Policy Studies, December 2017. With this paper, Frank Hoffman pioneered the debate on the issue of hybrid warfare.

2 https://defenceindepth.co/2016/03/14/little-green-men-and-red-armies-why-russian-hybrid-war-is-not-new/

3 http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/09592318.2015.1129170?needAccess=true

4 Post-1945, spetsnaz did see action in Czechoslovakia in August 1968 – as the vanguard of Soviet and Warsaw Pact forces suppressing the Prague Spring – and in

operations in Ukraine, Michael Kofman calls hybrid warfare as a Frankenstein's monster and dubs it as a multi-vector hybrid warfare, which has taken life of its own and there is no way to contain it.[5] According to him, hybrid warfare is about reducing the warning time, deception and mixture of military and non-military means. On the other hand, David Barno calls it a 'shadow war' fought by masked men often without apparent state attribution.[6] Here the irregular groups increasingly use the cover of cities and their densely packed populations to shield themselves from attacks by government forces, and carefully leverage the media and international outrage that such urban battles inevitably provoke. For J J McCuen, hybrid wars are full-spectrum operations with both physical and conceptual dimensions: the former against an armed enemy and the latter a wider struggle for control and support of battle zone's indigenous population.[7] According to him, the nation state are in danger of losing if they fail to fully understand the human terrain in these conflicts, as well as, perhaps, the even more decisive battlegrounds of public opinion at home and abroad.

Drawing on State Department memo written by George Kennan[8], who is considered to be the pioneer of political warfare, defined it as employment of all the means at a nation's command, Max Boot and Michael Doran seeks to gain hearts and minds of the people in the conflict zones.[9] Kennan was working on how to counter the Soviets by institutionalising political warfare and making it part of America's mainstream security doctrine. Kennan wrote:

Afghanistan in December 1979, where the KGB's Alfa Group assassinated President Hafizollah Amin. Both these operations can be compared to Ukraine in 2014 because firstly Soviet/Russian forces either had a presence on the ground before intervention took place, or were geographically proximate. For further analysis see: https://defenceindepth.co/2016/03/14/little-green-men-and-red-armies-why-russian-hybrid-war-is-not-new/

5 Michael Kifman, Russian Hybrid Warfare and Other Dark Arts available at: https://warontherocks.com/2016/03/russian-hybrid-warfare-and-other-dark-arts/

6 David Barno, The Shadow Wars Of The 21ˢᵗ Century, available at: https://warontherocks.com/2014/07/the-shadow-wars-of-the-21st-century/

7 Col (Retd) John J McCuen, Hybrid Wars, p. 108

8 George Kennan, Policy Planning Staff Memorandum, p. 4, May 4, 1948

9 Max Boot & Michael Doran, Policy innovation Memorandums No. 33, Council on Foreign Relations, available at: https://www.cfr.org/sites/default/files/pdf/2013/06/Policy_Innovation_Memorandum_33_Boot.pdf

Political warfare is the logical application of Clausewitz's doctrine in time of peace. In broadest definition, political warfare is the employment of all the means at a nation's command, short of war, to achieve its national objectives. Such operations are both overt and covert. They range from such overt actions as political alliance, economic measures and 'white' propaganda to such covert operations as clandestine support of 'friendly' foreign elements, 'black' psychological warfare and even encouragement of underground resistance in hostile states.[10]
– George Kennan

Elaborating on Kennan's work, Boot and Doran warns against considering political warfare as an alien concept and examines how during the Cold War, the US funded and supported strongmen with scant legitimacy in Cuba & Iran and won the Cold War. On the similar lines, after examining situations in Syria, Yemen, Afghanistan, Pakistan and South China Sea, Dr. Michael Noonan suggested that America needs to reinvent political warfare, which was put on the back burner in the post-Cold War years, because it has the potential of reducing a nation's exposure and maximise its influence.[11]

Finally, in the Indian context, according to Brig. Narendra Kumar, hybrid warfare is a methodology of attacking the enemy's ideological and kinetic centre of gravity, thus eroding the physical and cognitive space of a state.[12] In the larger strategic sense he states that India can no longer rely on military forces and weapons alone to achieve national security. Blunt military power is no counter to hybrid warfare and requires intellectual preparation of a battle space.

For India, the conflict in Kashmir is a finest example of hybrid warfare, which is an admixture of conventional and unconventional methods employed by Pakistan. India's political stability and military might be superior in the region, but its complexities have grown because of nuclear proliferation, religious extremism, support to Hurriyat Conference etc. In Kashmir, the

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10 George Kennan, Policy Planning Staff Memorandum, p. 4, May 4, 1948 https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/114320.pdf?v=941dc9ee5c6e51333ea9ebbbc9104e8c

11 Michael P Noonan, Reinventing Political Warfare, available at: https://www.usnews.com/opinion/blogs/world-report/2013/08/16/political-warfare-in-a-time-of-defense-cuts

12 Narendra Kumar, War Beyond Rules: Hybrid War and India's preparedness, p. 59 Centre for Land Warfare Studies

character of conflict has changed. The day Islamic extremists entered Kashmir, a new chapter of religious extremism, foreign fighters and ethnic cleansing was added. It was no more a question of electoral process, which was tampered with, nor about the illegitimate territorial claims made by Pakistan. Though the prime intension is to sever Kashmir from India, it is also about keeping India off-balance and engaged her in a perpetual war against terrorism, religious extremism and with the Kashmiri society. No doubt, in case of a future conventional conflicts Pakistan will be biting dust once again, but India too will be damaged to a great extent. Pakistan has not been able to deny New Delhi physical and political space in Kashmir, but it has succeeded in taking Kashmir psychologically away from rest of India. Islamabad has achieved internal subversion, which is its biggest success. Regular army, religious extremism and Pakistan becoming a mindset in the Kashmir Valley are the three major challenges before New Delhi.

Hybrid Warfare In Kashmir?

Primarily the conflict in Kashmir has three dimensions, which are crucial for a better understanding of how Pakistan-sponsored hybrid warfare in the Valley has matured over the years. One, the territorial dispute between India-Pakistan. Two, creation of anti-India narrative resulting into ghetoisation of the Kashmiri society within the state and that would go on to create fissures between the Valley and the rest of India. And three, make use of Hindu-Muslims animosities, which is the easiest method of creating an ethnic divide within Kashmir and in rest of the country. For achieving these goals, Islamabad gave this job to the then president of Pakistan Occupied Kashmir (PoK), Sardar Abdul Qayum. According to Indian intelligence reports, Qayum took personal interest in distributing arms to about 500 Kashmiri youth who had crossed over to PoK.[13]

In April 1988, General Zia ul-Haq had called a meeting at Pakistan president Ghuam Ishaq Khan's residence. The gathering which was attended by senior Pakistani politicians and military officials accepted the political influence of New Delhi in Kashmir. At this meeting the president stated:

13IDR News Network, Vol.4.2 Jul-Dec 1989. Available at: http://www.indiandefencereview.com/spotlights/op-topac-the-kashmir-imbroglio-i/

…as no Government can survive in Occupied Kashmir unless it has the tacit approval of Delhi, it would be unrealistic to believe that the Muslim United Front (MUF) or any such organisation can seize power through democratic or other means.[14]

"Gentlemen, as you know due to our pre-occupation in Afghanistan, in the service of Islam, I have not been able to put these plans before you earlier. Let there be no mistake, however, that our aim remains quite clear and firm–the liberation of the Kashmir Valley–our Muslim Kashmiri brothers cannot be allowed to stay with India for any length of time, now. In the past we had opted for hamhanded military options and therefore, failed. So, as I have mentioned before, we will now keep our military option for the last moment as a coup de grace, if and when necessary. Our Kashmiri brethren in the valley, though with us in their hearts and minds, are simple–minded folk and do not easily take to the type of warfare to which, say, a Punjabi or an Afghan takes to naturally, against foreign domination. The Kashmiris however have a few qualities which we can exploit. First, his shrewdness and intelligence; second, his power to persevere under pressure; and the third, if I may so say, he is a master of political intrigue. If we provide him means through which he can best utilize these qualities – he will deliver the goods. Sheer brute force is in any case not needed in every type of warfare, especially so in the situation obtaining in the Kashmir Valley…[15]

He laid out a three-stage plan. Step – 1, which would continue for couple of years to assist Kashmiri youth in getting hold of power apparatus by political subversion and intrigue. Though the Indian Constitution and democracy has prevailed, the creation of Jammu Kashmir Liberation front (JKLF) and Hurriyat Conference[16] point towards Pakistan's success. Step – 2 focused on exerting pressure on Siachen, Kargil and Poonch-Rajauri sectors forcing Indian army pull out troops from the Kashmir Valley and deploy on the frontlines. This would allow Afghan mujahideens settled in PoK to extend their area of influence helping Pakistani special forces to attack airfields, radio stations, block Banihal tunnel and Kargil-Leh highway.

After the experience of 1965 and the Bangladesh wars, Pakistan had realised that it has no capacity to fight India in the conventional battleground. Therefore, step – 3 advocated maintaining a low military profile and (with the help of American arms,

14 IDR News Network, Vol.4.2 Jul-Dec 1989
15 IDR News Network, Vol.4.2 Jul-Dec 1989
16 ELABORATE ON CREATION OF JKLF AND HURRIYAT

which were meant for Afghan fighters to counter the Soviet) support an Intifada-like movement in Kashmir's countryside to attack hard military targets. And, in case of India choosing its time and place of attack, Islamabad expected the Chinese to come to their rescue.

Pakistan has acted exactly according to the plan laid down by President Ghulam Ishaq Khan. Constant military operations by Indian security forces have to a very large extent contained militancy in the Valley. But after every major terror attack when New Delhi showed signs of going aggressive, Pakistan used its nuclear card, which has now become another tool in its hybrid warfare techniques. Hybrid warfare when debated in the context of Russia, which annexed Crimea, Moscow was not dealing with nuclear threats. Whereas in case of the US, Washington deals with rogue nuclear regimes like North Korea, which are economically weak. Their conventional, cyber and information warfare capabilities are no match to that of the US. However, in its pursuit to keep Kashmir on the boil, Pakistan has applied every possible trick, which has also spread to other parts of India.

For India, Kashmir is a very complex case hybrid warfare. For past 30 years, Pakistan's state sponsored terrorism has been given a name of freedom movement and New Delhi has not succeeded in changing this narrative – at least in the Valley. After repeated military debacles, Pakistan shifted the battleground from the national frontiers and LoC to inside Kashmir. Islamabad's asymmetric battleground is within the conflict zone population of Kashmir and the international community. The success and failure of irregular warfare is decided by the conflict zone population.

Primarily, the battle within Kashmir is fought with an aim to radicalise the valley with the help from aggressive Islam and changing the public opinion through intellectual debate in news mediums. The traditional benign Sufi Islam is fast giving way to ultra-conservative and fundamentalist Salafi Islam which is expanding the catchment area for jihadi terror groups….In village after village, new Salafi mosques are mushrooming to overshadow the old Sufi mosques. In fact, Sufi shrines are being systematically targeted as being un-Islamic. While older generation Kashmiris may still go to the Sufi mosques, the excitable youth are flocking to Salafi mosques which spoon-feed them a highly distorted version of world events to show how Islam is under threat and Muslims an endangered species. The siege mentality thus engendered is helping recruit cadres for jihad.[17] According to media reports, during past 15 years,

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17 'TV channel jingoism is helping separatists even as Salafist islam takes root in Kashmir', A *FirstPost* report available at: http://www.firstpost.com/india/tv-channel-jingoism-helping-separatists-even-salafist-islam-takes-root-kashmir-2360828.html

nearly 2,000 Wahabi & salafi mosques have come up in Kashmir Valley, for which funding comes from oil rich Saudi Arabia and other Gulf countries. [18]

With the introduction of radical Islam in the Valley, the narrative has changed. Pakistan equals to Islam has become the mindset in the Valley. The insurgent groups no more fight for freedom, they are now fighting for Islam. After the Hindu Pandit community was driven out of their homeland in Kashmir, this is the second wave of Islamists radicalising the Valley. This is an effort to hegimonise Kashmiriyat under a very small Arab component in the veil of 'Azadi'. These elements or separatist group that are primarily rooted to their foreign lineage don't have any racial fraternity with the Muslims of Kashmir ancestry who are born and brought up in the gentler version of Kashmiriyat.[19] According to Madhu Kishwar, mainstream Kashmiri political parties like National Conference and Peoples' Democratic Party have willingly or unwillingly and covertly or overtly supported the expansion of the radical ideologies in the Valley.[20]

Adding to the current debate is the migration on Rohingya Muslims from Myanmar. According to some media reports, nearly 40,000 Rohingya Muslims have been residing in India, thousands of which are in Kashmir. According to Union Minister of State for Home, Mr. Kiran Rijiju, there are about 14,000 Rohingyas Muslims registered with the UNHRC and reside in India. However, the Indian government has directed all the states to identify and deport all Rohingyas.[21] At the same time, the Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP) has demanded that the issue be debated in the J&K state assembly under the controversial Article 35 (A) of the Indian Constitution.[22] The roots of this debate lie in projection of the state of

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18 'J&K: Wahabi controlled mosques on the rise, security forces tightening vigil', An *IndiaToday* report available at: http://indiatoday.intoday.in/story/jammu-and-kashmir-wahabi-controlled-mosques-ahle-hadith-sufi-shrines-militancy-madarsas/1/968883.html

19 Kashmir: the virus of political Islam – is it inspired by Wahabi jihad?, Available at: http://www.firstpost.com/india/tv-channel-jingoism-helping-separatists-even-salafist-islam-takes-root-kashmir-2360828.html

20 'TV channel jingoism is helping separatists even as Salafist islam takes root in Kashmir', A *FirstPost* report available at: http://www.firstpost.com/india/tv-channel-jingoism-helping-separatists-even-salafist-islam-takes-root-kashmir-2360828.html

21 Illegal immigrants like Rohingyas pose security threat, identify and deport them: centre tells states, available at: https://swarajyamag.com/insta/illegal-immigrants-like-rohingyas-pose-security-threat-identify-and-deport-them-centre-tells-states-

22 National Conference doesn't have problem with Rohingyas in J&K, but raises hue & cry over Indians: MoS PMO, available at: https://swarajyamag.com/insta/national-

J&K as a Muslim majority state from where the Pandits were persecuted and their resettlement has not been seriously considered. And after the PDP joined hands with the BJP, a narrative has been created that the latter is making all out efforts to introduce Hindutva politics in the Valley. How true this argument is, remains to be proved; but the polarisation of the state's polity on religious lines is very evident.

Another aspect of the hybrid warfare is the information space. While the debate within this spectrum of the hybrid warfare was restricted to the usage of press for influencing the public opinion inside the conflict zone and the international community, the Kashmiri press has taken this to another level. Immediately after the Hizbul Mujahideen terror commander Burhan Wani was eliminated, the Kashmiri press made a martyr out him and derailed the peace achieved in the Valley. The Kashmiri print media flashed gory images of his dead body across eight columns on the front page and simultaneously carried editorial pieces on controversial Islamic preacher Zakir Naik. The local press eulogised him – fueling street rage across the Valley. As a result of which, during the first five-months of the stand-off the state exchequer incurred loss to the tune of Rs. 16,000 cr.[23] Schools across the valley were forced to shut. According to media reports, 32 schools were set on fire[24], as a result of which future of thousands of students hung in balance. While this seem like a byproduct of the conflict in the Valley, but such incidents have long term effects. According to the Economic Survey 2016, destruction of schools infrastructure, incorporation of youth into armed groups, fear of sending children to school, negative economic shocks to households and forced displacement were the main reasons which hindered the process of imparting quality education to the young generation.

However, before Burhan Wani was projected as a poster boy of terrorism in Kashmir, he was popular among the Valley youth. After resorting to the gun for his Kashmir's 'aazadi', Burhan Wani was actively interacting with Kashmiri youth and unlike his predecessors, he did not hide his face. His videos and pictures became topics of Indian 'injustice'. The incidents of stone pelting and usage of pellet guns once against catapulted the Kashmir issue to the international platform. While a section of Indian media described him as 'son of a school teacher', the international

conference-doesnt-have-problem-with-rohingyas-in-jk-but-raises-hue-and-cry-over-indians-mos-pmo

23 Economic Survey Report – 2016, pg. 14

24 http://www.news18.com/news/india/kashmir-unrest-32-school-buildings-destroyed-in-fire-in-past-3-months-1308473.html

media projected him as a social media star[25]. Before his killing, Wani used social media to recruit boys to his terrorist outfit and is believed to have recruited at least 100 young boys.[26]

Prabha Rao of IDSA notes that Pakistani and Kashmiri press elaborately reported on Burhan Wani's death and focused on how his dead body was wrapped in a Pakistani flag, which were also displayed around his house in Tral in South Kashmir. A Facebook comment by a student from JNU compared Wani with Che Guevara.[27] During the same period, Pakistan sponsored Twitter hashtags like – 'IAmBurhan' and 'TeamBurhan' were fed into the Kashmir Valley, which received more than a million hits in matter of few days. The issue of Kulbhushan Jadhav was also in the limelight and he was projected as a superhero figure claiming that majority of terror attacks in Pakistan were carried out by him.[28] Following this, the central government imposed e-curfew, curbing social media, cellphone and landline networks across the Valley. The police raided offices of various print media organisations confiscating their daily editions. While the social media was used to generate massive crowds for carrying out street violence, the local press worked to infuriate anti-India sentiments at national and international levels.

It is a dangerous scenario when the young countrymen shout slogans like 'the only solution is gun solution' and 'Burhanwali Aazadi'. The audacity and defiance of the youth in going against their own country depicts a clear disconnect between the power centres and the ground reality. The problem is not the stones that are hurled at the Indian security forces. The problem is the ideology and the societal mindset behind this madness that is more dangerous for India's national security and integration. If this is India's failure, it is Pakistan's success. No doubt, the government cannot be blamed for all its commissions and omissions. The onus also lies with the society of the conflict zone. Having said that, the solution to the conflict in Kashmir will have to come from New Delhi.

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25 Burhan Wani: The rise and fall of Kashmiri militant and social media star, available at: https://www.thenational.ae/world/burhan-wani-the-rise-and-fall-of-the-kashmiri-militant-and-social-media-star-1.147947

26 Who was Burhan Wani and why is Kashmir mourning him?, available at: http://www.huffingtonpost.in/burhan-wani/who-was-burhan-wani-and-why-is-kashmir-mourning-him_a_21429499/

27 Prabha Rao, Online Radicalisation: the example of Burhan Wani, p. 5, IDSA Issue Brief, July 19, 2016

28 During a conference on the Kashmir issue, Prabha Rao while presenting her views gave this details.

Conclusion:

For far too long New Delhi has tried to address the Kashmir conflict either through the military means or have offered lip service by stating its willingness to find solution through Kashmiriyat, Jamuhriyat and Insaniyat. Neither pure military nor political approach can bring about a change in the Valley. Only statesmen who can see future beyond petty political gains and soldiers who can think like their Pakistani counterparts can resolve the conflict within Kashmir. The trend since 1947, in terms of upholding of the democratic values and thereby upholding Jamuhriyat, indicates the positive intent of the Centre. However, these measures have failed to encourage the Kashmiris to merge with mainstream India. The prevailing insanity in the Valley in the absence of Kashmiriyat and accentuated by growing religious extremism has rendered Jamhuriyat largely ineffective. In this scenario, there is not much of chance left for Insaniyat, which is the collective and conscientious job of not only the entire Indian state, but also of the Kashmiris to uphold. For this the credit goes to Pakistan and the blame needs to be equally shared by New Delhi and the Kashmiri society.

The hybrid conflict in Kashmir needs to be addressed at four level: one, military security vis-à-vis Pakistan's conventional capabilities and nuclear blackmail. Add to this is Chinese investment in China-Pakistan-Economic-Corridor (CPEC) passing through PoK. In the past, Beijing provided only lip service to Islamabad during its military adventures against New Delhi. Geographically China does not share border with Pakistan, but with CPEC, China is dangerously getting close to India's western flank. Much to New Delhi's constrain, the CPEC is believed to have given some sense of legitimacy to Pakistan's continuing occupation and claim of the area. Moreover, the presence of the Chinese army to guard the CPEC may push the Uighur terrorists out of China's Xijiang province into Kashmir Valley through PoK. CPEC, is therefore, looked at as being China's pivot not only to Pakistan but to the rest of South Asia. While the hybrid warfare in Kashmir keeps on evolving and continues to throw new challenges, India cannot afford to lower its conventional military security posture. The 1999 Kargil conflict is a point in case, which followed the wave of insurgency and diplomatic engagement between New Delhi and Islamabad. To deal with Pakistan's nuclear blackmail and along the LoC and the international border, the army needs to continue with its aggressive operations.

