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✍ Editor's Note

The tragic death of Gen Bipin Rawat has been great setback for the further integration process, which he had initiated not only amongst the three Service but also amongst the Services and Higher National Security apparatus. Hopefully the new CDS will be appointed soon and the process he had initiated will be completed at the earliest. This will be a befitting Tribute/ Shradhanjali to India's first CDS.

While India has still not published its national security strategy, the National Security Council of Pakistan in end Dec 2021 approved Pakistan's first-ever National Security Policy (NSP) 2022-2026, which aims at bolstering the country's economic security and tackling external as well as internal challenges. The security policy was unveiled at the 36th NSC meeting chaired by Prime Minister Imran Khan. The meeting was attended by federal ministers for foreign affairs, defence, information and broadcasting, interior, finance, human rights, chairman joint chiefs of staff committee, all services chiefs, national security adviser and senior civil and military officers.The salient features of the NSP, include shift to a comprehensive national security framework, emphasising that the ultimate purpose of national security was to ensure the safety and security of citizens.To ensure citizen-centric approach to security, the NSP put economic security at the core. Apart from the economic and military issues, the NSP includes country's water security as well as population growth, terrorism and foreign policy, particularly concerning the Kashmir and Afghan issues and relations with other countries in the region and beyond.It was devised through a whole-of-government effort over the last seven years, and included extensive

consultations among federal government institutions, provinces and academia as well as the private sector.Terming the NSP's formulation a historic moment, PM Imran Khan said that the policy must guide all organs of the government to ensure that their efforts are synchronised with the overall direction of the NSP. The public version will be released in due course.

This issue of the Journal continues with the discussion on Afghanistan's challenges with Part – 2 of article 'India's Strategic Options ' written by Air Commodore Suryakant Bal. 'Are National Security Laws Draconian?' Is an article by Jayant Umranikar on various laws to include the much demonised AFSPA. 'A Study of Motivational Factors in Indian Military' by Sundeep Kumar Mishra, Sumati Sidharth and Shobhanam Krishna discusses this very important factor which makes our soldiers make supreme sacrifice for their country. 'Formal Mentoring For Effective Grooming Of Young Officers And Sailors In The Indian Coast Guard" by Parikshit Pandey, Sumati Sidharth and Shobhanam Krishna introduces us to another method of "Guru Shishya Parampara" in the modern age. Importance of our unsinkable Air craft carrier ie Andaman and Nicobar Islands is highlighted by Rear Adm RJ Nadkarni in his piece Importance Of Island Territories In India's Security Matrix . Psychological Warfare In 21st Century In The Context Of Social Media And Covid 19 : Is It Pandemic Or Biological And Psychological Warfare by Lt Gen D B Shekatkar and Professor Vijay Khare discusses the current hot topics of social media and Covid19. In the last article Maj Gen Vijay P Pawar highlights the role of certain military Heroes Who Have Contributed To The National Security Of Our Nation.

Wishing all our Readers a Happy New year.

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CHINESE CHEQUERS IN THE HEARTLAND : INDIA's STRATEGIC OPTIONS (Part – 2)

AIR COMMODORE SURYAKANT NIJANAND BAL AVSM (RETD)

"…a moral policeman's lot is not a happy one, particularly when his own morality is in question…"

John Toland

....

"No great country was ever saved by good men, because good men will not go the lengths that may be necessary"

Horace Walpole

....

"The supreme art of war is to subdue the enemy without fighting"

- Sun Tzu

Russian Federation

Right up to its demise, the USSR dominated the Heartland and Marginal Crescent/a strip of the Rim lands (refer Maps 1& 2). Its eastern border with China ran from eastern Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan right up to the Wakhan Corridor. Its southern boundary ran along Afghanistan, northern Iran and up to eastern Turkey. The Soviet Union shared the Caspian Sea only with Iran (refer Map 16). Chinese expansion and/or influence were restricted up to the Wakhan Corridor – and especially during the USSR's occupation of Afghanistan. In the current scenario, China has the potential for influence along the former USSR's southern boundary right up to Turkey.

Instability in Afghanistan and possible refugee influx/religious extremism and militant's penetration into Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan would be a destabilizing factor along the current southern border of the Russian Federation. These three republics also have indigenous extremist elements to manage. The Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU) has declared solidarity with the Taliban. Currently, Russia and Tajikistan are examining options

to prevent just such a proliferation of extremism. If this gains a foothold in Tajikistan, the XUAR would be threatened. The Chinese military presence in south - eastern Tajikistan is not a luxury, but a necessity to prevent extremist proliferation into the XUAR. It has already established a military footprint in Tajikistan 30 kilometres from POK and close to the Wakhan Corridor (refer Map 15). In this, there is a convergence with Russia which has similar aims.