Two, one may like it or not, but the situation in Kashmir has gone from bad to worse. A mere land dispute has transformed into religious extremism. From Afghan fighters to Pakistani insurgents to local Kashmiri boys – terrorism in Kashmir has just

got better. As discussed earlier, the introduction of Wahabi and Salafi ideologies have exploited the Hindu-Muslim animosities. The Rohingya Muslims are welcomed, whereas the sons of the soil – Hindu Pandits are looked at with hatred. Zakir Musa, chief of Ansar Gazwat-ul-Hind the Al Qaeda Kashmir cell on September 1, 2017 issued a threat to 'liberate' Kashmir from the cow-worshiping India, which is ruled by a Hindu Prime Minister. He also warned the government against deporting the Rohingya Muslims from Kashmir.[29] The much talked about Kashmiriyat has a very vital role to play in reviving religious and cultural harmony in the Valley. Primarily this will have to be dealt with by the senior community and religious leaders of the Valley. That generation of Kashmiri Hindus and Muslims who broke the bread together is on the verge of extinction, and those Kashmiris Muslims who were born during 1990s and 2000s have been kept away from the mainstream India and fed with anti-India sentiments. While the Hindu Pandit community has managed to progress despite living in camps, their young generation has also lost touch with their roots. This is a serious matter especially for a country like India where religion and culture has played a crucial role in binding the society. The more we delay in understanding and addressing the problem of religious extremism, the worse it would get. Pakistan is a mindset, which is now being replaced by extreme Islamism.

The third crucial area is the cyber and information space from where the entire game of perception management is organised and controlled. One needs to closely observe the news reports and editorial writing of Kashmiri newspapers to understand how opinions are created and managed. However, there has been an equivalent aggressive reporting by national news channels. Times Now, Republic and IndiaToday have been relentlessly reporting on the wrongs committed by separatists, religious leaders and politicians. E-curfews are no solution. Creating a counter narrative by reporting the wrongs within Kashmir will not offer any solutions. However, it may offer an opportunity to Kashmir to introspect. The government needs to establish a dedicated taskforce to deal with information warfare unleashed by Pakistan on social media. New Delhi needs to counter the bad narrative and ill-informed analysis. The threat from the information warfare is not new, but India's vulnerability to it is more acute then we realise.

Finally, political stability and strong political will are a must to deal with the above three scenarios. Over the years, weak political leadership has played the

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29 Zakir Musa: Will liberate Kashmir from cow-worshiping India, available at: http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/zakir-musa-will-liberate-india-from-cow-worshipping-pm/articleshow/60316692.cms

spoilsport. With the BJP in power both at the centre and in J&K; situation in the state, along the border/LoC and relations with Pakistan have started to change. The surgical strike across the LoC, constant military operations inside the Valley and aggressive diplomacy has started to weaken the call for 'aazadi'. The demonitisation drive is reported to have affected the street violence, which is largely financed with black money. And the raids conducted by the national Investigation Agency (NIA) across Kashmir appear to be the beginning of the end of separatist movement. However, the government will need to talk with the Kashmiri society and this can happen only if there is peace in Kashmir.

A country or a society is not defeated till her cultural values are intact. Peace, political process and religious harmony which were challenged by the wave of militancy since late 1980s are the biggest loss to India's cause in Kashmir and to the Valley in particular. Kashmir has not been able to recover from it ever since and it has spread to other parts of the country as well. Before Kashmir transforms into a full blown political, military and intellectual theatre of war between New Delhi and Kashmir, the former needs to realign its strategy and engage Kashmiris at all levels. At the same time, the Kashmiri society, without any grievances and pre-conditions will need to reciprocate.

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- http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/09592318.2015.1129170?needAccess=true Post-1945, spetsnaz did see action in Czechoslovakia in August 1968 – as the vanguard of Soviet and Warsaw Pact forces suppressing the Prague Spring – and in Afghanistan in December 1979, where the KGB's Alfa Group assassinated President Hafizollah Amin. Both these operations can be compared to Ukraine

in 2014 because firstly Soviet/Russian forces either had a presence on the ground before intervention took place, or were geographically proximate. For further analysis see: https://defenceindepth.co/2016/03/14/little-green-men-and-red-armies-why-russian-hybrid-war-is-not-new/

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Key Ideas and Imperatives Transmitted in Extremist Proselitization

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INTRODUCTION

This paper is about extremist propaganda by Islamists. What are its ultimate goals, intermediate aims, and proximate objectives? What are the considerations that undergird and determine extremist agencies' selection of material for projection? What is the substance thus, of their ideological and operational propaganda? Supplying and elucidating the answers to these questions is the purpose here.

At the outset, the following caveats are noteworthy.

The Quranic verses cited or referred to in this paper are as in translations by Muhammed Marmaduke Pickthall, Yusuf Ali, and Wahiduddin Khan.

As to the Hadiths mentioned here, (Hadith: recorded sayings and doings of Prophet Muhammad and some of his Companions) these are from translations of Sahih Hadiths collated by eminent authorities, viz. Hazrat Bukhari, Abu Daud, and Muslim, whose compilations are openly available in print, audio-visual and cyber sources.

Interpretation of Quranic verses and Hadiths is a specialized exercise, knowledge of and expertise in Arabic language and dialects of the 7th C. AD being a prerequisite.

Even among suitably qualified and eminent experts, views differ widely as to the correct construing of certain portions of scriptural material.

However, material on which there is general agreement and consensus is extensive and substantive. For example, there is unanimity even across widely divergent and mutually hostile Muslim sects and all the major schools of Islamic Jurisprudence whether Sunni or Shi'i, that: Islam is the one true religion, all other religions are mistaken and reprehensible, and that apostates from Islam must forthwith be killed.

Exhibited here in this paper, are the versions of Qur'anic verses and Sahih Hadith given currency in extremist propaganda, these being intrinsic to the subject matter in focus.

For any endeavor to have a chance of success in combating the remorseless march of Extremism and Terrorism ostensibly derived from Islam, the first step needs must be getting to grips, - in a dispassionate, realistic and unsqueamish way, - with its motivational ideas and purposes.

ISLAMIC PROSELITIZATION

"Daw'ah": الدعوة is an Arabic word denoting a call, summons, invocation, or invitation. The practice of Daw'ah is a standard default mode activity prescribed in the Qur'an itself. It is a religious duty ordained for all Muslims to perform. It requires all Muslims earnestly to exhort each other to be more pious Muslims, and also, continually, invite non-Muslims to accept Islam as their faith.

The Qur'an has several verses that specify the duty of Daw'ah. For example, Qur'an, Chapter 16, Al Nah'l (The Bee), Verse 125, states: "Call to the way of your Lord with wisdom and fair exhortation and reason with them in a way that is best." Qur'an, Chapter 41, Fussilat (Revelations Well Expounded), Verse 33, states: "Who is better in speech than one who calls to All'ah…"? Qur'an, Chapter 3, Al Imran, (The Family of Imran), Verse 104, states: "Let there be a group among you who call others to good, and enjoin what is right, and forbid what is wrong; those who do this shall be successful.'

Similarly, Sahih Hadiths abound indicating Prophet Mohammad's advising Muslims to engage in Daw'ah. For example, Sahih Bukhari: "For All'ah, to guide someone by your hand is better for you than having red camels." (Camels of reddish hue were particularly prized.)   Sahih Muslim: "Whoever calls to guidance will receive the same reward as the one who follows him without any decrease in the reward of his follower." Sahih Bukhari: "Convey from me even it be a single verse."

Thus Daw'ah is exalted in orthodox Islam, and its generation and broadcast by all Muslims to fellow Muslims and to Kaffirs, is a practice nominated to be creditworthy in the eyes of all Muslims, and attracting blessings and rewards by All'ah.

Proselitization and propaganda by extremists clothes itself as Daw'ah, thereby to be the more welcome, acceptable, and easily absorbed by Muslims.

Numerous sites and sources of extremist propaganda, whether on the internet or in printed publications, purport to be vehicles of orthodox religion, pursuing religious activity for the good of all and sundry, rather than positioning themselves as tools of the political motivations and foreign policy of their organizing entities.

Numerous sites and sources, whether electronic, virtual, or in print, radio, and propagandists in person, make no bones, however, about being disseminators of the doctrine, goals, policies, programs, and achievements, of concerned extremist organizations.

ISLAMIC SCRIPTURAL RESOURCES PREFERRED

Study of extremist publicity output shows a clear policy adopted by its organizers of selecting Islamic scriptural resources to formulate and propagate ideology, outlook, and instruction.

The highest preference is for Quranic verses which carry the greatest conviction as believed to have divine origin and therefore infallible; the next highest being material in Sahih Hadith as being the example of prophetic gnosis, next being commentaries of the 14th C. doctrinaire Ibn Taiymiyya, who was called 'Sheikh 'ul Islam', Abd'ul Ibn Wahab, Mawlana Maududi, Syed Qutb, Hasan Al Banna, and lately Ayman Al Zawahiri, Anwar Al Awlaki, Brig. S.K.Malik and others.

Essentially, Islam is projected by extremist strategists and ideologues not as a mere religion but as a revolutionary supremacist force whose goal is global conquest, and whose means are proselitization, mass mobilization, and violent Jihad. Establishing a worldwide theocratic Caliphate in the name of All'ah and Islam, is declared the goal of Jihad to which each and every Muslim must contribute in the prescribed manner.

Key Propositions in the Narrative of Extremism

I: Islam, conveyed by "Almighty All'ah" is the (only and exclusively) True, Perfect, Complete, and Final, religion for all Humankind, and for Eternal and Universal application.

[Surat Al Maid'ah, verse 3: "This day I have perfected for you your religion and completed My favor upon you and have approved for you Islam as your religion. }

{Surat Al Imran, verse 85: "And whosoever seeks a religion other than Islam it shall never be accepted of him; in the hereafter he will be among the losers"

II: Any and all other religions stand Cancelled and are outright to be Rejected following the revelation of Islam. [Ibid.]

III: The Glorious Qur'an is the Word of All'ah. It is perfect. It is unalterable. It is valid in every detail for all and for all times to come. [Ibid.]

IV: The Apostle of All'ah (Peace Be Upon Him) is the "Seal of Prophets", i.e. the last of all Prophets.

[Surat Al Ahzab, verse 40 of the Qu'ran "Muhammad is not the father of any of your man, but (he is) The Messenger of All'ah and the Seal of the Prophets: and All'ah has full knowledge of all things."

V: The Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) through his acts and words exemplifies pursuance of Qur'anic commandments and teaching, and is thus the exemplar to be emulated:

[Surat Al-Ahzab: verse 21 "You have an excellent model in the Messenger of All'ah, for all who put their hope in All'ah and the Last Day and remember All'ah much."

Surah Al `Imran: verse 164: "All'ah showed great kindness to the believers when He sent a Messenger to them from among themselves to recite His Signs to them, purify them and teach them the Book and Wisdom, even though before that they were clearly misguided."

Surat an-Nisa`: verse 59: "O you who believe, obey All'ah, the Messenger, and those in command among you. If you disagree about something, refer it back to All'ah and the Messenger.

Surat al-Ahzab: verse 36: "When All'ah and His Messenger have decided something, no believing man or woman has a choice about [following or not following] it. Anyone who disobeys Allah and His Messenger is clearly misguided."

Surat an-Nisa`: verse 115 "But if anyone opposes the Messenger after the guidance has become clear to him, and follows a path other than that of the believers, We will hand him over to whatever he has turned to, and We will roast him in Hell. What an evil destination!"

Surat al-Najm: verses 3-4: "Nor does he (Mohammad) speak from whim. It is nothing but Revelation revealed."

Surah Al `Imran: verse 31: Say: If you love All'ah, then follow me and All'ah will love you and forgive your sins."

(Surat an-Nisa`: verse 14) "As for those who disobey All'ah and His Messenger and overstep His limits, We will admit them into a Fire, remaining in it timelessly, forever. They will have a humiliating punishment."

Surat Al `Imran: verse 31: "Say: If you love All'ah, then follow me and All'ah will love you and forgive your sins."

VI: The world is divided in to two parts: Darul Islam and Darul Harb (Abode of Islam and abode of war). Global conquest is Islam's destiny. Islam shall be the religion of all Humanity; any adherents of any other religion subjugated as 'Dhimmi' and compelled to offer up Jizya with the "hands of submission".

Surat Al Tawbah, verse 33 "It is He (All'ah) who has sent His Messenger with guidance and the religion of truth, in order for it to be dominant over all other religions, even though the Mushrikoon (disbelievers) hate it."

Surat Al Tawbah, verse 29: "Those who do not believe in All'ah and the Last Day26 - even though they were given the scriptures, and who do not hold as unlawful that which All'ah and His Messenger have declared to be unlawful, and who do not follow the true religion - fight against them until they pay tribute with the hand of submission   and are utterly subdued."

(Sahih Muslim, Hadis #2889: "Verily All'ah has shown me the eastern and western part of the earth, and I saw the authority of my Ummah (nation) dominate all that I saw."

(Musnad al-Imaam Ahmad: "I have been ordered to fight mankind until they say, "Laa ilaaha illallah wa anna Muhammadar Rasool-Ullah – There is none worthy of worship except Allah and Muhammad (saw) is the messenger of All'ah." If they say that, their blood and wealth will be saved from me, except from the right of Islam (the Shari'ah); and their accountability will be with All'ah."

(Sahih Muslim #1731) The messenger Muhammad (saw) said: "Fight in the name of Allah and in the way of Allah. Fight against those who disbelieve in All'ah. Make a Holy War..When you meet your enemies who are polytheists, invite them to three courses of action. If they respond to any one of these, you also accept it and withhold yourself from doing them any harm. Invite them to (accept) Islam; if they respond to you, accept it from them and desist from fighting against them. Then invite them to migrate from their lands to the land of Muhaajiroun (migrants) and inform them that, if they do so, they

shall have all the privileges and obligations of the Muhaajiroun. If they refuse to migrate, tell them that they will have the status of Bedouin Muslims and will be subjected to the Commands of All'ah like other Muslims, but they will not get any share from the spoils of war or Fay' except when they actually fight with the Muslims (against the disbelievers).If they refuse to accept Islam, demand from them the Jizya (tax). If they agree to pay, accept it from them and hold off your hands. If they refuse to pay the tax, seek All'ah's help and slaughter them…"

VII: Disbelievers (kaffir), and apostates (murta'ad) are liable to be slaughtered; hypocrites (munafiq) and deviants (mushrikeen) severely to be punished.

Qur'an Surat Al Anfal, verse 12: "I will instill terror in the hearts of those who deny the truth, so strike their necks and strike off all their finger joints!

Quran Surat al Tawbah: verse 73 "O Prophet (Muhammad)! Fight against the disbelievers and the Munafiqeen (Hypocrites) and be harsh against them, their abode is Hell, – and worst indeed is that destination."

Qur'an Surat Al Munafiqeen, Verse 4: "When you look to them you are impressed by their appearance, when they speak, you listen to their words, they are as (worthless as hollow) pieces of timber propped up, (unable to stand on their own). They think that every cry is against them. They are the enemies; so beware of them. The curse of Allah is on them! How they are deluded."

Quran: Surat Al Baqarah, verse 9: "They (attempt to) deceive All'ah and those who believe, but they only deceive themselves while they do not know."

Qur'an Surat Al Tawbah, verse 84: "And never (Muhammad) pray (funeral prayer) for any of them (hypocrites) who dies, nor stand at his grave. Certainly they disbelieved in Allah and His Messenger, and died while they were Fasiqun (rebellious, – disobedient to Allah and His Messenger SAW)."

Qur'an Surat Al Imran. verses 118-119: "O you who believe! Take not as (your) Bitânah (advisors, consultants, protectors, helpers, friends) those outside your religion (pagans, Jews, Christians, and hypocrites) since they will not fail to do their best to corrupt you. They desire to harm you severely. Hatred has already appeared from their mouths, but what their breasts conceal is far worse. Indeed We have made plain to you the Ayat if you have sanity. Here you are! You are the ones who love them but they love you not, and you believe in all the Books [i.e. you believe in the Taurât (Torah) and the Injeel (Gospel), while they disbelieve in your Book, the Qur'an]. And when they meet you, they say, "We believe". But when they are alone, they bite the tips of their fingers at you in rage. Say: "Perish in your rage. Certainly, Allah knows what is in the breasts (all the secrets)."

VIII: Momin (Muslims) are entitled to have slaves without limitation of number.

Qur'an Surat Al Ahzab: verse 50: "O Prophet! We have made lawful to thee thy wives to whom thou hast paid their dowers; and those (slaves) whom thy right hand possesses out of the prisoners of war whom All'ah has assigned to thee"

Qur'an Al Anfal: verse 69: "But (now) enjoy what ye took in war, lawful and good"

Qur'an Al Noor: verse 32: "And marry those among you who are single and those who are fit among your male slaves and your female slaves..." (For breeding slaves)

Sahih Bukhari (41.598)- Slaves are property. They cannot be freed if an owner has outstanding debt, but they can be used to pay off the debt.

Sahih Bukhari (62:137)

Sahih Bukhari (34: 432)

IX) Momin are entitled to have proportionate share in loot and plunder (Maal Ghanimat) acquired in Jihad.

Quran Al Anfal: verse 1: "They ask you about the benefits of capturing the spoils of war. Tell them the benefits belong to All'ah and his Messenger. So fulfill your duty to All'ah and his messenger.

Qur'an Al Anfal, verse 40: "If people are obstinate, and refuse to surrender, know that All'ah is your Supporter. And know that one-fifth of all the booty you take belongs to Allah, and to the Messenger, and for the near relatives (of the Messenger).

X) After the Holy months, Momin should wait in ambush and slaughter disbelievers/hypocrites/deviants.

Quran Surat al Tawbah, verse 5: "And when the sacred months have passed, then kill the polytheists wherever you find them and capture them and besiege them and sit in wait for them at every place of ambush. But if they should repent, establish prayer, and give zakah, let them [go] on their way. Indeed, Allah is Forgiving and Merciful."

Quran Al Baqarah: verse 191, "..and capture them, executing some and keeping some as prisoners, and besiege them, and lie in wait for them in each and every ambush, do not wait until you find them. Rather, seek and besiege them in their areas and forts, gather intelligence about them in the various roads and fairways so that what is made wide looks ever smaller to them. This way, they will have no choice, but to die or embrace Islam.

XI) Momin should beware of associating with disbelievers; and should differentiate themselves in appearance from disbelievers.

Quran Chapter Al Tawbah, verse 8: "How can you trust them? If they prevail against you they will respect neither agreements nor ties of kindred. They flatter you with their tongues, but their hearts reject you. Most of them are evil doers."

Quran Chapter Al Tawbah, verse 7: "All'ah and His apostle repose no trust in idolaters, save those with whom you have made treaties at the Sacred Mosque. So long as they keep faith with you, keep faith with them. God loves the righteous."

Quran Chapter Al Imran. Verse 118-119: "O you who believe! Take not as (your) Bitânah (advisors, consultants, protectors, helpers, friends) those outside your religion (pagans, Jews, Christians, and hypocrites) since they will not fail to do their best to corrupt you. They desire to harm you severely. Hatred has already appeared from their mouths, but what their breasts conceal is far worse. Indeed We have made plain to you the Ayat if you have sanity. Here you are! You are the ones who love them but they love you not, and you believe in all the Books [i.e. you believe in the Taurât (Torah) and the Injeel (Gospel), while they disbelieve in your Book, the Qur'an]. And when they meet you, they say, "We believe". But when they are alone, they bite the tips of their fingers at you in rage. Say: "Perish in your rage. Certainly, Allah knows what is in the breasts (all the secrets)."

XII) Beheadings, burnings to death, mutilation, slaughter by cutting the throat, torture to extract information, rape of captives, are all legitimate vis-à-vis the enemy; and it is salutary "to strike terror"

Qur'an: Surat Al Anfal, verse 12: "I will cast Terror into the hearts of the unbelievers. Therefore strike off their heads and strike off every finger joint of them. "

Qur'an Surat Muhammad, verse 3: "Therefore, when you meet the unbelievers, smite at their necks."

Qur'an Al Anfal, verse 57: If thou comest on them in the war, deal with them so as to strike fear in those who are behind them that happily they may remember."

Quran: Al Anfal, verse :67: It is not for a Prophet that he should have prisoners of war until he had made a great slaughter in the land."

Quran Al Anfal, verses :59-60: "And let not those who disbelieve suppose they can outstrip (All'ah's purpose) Lo! They cannot escape. Make ready for

themall thou canst of force and of horses tehthered, that thereby ye may dismay the enemy of All'ah and your enemy.""

Qur'an Surat Muhammad, verse 4: "At length, when ye have thoroughly subdued them, bind the captives firmly. Therefore is the time for either generosity or ransom."

XIII) Fighting is mandatory for every Momin in the cause of Islam. It is the highest duty.

Qur'an Al Baqurah, verse:216 Fighting is prescribed for you, and ye dislike it. But it is possible that ye dislike a thing which is good for you, and that ye love a thing which is bad for you. But Allah knoweth, and ye know not.

Qur'an Al Anfal, verse :39: "And fight them until there is no more Fitna (unbelief) and Religion is all for All'ah"

Sahih Muslim 2: 4696 "It has been narrated on the authority of Abu Huraira that the Messenger of Allah (may peace be upon him) said: One who died but did not fight in the way of Allah nor did he express any desire (or determination) for Jihad died the death of a hypocrite.

XIV) Fighters in the cause of the religion who, while thus fighting lose their lives, attain martyrdom (Shaha'ada). 'Shaheed' (martyrs) ascend to the highest heaven (in Jannat). There they remain eternally in enjoyment of heavenly comforts and infinite sensual pleasures.

Surah Ali-'Imran, verses 169-172

169. But do not think of those that have been slain in God's cause a dead. Nay, they are alive! With their Sustainer have they their sustenance,

170. Exulting in that (martyrdom) which God has bestowed upon them out of His bounty. And they rejoice in the glad tiding given to those (of their brethren) who have been left behind and have not yet joined them, that no fear need they have, and neither shall they grieve:

171. They rejoice in the glad tiding of God's blessings and bounty, and (in the promise) that God will not fail to requite the believers

172. Who responded to the call of God and the Apostle after misfortune had befallen them (in the battle of Uhud). A magnificent requital awaits those of them who have persevered in doing good and remained conscious of God.

Surah Al – Baqarah, 2:154   "And say not of those who are slain in God's cause, " They are dead": nay, they are alive , but you perceive it not.

Quran Al Nisa, verse:74 -"Let those fight in the way of All'ah who sell the life of this world for the other. Whoso fighteth in the way of Allah, be he slain or be he victorious, on him We shall bestow a vast reward."

Quran Al Tawbah verse 111: "All'ah hath purchased of the believers their persons and their goods; for theirs (in return) is the garden (of Paradise): they fight in His cause, and slay and are slain: a promise binding on Him in truth, through the Law, the Gospel, and the Quran: and who is more faithful to his covenant than Allah? then rejoice in the bargain which ye have concluded: that is the achievement supreme."

Quran al Baqur'ah, verse 207 "And there is the type of man who gives his life to earn the pleasure of Allah..."

Quran Al Saff, verses:10-12: "O ye who believe! Shall I lead you to a bargain that will save you from a grievous Penalty? That ye believe in Allah and His Messenger, and that ye strive (your utmost) in the Cause of Allah, with your property and your persons: That will be best for you, if ye but knew! He will forgive you your sins, and admit you to Gardens beneath which Rivers flow, and to beautiful mansions in Gardens of Eternity: that is indeed the Supreme Achievement."

Quran Al Isra, verse 33: "And do not kill anyone which All'ah has forbidden, except for a just cause."

Sahih Bukhari (52:54) - The words of Muhammad: "I would love to be martyred in Allah's Cause and then get resurrected and then get martyred, and then get resurrected again and then get martyred and then get resurrected again and then get martyred."This is why modern-day Jihadists often say that they love death.

Sahih Bukhari (52:46) - "All'ah guarantees that He will admit the Mujahid in His Cause into Paradise if he is killed, otherwise He will return him to his home safely with rewards and war booty."

Sahih Muslim (20:4678) - During the battle of Uhud, Muhammad was desperate to push men into battle. He promised paradise for those who would martyr themselves, prompting a young man who was eating dates to throw them away and rush to his death.

Sahih Muslim (20:4655) - A man asks Muhammad "which of men is the best?" Muhammad replies that it is the man who is always ready for battle and flies into it "seeking death at places where it can be expected." (The next most saintly man in Islam is the hermit who lives in isolation "sparing men from his mischief.")

Sahih Muslim (20:4681) - "Surely, the gates of Paradise are under the shadows of the swords."After hearing Muhammad say that martyrdom leads to paradise, a young man pulls his sword and breaks the sheath (indicating that he

has no intention of returning) then flings himself into battle until he is killed. The Shaheed is granted seven special favors from All'ah.

he is forgiven (his sins) at the drop of his blood. He sees his place in Paradise. He is dressed in the clothes of "Iman". He is married to the Hoor al-Ain (beautiful women of Paradise). He is saved from the great fear of the Day of Judgment. A crown of honor will be placed on his head, one jewel of which is better than the whole world and what it contains. He is married to seventy-two of Hoor al-Ain(beautiful women of Paradise) and he will be able to intercede for seventy members of his family." [Sahih - Related by Ahmed, at- Tirmidhi and Ibn Hibbaan]

XV) Apostates are to be killed.

Qur'an: Surat Al Anfal, verse 49 "They wish that you should reject faith as they reject faith, and then you would be equal; therefore take not to yourselves friends of them, until they emigrate in the way of God; then, if they turn their backs, take them, and slay them wherever you find them; take not to yourselves any one of them as friend or helper."

Sahih Bukhari (52:260) - "…The Prophet said, 'If somebody (a Muslim) discards his religion, kill him.' "

Sahih Bukhari (83:37) - "All'ah's Apostle never killed anyone except in one of the following three situations: (1) A person who killed somebody unjustly, was killed (in Qisas,) (2) a married person who committed illegal sexual intercourse and (3) a man who fought against All'ah and His Apostle and deserted Islam and became an apostate."

NB: This does not include those who All'ah's apostle ordered killed by others. For example, after the battle of Khyber, Kanana the chief of the Quraysh tribe was tortured to extract from him information of treasure hidden, and thereafter was summarily executed. Likewise, a woman who served the Prophet poisoned goat-meat was cut to pieces and killed on direct orders of the Prophet. There are numerous other examples.

Sahih Bukhari (84:57) - [In the words of] "Allah's Apostle, 'Whoever changed his Islamic religion, then kill him.'"

Sahih Bukhari (84:64-65) - "Allah's Apostle: 'During the last days there will appear some young foolish people who will say the best words but their faith will not go beyond their throats (i.e. they will have no faith) and will go out from (leave) their religion as an arrow goes out of the game. So, wherever you find them, kill them, for whoever kills them shall have reward on the Day of Resurrection." (This Hadis is more extensive and onerous than it appears

because it is not limited to apostates, but covers also all those who say they believe in Islam but do not put their religion into practice.)

Sahih Bukhari (11:626) - "The Prophet said, 'No prayer is harder for the hypocrites than the Fajr and the 'Isha' prayers and if they knew the reward for these prayers at their respective times, they would certainly present themselves (in the mosques) even if they had to crawl.'

The Prophet added, 'Certainly I decided to order the Mu'adh-dhin (call-maker) to pronounce Iqama and order a man to lead the prayer and then take a fire flame to burn all those who had not left their houses so far for the prayer along with their houses'."

Al-Muwatta of Imam Malik (36.18.15) - "The Messenger of Allah said, "If someone changes his religion - then strike off his head."

There is also a consensus by all four schools of Sunni Islamic jurisprudence (i.e., Maliki, Hanbali, Hanafi, and Shafii), as well as classical Shiite jurists, that apostates from Islam must be put to death. The process of declaring a person to be an apostate is known as takfir and the apostate is called a murtad.

Averroes (d. 1198), the renowned philosopher and scholar of the natural sciences, who was also an important Maliki jurist, provided this typical Muslim legal opinion on the punishment for apostasy:

"An apostate...is to be executed by agreement in the case of a man, because of the words of the Prophet, 'Slay those who change their din [religion]'...Asking the apostate to repent was stipulated as a condition...prior to his execution."

The contemporary (i.e., 1991) Al-Azhar (Cairo) Islamic Research Academy endorsed manual of Islamic Law, Umdat al-Salik (pp. 595-96) states: "Leaving Islam is the ugliest form of unbelief (kufr) and the worst.... When a person who has reached puberty and is sane voluntarily apostasizes from Islam, he deserves to be killed. In such a case, it is obligatory...to ask him to repent and return to Islam. If he does it is accepted from him, but if he refuses, he is immediately killed."

NB: It is an Extremist Islamic belief that, all humans at birth are born Muslims, some remain Muslims, some leave Islam but revert to Islam, but some remain apostates and all apostates are liable to the penalty for apostasy.

XVI) A later revealed verse abrogates and supersedes an earlier verse.

The verses 2:106 and 16:101 of the Quran are known as the "Verses of Abrogation".

Quran: Surat Al Baqurah, verse 106: "Any revelation We cause to be superseded or forgotten, We replace with something better or similar. Do you

[Prophet] not know that God has power over everything? When We substitute one revelation for another, – and Allah knows best what He reveals (in stages),– they say, "Thou art but a forger": but most of them understand not.

Quran: Surat   Al Hajj , verse 52: And we did not send before you any messenger or prophet except that when he spoke (or recited), Satan threw into it (some misunderstanding). But All'ah abolishes that which Satan throws in; then All'ah makes precise His verses. And All'ah is Knowing and Wise".

The doctrine of "Al Nasikh wa Al Mansukh", i.e. abrogation and abrogated, is crucial, as in the interpretation of the Quranic commandments on the basis of this doctrine. As many as 536 verses of the Quran, revealed in the early period of the Prophet in Mecca, get abrogated and with that abrogation goes much of the benign and syncretic content of the Quran according to the Extremist narrators.

The 11th century Muslim scholar Makki bin Abi Talib, e.g. stated that, a single verse, Quran 9.5 abrogated "all pardoning, amnesty and forgiveness" that Muslims had been asked to show to non-Muslims by chronologically earlier corresponding Quranic verses.

This claim of abrogation of tolerance because of the "Verse of the Sword", (Q.9.5) has been referred to by terrorist organizations and jihadists and to justify and instigate atrocities against non-Muslims.

Similarly, the Narrative enjoins, citing Quranic authority and practice according to Sunna, that:

I. Women are inferior and a weaker sex.

II. Women are like tilth owned by men to go into (use, treat) as they like.

III. Testimony of women is of only half the evidentiary value as that of men.

IV. Married women, if disobedient may be admonished, "left to a bed apart", or scourged by the husband.

V. Married women may be divorced by men at any time by the husband, without assigning any reason.

VI. Men may be polygamous and have slaves without limit on numbers.

VII. Men may marry women or girl children without any minimum age limit for the girls.

VIII. Men may enslave, purchase, obtain, retain, slave women or girl children without limit on number, or minimum age.

IX. The inheritance of women shall be half that of men.

Each of the above has basis in the Qur'an and in Islamic Jurisprudence

derived from the Qur'an.

The subjugation and commodification of women and girl children is part and parcel of the effort to excite the baser instincts of men and induce them to enlist as activists and participate in extremist actions.

Certain other Violent Acts Claimed by Extremists to be Valid on account of Precedents set by the Prophet

It is commonplace to see reference in extremist literature to the Sira of the Prophet in order to authorize certain acts of extreme violence to be performed, or to justify and validate such acts already performed. Thus, decapitations of prisoners, their burning alive, throwing victims to the ground from a great height, flogging and scourging to death with strokes of a stick or horse-whip, stoning, burial alive, amputation of limbs, slashing of throats, are all practices of extremists that they claim are validated by precedents in the Sira.

Similarly, attacking the enemy during the holy month of Ramadan is declared valid on the precedent set by the Prophet when he attacked the Quraysh settlement at Khyber during the 19th month after the Hijra during Ramadan, and he conquered Mecca during Ramadan.

Likewise, agreeing to a ceasefire and a treaty to maintain peace for ten years but violating it within three years to attack and defeat the enemy, was a precedent set by the Prophet according to extremists, as the Prophet had arrived at the Treaty of Hudaybiyya but unilaterally revoked it later.

This precedent was cited by Yasser Arafat when he was questioned as to what considerations underlay his agreeing to the Oslo Accords.

Extremist Narrative Resonates especially with Young and Impressionable Minds in Muslim Communities Worldwide

It is unsurprising that the Extremist narrative developed drawing on Islamic Scripture and history resonates with its target audience. Techsavvy Terrorism and Extremism has become a defining feature of the 21st C.

The fact that Ulama around the world are unable to construct authentic refutations of the narrative with citations from the scriptures is indicative that none such is feasible. That is the predicament.

Many renowned Ulama state that Islam viewed on the basis of its most sacrosanct scriptures, does indeed lend itself to be viewed as the foundation and basis for supremacist, violent, extremist, attitudes and actions.

The countervailing argument attempted, based on benign verses in the Qur'an and humane and compassionate actions of the Prophet, record of which also exists, proves insufficient for two broad reasons. First, because of the dictum

of Al Nasikh wa Al Mansukh (Abrogation and Abrogated) referred to earlier in the paper; and second because many of the verses in the Qur'an, enjoin humane and compassionate attitudes and actions on the part of pious Muslims towards not non-Muslims, disbelievers and apostates, but exclusively towards Muslims only.

Here too learned Ulama are unable substantively to refute the extremist inferences, as the evidence supporting the extremists' narrative is very substantial. Thus the stands taken by pacifists and advocates of peace, love, and non-violence in Islam, like Badshah Khan (Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan) and a number of Sufi thinkers and poets, are dismissed by extremists as having scant scriptural basis.

This is a troubling situation indeed, but one that must be comprehended correctly to be dealt with expediently.

As Afghanistan's cerebral President, Mohammad Ashraf Ghani said insightfully at the UN General Assembly on September 19, 2017:

"In today's ever-changing world, the dominant contextual characteristic defining our times is extreme uncertainty. It is easy to illustrate this uncertainty by looking at threats we are facing to our economies, our security, and our values. Sixteen years after the tragedy of September 11, the threat of violence by state and non-state actors has taken the form of a Fifth Wave of political violence. Driven by transnational terrorist networks, criminal organizations, cyber-crime and state sponsorship of terror, this Fifth Wave promises to be a decades-long threat to international security rather than a passing phenomenon."

Extremist Proselitization, - with its stated ultimate goal of global domination and imposition of Shari'ah worldwide, intermediate aim of prolific violent attacks internationally, and proximate objective of intensive radicalization, Jehad Fi Sabilill'ah to attain all three being simultaneous - is an existential threat that cannot be underestimated.

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During a period of endemic political turbulence in the country, and four changes of government at the Centre, Sohoni was Secretary to the President of India/Visitor of Central Universities including the IITs, and Secretary-General of the Rajya Sabha, having previously served as Additional Secretary in the President's Secretariat and of the Rajya Sabha, and Secretary to the Governor of Maharashtra.

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A student of Comparative Religion, especially Islam, history of Islam, and connected trends and entities, Sohoni's current focus is on the problem of Islamic Extremism/Terrorism, and the organization of State and Civil Society approaches for purposes of Countering Extremism/Terrorism.

Computerized Weapons

 Dr. Deepak Shikarpur

With transformation in times, warfare techniques have also undergone a sea change. The days of insisting that a weapon must conventionally appear like a weapon are also passé. The present age stands for the use of accurate and effective electronic gadgets and above all micro technology. In the past fifty years we have witnessed how incredibly magical gadgets, invented from the combination of the two are being actually used. This is the scenario in our day to day life. But strategies of war are always a few steps ahead of common life. As mentioned elsewhere, it is a fact that techniques employed in war strategies become outdated after a couple of years and the same are transferred to the common man's sphere. The Drone plane is one such example. It is a plane which is remotely controlled and is operated without a pilot. These same drones which during the last decade were used to attack dangerous locations with rockets, now deliver pizzas and books to people's homes.

Wars, currently being fought between Iran-Iraq, Syria-Jordan, etc. demonstrate the use of new technology. The Israel- Palestine region has been perpetually engaged in war. We have witnessed the success in technology which Israel has achieved in the areas from agriculture to tourism. Therefore one can say with certainty that Israel's army as well intelligence agencies (MOSSAD) cannot be exceptions to technological excellence. A few years ago Israel had prepared robotic reptiles and placed them in enemy territories .This snake is an exact replica of the original. Its head is actually a camera. It moves around military and other strategically important places, transmits photographs of these locations, slithers by the roadside or across grass and returns. At

present Israel has prepared electronic, computerized, remote controlled butterflies. The Hamas activists have claimed to have caught such butterflies on the wing across the Gaza strip. Pigeons fitted with small cameras are yet used for the purpose of spying. But the use of butterflies is more effective because being as small as a tiny bird in size it can enter rooms through windows, make a quick survey and return in a matter of seconds. It is possible, that besides being equipped with a GPS system, the butterfly is also fitted with face recognition software. The butterflies which were caught by the Hamas contained pictures of missing Israeli soldiers and prisoners of war.

ISRAELI, COMPUTERIZED, REMOTE CONTROLLED RECONNAISSANCE BUTTERFLY

We have read in this book about how cyber-terrorists as well as other extremists have misused computer technology. During the past ten years even though cyber warfare has reached the door steps of the common man in one way or the other, conventional warfare using real weapons, yet continues, unabatedly

Israeli, computerized, remote controlled reconnaissance butterfly

.Today ,the traditional weapons which were operated mechanically are made more accurate and effective with the help of electronic ,computer and satellite based technology. This is applicable to ships which carry aircrafts, tanks and such other equipment.

In this chapter let us concentrate on hand-held weapons used by individuals and operated physically. In a

Amatics Digital Revolver:

M 32 Multiple Grenade Launcher:

way, isn't the individual's role important while conducting cyber wars?

America of course is among those selected nations of the world whose defence budget is very large. America's military budget for 2012 was a whooping seven hundred seventy billion dollars which is more than the entire GDP of even some of the affluent countries. How is all this money spent? While a large part of this amount is spent on American soldiers deployed all over the world, a negligible amount (a hundred billion dollars!) is used up for developing new weapons. Let us remind ourselves that India also is among those countries which spend large amounts on defense readiness such as Germany, Russia, The United Kingdom, China and others.

AMATICS DIGITAL REVOLVER

Many of us have watched the James Bond movie 'Skyfall' in which the revolver given to him by 'Q' was of this kind. Even if the enemy soldier trains the revolver on Bond, it does not fire because the gun can operate only after recognizing Bond's fingerprints. The Amatics revolver gets a few steps ahead because besides being operated on 'finger print authorization' it can even be controlled with the help of the authorized person's wrist watch. The watch as well as the revolver is fitted with a complex, analytical digital mechanism. The gun responds to commands from the clock for locking and unlocking, by turning on a red light or a green one respectively.

M 32 MULTIPLE GRENADE LAUNCHER

This is a semi- automatic launcher which can release six grenades (bombs) of a circumference of forty millimeters each within six seconds (eighteen bombs per minute). It can even launch a parachute attached grenade

XM 25 Smart Grenade Launcher

Magpul FMG 9

of the HUNTIR type in the air. This grenade can rise to a height of three hundred metres (quite a height) in the enemy territory. After reaching this altitude the parachute opens and until it hits the ground and explodes it shoots pictures of the enemy territory and sends it to the screen fitted on the launcher as well as the computerized controls behind it, in real time. This helps to decide the exact location of the targets .This does not end here- further after analysing the information obtained from the camera a grenade called Hell hound is fired from the launcher. After a terrible explosion every bit in that area is completely ruined thereby illustrating the military motto, 'seek and destroy'. It is believed that America has made use of this in Iraq.

XM 25 SMART GRENADE LAUNCHER:

This grenade launcher is equipped with a special feature. One can fire four shells with a diameter of twenty five millimeters at a time up to a distance of half a mile and the time when it should explode can be pre-decided. This means that if the first grenade is able to topple the wall of a room the subsequent shells can enter the room –and the explosion timed after a few seconds. This helps in totally destroying the target. If you remember the last few minutes of the film called 'Independence Day', you will realize the importance of the technique of delayed or staggered explosion. In addition to this, the launcher is equipped with various aiming sites, lasers and sensors. America has used MX 25 during its operations in Afghanistan.

MAGPUL FMG 9:

FMG means folding machine gun. It can be folded and resembles a laptop battery. This machine gun is specially designed for the American secret service

Matador Rocket Launcher

and can fire a clip of thirty bullets of nine millimeters each in a short while. In spite of its tiny size, it is equipped with auto-sear technique and tactile lights. It is sleek enough to fit inside a coat or trouser pocket.

MATADOR ROCKET LAUNCHER:

We know that the battles are no longer restricted to the battle fields. They have reached our homes. Numerous instances of use of fire arms in thickly populated areas and narrow gullies are aired in the news bulletins. The arms manufacturers have also realized the changes that have come over. The Matador Rocket Launcher is the most recent example of such an adaptation. It is designed only for the purpose of destroying walls. It can be easily moved and operated even in very constricted spaces because of its sleekness. The recoil after the rocket is launched is minimal. Like the MX 25 the time of explosion can be pre-decided and the detonation of the second and third rocket can be sequentially deferred.

DR DEEPAK SHIKARPUR

Dr. Deepak Shikarpur is an IT Engineer with a global repute. He was a scholar student since childhood and was a Rank Holder with Distinction for Bachelor of Engineering program. He has obtained post graduate diploma in management and Doctorate (PhD) in the field of his profession – Information Technology. He was working in the Tata group for 16 years and then became a Technopreneur. His profession spheres over Directorship with several Global Information Technology companies and academic institutions. He is past chairman of computer society of India and Chairman of the Computer Literacy Task Force and member Executive Committee of MCCIA (Mahratta Chamber of Commerce industries and agriculture . He has been appointed as National Board member of recently

Constituted IT Board by All India Council of Technical Education for a 3 year term. Hon Hon Chief Minister Devenedraji Fadanvis has appointed him as a member of Advisory body (Chief Minister Transformation Council) for the state of Maharashtra.

Hon. Vice Chancellor of Yashwantrao Chavan Maharashtra Open University has appointed him as Member of Academic Council from 2014-17.. He is member of the governing body of Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan , Pune center. He is an Hon. Fellow of Maharashtra Academy of Science, Computer Society of India and an Hon. Fellow of Institution of Engineers . On 3rd January 2016 policy paper written by him on eWaste management was released by Hon Environment Minister .