Map 15 - China's footprint in Tajikistan

The Chinese aim is to prevent jihadi Uyghur militants stirring unrest in China's Xinjiang province through which the Karakoram Highway/CPEC runs. The apprehension of Russia that, if prevented from entering the XUAR, the jihadi militants may penetrate into Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and possibly into southern Russia as well is a real one, and suggests the limitations of collaboration with the Chinese. Russia's feelers to the Taliban could be to strike a deal to prevent

this eventuality, but is a tight – rope walk.. Any deal with the Taliban would strengthen Islamist separatist movements in Chechnya – Dagestan besides giving them a degree of de facto recognition; hence Russia would act with caution. However, if blocked in the XUAR and in Russia's southern backyard, extremist penetration into J&K is a real possibility – to possible indifference of Russia and China; and to the delight of Pakistan.

Chinese military and or economic domination in this area would be at the cost of eroding that of Russia; the (former Soviet) Central Asian Republics could well drift towards a stronger China; such a real possibility being uncomfortable to Russia in the long term. In the short – term Russia may have no option but to play a secondary role. Russia has always sought regional influence through Iran to the Persian Gulf and would be loath to surrender it to China in the long run. Any rapprochement with the USA could alter this situation. Russia and the USA are capitalist countries; share ties of ethnicity, race and religion, and there is scope for a thaw - with China it is simply a marriage of convenience.

This uneasy "truce" with China could metamorphose into future rivalry (if

Map 16 - Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)

not conflict) of interests. In the long term Russia would aspire to contain China through Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Iran, India and perhaps Pakistan as well. China could, with the exception of India, seek to contain Russia with these countries as well. Considering that the Tatar - Mongols (the slant – eyed ones) ruled large parts of Russia till the 13 – 14th Centuries (the Tartar – Mongol yoke), Russia would look very carefully at the Chinese.

The USSR intervened politically, economically and later militarily in Afghanistan to protect its southern boundary; was "invited" by the Afghan government to ensure its stability. Its failure to do so and withdrawal was for reasons similar to that which prompted the US withdrawal in 2021 – with the additional factor of the looming demise of the USSR. The continuator state of the Russian Federation had neither the capability nor perhaps even interest to meddle in Afghanistan: Chinese penetration in the area could see a revival of that interest more as a fait accompli; though temporarily in the role of junior partner. Both Russia and China would want to keep religious extremism out of their areas of concern, though may not be unduly concerned if it penetrates into J&K – something India must take into account.

Pakistan

From its very inception, Pakistan has had the unenviable task of choosing along a wide spectrum of unpleasant options. Ahmed Rashid quotes the Pakistani scholar Eqbal Ahmed describing it as "…a country caught in an iron web of wrong assumptions, maginotic concepts, failed policies, fixed postures and sectarian violence..." While such an assessment proves that there are rational thinking people in Pakistan, they seem to be on the marginal fringes of the establishment, and such philosophies do not seem to have made any inroads into the Pakistani leadership. All this is the outcome of a neurotic anti – India focus largely of its own making, and which highlights its deep – rooted insecurity and low self – image notwithstanding its arrogant chest – thumping posture; an anti – India fixation being the very raison d'être of its existence.

J & K was never legally a part of Pakistan. At Independence Pakistan signed a Standstill agreement with it but perfidiously tried to annex it in 1947 - 48 by force of arms. Neither has Pakistan forgotten claims on Junagadh, Babariawad – Mangrol or even Hyderabad (Deccan) for that matter. This neurotic fixation with the two – nation theory persists even after fighting (and losing) three wars with India over J &K. Pakistan also harbours grand delusions of an Islamic Ummah encompassing the Central Asian Republics, Iran, Afghanistan, Chinese XUAR and Kashmir – under its enlightened leadership of course. This appears

hilarious considering that Pakistan has hardly been governable since inception – with its eastern wing breaking away after suffering an impossible union with the western wing 44 years later; a common religion making a very weak cement in the face of linguistic, racial and cultural schisms. That the Taliban harbours similar aims has not been factored by the Pakistani establishment. Whether China's reaction to this neurotic quest for Pakistan's "strategic depth" has also been dovetailed into this scintillating vision is not known.