Book Review of "This Brave New World" Authored By Anja Manuel

Milind R.Paranjpe

In this new comprehensive study Ms Anja Manuel, former US Department of State official responsible for South Asia, has summed up the comparison of China and India covering wide range of aspects from their recent history responsible for their existing structure, economic progress with disparities, corruption, population growth, pollution control, how the two nations are managing discontent, their investments in third countries, their influence on other countries particularly their neighbours to their militaries and strategies.

The author has dealt with each aspect chapter by chapter. The politburo members of the Chinese Communist party are not elected but selected by outgoing members. A Chinese entrepreneur openly said at a forum "In China, laws are devised for the benefit of the monopolies and go contrary to nature. And that makes them bad laws." 'Although its democracy gives India resilience, it needs to improve governance and basic services for all its citizens to be a strong, confident world player and a democratic counterweight to China.'

Even with a slowing economy, China created 13 million jobs in 2014 while India struggled to achieve barely 1 million. 'In light of competition from other cheap labour countries like Bangladesh and Vietnam, India will need a miracle to turn itself into a manufacturing powerhouse.' Chinese investment in the US created more than 80,000 direct jobs. Indian investment created more than 400,000 jobs in the US. The US, of course, creates many more in both countries. India spends only 1 percent on health care to China's 3 and the US' 8.1 percent. Only 2 percent Indians had bank accounts. Modi increased it by 200 million. Author has narrated examples of corruption in both countries and her own experience with a middle level official in Ministry of science and technology in Delhi. The USA (and the UK) has enacted law prohibiting their companies giving bribes even in third countries. Anna Hazare's fasts worked
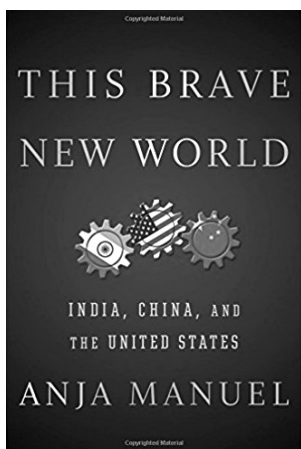
This Brave New World: India, China, and the United States by Anja Manuel, Simon & Schuster 350 pp, $27, May 10, 2016.

bottom upwards and though his *Jan Lokpal* bill is still not passed, was at least part reason for downfall of Congress Government. Corrupt Govt officials and local bureaucrats demanded "commissions" from workers who had to travel to taluka towns to claim their rightful pensions, daily wages or other dues. She has extensively covered Aadhaar card's benefits to poor people who can now collect their dues simply by going to corner kirana, show Adhar card, scan fingerprints and pay only Rs 10 fee. The US Government, she has suggested, should assist both countries. While junior Indian civil servants welcome American help, seniors want "Americans to keep their nose out of this and in any case, there is no corruption India".

'The graying of China may be the most important obstacle to China becoming a stable, relatively affluent, middle income country.' 'By 2030 almost 70 percent Indians will be of working age. This demographic dividend may add 2 percent to GDP provided they get proper education and jobs. 'India is far behind in this epic challenge.' Though not like the US' social security, China has a nascent and small pension system, whereas India has nothing. According to her "Traditional US universities are eager to help fill India's education gap but India's license raj deters most American institutions from working there. These are non contentious topics where there are many positive ways for the US, India and China to collaborate."

70 per cent Chinese women work outside their homes compared to only 25 pct in India thus contributing more to their country's human capital stock. Rape is far less likely in China than in India so much so that when questioned about fear of rape, Chinese women were nonplussed. Author has mentioned in detail the 'Gulabi Gang' of North India formed to fight violence against women. Chinese women also fare better in their homes than Indian women who face far more domestic violence.

The environmental problems in both countries are massive. Coal is the culprit. Air pollution in China is so bad that not only Japan and S.Korea have complained, but the US west coast is affected by pollutants as well. Some wealthy Chinese are moving out of the country to avoid exposing children to the constant smog. After India-US civilian nuclear deal, India can build carbon free reactors with latest safety features to generate enough electricity to power four cities the size of New York. It will reduce carbon emission by 130 million tons each year. It is not implemented

because of dispute over liability law. Inevitably, the author describes the pathos of Varanasi ghats accompanied by a photograph with a caption 'Pilgrims bathing next to a burning corpse on the Ganges River in Varanasi.' 'China, the undisputed world leader in renewable energy invested $ 110.5 billion in all renewable technologies. The US was a distant second at $56 billion and India managed only a paltry $ 10.9b.'

Freedom of press and expression is restricted in China to such an extent that today only a few of the new generation have even vaguely heard about the Tiananmen Square massacre. 'China has two million employs (emphasis added) just to monitor the internet. Leaders of public protests, even small, routinely get long prison sentences. Dissidents 'disappear' into the vast network of internal security apparatus without formal trial. Nobel laureate Liu Xiabao is serving an eleven year sentence for co-authoring a pro-democracy manifesto. In India protests happen because they are part of essence of India - it is a functioning democracy.' Still India ranks 80 out of 199 (China 186) in press freedom, partly because of violence against journalists. The author writes (relying on BBC), *"In 2014 in Srinagar, Indian police reportedly threw rocks at journalists covering political demonstrations."* This statement sounds questionable because police, in every state, are state employs, (emphasis added in both cases) not of Central government. Most western authors and journalists often fail to make this important distinction. Still, this action by even Kashmir (or any other state) police, if true, must be investigated.

Ms Manuel calls India's aid to neighbouring countries altruistic because it is not linked to political objectives eg parliament building in Kabul and assistance rendered during 2004 tsunami. 'It is at the heart of India's cultural values.' China invested $249 billion abroad compared to America's $337 billion and India's $10 b. It benefits Chinese companies commercially. China has no scruples either, it invests even in nations which are world's outcasts. India's aid promotes democracy. The author calls India's worry correct that "China has a hidden agenda to use its influence over some of India's neighbours to gain a military foothold in the Indian Ocean." Her title to the chapter 'The New Mercantilists' itself suggests that it is not aid but commercial investment with intention of some return, in cash or kind. The much talked 'One Belt, One Road' initiative gives loans, not grant.

'China is flagrantly violating many of its WTO obligations. India is not violating … but it plays a spoiler role. By refusing to take on its key domestic agricultural constituency, it helped kill the latest Doha round of trade negotiations for the entire world'. International commerce treaties acronymed TPP, RCEP, FTAAP are explained showing how India, China and the US will lose unless all three join them and co-operate. Further, unhappy with World Bank, IMF and ADB, China has launched Asian Industrial Infrastructure Bank (AIIB) and BRICS their own Development

Bank. "Unless we (the US) reshape outdated postwar institutions, India and China will ignore or leave them". China contributed 5 percent of UN budget whereas India a paltry 0.6 percent. 'India occasionally moderates Beijing's behaviour on the world stage therefore, US should want India to have more clout on the international scene. Her statement "UN diplomats say that Indian peacekeepers (also those from other countries) stay idle in their camps while the civilians they are sworn to protect are killed" if factual, is a serious matter.

When during the summit in 2014 President Xi met Modi, Chinese troops forcibly entered the border. Modi cautioned Xi: "Even such small incidents can impact the biggest of relationships, just as a little toothache can paralyze the entire body." It appears China always chooses such occasions for mischiefs. When the US defense secretary Robert Gates visited Beijing, Chinese J-20 stealth fighter rolled out. Author has called it deliberate insult of Gates. As per Chinese government, it spends $140 B. on defense every year but according to SIPRI, an independent think tank, it is $ 216 B compared to India's $ 40B. China feels insecure because it has no friends. Its relations with neighbours are tense, if not hostile. Number of ships in the Chinese navy is much more but by some experts Indians have better quality. She has suggested the US, India and the like minded countries should be clear about what lines should not be crossed. Military exercises should include China. Third, the US, India and others should speak to the Chinese military on every conceivable issue.

Ms Manuel thinks that the US appears terrified of China and largely ignorant of the importance of India. She has offered some ideas. Militaries of the US, India and China should hold joint exercises. "Rules of the Road" for cyberwarfare should be created. On the economic side, China and India should accept open investments and trade regimes like TPP (Trans Pacific Partnership). All three should cooperate. Civil nuclear deal, piracy at sea and climate change are some examples. Overall, the author has given a fair treatment to India's democratic institutions and exposed China's authoritarian system which is inherently brittle, 'capable of shattering with one unexpected shock'.

Captain Milind R. Paranjpe

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

Empowerment of Persons with Disability : A Contributing Factor of National Security

Major General (Dr) Vijay P Pawar, AVSM, VSM (Retd)

"No society can boast of providing human rights in a significant manner without empowering the persons with disability."

- R Ramar & R T Shivaraman

INTRODUCTION

1. One of the concerns of today is the population of disabled persons whom we come across all over. In most of the cases these persons themselves are not responsible for their individual state – either they are born with the disability or they become disabled because of acts beyond their control. There is a need to identify the people with disability and do our best to bring them into the main stream so that they are able to lead a normal life.

2. Disability in Persons is a world wide phenomena. More than 10 to 12 percent of the world's population is said to be in this category. Disability is more in developing countries than in developed countries and to some extent co - related to poverty. Categories of ailments that fall in the box of disability are defined by Nations differently and there is no uniformity in this the world over. Disability in persons has a world Signia and it is given due attention to assist affected persons to rise and become part of the common population.

3. Impairment causes disability which may be physical, cognitive, mental, sensory, emotional, developmental or a combination of these. World Health Organisation dictates - " Disability is an umbrella term, covering impairment, activity limitations and participation restrictions. An impairment is a problem in body function or structure; an activity limitation is a difficulty encountered by an individual in executing a task or action; while a participation restriction is a problem experienced by an individual in involvement in life situations. Thus, disability is a complex phenomenon, reflecting an interaction between features of a person's body and features of the society in which he or she lives".

4. The problem identified is how a person with disability can come into the main stream so that he / she is on one's own feet by motivation, appropriate care and education, correct rehabilitation training, appropriate placement for work so that he / she is able to earn a living not only for own self but could cater to the needs of the dependents. The questions that arise are - are we identifying the less fortunate correctly, how are they being trained, are there adequate facilities and properly educated persons for them to be trained, what is the job opportunity for them and in general, can they become a part of us to grow in their career and is the Government , the private sector and the NGOs doing adequately for persons with disability.

The Scenario

5. In 2012 the World Health Organisation had estimated that the World population as 6.5 billion and its 10 % population, 650 million, are people with disabilities. Although a developed country, USA has categorized 19 % of its population in the category of PWD (Persons with Disability). In India we are working on a very small figure of 2.2% of our population of PWDs even when we agree on the point that disability has direct relations with poverty and developed / not so developed countries. To our world population the recent wars have also added a large number of PWDs like more than eight million Europeans have been permanently disabled in World Wars I and II. In Vietnam alone 1,50000 were wounded of which 21000 became permanently disabled. More than 80000 Afghans have missing limbs. Australia claims 18.5% of their population with disabilities as per their 2009 survey. Our day to day accidents and casualties are also increasing the figures of persons with disabilities. The figures of PWDs all over the World are thus large and need care and due attention.

6. In India so far we have strictly gone by "The Gazette Of India published on 01 Jan 1996 – " The persons with Disabilities (Equal Opportunities, Protection of Rights and Full Participation) Act, 1995, and Persons with Disability Act 1995

(peculiar to Maharashtra State) to identify a person with disability. Till recently, in India, only seven ailments were considered towards disability i.e. Blindness, Low Vision, Leprosy Cured, Hearing Impaired, Locomotor Disability or Physical Disability, Mental Retardation and Mental Illness , but now the parliament has accepted 21 ailments under the subject of disability. The disability has to be 40% or more for a person to be qualified to be a PWD by definition. The census of 2001 has indicated that PWDs in India are 2.2% of the total population, however WHO has commented that the figures in India ought to be more than 2% and anywhere around 10% as the World average is between 10 to 12 %. With increased number of ailments accepted towards disability, figures of PWDs in India would also rise. The collected extract of figures, based on census 2011 on disability indicate that the Indian figures are worrisome, also as these are increasing year by year and need to be paid attention to. The data given in the next few tables and figures , taken from 'Census of India 2011 : Disabled population' is self explanatory and highlights a large number of problem of PWDs in India.

PWDs in India – an Overview

Residence	Persons	Males	Females
Total	2,68,10,557	1,49,86,202	1,18,24,355
Rural	1,86,31,921	1,04,08,168	82,23,753
Urban	81,78,636	45,78,034	36,00,602

Table 1 - Disabled Population by Sex and Residence India, 2011

Disabled Population by Type of Disability India : 2011

Type of Disability	Persons	Males	Females
Total	2,68,10,557	1,49,86,202	1,18,24,355
In Seeing	50,32,463	26,38,516	23,93,947
In Hearing	50,71,007	26,77,544	23,93,463
In Speech	19,98,535	11,22,896	8,75,639
In Movement	54,36,604	33,70,374	20,66,230
Mental Retardation	15,05,624	8,70,708	6,34,916
Mental Illness	7,22,826	4,15,732	3,07,094
Any Other	49,27,011	27,27,828	21,99,183
	21,16,487	11,62,604	9,53,883

Table 2 - Disabled Population by Type of Disability India : 2011

Proportion of Disabled Population by Residence India : 2001-11
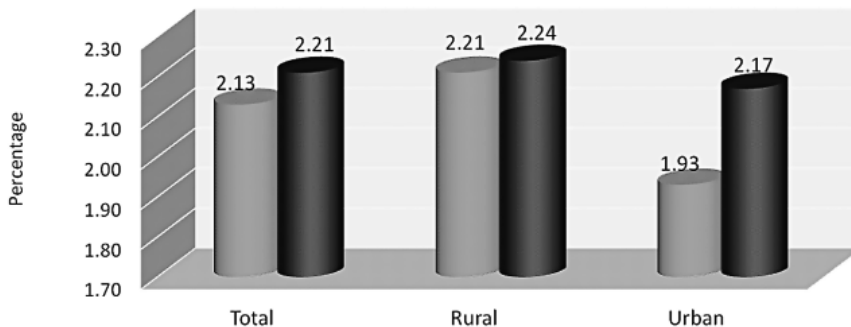
Fig. 1 - Disabled Population by Sex in India : 2001-2011
- Percentage of disabled persons in India has increased both in rural and urban areas during the last decade.
- Proportion of disabled population is higher in rural areas
- Decadal increase in proportion is significant in urban areas

Proportion of Disabled Population in the Respective Age Groups India : 2011

Age Group	Persons (%)	Males (%)	Females (%)
All Ages	2.21	2.41	2.01
0-4	1.14	1.18	1.11
5-9	1.54	1.63	1.44
10-19	1.82	1.96	1.67
20-29	1.97	2.22	1.70
30-39	2.09	2.41	1.77
40-49	2.31	2.66	1.94
50-59	2.83	3.16	2.47
60-69	4.15	4.41	3.89
70-79	6.22	6.26	6.19
80-89	8.41	8.33	8.48
90+	8.40	7.88	8.85
Age Not Stated	3.07	3.21	2.91

Table 3 - Proportion of Disabled Population in the Respective Age Groups , India, 2011

6. The following emerges out of the above details reproduced of the Census –
    (a) In India, with a population of over 1.23 billion, there are a large number of PWDs to count and taken care. We are considering only 2.2% of our population with disability as against world average of more than 10% - the problem in India is much bigger than being looked at today.
    (b) The number of PWDs are increasing every year and the overall increase in 10 years has been 22.4% i.e. almost 2.2% each year. We need to cater for the growing population of the PWDs.
    (c) Number of Males (55.8 %) are more than the Females (44.2) in the category of PWDs.
    (d) There are more number of PWDs in Rural areas than the Urban areas but this ratio changes when the PWDs in hearing and seeing categories are only considered.

(e) In the age groups of over 70 years the PWDs are about 45% and the remainder up to the age 70 years the number of PWDs work out to 55% of the total PWDs. All this has Human Resource and Management implications.

(f) The maximum number of persons with disabilities are those impaired for movement, seeing and hearing.

(g) Table 3 above indicates that in the working age group of 20 to 60 years 7.88% of India's population is in the category of PWDs. If compulsory employment (reservation for PWDs) for all is pitched at 8% in all private and government offices we would do much better to look after all our persons with disability. Today it is at 2% reservations in Government jobs only and the Corporates have been untouched.

(h) There is a slight increase in disability among both the sexes over the decade. Decadal Increase in proportion is higher among females

THE PAST AND THE PRESENT

7. Considering the needs for the large number of persons with disabilities, it is needed to study them with specifics in mind. While reading and observing our PWDs it has been very commonly observed that in India, they have been kept at the periphery of the society. For a long time they were considered a curse for the parents and the society. The Government and the community did not include them within the sphere of their responsibility. In the poorer section of the population the parent perforce had to live with them with their meager resources mostly with minimum level of care and upbringing until their children died of some disease or any other infection. In the more affluent sections, how ever , the financial resources of the families were allocated for their maintenance , care and regular education. Some more fortunate ones had a keeper to look after their needs. Usually most of them were taken to holy men and elders to remove the curse and cure them to near normal life so that they do not remain a burden to the society and the family.

8. The last and present century attitudes to disorders have undergone a change. The abnormality has received recognition as a disease in need of help from doctors and physiologists to reduce the intensity of abnormality. Schools for Special Children, Mental Asylums and Hospitals have been created only for the less fortunate. The disabled have attracted attention and sympathy. Special schools were started after identifying the level of disability particularly in Children. Persons with disability are considered to have a different ability, the sixth sense

and that needs to be identified and exploited and that is being well understood. With such advancement of need and science persons with physical disability, deaf, dumb and blind have now received greater attention from the Non Government Organisations (NGOs) and social welfare bodies. Since 1995, favourable laws have been enacted for the weak persons in India.

9. The draft Gazette 2014 concerning Disability is a landmark decision of our Government. Though the actual implementation of the new Gazette, in full, may take some time the fact that we will be able to identify our PWDs correctly will be achieved. We would now have 21 categories of PWDs instead of seven and there are also many positive aspects needed to be looked into for the PWDs that have been covered in the Gazette . The current Gazette of 1995 was to be applicable for 15 years and so the new Gazette was long due and is welcomed today.

THE WAY AHEAD

10. The Government, the Corporate , we the Public and PWDs can work together to bring a big change towards empowerment of the weaker section in question . The following recommendations must be implemented –

   (a) Generate Special Data Base for use in Government Offices, by public and NGOs . Although this can start immediately to cover every street, area, city, Tehsil, District, commissioner ate and State to gather information on the persons with varied disability, the best period will also be the 2021 Census. This is necessary also because of the scope of disability increase due to the publication of the new Gazette. The need is to pen down details of each and every person with disability so that these persons can be taken care of by a number of organisations looking forward to do so.

   (b) Women with disabilities still remain behind curtains. Studies have revealed that women in villages and cities are still hiding with disabilities for many reasons. They would need more support and exposure.

   (c) Educational and Training Centers. There is a need to open more special training centers to give vocational training with better facilities. The   training facilities should be in villages towns and near to the localities of the affected persons.

   (d) Information dissemination. Awareness programmes related to PWDs and their training must be more effective and frequent. The programmes should be made public using all types of media and not only the affected but all must

know of these. There is a need to increase general awareness of public about 'disability' as a subject.

(e) Type of training for Rehabilitation. Emphasis must be given on training PWDs on semi skilled, routine or highly skilled jobs but with least physical movement involved as studies have indicated that PWDs do not prefer any job which has physical movement.

(f) Counselling Centers. Counselling centers must be available near villages. Counselling also must be possible on related subjects to the PWDs by use of Toll Free numbers for the purpose.

(g) Motivation and Support to PWDs. This must be given to PWDs by all – society, associated members of affected persons, private organisations, corporates and the Government. 63% Successful employees in the category of PWDs have relied on parents, 46% on job coaches, 17% on friends and neighbours and 8% on co - workers. More successful persons of the weak category have stayed at home with parents for their education. Importance of motivation and support to PWDs and value of family / society is thus emphasized.

(h) Monitory Support to the PWDs. There is a clear link between poverty and disability – 'Integrated National Disability Strategy White Paper 1997'. Poverty occurs because of disability and disability reinforces and deepens poverty. sustained isolation, inability of the elders to go out and work as they have to be with their wards, less money to look after persons with problems are the few reasons. Monetary support is essential for PWDs. Central and State governments need to do more for the PWDs. Need to have more focus on fulfilling the basic needs of PWDs – applying   the Maslow's hierarchy rule.

(i) Vocational Training (VT). PWDs must be put through VT. It is an investment in Human Capital. The cost of investment is covered by return and boosting of GDP. VT will help with skills to earn employment. There are no barriers for persons with disability to become entrepreneurs. There is a need to join the NAP (National Action Plan) along with PWDs to create 22 Lac skilled by 2022 – the aim of our present Government.

The Final Word

11.   There are a large number of measures of a Nation's Security e.g. National Economy, Development of Science and Industry of the Nation, Foreign Policy and country's International Relations, the Internal Governance of the Country, the Military Might of the Nation, feel good factor of the Human Resource and so on. A well regulated and trained Human Resource of any country would always be an asset of a nation.

12.   Our PWDs are contributing in a remarkable manner. They are today toppers in competitive examinations and they have even got us a few Gold Medals in the last Para – Olympics. There is a need to empower our PWDs by bringing them into the main stream and providing them the right type of vocational training. Thus their dependency on able bodies will reduce and they will get a chance to contribute more. This would even improve our Nation's GDP.

13.   With all the attachment and the empathy that we have for the PWDs , one cannot abstain quoting an incident that took place and witnessed by many – most may read this again but it is as follows - quote –

" Eight (8) boys were standing on a track for racing. The distance to be covered was just 150 M. ' Ready !   Steady !   Bang !'. With sound of Pistol / Gun all boys started running. Hardly had they covered 10 to 15 steps about 20 M , when one (1) boy slipped and fell. He started crying due to pain.

When other seven (7) Boys heard him, all of them STOPPED running. STOOD for a while, turned BACK & RAN towards him. All the seven (7) Boys LIFTED the Boy who had fallen down, pacified him, joined hands together, walked together and reached the WINNING Post.

Officials were shocked. Many eyes were filled with tears. It happened at Pune (India). What did they teach ? Teamwork, Humanity, Sportsman spirit, Love, Care and Equality. Race was conducted by National Institute of Mental Health.../ persons with disability. All participants were Mentally RETARDED." – unquote.

14.   HRD (Human Resource Department) in corporates have identified the long lasting bonds the PWDs would establish in their organisations. They would be permanent HR assets and not move from one job to another if given due care. There are already a good number of companies and institutions which are looking for only PWDs to be recruited. In a nation which has a large youth unemployed the Government will have to take special steps to employ even ' skilled PWDs' and all this has to be done as Empowerment of Persons with Disability is a Contributing Factor of National Security.

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MAJOR GENERAL VIJAY P PAWAR, (RETD)

Major General Vijay P Pawar, AVSM, VSM (Retired), an alumni of NDA Kharakvasala, served in the Indian Army for 41 years. He was assigned into the Corps of Engineers (Madras Sappers) where he worked with his troops to achieve outstanding fetes in the most difficult terrains of the North and the North East. He has taken part in active operations in Northern and Western frontiers. He commanded his engineer unit in J & K during the Peak of insurgency (1990 – 93) in the areas of Siachen, Leh Ladakh, Kargil and the Kupwara sectors to achieve the best during the times. While serving he was able to attend all the important courses of instruction like the Higher Command and the National Defence Courses. He has held, during service, important assignments of Instructor at NDA Khadakvasala, Brigade Major of an active formation, Colonel Administration of a Division on the Western Border, Commander an Engineer Brigade in Deserts, Chief Engineer with the Air force, Commandant of MEG & Center at Bangalore, Provost Marshal of the Indian Army and Major General In charge Administration in Northern Command. On retirement he has continued to work in the Corporate sector, Government Institutions, NGOs and schools in different capacities. He has studied 'Disability' as a subject and in 2017 received his 'Ph D' in Management (Human Resource) in Pune. He has to his credit a large number of awards and decorations.

The Cyber-Space in the Modern Terrorism Strategy

Prof.(Dr.) Vijay Khare and Mr. Gaurav Kokil

Cyberspace has, in the past decade, become arguably one of the most important tools at the disposal of terrorist organizations, particularly in their efforts to incite, indoctrinate, train, recruit, and organize both defensive and offensive attacks against their targets. The use of the Internet allows terrorist organizations to reach a vast audience and cater their messages to specific audiences, including different languages, different messages to different target audiences, etc. Terrorists have noticed the great potential and advantages of the Internet; in 1998 fewer than half of the Foreign Terror Organizations maintained a website, but by the end of 1999 they all did. It offers easy and cheap access, rapid real-time communication, the consistent repetition of propaganda and conspiracy theories, anonymity, a way around government censorship, and even the ability to shape coverage in mass media, which often uses the Internet as a source. The Internet has become particularly important in recent years with the emergence of social media networks as one of the most important forms of media around the world, and terrorist organizations have jumped on the bandwagon as well.

With the advent of globalism, the Internet has also grown and spread. Since the late 1990s and early 2000s, there have been a number of global developments. Economically, trade and investment have benefitted tremendously with most people having access to the Internet. Just as economic firms have utilized the Internet for their advancement, so have terrorists. The one major advantage that terrorists have exploited the most is the anonymity that the Internet provides.

In addition to this major advantage, terrorists are also able to send messages to each other and other terrorist groups from anywhere and everywhere, send emails to one another, post messages on forums, and have access to a wider network of people. These advantages make the Internet very alluring for terrorists. According to Gabriel Weimann, the number of terrorist organizations with Internet presence has jumped from less than 100 to over 4,000 in the last ten years. Through the internet, terrorists are able to reach a number of vulnerable and impressionable young men and women, provide virtual training grounds, give them tutorials on building bombs, tutorials on firing surface-to-air missiles and giving details on secret border crossings to name a few. In order to raise funds, boost the morale of their supporters and increase recruitment, terror outfits also use the Internet to upload and spread propaganda videos that would help propel them and help them gain more popularity.

When one looks at a terrorist site, it will usually provide a history of the terror outfit, its activities and modus operandi, their past successful attacks, the founders, leaders, martyrs and religious influence of the outfit, its political and ideological aims, and criticisms and up to date news about their enemies. Terrorists today realize that the entire world is their target audience. Therefore, their websites today feature in a number of languages, to help attract more potential recruits. Historically, when we think of terrorism, we usually think of a person carrying out attacks against civilians and non-combatants. However, we predominantly overlook the effect of psychological warfare through he Internet. Terrorists today realize that the Internet is a very important tool in psychological warfare. If they do not have adequate funds to fund and carry out an attack, they take to the Internet to spread disinformation, announce an impending attack and directly target the morale of the people by instilling fear in their hearts and minds. Moreover, terrorist groups also use the Internet to publish and spread horrific pictures of murders of innocent civilians. ISIS today has used this form of psychological warfare by publishing photos and videos of beheading innocent civilians and burning alive a Jordanian pilot.

The Internet also helps terrorists conceptualize an attack and carry out an 'online survey'of the attack site, without any suspicion. The best example of conceptualizing a successful terror attack is Lashkar-e-Taiba, who used the Internet and satellite imagery to carry out the Mumbai terror attacks in November 2008. Furthermore, since most of the world today is connected to the Internet, it also provides to be the perfect battleground for terrorists to carry out cyber attacks against the political and economic structures of a state. Cyber warfare is on the rise today. Despite being miles away from their intended target, terrorists can carry

out a systematic Distributed Denial of Service, DDoS attack against its enemies. Hacking provides an important cost-benefit ration to terror outfits today. Along with the anonymity that the Internet provides, terrorist hackers successfully hack into and steal and alter data from important government bodies.

Keeping the growth of the Internet in mind, terror organizations like Al-Qaeda periodically publish a propaganda periodical, Inspire in English, to attract and appeal to others around the globe, containing articles by Anwar al-Awlaki, an American born radical Imam. The Internet helps extend the reach of Inspire and ironically, has inspired some to carry out terrorist attacks in the US. While the presence of terrorists on the Internet is growing rapidly, governments are doing their best to keep up with the growth of terrorist websites, and to shut them down. While the Internet offers a platform for terrorists to recruit, it also helps intelligence agencies identify potential terrorist recruits. While tracing the ISPs of the terrorists might be difficult, it is easier for the security apparatus of the state to identify those who frequent terrorist websites and trace their networks accordingly. Internet companies do try their best to ensure that terrorist propaganda videos do not stay for too long on their servers, it is impossible for them to ensure that each and every video is analyzed and removed. YouTube itself has about 300 hours worth of videos uploaded every minute. Since the terrorist threat has become real through the Internet, email providers have been working hand in hand with security agencies to stop encrypting emails, so that the security agencies can have more access to emails to identify potential terrorists and their networks.

The anonymity that the Internet offers terrorist organizations is also offered to security agencies. When security agencies come across a terrorist website, the normal reaction for them is to shut it down. However, some counterterrorism experts believe that we would gain a lot more information by monitoring the websites and chatter. In order to shut down terrorist websites, it is important for the security services to identify the Webmaster and this is one of the major problems for security services. In order to get the identity of the Webmaster, security services in the US have run into some obstacles. There has been a massive political and legal debate just on monitoring suspected webmasters. In addition to this, when the US has tried to prosecute Webmaster who run terrorist sites in the West, it has faced opposition from advocates of free speech.

In order to keep a check on the growing terrorist presence on the Internet, the FBI has confirmed that they use a software called 'Magic Lantern' to eavesdrop on suspected recruits and webmasters. Once Magic Lantern is installed on a suspect's computer, the software records every keystroke that is typed. This software has

therefore proven very useful to help security agencies decode emails and other encrypted documents. Despite having made considerable advances to identify, combat and stop terrorists from using cyberspace, Western democracies, like the US, face major opposition from civil liberty groups. These civil liberty groups are of the opinion that softwares like Magic Lantern infringe on peoples'freedoms of speech and expression. In addition to this, the groups are also skeptical if the FBI needs a legal warrant from a judge, in order to legally use this software on suspects. This in turn initiates a political and legal debate on the legality of using this software.

While the Internet is crawling with terrorist sites, terrorists themselves have not forgotten about the growth and power of today's social media. Social networking sites like Facebook, Twitter and YouTube play a major role in society today. They also help terrorists to reach a wider number of people and target them specifically. Social media has transformed the entire world in recent years, and it has also had significant implications for the phenomenon of terrorism. Social media is used by terrorist organizations for a wide variety of purposes, including psychological warfare, recruitment, networking, and fundraising. Terrorist organizations and even individual foreign fighters currently in Syria have gained thousands of followers on sites like Facebook and Twitter, where they can spread their propaganda, share glorious stories of "heroic battles", and give followers insight into their daily activities.

In general, terrorists have a symbiotic relationship with the media; terrorists aim to achieve widespread media attention to intimidate the public and pressure governments to give into their demands, while media outlets aim to achieve high ratings. But this creates a "journaliste's dilemma", in which journalists must balance the right of the public to know with the desire to avoid being a pawn for terrorists and protect the public. Therefore, the recent spread of social media has presented an opportunity for terrorist organizations to bypass the challenges posed by the journalist's dilemma and traditional media in general. Now, terrorist organizations can use social media to control the entire communication process from start to finish. They can determine their own content, the context in which it is presented, the target audience, and the medium by which it is spread.

In the past, terrorist organizations had three main methods of transmitting their messages to wider audiences: through clandestine radio stations, underground newspapers, and conventional mass media. Each of these had its own advantages and disadvantages; the media that allowed terrorists to control their own message did not reach wide audiences, while the mass media which did reach wide audiences

did not allow terrorists to control the message, and therefore it often presented them in a negative light. Therefore, the emergence of social media, which allows them to both control their message and reach a wide audience, represented an incredible opportunity and tool for terrorist organizations to achieve their goals and spread their message. In fact, terrorists have understood the potential of social media –approximately 90% of terrorist activity on the Internet is conducted through social network sites.

In the context of controlling their message, social media also allows terrorists to reach different audiences with different messages. They can spread certain messages only to certain desired audiences, or they can target multiple audiences with different messages in different languages and focusing on different topics that are more relevant to the given audience. In general, there are three main target audiences: current and potential supporters, international public opinion, and the enemy public. Terrorists can use social media to recruit, indoctrinate, and even train its supporters to commit attacks. Unlike the past, terrorist organizations can now release content through social media that allows potential supporters to self-radicalize and commit lone-wolf attacks without having to be indoctrinated and trained in person. They also try to influence international public opinion by broadcasting messages that seek to draw sympathy and explain their mission in terms that appeal to their audience, and sometimes they even target journalists and news outlets in hopes of influencing their coverage. Finally, they target the enemy public as part of their traditional strategy of spreading fear and intimidation, in order to pressure governments to give into their demands.

Not only does social media allow terrorists to reach a wider audience and control their message, but it also allows for two-way communication. Instead of simply delivering a message and hoping that the audience will listen, as was the case in older media, social media allows terrorists to interact and maintain a conversation with their audience, which allows for increased exchange of information and ideas. Additionally, social media gives added power to terrorist organizations, because now they can "knock on the door"of their target audience, instead of waiting for visitors to come to them as was the case with older media.

Efforts by law enforcement agencies to counter the spread of terrorist organizations on the Internet, and particularly social media, have been limited in their success. While ISPs have generally acted quickly and effectively in shutting down websites of terrorist organizations upon discovery, this has not been a great deterrence. In recent years the number of known jihadist websites has decreased, but at the same time, jihadists have instead discovered and begun operating on

the most popular Western social media platforms including YouTube, Twitter, and Facebook. Although all of these social networking websites have terms of services agreements that all users must abide by which forbid certain content from being published, the system is to a great extent self-regulated and therefore terrorist content is not always removed promptly. Also, the broad user base and extremely high volume of posts on social media websites makes it difficult for websites to monitor all the content. Experts have pointed out that even in China, where authorities devote immense resources and efforts into controlling the Internet and social media to crack down on freedom of speech, terrorist organizations have been able to continue operating by simply changing names or creating new accounts and websites as soon as authorities discover and shut down their previous ones.

MAGAZINES

During the past years, all the terrorist groups have changed their way to communicate to their followers and supporters but also to communicate to the west and to possible recruits who lived in Western countries. Indeed, one of these new medium (among social network and videos) are magazines. Today we know that Al-Qaeda and ISIS have both of them their own magazine: Inspire for Al-Qaeda and Dabiq for Daesh. These magazines are published in Arabic but only and that is an important element. Indeed we previously indicated that these magazines have, among others, westerners targets. The publication of these magazines in English (or other languages as French, German, Spanish...) is determinants because the content of them will have two purposes with these languages: to recruit and to threaten.

Firstly it is important to see that this new form of communication is only one medium that has specials purposes but it is not their only way to communicate. It is part of an Information Operation that is multidimensional. Magazines allow terrorist groups to have a new audience and a new form of communication. Even if some messages are the same than the ones sent on Facebook or Twitter, the reception of it will be different. But even if these two magazines (Inspire and Dabiq) have the format and are the same medium they are definitely different. Inspire in English has been created in 2010 and has one major purpose that is to encourage lone wolf to make an attack directly in their home-country in the West. This policy is close to the main idea of Al-Qaeda (and extremely different from ISIS) that is to target the West on their own oil through different attack but not to claim an area or a country. Inspire is more like a guide than a tribune where Al-Qaeda will explain his religious and political vision of the situation.

In the case of the Islamic State, we know that they have claimed a territory between Syria and Iraq and that they do not have the same strategy that Al-Qaeda. They do not organize formally an attack on Western soil (the only attacked that linked them is the one of Coulibaly in Paris where he claimed to be loyal to Daesh without having any contact with them previously). In this case, their magazines will be different. To be legitimate, Daesh need to reinforce their position in Syria and Iraq and consolidate it. Thus, they need support inside and outside their own area. In the point to gain support, they use Dabiq to justify their actions. For instance, they use a lot religious text to justify their actions but also to prove that they rule their own zone of control as a real country that respects Islam. This utilization of religious justification is not only here to recruit people. Using Islam to promote their actions is a way to prove that they are on the Path of God and that they are right. This position is challenging for others Islamic terrorist groups. Indeed, ISIS claims to be right and to follow correctly the religion. Being another Islamic group but not follow ISIS can be dangerous because you can lose support or resources.

Daesh also uses all the religious explanation in the point to explain why they do not follow Al-Qaeda strategy. In Dabiq, Daesh does not only recruit anyone but ask for special recruitment that is linked to their own strategy of establishment of a state. They use their magazine to prove that this a real state and that they need qualified people (they still justify it with religious texts). This form of religious explanation is extremely important. Quoting Quran or other texts is a real effort that we can notice in this magazine.

Recently we have seen that ISIS had use Dabiq as a real platform of communication. Indeed they have published an interview in the point to prove that Coulibaly's wife had joined them and that all the efforts of the western world to stop her had failed. But Daesh is not Inspire and this Al-Qaeda magazine is different. Indeed, we can notice that the name of Deash magazine and Al Qaeda magazine is different. These names are important because they are the symbol of a difference of vision and strategy of these two groups. Daesh has named its magazine Dabiq in reference to a name of a City in Syria. This city has been located near to Aleppo was the place of a great battle happened between Muslims and "Rome"(which can be analyze as a battle between Muslims and the "West world"). The name of Al-Qaeda's magazine is Inspire. This name in the strategy of Al-Qaeda is relevant because we need to see this magazine as a guide or an operating instruction to become a terrorist on your own soil.

It has been determined that Al-Qaeda has a strategy of communication that can be explained in three different steps: legitimating its own view and strategy

among Muslims, recruiting new followers and intimidating opponents. These three elements are part of the Information Operation of Al-Qaeda globally. But Inspire does not have these three purposes. This magazine has only one target: the Western world. They want to touch the western world and threaten them and recruiting western people in the point to create lone wolf. Indeed, the editorial line of this magazine is definitely not the same than Dabiq. As previously explained: when Daesh does not act in the Western world, Inspire only focuses on it. They will "promote"all the Westerner's anti-Islamic activity. In this magazine, we can also see that targets of Inspire are young people. Indeed, there is a strong effort on the design, the graphic and the title that are made in the point to catch audience of possible recruits but also Western media to promote the magazine.

The use of the word "you"is also extremely powerful in the point to attract young lost teenager of Western countries. We know that during the process of recruitment it is important to make people feel that they are part of something and that they belong to a group. The use of "you"helps the magazine to catch attention and to push people to carry out a terrorist attack.

CONCLUSION

With the growth of cyberspace, analysts, politicians and scholars find it difficult to define its boundaries. Being unable to use conventional theories to understand cyberspace is what makes it unique and the future frontier for 'wars'. This can be seen with the use and manipulation of cyberspace globally. While ISPs scramble to pull down websites set up by various terror outfits, a few more come up in the place of the one that has been pulled down. This brings forward the issue faced by nations while combating terror propaganda in cyberspace. In order to combat the spread of terrorist propaganda and to stop a potential terror attack, the security apparatus' need to be monitoring any and every site that could pose a threat to them. Moreover, states should work together to counter such extremist ideologies and dialogues online. While the thought of controlling cyberspace is a contentious topic, states have been trying to demarcate their 'sovereign borders'in cyberspace by ensuring that certain sites are inaccessible through ISPs in certain countries. However, with the use of proxy servers, it is possible for people to access even blocked sites in certain states. In addition to this, states have little to no control over the use of the Dark Web, which is also infamous for its use by arms and human traffickers, terror outfits and various other undesirable sections of society. As of now, it can be argued that terror outfits have improved on their strategy to recruit members and spread their propaganda through various outlets through cyberspace.

While governing cyberspace seems like a daunting task for states, recruitment of potential terrorists could be stopped by states by providing education to their citizens and helping them understand the true nature of terror outfits and their goals, thus reducing the spread of terror propaganda through cyberspace.

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Book Review of "India's Coastal Security, Challenges, Concerns & Way Ahead" Brig. Hemant Mahajan

Brig D A Paranjape, VRc

It was a routine evening 'walk and talk' in Salunke Vihar. Brig Hemant Mahajan was talking about his concerns on India's Maritime Security. Soon, the darkness fell, and I was back at my residence, sitting on a garden chair, and sipping a cup of tea, my mind drifted back to the events that, took place almost about half a century back.

President Sukarno of Indonesia, was claiming some of the Northern Islands of our A & N group of islands. Alarmed by his repeated claims, 'thinkers' in our national capital decided to raise an Independent Infantry Brigade Group for possible amphibious role, to cater for any unforeseen events. Yours' truly, was fortunate to be posted as a GSO-3 of that formation. Soon, recee, training, and operational plans were being finalised. Indian Coastal Guards – a wing of Indian Navy was also located there.

In the year 1968, gangs of Naga insurgents, armed and trained by China, started returning to Nagaland. This changed the scenario of our Internal Security. Many army formations, including the one being trained for amphibious role were inducted in Nagaland.

Not withstanding this, decades later, the 'thinkers' in the capital did locate some army units along with Navy, and created 'Joint Command' structure for the defence of A & N Group of Islands.

'Purlia Arms Drop' Case highlighted our failures in airspace security and coordination between various intelligence and security agencies. 26/11 attack on our Financial capital, heavy civilian casualties, and damage to the property raised eyebrows of all – political leaders, 'thinkers' in the capital as well as men
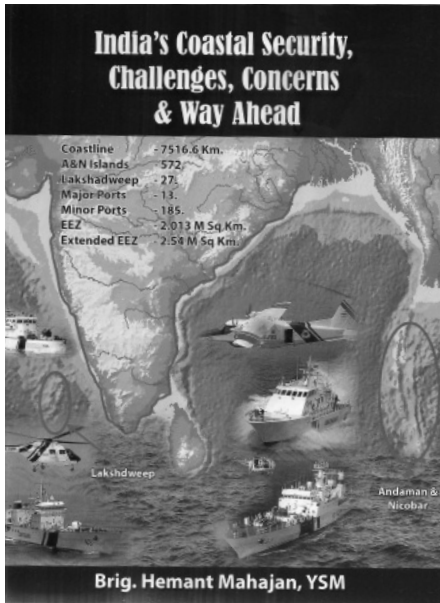
India's Coastal Security, Challenges, Concerns
& Way Ahead " by Brig Hemant Mahajan,
Ysm,Pages-336.Price-Rs 600/-

in uniform. Remarkable ease at which, the attackers landed in Mumbai and inflicted heavy losses highlighted our 'failures' in our coastal security.

India's western coast has been subjected to smuggling of gold, electronic goods, narcotics, arms ammunition, explosives and FICN, since long. Infiltration of Bangladeshis on east coast, smuggling of arms ammunition for Maoists, poaching in island territories is a big threat. Various bomb blasts and 26/11terror attack, activities in Indian Ocean by countries like China and North Korea does give rise to our concerns for the coastal security and security of trade routes/ sea lanes. To my mind, this in fact , is a 'WAKE UP' call for all.

India's western coast has been subjected to smuggling of gold, electronic goods, narcotics, arms ammunition, explosives and FICN, since long. Infiltration of Bangladeshis on east coast, smuggling of arms ammunition for Maoists, poaching in island territories is a big threat. Various bomb blasts and 26/11terror attack was an awakening call.

To do justice to the perspectives of these stakeholders would take a tome running into many thousands of pages. Yet, Brig Mahajan needs to be complimented for the valiant effort he has made to present at least the major issues concerning the more prominent of these stakeholders. The chief value of his work is the strong centrality that he has provided to the several practical and, in most cases, eminently viable recommendations that would significantly enhance coastal security. Having travelled extensively along the west coast, with many important forays along the east coast and our island territories on both seaboards, and having spoken first hand to a large number of diverse stakeholders, the author has many primary sources of information, which lends his work both credibility and pertinence.

Comprehensive national maritime and coastal security policy, better management of maritime boundaries, EEZ, traffic and effective mechanism for coordination is required. Operational capabilities of Indian Navy ,Indian Coast Guard, Marine police, other agencies require to be improved further. Coastal States have to be empowered. Port security, security of offshore installations and Island territories is important. Actionable intelligence, good surveillance in territorial waters will prevent security breaches. International best practices should be followed to improve our coastal security.

There is tremendous scope for jointmanship among all stakeholders. This will improve intelligence collection, training, sharing of technology. MDA Cooperation, cross attachment with each other, joint exercises during high threat periods will benefit all.

Many positives have evolved since last eight years because of on-the-job training and learning. Establishment of JOC, improved coastal surveillance and infrastructure have improved coastal security. Intelligence generated is better. A large number of coastal security exercises have been very useful. Many operations based on intelligence inputs are being launched to prevent breaches in security.

Induction of Hovercrafts, UAVs, creation of a more effective network of intelligence through fishermen and national coastal security corps should be done at the earliest.

As we hurtle though the opening decades of the current century, inadequate coastal-security will continue to impose large vulnerabilities upon India. Brigadier Mahajan's book, with its emphasis upon practicable and viable action points, is an important attempt to reduce the deleterious effects of these vulnerabilities. As such, it is a valuable addition to the body of knowledge that informs (or ought to) all those concerned with planning, legislating, coordinating, executing and ensuring India's coastal security.

A comprehensive book by Brig. Hemant Mahajan on "India's Coastal Security, Challenges, Concerns & Way Ahead" should be read by all, including the security forces, policy makers, corporate, security experts, technology providers, and many more. This book will generate informed discussion among all stakeholders for improving the coastal security further.

I, therefore, congratulate Indian Maritime Foundation, Pune-1, for

encouraging studies on 'concerns and challenges to our coastal securities'. I also congratulate Brig Hemant Mahajan, who, basically is an Infantryman and a 'thinker' for undertaking this study. I am sure that the book will be well received.

Brig D A Paranjape
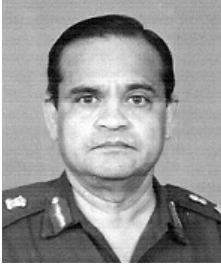
Brigadier Paranjape On commissioning, as a 2nd Lieut, he was posted to 2nd Battalion, The Mahar MG Battalion which was located in J&K. Chinese aggression saw the expansion of the Indian Army and Lieut Paranjape was posted to 10th Battalion, a new unit being raised at Saugor. This Battalion was raised as MMG Battalion and was later converted to an Infantry Battalion. It is with this Battalion that Paranjape, saw active service on UP – TIBET Border; war with Pakistan in Sialkot Sector in 1965 and war for liberation of Bangla Desh in 1971; and Counter Insurgency Operations in Nagaland and J & K. He is awarded Vir Chakra for acts of gallantry in 1965. He commanded 3rd Battlion [as Lt Col] on Rajasthan Border; 8th Battalion, of the Mahar Regiment [as a Colonel] in J & K. He was a Dy Bde Cdr in J & K [High Altitude Area] and later commanded an Infantry Brigade in J & K.

India's Military Question
A National Perspective on Civil – Military Relations

By Brig. R. R. Palsokar (Retd.)

BACKGROUND

The recent Doklam face-off with China which lasted for over two months and ended in August 2017 has once again brought to the fore the subject of adequacy of country's military preparedness. Additionally, two fresh developments have focused attention on civil – military relations as well as the working of the Defence Ministry. The recent decision of the government to implement only selected parts of the Lt. Gen. Shekatkar Committee report to enhance combat capability of the armed forces neatly encapsulates the state of civil military relations in the country. The Committee had suggested a number of reforms for structural changes in the armed forces. At the time of writing, the Defence Ministry has accepted certain recommendations pertaining to the Army, with those relating to the other two Services, the Navy, and the Air Force, to be implemented after consideration by those Services. Significantly, the Defence Ministry is silent on recommendations pertaining to the Ministry itself and specifically on the need for single point military advice to the government. This suggests that low hanging fruit has received maximum attention and difficult decisions have been deferred, perhaps never to be addressed, much as has been the fate of the reports of the Subramaniam committee after Kargil and the subsequent Naresh Chandra committee.

The appointment of Nirmala Sitharaman as Defence Minister is a ray of hope in an otherwise dismal picture. It was not always so. Manohar Parrikar as Defence Minister, albeit for a short time, had brought a rare zest and willingness to get things done in an otherwise unresponsive ministry. However, he moved out for political reasons and the intervening period did not augur well as the Finance Minister held the additional charge of Defence, as he had done in the initial periods of this government. Since Independence, few defence ministers have left a mark on the ministry's functioning or on the armed forces. Yeshwantrao Chavan at time of 1965 war, George Fernandes during the Kargil war and Jagjivan Ram in 1971 at the time of Bangladesh war are some names which impressed themselves on public consciousness. Common traits among these seems to be, an acute political sense of what is needed and what is achievable, an academic bent of mind and an understanding of and empathy for military sensitivities. It is to be hoped that the new defence minister is in the same mould.

Civil – Military relations in independent India are characterised by an undistinguished past and it is not the aim of this article to revisit old arguments. This Journal has published two excellent articles on the subject in the January – March 2017 issue.[1] One point mentioned by Rear Admiral Shrikhande bears repetition. ". . . there is an underlying misconception that in most OECD-type countries, the civilian bureaucracy is essentially of less consequence and non-interfering. This is patently not so . . .". Implied in this statement is that civilian oversight presumes bureaucratic supervision and that this is necessary – something that is anathema to the Indian military.

We are now seeing a new dimension to the debate on the size and role of the armed forces – affordability. The Services make much of the fact that less than two percent of the GDP is allocated for Defence forces to include both revenue and capital expenditure. The government on its part is concerned that it is not getting value for money, not adequate 'bang for the buck'. The setting up of the Shekatkar committee implies exactly this. Therefore, civil – military interface needs to be seen in the present context with a distant nod to the colonial and immediate post-independence heritage. In short, a modern national perspective

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1 "Civil – Military Relations in India" by Shri R. Chandrashekhar (pp 85 – 100) and "What Light does the Truman – MacArthur Dispute During the Korean War Shed on the Problems of Civil – Military Relations in the Conduct of Limited War?" by Rear Admiral S.Y. Shrikhande (Retd.) (pp 71 – 84).

is required. This also raises the question whether relations between the Services and the bureaucracy are a factor of legacy, genuine differences, or a lack of common working ethic.

CIVIL – MILITARY RELATIONS

Having acknowledged that we need to put legacy issues to rest, what we should be looking at specifically are:

a. Does the political leadership get the best military advice or is it biased in favour of the civil bureaucracy or the interests of one or only some of the three Services?

b. Is the recommended financial outlay essential and affordable?

c. Who decides, should decide the actual military threat to the country and what should be the national response articulated in the national security policy.

d. Does the civil society represented by the intelligentsia, have any contribution to make by way of think tanks, public discourse, and debate?

SINGLE POINT MILITARY ADVICE

At the heart of this question is whether the government gets the best advice that it expects from the military leadership. Let it not be misunderstood, the integrity of the individuals in question is not to be doubted, but it is commonly known that 'jointness' is at a discount among the three Services. It is not a secret that the Indian Air Force is opposed to the appointment of a Chief of Defence Staff or even a permanent tenured Chairman of the Chiefs of Staff Committee. It is also a fact that the IAF is opposed to unified theatre commands because the fear is that the limited air strength will not be used to maximum effect and will be frittered away piecemeal. It must be conceded that the objections of the IAF have validity or else they would not have been sustained or acknowledged for such a long time. This allows the civilian bureaucracy which by its method of working according to rules of business as also the fact that the three Services are attached offices of the Defence Ministry, to act as arbiters between the Services.

CULTURAL DIFFERENCES

There are cultural differences between the workings of the three Services among themselves and with the bureaucracy. These can be conveniently grouped

under process, outcomes, and personalities. In the armed forces outcomes and personalities predominate over processes. In war, the key determinant is the outcome; victory brings glory, defeat, ignominy. Thus, the Services depending on the quality of leadership, are subject to influences of thought process, plans and sometimes outright dubious decisions of its leaders. Jointness in action is as much a factor of personalities as the task. Two examples will illustrate this. In 1971 the end of the war was marred by Gen. Manekshaw's message as Chairman of the Chiefs of Staff Committee to Pakistani forces deployed in the east to surrender, "I have ordered the army, navy and the air force to cease action" (or words to that effect). The Chiefs of the Navy and Air Force, both distinguished commanders, did not see themselves as subordinate to the Chairman of COSC and rightly took umbrage. The second relates to the IPKF (mis)adventure. There is nothing on record to suggest that the chiefs of the navy and air force were consulted before the decision to deploy the IPKF in Sri Lanka was taken. The Indian Air Force had a major air transportation role on the Island. Given the fact that the IPKF was deployed along the northern and eastern seaboard, the Navy which should have had an important contributory role, was left out. Sadly, personal proclivities dominated these decisions.

In the bureaucratic way of doing business, the process is the paramount factor. That is why we have the curious situation that according to the rules of business, the Defence Secretary is responsible for the defence of the country. [2] This needs clarification. A senior and respected former bureaucrat explained (in private communication to the author) that in any Ministry which handles more than one Service, the Secretary has to be the focal link between the Minister and the Services. In any case, the head of a Service has every right of access to the Minister on any matter that he deems necessary, but routine matters have to follow the laid down procedure (process). Second, it was explained, that whatever the rules of business may say, it is the Minister who is responsible for his charge and not the Secretary. This is particularly applicable to the Defence Ministry, witness the fate of V.K. Krishna Menon after the defeat of 1962. This division of responsibility sounds both logical and practical. However, in the case of the armed forces there must be another dimension to the process and that is, the professional head of a Service, whether it is the Army, Navy, or the Air Force, must have access not only to the Defence Minister but also to the Prime Minister, individually for matters related only to his Service or collectively, as

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2 Ibid. R. Chandrashekhar, p.92.

Chiefs of Staff Committee on important matters related to national security. This has always been so, not only in our country but in all democratic countries around the world. It cannot be otherwise.

Just recently, former Chief of Naval Staff, Admiral Arun Prakash fulminated in the columns of the Indian Express (September 13, 2017) about the dissonance between military/bureaucracy method of doing business. "One has to start by facing the unpalatable truth that our current national security dilemmas are almost entirely of our own making – a consequence of political indifference and bureaucratic lethargy . . . the MOD controls every aspect of defence that is the responsibility of the three service chiefs . . . The fate of our military (and survival of the nation) thus depend on a MOD which is run exclusively by civilian officers of the IAS and IDAS (Indian Defence Accounts Service) . . . An acute lack of military expertise in the MOD and absence of collegiate consultations have ensured that all discussions take place – languidly – through file notings." The article drew a predictable response from a former financial advisor in the Ministry of Defence, Sudhansu Mohanty, some of which bears repetition. He writes (IE, September 19, 2017), "Prakash is right that most bureaucrats in MOD lack expertise and domain knowledge; this shortcoming, no doubt, needs to be addressed. Bureaucrats with no idea of the vast defence ecosystem must have their first stint at the deputy secretary/director level – not as joint secretary, where the high work pressure leaves little time to learn. Training at the Defence Services Staff College and the National Defence College too will help. . . . it's equally imperative for the services to acquaint themselves with the civilian bureaucracy's ecosystem and appreciate government orders. . .". He then points out how the Accounts have exposed among other things, dubious dealings by senior officers within the services and ends rather pontifically, "In a mature democracy, the MOD and the service headquarters should not be pointing fingers at each other. They should work together under the direction of . . . the political leadership. . ."

There is another facet to this argument. It is the privilege of the government to select a head of Service. Generally, it has been the practice that in the armed forces the senior most officer was automatically chosen. This gave rise to a pernicious practice that allowed anyone with his hands on the seniority list with dates of birth of senior officers to predict the next two chiefs. This practice was fortunately done away with by the current government, when the present Army Chief superseded two of his seniors to the post. This was well within the prerogative of the government, but afterwards some explanations were given to

questions in the press, which were quite unnecessary. The government also had the option of compulsorily retiring (honourably) the superseded officers and by doing so establish a healthy and convenient precedent for the future. A good opportunity was missed in the process. This is the practice in most countries, but when it is done so without adequate rigour, the government lays itself open to charges of political convenience and favouritism. However, these are political decisions and the armed forces should have no say in the matter. Even the services are quite convinced of this fact.

Given the above arguments and the fact that the government should not have to deal with the three service chiefs separately every time there is a disagreement, it should now become imperative that the government must have a single point of military advice and for this reason alone, the post of Chief of Defence Staff or a permanent Chairman of COSC with a fixed tenure becomes important.

DEFINING THREATS TO NATIONAL SECURITY

The military preparedness of the country is directly related to the threats to the security of the nation. Given our history and colonial experience, defence of the land borders has always had priority. The rise of Chinese naval power, their ambitions in the Indian Ocean region and the recent Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) as well as the willingness of Pakistan to come under the Chinese umbrella has enhanced maritime threats to national security. The air threat from both our main adversaries was always potent but in recent years a combination of factors including ageing aircraft and an inadequate replacement procedure has severely affected the capability of the Indian Air Force which was otherwise the most powerful in the region. This much is obvious. The question then arises who decides and rules on what is the threat to national security, what should be the size of individual Service, what should be the priorities for modernisation as well as the prioritisation of defence acquisitions related to budgetary constraints. There is a need to formalise periodic reviews of defence preparedness, suggest further changes and monitor developments. These can be done every five or seven years, but ad hoc-ism must go.

All these years individual Services through the Chiefs of Staff Committee have defined the threats and any disputes – one can also call them turf wars – have been arbitrated upon by the bureaucracy and political leadership. The major limiting factor has been the availability of money. This has had some unacceptable results. The Services leadership has always worst-cased the threat, for obvious

reasons. The political leadership not having much domain knowledge has tended to acquiesce in the demands of the Services. One example: some years back the Army has raised a corps for offensive operations in the mountains, mainly for the eastern borders given the threat in that sector. The manning of a new raising is never a problem as there is no dearth of volunteers for the armed forces, but the equipment, arms, ammunition, infrastructure both civil and military have been dealt with in an improvised manner. It is known that we have three corps sized offensive formations earmarked for the western frontier. Could not one of these be given a dual task and plan for pre-positioned specialised equipment for both theatres?

The other point relates to subjecting military affairs to the rigours of academic scrutiny and inputs. Again, some years back the Cold Start doctrine was introduced with much fanfare. Just its articulation was enough to unsettle our western adversary who in turn came up with the counter of being ready to use tactical nuclear weapons to neutralise this threat. But bar the odd analysis, we are not aware if the Cold Start doctrine was subjected to analysis outside military circles. We do not have genuinely independent think tanks with adequate budgetary support for independent research and analysis. Much of the informed commentary on defence matters (the oft-quoted and now rather dated, Tanham report for example) is by foreign based think tanks, often in consultation with Indian origin researchers or analysts. Indian Universities or collegial academic support is non-existent except perhaps in name. This state of affairs does not lend itself to independent and impartial analysis. In the public domain, on television the news analysis of strategic subjects is done with more an eye towards TRPs than serious debate. Newspapers, mainly in English and strikingly few are more serious but tend to be topical and of short value duration. It must also be added that their reach is to a very restricted readership. Military journals are yet to develop an independent identity to be taken seriously. It can be safely concluded that civil inputs to debates about defence of the country are close to non-existence.

DEFENCE RESEARCH, DEVELOPMENT, AND ACQUISITIONS

It is not the purpose of this article to delve into the merits or demerits of DRDO, DPSUs, Ordnance factories and the Defence Acquisition Procedure, but to examine its impact on civil military relations as well as inter-services cooperation and the impact on the national economy. Looking at the overall

picture of the establishment of DRDO, DPSUs and Ordnance factories, many of the last pre-Independence, at first sight it is impressive and covers all essential requirements of the users who are the armed forces. Look closely however and it is apparent that there are grave lacunae in their working. There has been over-dependence on imports of equipment and technology and there is a general sense of dissatisfaction among the users. Our country has the dubious distinction of being one of the largest arms importers in the world. Look at the problem from the users' point of view and the experience has been vastly disappointing. The ISRO success story is often quoted as a shining example. There the user is involved in concept, design, development, and manufacture stage at every level. This suggests that the user must be involved from the beginning. In the case of the armed forces, the Indian Navy has involved itself as the user in the planning, design, production, and operationalisation and this has now started showing results. The Air Force and the Army have not been able to do this and moreover have been involved in unnecessary turf wars. The recent acquisition of Apache attack helicopters by both these services (only six for the army) is a case in point. Surely mature and capable senior services leadership should be able to resolve such disagreements. The very fact that this has happened does no credit to either service.

Make in India as a concept has gained popular currency in recent years, but the devil lies in the details. In this case, policy for joint ventures and offsets have created hurdles which need speedy resolution. For example, according to Reuters news report of September 19, 2017, US aerospace companies Lockheed Martin and Boeing are both bidding to supply combat fighter aircraft to India and while contracts worth billions of dollars are at stake, the companies have sought assurance that they would not have to part with proprietary technology and that they should not be held liable for defects in related products manufactured by their local partners. The Defence Ministry's new strategic partnership model allows foreign OEMs to hold up to 49% in joint ventures with Indian companies. In fact, Lockheed has offered to shift its F-16 production line to India and make it its sole factory worldwide depending on the size of India's order. Despite this there is little forward movement.

One of the key issues of the NDA government has been its insistence on technology transfer, so it remains to be seen how this circle is squared. A related point is that many Indian companies have shown interest in and some have already started participating in the defence production sector, but are hobbled by arcane rules as well as stiff resistance from DPSUs. Note that DPSUs are

self-sustaining and hence dependent on orders from the Services to keep them going, even if it is just assembling knocked down kits. Political compulsions preclude closing of DPSUs and remain a problem that invites but defies solution. This is a problem common to all public-sector undertakings and not restricted to the defence sector alone. We have not progressed enough yet to see civil technology benefiting from being involved in the manufacture of advanced defence technology items – something that must be strived for. This is an aspect that has not received the attention it deserves.

THE WAY AHEAD

The discussion so far has focused attention on problem areas. It is time to summarise these and seek a way ahead.

• Civil Control

The political control of the military has now become an established and undisputable fact. The question is how much is military advice to be sought and heeded. Recall Admiral Arun Prakash's lament quoted earlier. It is time that a civil cadre be developed that acquires expertise in military matters and that lateral entry is allowed to select military officers into the defence bureaucracy. The 'generalist versus specialist' argument must be laid to rest at the earliest. It has now started hurting the security of the country.

• Single Point Military Advice

It is unlikely that either the government or the three Services will ever accept a single overall Chief. Fair enough, but without assuming operational control, the government must have a single point advice for military matters, whether it is chief of staff or any other designation. The government should take a decision and ask the Services to fall in line and let the government also choose the individual without worrying too much about each Service having its turn and so on.

• Periodic Defence Reviews

We have had any number of committees to date to suggest improvements to the operational structure, organisation, equipment, joint doctrine, and related subjects. The Shekatkar Committee is the latest among these. However, a National Defence Review which must be headed by a politician, implies an all-

encompassing review comprising all the concerned Ministries such as Defence, External Affairs, Finance, Home, Industry, and any others felt necessary. This should be a political committee and the Parliament should oversee its working. It is time we put away ad hoc and piecemeal measures.

● Defence Production and Acquisition

This is a subject which has ramifications far beyond the military field. For far too long this subject has been hostage to ever changing procedures, charges and counter-charges resulting in stasis. The Make in India is a promising concept and in the Defence field it must be handled with care. Again, this requires political supervision and close monitoring and should be handled accordingly.

CONCLUSION

This discussion began with the premise that legacy issues relating to colonial past and immediate post-Independence heritage must be laid to rest. That must remain the leitmotif of future reforms

The subject of national security goes well beyond just civil-military relations. It is not that this is not understood. However, enough political weight has not been put behind this problem. An opportune time is now, the earlier the better.

BRIGADIER RR PALSOKAR (RETD)

Brigadier Ravi Palsokar retired after thirty years of Infantry service in the Army. The high point of his military career was the command of a Brigade for two years in the citadel of the LTTE as part of the IPKF in Sri Lanka. He has published a book on his experiences as a Brigade Commander titled, 'Ours Not to Reason Why'. This book has recently gone into second edition and has been published by Sunidhi Publishers, Pune.

Brigadier Palsokar is a graduate of the British Army's Staff College at Camberley and the US Army's Command and General Staff College at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas.

He is also a prolific author who writes in both English and in Marathi. His articles on national security and international affairs feature regularly in Marathi newspapers and magazines.

Professional Military Education in India: The emerging Scenario

Gautam Sen

"Only the dead have seen the end of all wars"

– Plato

PRELUDE

The "Purpose of education" wrote Dr. Radhakrishnan "was not merely to produce an abstract intellectual or a high class technician, but to produce cultured personalities with restrained behavior and civilized manners". Subsequently he remarked, "Education is meant to enable an individual to attain his full potential". It is within this twin observation that we will try to place Professional Military Education (PME) as a partner to retain the philosophical and the temporal objectives of "Education" – a field which is fast changing due to the impact of market forces, globalization and the information explosion. More important is when Gen Gordon of Khartum stated that

> *"The nation that will insist upon drawing a broad line of demarcation between the fighting man and the thinking man is liable to find its fighting done by fools and its thinking by cowards.[1]"*

Like 'to-days' science is slated to be the 'technology' of tomorrow, a warrior of today has to be the potential scholar of tomorrow. His views on life and ethics of life are far more holistic than any other professional in any other field for he is trained to be prepared to for his own demise or see the possibility of death overtaking his colleagues and those whom he commands at any time all the time due to the exigencies of the service conditions under which he operates.

INTRODUCTION

The concept and framework of introducing PME[2] within the ambit of Higher Education paradigm in India and goals and objectives of the role of the armed forces viz-e-viz the Indian Nation State is yet to be undertaken in an institutionalized fashion. There are two principle reasons:

1. Inability on the part of India to develop Strategic culture and Strategic thinking[3] in the post independent period for long term projection of military power and the purpose of that power for the Indian Nation State all through the Cold war Period and more so now in a multipolar world on the 21st Century with one reigning super power and an emerging and assertive China wanting to be countervailing military power to the United States
2. Lack of institutionalization to equivalence the credit value of the Armed Forces training imparted to the all ranks in the various training establishment before and after they are inducted in the Armed Forces, with educational degrees granted by the Indian educational system.

Therefore, all ranks of the Armed forces in India today find themselves without any equivalence academically even after serving the armed forces for decades having undergone specialized training courses related to the science of warfare or technical aspects of using the tools to wage war. viz-e-viz their civilian counterparts having college and post graduate degrees. Not long back, even the Chief of the Army staff did not have a "matriculation" degree certificate. It was then not essential for a soldier to hold this formal minimum educational certificate to become eligible at a later stage to hold the highest office and serve as a service chief to command the fourth largest Army in the world. There is no such parallel example in the world in the post second world war in any of the Armed Forces belonging to the developed countries.

In the post independent history of India till 1977, Indian Armed forces were concerned with two aspects relating to education. First the raw soldiers

who were recruited being nearly illiterate were to be imparted education to make them literate and the officer cadre to be "trained" in the professional art of warfare and develop their skills of leadership through training in the training establishment of the Armed forces in the technique of successfully waging war to win. Hence till the 3rd National Pay Commission, a soldier was categorized as an "unskilled laborer". That the soldier whose training and instincts were honed to perfection to be a committed individual to lay down his life for his country was still considered in the eyes of a 'Babu' as an unskilled illiterate individual whose wages need not have been even equivalent to a daily wages of a laborer. It speaks volumes of an not only an observation but a mind fix in a fixed mind of the bureaucracy and the total apathy towards the armed forces by the political classes in India. Though much has changed since the third pay commission, yet the controversy of wage differences between the members of the armed forces and their civilian counterparts still continue even when the sixth pay commission has finalized its recommendations.

It is the United States, which has been a pioneer in PME and brings about the need for Joint Professional Military Education (JPME), which postulates:

> "The need for 'rigorous and thorough instruction and examination of officers of the armed forces in an environment designed to promote a theoretical and practical in-depth understanding of joint matters and …. Subjects to be covered to include (1) national military strategy, (2) joint planning at all levels of war, (3) joint doctrine, (4) joint command and control and (5) joint force and joint requirements"[4]

For an excellent exposition and answers to Military Education and as to how the same is linked with the PME visit http://www.answers.com/topic/military-education

With the end of the cold war and India emerging as a nuclear power nation the emphasis of PME in India has now to shift to contribute towards the development of a strategic culture and strategic thinking. Indian decision-making mechanism has to synergize the political class, the bureaucracy and the military in a unified fashion to cull out strategic perspectives[5]. An acute lack of developing a strategic culture and thinking in India[6] can be better understood if we study the emerging scenario in the 21st Century which in due course will help India to develop her own indigenous model of PME in India. It will also facilitate the growth of an "Indo Centric" strategic culture and strategic thinking.

HISTORY

Ever since India gained independence in 1947, the policy making in the areas related to defense and foreign affairs has remained in the preview of Government of India. Nehru all through his 17 years as the Prime Minister of India remained the sole master and architect of formulating India's defense and foreign policy making. No bureaucrat or his fellow politicians could interfere in these two areas except Krishna Menon. Non-Alignment was the strategic framework both for foreign policy making and defense outlook. The concept of having a formulated national perspective of strategic thinking was fairly ambiguous. The nearest policy paper on "India's Strategic Perspective" came to be written by late Field Marshal Manekshaw at the time a Colonel serving in he Army Headquarters under Gen Kariappa. However, this brief was never put up to the cabinet meeting in which Gen Kariappa was present. After that the note prepared was quickly forgotten. By 1965, the Institute for Defense Studies and Analysis (IDSA) had been set up by the Ministry of Defense, which has continued to be manned by civil servants from the IAS and MEA taking up positions as Directors.

The emphasis all through the cold war period was officially rooted in carrying out defense analysis and give feed back to the Government of India on all aspects of defense matters. It is interesting to note that even today all deliberations on India's strategic posture, the future of the purpose of India's military power, the restructuring of India's national security apparatus, modernization of the Armed Forces as well as the non military dimensions related to human security in the form of Disaster Management, internal Security, Terrorism and issues related to Naxalism and now on Counter Terrorism are done inside the closed walls of various Ministries of the Government of India and in total secrecy.

There is hardly any direct institutionalized academic inputs s from any of the 611 Universities of India or from the IITs, IIMs or from the Institutes of National importance like the Indian Institute of Science, Institute of Economic Growth, Institute of Social and Economic Change, Centre for the Study of Developing Societies etc. None of the open civilian organizations where teaching and research are carried out in Science, Technology, Social Sciences have ever been permitted to evolve organic or symbiotic relationship for any deliberations pertaining to any of the Government organizations which today are responsible to formulate the National Security policy. However, the academic community in the National Capital have been trying and in some cases been successful to be called by the various Ministries to give their expert opinion looking

through their discipline oriented conceptual lenses to various Ministries or the Government sponsored think tanks.

WHAT ENTAILS PME

Military Education entails that the professional training of officers to prepare them to lead the military force under their command optimally to discharge their duties effectively in peace and war. It can be distinguished from

"indoctrination (the transmission of group values, traditions, and attitudes) and training (the development of concrete manual and mental skills) in that it seeks to instill an understanding of abstract principles and theory and to develop effective patterns of thought and communication. Therefore, Education has to be linked closely with the growth of professionalism in the military with its principal purpose to ensure the mastery of a body of specialized knowledge, one of the characteristics of any profession.["]

Accordingly, the principal subject areas of professional military education has to include:

1. The art of command (leadership);
2. The organization and management of military forces;
3. Strategy, tactics, and logistics including Geo-Economics
4. Military history and Geo-Politics
5. National security policy
6. The relationship of armed forces and society; and individual analytical and communication skills.
7. Incorporating Basic Physical Sciences and Technology and the application of such disciplines as Earth Sciences especially Geology, Bio Technology, Computer Science, Engineering Sciences, and Metallurgical Sciences.

The approach to these professional topics becomes broader, more complex, and more abstract at each successive level of formal military schooling. Professional military education will be critical to future military success. The revolutionary change in both the international system and society is normally only associated with war. Any such revolution forces choices to be made. Moreover, the costs of the armed forces are rising at a time when the social base upon which they rely is undergoing profound change in the midst of the worst financial crisis for a century. With efficiency given higher importance than effectiveness the preservation of institutions is too often thus placed before proper consideration of their role as enablers of strategic effect. In such circumstances intellectual interoperability will be critical to mission command

success. *Such interoperability will in turn demand a radical overhaul of professional military education.* However, any such reform will require go against a pressing bureaucratic tide in which process is placed above strategy and in which again efficiency is seen as more important than effectiveness. At the very least the military (and civilian) learner must be placed at the heart of outcomes but such change will demand a vision from a military leadership often too busy with operations to consider the role of professional military education and thus to make educated choices about what exactly they want and can expect from education providers. To that end, professional military education must grasp the very latest professional education concepts and technologies to create an immersive learning environment shared across the Alliance in which knowledge, skills and competence are seen in the round.

Globally, the need is pressing. NATO and EU forces face an extensive and growing task-list. However, it is unlikely that significant more moneys are likely to be found for extra personnel or equipment. Defence education and academies have served the armed forces well. However, the role and value of cost-effective, innovative professional military education must play an enhanced role in promoting effect in an age of austerity and strategy. In the first instance the focus should be on the strengthening of the knowledge base so that education can better act as a force enabler and effects multiplier. Given the need to focus on the learner, particularly in theatre where the need for education is at its greatest and where sound education faces its sternest test defence academies must thus seek to become learning machines for outcome-based education. Additionally, defence academies must seek to better act as a critical nexus of security knowledge able to generate and share critical knowledge to all stakeholders and partners, including police forces, government, relevant civilian organizations and industry. Technology will play a central role as a key enabler in the life-long contract between educator and learner in support of blended learning programs with e-learning central to support deployed personnel.

THE EMERGING SCENARIO

In the post 1945 period, the developed countries of the world lead by the super powers developed the area of strategic studies as an integral part of the social science disciplines taught in the academic institutions of higher education. Of course the advent of nuclear weapons and the subsequent arms race primarily between the two super powers resulted in the advancement of

the theoretical construct of the deterrence theory and the associated intellectual inputs for strategic policy making which graduated from massive retaliation to graduated flexible response for the employment of the nuclear weapons in a possible total nuclear war situation. The world became bi-polar in nature and all the nation states became part of this bipolar world including the non-aligned states. Nuclear proliferation though inevitable took time to occur and rapidly became a reality with the end of the cold war in 1991. By 1998, with India and Pakistan becoming nuclear weapons state, the world entered the era of multi polarity.

The finality of multi polarity and the inherent dangers of the possibility of nuclearization taking place in Iran and North Korea has at last set the agenda for country like India to deeply rationalize her strategic thinking and evolve a new policy formulation to safeguard her national integrity and sovereignty in the fragile political atmospherics prevailing in amongst her Southern Asian neighbors. With an assertive and an ambitious China rising not only as an economic and manufacturing giant in the world backed by impressive growth rate, rise in GDP and the GNP along with per capita income, India's security concerns are no longer at conventional levels of conflict management. Indian defense policy makers initiated and managed to graduate her strategic thinking at geo strategic levels to reach the ability to maintain minimum credible deterrence in the post 1998 period.

Simultaneously and almost in a parallel processing way The UGC did indeed appoint the Mishra Commission to evaluate the status of the Departments of Defense and Strategic Studies (DDSS) in Indian Universities. The recommendations to continue DDSS were accepted by the UGC. The Xth Five Year Plan Document on Higher Education recommended that Defense And Strategic Studies (DASS) must remain an integral part of Higher Education and the State and the Central Universities in India must offer the courses in it. It endorsed the necessity to introduce DASS in the main academic infrastructure of Indian Universities. Some happened to be a member of both the committees. Air Cdr Jasjit Singh was also a Member of Mishra Commission along with Commandant National Defense College. The Mishra Commission also recommended a standard syllabus for DASS to be adopted by all Universities and colleges in India. However, neither K Subrahmanyam nor Jasjit were part of the Xth Plan UGC Committee on Higher Education when K C Pant was the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission and Dr. Hari Gautam was the Chairman of the UGC.

It is significant to point out that the issues pertaining to teaching and Research in DDSS have come a full circle. In Dec 2010, the MHRD formed a high-power Committee/Task Force to standardize DASS in Indian Universities. While Air Commodore Jasjit Singh was the Chairman all other members represented the academic community along with the Chairman of the UGC. The Committee   recommended that existing Departments of Defense and Strategic Studies be broadened by incorporation of National Security Studies with full financial support to develop required academic and administrative infrastructure.

Coming to the present situation in which NTI Report and the Think Tank Report are doing rounds, Indian Think Tanks and those who lead them today have to do an in depth introspection of ascertaining where they stand intellectually as well as influencer on public policy issues. Indian Think Tanks have been Capital City Centric manned mostly by serving bureaucrats and retired community of civil servants and service officers. Hence none amongst them have been able to provide either leadership or successors to the organizations where they operated. They have had to carry the organizational loyalty as a baggage and in the bargain have alienated themselves from the larger intellectual community of the country. This critical lack of support from the intellectual community of the country has downsized their image in an irreparable way or legitimizes their status as a strategic thinker.

Indian Dilemma

It is worthwhile to note that India unfortunately has been unable to operationalize rigorous strategic analysis incorporating theoretical and discipline oriented research to quantify India's national interest, role, goals and objectives of her Armed Forces - in essence to rationalize the purpose of Indian Power. It also need to be recognized that Indian Diplomatic endeavors and the strategies of Non Alignment has not been able to solve any of India's Strategic requirements at regional or global levels.

The powerful iconic influences of a number of quasi governmental defense policy analysts who belonged to the bureaucracy working collaboratively with those from the world of Journalism controlling the print media all through the period of cold war and till the Pokhran II, ensured that Institutes of higher education and research conducted therein never achieved singularity of education with national interest or public policy making considered essential for the formation of an independent and indigenous strategic thinking or strategic policy making in India. Ironically even today, defense policy making and analysis are highly advocative in nature based on

individual perceptions resulting in preferential involvement of "trusted manpower" to project India's strategic and foreign policy or to restructure national security reforms in the changed atmospherics of an emerging China poised to play a global role in the future balance of power paradigm. In essence there has never emerged an institutionalized effort to bridge the gap between the realm of ideas and the domain of public policy making in India.

The result is nearly catastrophic. "India is the only BRICs country with no institute in the World's top 200" as per the Indian Express of 12 Sept 2012, quoting the PISA ranking. Needless to say the report also includes the Indian Think Tanks for their failure to deliver any impact factor by their publications or individual writings of their researchers. The report is scathing when it states that "Not a Single Indian University or Institute has made to the top 200 of the Quacqarelli Symonds (QS) rankings – the most respected global ranking of Institutes of higher education". This has had a grave negative impact on furthering the cause of PME.

Whether India in the absence of a singularity in Education and National Interest will be able to come up to the mark and truly act as an independent variable to tip the balance for or against the US or China in a future balance of power competition in the Asian Subcontinent is yet to be seen. India's role in Asia Pacific Region to be of any significant strategic importance is a distant dream. The sheer lack of understanding the role of military power for furthering national intent projection by the Indian Political elites, the bureaucratic mishandling of national security affairs in the last sixty years, the lack of participation by the Corporate/ Private Sector on national security matters plus the total neglect of the Universities and Institutes of Research by the Governments in power in the last six decades have lead to an enormous brain drain from India in the key areas of Strategic Analysis which requires enormous amount of development of soft power by integrating a multidisciplinary methodology to safeguard national interest and national integrity and also act as a catalyst to operationalize PME.

India has developed a near permanent habit to deliberate on international security issues in a benign way as was evident from the Indian Defense Minister's speech at the yearly jamboree called the "Shangri-La Dialogues" in Singapore. The US Defense Secretary Leon Panetta minced no words by declaring that US will be redeploying her major naval capabilities in the Asia Pacific region. The difference between the Indian Defense Minister's speech and US Defense Secretary's speech was that no live real time video clip was available of his speech till 24 hrs. had elapsed and only then the Video clip of question answer was available, while that of the US Defense Secretary was seen and heard in real time as John Chipman, DG and CEO

of the IISS moderated both the session. While the large number of academics, policy makers, researchers could be identified from all around the world; the few faces from India were the familiar ones who parachute into any international conference with the welcome addition of the Congress party spokesperson Manish Tiwari. The Indian Defense Minister managed to squeeze in 13 meetings on the same day with various important political participants within a period of some four hours as the news report stated while his American counterpart had only a couple of them. So much about India's sensitivity on matters Strategic Affairs. In such circumstances the enhancement of the role of PME becomes a distant dream.

GLOBAL GEO POLITICAL OVERVIEW

With Pakistan emerging as a chronic case of a failed state, the US has very little options but to advocate a strong Indo-US strategic partnership to check mate China by bending over backward to cull out the Indo-US nuclear program. This is to ensure that the Indian State becomes a part of the forward Strategic Policy Doctrine of the United States like the NATO countries fulfilled similar role during the cold war period. There is but one major difference. NATO allies did develop their own independent nuclear policy. France even officially stated clearly that though she was in no position to tip the nuclear balance for or against either of the super powers, yet had produced enough nuclear force structure to raise the cost of any nuclear confrontation between the super powers.

Not only France evicted the US-NATO Headquarters from the French soil and made it shift to Brussels, the positioning of NATO's Strategic Nuclear Forces in France was of a totally different order as compared to what was placed in other NATO alliance countries in Europe. Also France went on to build a strong nuclear powered energy source, which still provides 72% of the power requirement of France. Had PME been institutionalized as most developed countries have been doing in the post second world war period, India's ability to create even policy alternatives in foreign and strategic policies would have been enormously of use in real polities at bilateral and multilateral levels in the larger Asian scene

China's role in the global readjustment of balance of power, her quest for creation of a super Nation State by expanding the geographical limits beyond the territorial waters, which was earlier, confined to land locked autonomous territories of Tibet and the regions around the Amur and Ussori rivers. Coupled with this has been her effort to negotiate with Pakistan resulting in acquiring territory in Ladakh region. This extended geographical area will define her

role in Asia Pacific region; provide the required defense in depth needed for the deployment of her future strategic nuclear forces. Of course one should not forget that China faces the internal problems arising out of corruption at the highest levels, which includes politicians and government officials. She is now faced with foreign/security related problems with North Korea, Japan and Myanmar. Unlike the United States, the Chinese strategic outlooks and her global deliberations have not been able to give her any hard core "Client States" or Alliance Partners who can form an axis in politico-military-strategic terms. Due to geographical or natural assistance of geopolitics, which aided the former Soviet Union, China, has remained as a disadvantageous position preventing her to cull out an axis power to counter the bipolar world during the period of cold war and presently due to the emergence of a multipolar world, which cannot be prevented from becoming firmly operational. A properly institutionalization of PME in the larger decision making processes would have been more advantageous in solving or negotiating existing strategic issues which has been and continue to affect our relations with China as well as other states in Southern Asia.

China's successful attempts in the areas of mergers and acquisitions covering the areas in Science, Technology, export of human resources and "turn key" operations related to infrastructural development abroad and now in the area of education, sports and allied areas continue to be impressive. In the "QS World University Ranking "for 2012, which I have quoted earlier, China has seven Institutes in the top 200 lists while India has none. Another interesting feature is the "Impact Factor" of published Chinese Research outputs in the last five years, which is approximately between 30 and 67. The US is well aware of this "soft power" that is exponentially growing in China.

The purpose of contemporary American power has been to protect her international trade, further free enterprise system, export democratic system of governance outside the US and the cultural integration of the US citizens locally and globally for social transformation. The US represents a complex bio-eco system to optimize the limits of human intelligence and talents to protect the hybridized social structure by permitting the best of human capabilities to jell into a unified whole. Not long back when the Chinese Premier told his Singapore counterpart that China will ultimately lead the world because she can pick the best of talent from her vast 1.3 billion population. The Prime Minister of Singapore smiled and replied "Mr. Prime Minister, while China has access to her 1.3 billion to choose the best of human talent, the US has perfected the art

of choosing the best of human resources from the 7 billion world population to work inside and outside the United States for the cause of US national interest". The best example that one can site in favor of US capabilities in this direction is to indicate that two Indians now naturalized American Citizen lead in performing the projection of American Strategic Policy in Asia and man the International Space Station.   One of the Global assessment report states that

"Since World War II, the United States has relied on a global network of military bases and forces to protect its interests and those of its allies."

The same report analyses US Global security interests and in great detail focuses on specific threats that the US faces in East Asia, Europe and the Middle East. US is confronted today, directly or otherwise, with some 20 Armed Conflicts under way around the world. The recent assertiveness of China in the South China Sea and her military modernization in the past five years has made the US sit up and make a serious assessment of the new emerging maritime situation in the Asia Pacific region. The US has seriously noted the tremendous changes that have occurred in the International environment and a major debate has at all levels been going on in the United States to determine what will be the role of the US especially because China is emerging, despite the challenges she faces, as a military, economic and "soft power"

While it will be essential for us to assess the future involvement of US military presence overseas – a presence which she had done all through the period of cold war with impunity. The world wide protest from the Islamic nation states due to a video denigrating their religious sentiments, followed by the preplanned attack on the US Consulate in Libya precipitating in the killing of the US Ambassador and American reaction to induct special forces for the protection of American citizens serving or residing in a number of countries will have to be seen carefully for the next two months. Such threats to US National interest will largely be from the Middle East and African countries and the US will not be able to dilute the global presence of US Combat forces, Air Force bases and active duty personnel. The politico-military budget is bound to be enhanced. This with the added desirable US naval presence to counter the Chinese assertiveness is bound to see a major escalation of American Defense budget as compared to the allocations made in the last five years. A review carried carried out on the existing "US Strategy and Defense Document" and the DoD's "Strategic guidance document" has already tabulated and Identified a list of seven discrete and enduring interests:

(1) Protect U.S. allies and partners from state adversaries

(2) Promote U.S. influence in key regions

(3) Dissuade military competition and arms races

(4) Protect Americans from terrorist attacks

(5) Restrict the flow of illegal trade and the proliferation of dangerous materials

(6) Ensure the flow of commerce and key resources

(7) Respond to humanitarian emergencies and regional conflicts.[8]"

It is apparent from the happenings around the world at geo-political, geo-economic and politico-strategic levels, that the reality of the presence of a multi polar world cannot be prevented from becoming an integral part of perhaps a new world order taking shape. In this new emerging world order, the US is bound to face tougher challenges to maintain her preeminent position in world affairs of the past six decades of contemporary world history. This challenge is not insurmountable for the United States. China with all her attributes and even the conglomerate of some 20 developed countries of the world will be far away from being a serious competitor to the US and her abilities to utilize global human resources and talent inherent therein to further US national interest. Similarly, no country in the world in near future and at least till 2030, can supersede the US in developing an operational form of Governance to further and protect her national interest to retain a preeminent position of power and influence in world affairs through a system embedded in transnationalism and selective internationalism. As long as US remains the preferred destination for the best of human talent and human resources, it will be well neigh impossible to deny the US the world status that it has enjoyed since the end of the second world war.

It is also necessary to indicate that 2030 will be a benchmark in world affairs. The projection is that India's GDP will increase to US $80 Trillion and her urban population will touch 720 million. These will have enormous ramification on Global Geopolitics. Ashley Tellis and his cohorts are well aware of these ramification more so because India has a rich cultural and civilizational preconditions/ dispositions. It has become an open society in which today the Media seemingly is already out of control, which the political system considers to be sometime anarchic. With the passage of time and integration of Indian economy with the global economic practices, be it the incorporation of liberalization of the economy and now the tussle for FDI in the retail and

Civil Aviation. The political system under pressure of the civil society with the active support of the judiciary is bound to make a classic rationalization and redefining of India's National Interests. One has to merely travel on National Highway No 4, between Pune and Bangalore to get the feeling of change in the Indian subcontinent. One can easily maintain an average of covering 75 to 80 km per hour, which is equivalent to the best of the Autobahns in Germany. Once again if the role of the PME was well formulated and the PME had established a sustained organic relationship with Higher Education Institutes in India, it would have definitely been of enormous use in strategic policy making and creation of strategic culture in India in the post independent period.

INDIAN NATIONAL DEFENCE UNIVERSITY AND PME

Since late 1970s, there has been an effort to establish the Indian National Defence University (INDU). Subrahmanyam Committee made an exhaustive report after visiting some of the foremost National Defence Universities in North America, Europe and China. The responsibility to implement the decision to establish INDU ultimately fell in the lap of the Head Quarters, Integrated Defence Staff, a Tri Services Command in Delhi. Times of India reported on 6 April 2013[9] accordingly. Business Standard has on 19 May 2013, reported that the Prime Minister will lay the foundation stone of the first Indian National Defence University on 23 May 2013 at village Binola, 26 km from Gurgaon city in Haryana on National Highway 8[10]. While full report and the road map for INDU to be operational is still not available, nonetheless a step has been taken in the right direction for PME to be incorporated in the larger framework of higher education in India. However, a cautionary note as given below must not be lost sight of.

Preserving the Sanctity of the term 'University'

According to a widely disseminated news-item Prime Minister Dr. Man Mohan Singh laid, on May 23, 2013, the foundation stone of the Indian National Defence University (INDU) at Binola near Gurgaon in Haryana. INDU will function under the Ministry of Defence, and will reportedly be an umbrella organization bringing together existing institutes like the National Defence College (Delhi), College of Defence Management (Secunderabad), Defence Services Staff College (Wellington) and National Defence Academy (Khadakwasla); and at a later stage, is likely to include new institutes covering defence strategy and advanced technology. Scheduled to be fully operational by

2020, it will undertake long-term defence and strategic studies, focusing on three main aspects – defence studies, defence management and defence science and technology. It is expected to be.

While the establishment of a teaching-cum-research-cum-training institute for defence purposes is to be welcomed designating it as a university is disturbing. Cardinal John Newman1 in a series of discourses delivered in the mid-nineteenth century on the 'Idea of a University', delivered in 1852, described the scope and nature of university education for the first time. He stressed that a university should be dedicated to knowledge for its own sake and considered it to be the home of intellectual exercise and human upliftment. Since then the core functions of a university have been accepted as being the creation, dissemination and preservation of knowledge, i.e. teaching and research. In the early twentieth century, with higher education undergoing a transition from elitism to egalitarianism, community engagement was added as the third core function. As succinctly stated by Ross "T*he concept of the university, that emerged over the centuries, is that of a selective, autonomous, self-contained community devoted to the preservation and advancement of knowledge, excising something like pastoral care over its students, focusing on great humanistic issues of life, and providing a place for the more prestigious professions in its midst*"

The founding fathers of independent India strongly supported the traditional concept of a university described above. The Radhakrishnan Commission set up soon after India attained independence, asserted: "*… There are certain fundamental characteristics which should be inherent in any institution which is to call itself a university … It should be a place for providing a student an opportunity for all-round well proportioned education for effective living and for citizenship, in addition to preparation for a calling … Unless an institutions aims at providing such all-round training it should continue as a technical institute and should not aspire to be a university*" It is for this reason that highly acclaimed institutions like the IITs, the IIMs, IISc, TIFR and TISS have refrained from designating themselves as universities.

The Radhakrishnan Commission was aware of the fact that there were some excellent institutions that pursued missions of national importance and contributed to development of knowledge and values. However, these did not fulfill the requirements of a university, especially that of providing holistic education covering a broad range of disciplines. Hence, the Commission advocated for them the special status of 'deemed-to-be-university' popularly abbreviated to 'deemed university'. In order to accommodate these institutions

a special provision was made in the University Grants Commission Act, 1956 in the form of Section 3 of the Act. However, the University Grants Commission has through a notificationclarified that the deemed-to-be-universities cannot use the word university in their title. The utterance of Nehru in the first convocation address at Allahabad University in 1948 must be quoted here as it captures the essence of the role that a University must play in nation building. The Indian National Defence University or any other University formed, established or created cannot divest itself from the Nehruvian vision[11], which INDU has to incorporate in totality:

"A University stands for humanism, for tolerance, for reasons, for progress, for the adventure of ideas and for the search for truth. It stands for the onward march of the human race towards even higher objectives" He asked Universities to lay stress on "Those standards of thoughts and actions which make an individual and a nation" He concluded by stating that "If all is well with the Universities all is well with the nation".

CONCLUSION

The PME in the Indian context has to be sensitive that Indian researchers and the think tanks and institutes of higher education have an onerous task to shift from the legacy of defensive defense analysis to more complex goal oriented strategic analysis, capture the global intellectual space in the research journals and book publications, learn to discard advocacy based perceptional analysis to more empirically verifiable methodology incorporating statistical methods, stop crying foul when Indian institutions are not given a place in world ranking and last but not the least to root out plagiarism which has started emerging and continue to taint the high and mighty in amongst the academic and the non academic community who are supposed to contribute towards the growth of knowledge in the area of Public Policy making. It is heartening to note that the Indian Universities are now incorporating software to check all PhD Theses against plagiarism. China is today faced with this problem from amongst her researchers and the authorities have accepted to take stringent actions. PME in India have already become part of the Higher Education process as officers and even other ranks from armed forces have started enrolling themselves in research degree programs.

Lastly if Dr. Man Mohan Singh can write and moderate his own speeches, quote from memory exactly what Adam Smith had written, if Pranab Mukherjee can write his own speech to emphasize the importance of education for social transformation and if Arun Jetley can inject sense of humor in the most serious debate in the parliament without loosing an iota of his legal acumen and if Dr.

Karan Singh can give an extempore review of Indian culture and integrate the same with Indian Foreign Policy preconditions while giving a key note address in a book launch at the India International Centre, and one can go on and on, then why can't Indian political leaders at least at cabinet level attempt to write their own speech and reflect on issues based on their long experience of their political career.

The above two paragraphs may look disjointed but have a significant reason to be placed in this exposition. Researchers like to think originally and do not like their writings or even their thoughts to be plagiarized. Secondly, when political elites write independently, it gives a window to the researchers to interpret their perceptions independently. In an open society it is highly essential to protect the intellectual property rights on one hand and provide a transparent and an undiluted political vision to the researchers to undertake strategic analysis. It is time for India to deeply introspect strategically to take on the challenges of power politics in the 21st century. PME in the Indian context will have to take on all the aspects of the emerging scenario and the armed forces in particular - an enormous task to fulfill this for nation building.

It is apparent from the happenings around the world at geo-political, geo-economic and politico-strategic levels, that the reality of the presence of a multi polar world cannot be prevented from becoming an integral part of perhaps a new world order taking shape. In this new emerging world order, the US is bound to face tougher challenges to maintain her preeminent position in world affairs of the past six decades of contemporary world history. This challenge is not insurmountable for the United States. China with all her attributes and even the conglomerate of some 20 developed countries of the world will be far away from being a serious competitor to the US and her abilities to utilize global human resources and talent inherent therein to further US national interest. Similarly, no country in the world in near future and at least till 2030, can supersede the US in developing an operational form of Governance to further and protect her national interest to retain a preeminent position of power and influence in world affairs through a system embedded in transnationalism and selective internationalism. As long as US remains the preferred destination for the best of human talent and human resources, it will be well neigh impossible to deny the US the world status that it has enjoyed since the end of the second world war. PME thus in the Indian context have to be realist in terms of incorporating the issues of International security at the global levels

End Notes

1. The quote is from *Charles George Gordon* by Colonel (later General) Sir William F. Butler, published by MacMillan in 1889. The book is a biography of an "English Man Of Action", a military engineer who saw combat from Russia to China to Sudan. My copy of this book is very worn but a treasure of good lessons in a style of a different time. From page 85, quote of interest in bold:

   In England there has long been an idea prevalent in the minds of many persons that the soldier should be a species of man distinct from the rest of the community. He should be purely and simply a soldier, ready to knock down upon word of command being duly given for that purpose, but knowing nothing of the business of building up; leaving that important branch of life to Mr. Civil Commissioner This and Mr. Civil Administrator That. It is needless to say that Charles Gordon held a totally different view of the soldier's proper sphere of action, and with him the building part of the soldier's profession was far more important than the breaking part. The surgeon who could only cut off a leg or amputate an arm, but who knew nothing of binding up the wound or stopping an open artery, could not be of much account in any estimate of men. Gordon understood the fact that nations as well as individuals have pulses, that the leader who would lead to any definite end must know how to count these pulsations, and, in addition to his skill as a sword-cutter, must be able to do a good deal of the binding up of wounds, even though he had himself caused them. To say this is, of course, only to say that Gordon was great, in a sense greater than any merit of action in arms could aspire to. The nation that will insist upon drawing a broad line of demarcation between the fighting man and the thinking man is liable to find its fighting done by fools and its thinking by cowards.

2. See an exhaustive literature on the subject at https://www.google.co.in/search?q=DEFINITION%20PROFESSIONAL%20MILITARY%20EDUCATION&ie=utf-8&oe=utf-8&aq=t&rls=org.mozilla:en-US:official&client=firefox-a

3. The writing on this subject is innumerable. The Indian decision makers in defence policy making who have been always been the politicians aided by the civilian bureaucracy have till date been able to keep the professional inputs of the armed forces or their view point outside the policymaking deliberations. The two classic examples of indecision on employment of military force are first during the Kashmir operations which but for Sardar Patel would have lead to the loss of the Jammu and Kashmir state in 1947 and the second of not employing the Air Power during the disastrous India China War in 1962. A comprehensive documentation on India lacking Strategic Culture and Strategic Thinking was written by George K Tanham. *"Indian Strategic Thought: An*

Interpretive Essay", RAND, 1992. He observes " India does not admit easily to broad generalizations…..Indian elites show little evidence of having thought coherently and systematically about national strategy….Until the middle of the eighteenth century, Indians knew little of their national history and seemed uninterested in it….Few writings offer coherent, articulated beliefs or a clear set of operating principles for Indian strategy…. The lacunae and ambiguities seem compatible with a culture that encompasses and accommodates readily to complexity and contradiction". In the making of this seminal book and creating the credibility towards its findings and authoritative deduction, one has to take note of the "Acknowledgement". The author records his thanks to Stephen P Cohen and Jonathan Pollack for encouraging him for the project and follows by literally who is who in the Indian Ministry of external Affairs, Indian Armed Forces, quasi governmental defence analysts like K Subrahmahym and Jasjit Singh etc., etc. One can easily state that no Indian author would ever have been so welcomed with open arms by that many Indian officials to share their thoughts. Tanham discusses at length in Chapter 3, entitled "Proposition", the issues related to the "Absence of

Strategic Thinking" to the "Complexities and Paradoxes of Indian Strategic Thinking",

4. See for full text of the report at http://uscode.house.gov/download/pls/10C107. txt It further states in its statutes that "(a) In General. - The Secretary of Defense shall implement a comprehensive framework for the joint professional military education of officers, including officers nominated under section 661 of this title for the joint specialty.(b) Joint Military Education Schools. - The Secretary of Defense, with the advice and assistance of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, shall periodically review and revise the curr iculum of each school of the National Defense University (and of any other joint professional military education school) to enhance the education and training of officers in joint matters. The Secretary shall require such schools to maintain rigorous standards for the military education of officers with the joint specialty.(c) Other Professional Military Education Schools. – The Secretary of Defense shall require that each Department of Defense school concerned with professional military education periodically review and revise its curriculum for senior and intermediate grade officers in order to strengthen the focus on -(1) joint matters; and(2) preparing officers for joint duty assignments".

5. The significant issue in decision making of nuclear strategic nature is that the old system of opaqueness cannot prevail any more. Strategic decision making is now in the domain of public policy making in which one of the important stake holder is the intellectual outputs from the domain of higher education and the people who are part of the academic community apart from a number of other stake holders who did not so far qualify to be the stake holders.

Tanham had indicated these lacunae. See Tanham, op.cit,. p., v. This has bee further substantiated by Shyam Saran, presently Chairman of NSAB. See Shyam Saran, "Is India's Nuclear Deterrent Credible?" India Habitat Centre , New Delhi, 24 April 2013.

6. George K Tanham. "*Indian Strategic Thought: An Interpretive Essay*", RAND, 1992.

7. For a comprehensive account of the major findings and requirement of PME as experienced by the United States which in part can be applicable in the Indian case **see the Executive Summery in U.S House of Representatives Committee on Armed Services Subcommittee on Oversights and Investigations, "** *Another Crossroads? Professional Military Education Two Decades after the GOLDWATERNICHOLS Act and the Skeleton Panel*"**, April 2010.** The above report also record that "Goldwater-Nichols recognized that, in addition to service-competent officers, the Armed Forces need high-quality officers competent in joint matters. In drafting the Act, Congress envisioned the development of this latter group of officers through a combination of Joint Professional Military Education (JPME) and Joint Duty Assignments. At first, the distinction between, and the delivery of, PME and JPME were more clearly defined. Originally, an officer needed to complete JPME to become a joint specialist. That JPME was only available at three joint schools and only a small group of specialists was believed to be needed. Now, JPME is taught outside the original three joint schools and is included within the curricula of the services' war colleges. Where it had been more distinct from service-specific PME in the past, JPME now permeates the services' traditional PME. PME and JPME, together, prepare officers in successive stages throughout their careers to engage intellectual challenges appropriate to increases in their ranks and responsibilities. However, as an officer advances, he or she must elevate his or her service-specific proficiencies, while accumulating increasing amounts of expertise in joint matters. As a result, the proportion of JPME in an officer's professional education increases with seniority. In the past, JPME seemed to be more of a bridge from service competency to joint specialty for a select cadre. Today, traditional PME curricula would be considered incomplete without the inclusion of joint curricula. Consequently, this report uses the term PME to include JPME, unless otherwise specifically noted. In Conclusion the Report states that "After a year of study and careful consideration of the United States' officer, inresidence professional military education (PME) system, the Subcommittee members are heartened by what we learned. While we undertook this study convinced of the value of our professional military education system, we began with a fundamental question. What does PME contribute to officer development? The answer to that question goes to the heart of the American military tradition, and what it means to serve as a commissioned officer in the United States Armed Forces. From our country's birth, the United States

has valued selfless, ethical officers who are adept at leading diverse groups in the execution of complex, dangerous missions. True to these beginnings, our professional military education system develops military officers along three axes: character, or ethical and moral leadership; acculturation, or learning from one's peers; and intellectual development, critical thinking, and mental agility. While we found that our PME system addresses all three of these important areas, improvements are needed in each. "

8. See US Department of Defence, "*US Strategy and Defense Document*" and also the Department of Defence "*Strategic guidance document*", 2012.

9. See Times of India, "*PM to lay foundation stone for national defence university in May, 6 April, 2013*" It states that : ", INDU will be headed by a three-star general, first from the Army and then from the IAF and Navy in turns, as per the proposal mooted by the chiefs of staff committee led by Air Chief Marshal N A K Browne. INDU will be a fullyautonomous institution with the mandate to provide knowledge-based higher education for management of defence, keeping its participants abreast of emerging security challenges through scholarly research and training," said an official. Though the president of the varsity will be from the armed forces, the vice-president will be a civilian. ``While 66% of students would be from the military, the rest will be drawn from other government agencies, police and the civilian arena," he added. The long-awaited INDU will be instituted by an Act of Parliament, with the President of India as the visitor and defence minister as the chancellor. It will bring together existing institutes like the National Defence College (Delhi), College of Defence Management (Secunderabad), Defence Services Staff College (Wellington) and National Defence Academy (Khadakwasla), which are currently affiliated to different universities, under its umbrella. INDU will undertake long-term defence and strategic studies, create ``synergy" between academicians and government functionaries, and ``educate national security leaders on all aspects of national strategy", said officials. At a later stage, INDU is also likely to include new institutes like the National Institute of Strategic Studies, College of National Security Policy and Institute for Advanced Technology Studies, apart from a war gaming and simulation centre. India has long lacked a robust strategic thinking culture both within the military as well as outside it. Countries like the US, China and several others have institutions like INDU to ensure cross-pollination of ideas and strategic thinking between academia and government"

10. Business Standard 19 May 2013.

11. Nehru's Convocation Address at Allahabad University in 1947. This University has now become a Central University.

Prof Gautam Sen

Professor Gautam Sen is presently Visiting Professor at the DDU Gorakhpur University, Adjunct Professor at the National Institute of Advance Studies (NIAS), Bangalore and Founder Member & Member Governing Council , Centre For Advance Strategic Studies, Pune and Member of the Executive Council, Allahabad State University, Allahabad. Professor Sen Served the Indian Army (1962-74) Commissioned in 2/3 GR. Was Instructor IMA(1968-71). Served Pune University as Sawarkar Professor of Strategic Studies (1981-2007), Head Department of Defence Studies(1981-2001), Director Board of Colleges & University Development (2001-2004) Director National Centre of International Security and Defence Analysis (2002-2007). He was Director General and Member Board of Trustees, Indian Institute of Education, Pune (2006-2011). He has been a Visiting Professor at Madras University, Gujarat Vidyapith, Goa University, Institute of Social and Economic Change, and UGC Visiting Professor at Gorakhpur University. He also spent a year as a Research Professor at the NSCS (2015-2016).

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