The current crisis in Afghanistan is seen as yet another opportunity to further these aims against India under the benevolent patronage (or perhaps control) of its (current) master. However, any Chinese rapprochement with the Taliban would meet a mixed reception in Pakistan. Whereas Pakistan has welcomed the Taliban in Afghanistan and even supports its membership of the UN, it would be loath to see its influence penetrating into its own territory and dictating terms to the Pakistani establishment – precisely the very prospect of this happening with China co-opting the Taliban to "protect" its CPEC with the quid pro quo ("a favour for a favour") of relaxing pressure on the Uigurs in the XUAR. Pakistan would look forward to the Taliban infiltrating into J&K but this is certain to raise the alarm in China. A Taliban presence in POK would afford it the prospect of infiltrating into the XUAR bypassing the mountainous Wakhan Corridor as also interdicting the CPEC. The role Russia could play in this grand design is not known.

Pakistan has lost no time to curry favour with the predominantly Haqqani - dominated and Taliban – led interim government; which it hopes to control. The Pakistan Foreign Minister, Shah Mahmood Qureshi has tweeted that "…the new reality requires us to discard old lenses, develop new insights and proceed with a realistic/pragmatic approach…" However Pakistan's animosity towards India since 14 August 1947 requires it not to discard old lenses as also to retain its unrealistic and unpragmatic approach. Pakistan has certainly scored in the current round; but may well turn out to be a pyrrhic victory: one that inflicts such a devastating toll on the victor that it is tantamount to defeat.

The Taliban spokesman Zabihullah Mujahid has declared that the Taliban does not recognize the 2,640 kilometer Durand line as its border with Pakistan, and is unhappy with the fence Pakistan has built along it. Historically the Afghans have not forgotten that Peshawar (formerly Purushapura) was its summer capital. The partition of India may well have a silver lining after all – today India would have had to face the Taliban across the Durand Line. Outsourcing that unenviable task to Pakistan may be an unintended windfall! Earlier, the Taliban was the puppet – with the puppeteer in Islamabad doing the string - pulling. A reversal of roles need not be seen as fiction – but may

become a reality. Pakistan is unable (or unwilling) to see this with the "new insight" much parroted by its Foreign Minister.

Pakistan considers an Indian presence in Afghanistan a security threat and seeks to eliminate India's presence and influence – a position that seems to justify its aspirations to control Afghanistan. It sees India's role in Afghanistan as anti – Pakistan. That India has trained hundreds of Afghans in its military academies as opposed to a miniscule by Pakistan is seen as proof of India's perfidy. That Afghans may prefer quality training in India in preference to Pakistan does not seem to have been considered in Pakistani thinking. That Pakistan has trained jihadis in Afghanistan for infiltration into J&K is inconsequential in Pakistani thinking as well. China has the same aims to counter India and would accept Pakistan's position – but only in a secondary role within overall Chinese strategy. There are reports of China aspiring to use the Bagram Air Base for operations against India – of course denied by it. Perhaps China would want the Taliban to allow the PAF to base aircraft in Bagram to keep them out of range of the IAF.

Iran & Turkey

The Iranian response to China's overtures cannot be taken for granted – and Iran would be wary of any Chinese influence in Afghanistan and support for the Taliban. Iran has historically sought to influence Afghanistan. Unlike Pakistan, Iran is a sovereign and far more stable nation – State; and with a will of its own. An ancient civilization, Iran has pitted itself against the Ottoman Empire, Russia and the USA since long and would not willingly accept the status of a Chinese vassal. However, it would welcome Chinese assistance - though on negotiated terms. A Talibanized (Sunni) Afghanistan with Chinese backing could be seen as a threat – and which would involve some cautious overtures to Russia; and even a rare window of opportunity for the USA to cooperate with its erstwhile CENTO ally Iran, and Russia as well - necessity making strange bedfellows indeed. Sino – Russian relations have not been entirely harmonious throughout history. Iran has declared that an Islamic Emirate in the country would be a threat to Iran's security - Shia Iran and Sunni Afghanistan have had a rocky relationship throughout history; Iran has coveted Heart in western Afghanistan, notwithstanding the temporary alliance between Nadir Shah and Ahmed Shah Abdali (Durrani). This Shia – Sunni schism has a long and turbulent history and affects Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan – with Iran the only Shia country besides Azerbaijan to its north.

Turkey's President Recep Tayyip Erdogan harbours grandiose visions of

resurrecting the Ottoman Empire. By allocating the Zangegur strip to Armenia and separating Nakhichivan from Azerbaijan, Stalin eroded any potential for pan – Turkism. However, reports that this strip may revert to Azerbaijan could whet the visions of' pan – Turkism (or Neo-Ottomanism) right up to China under Turkey's leadership. It is assumed by Turkey that China, Russia and the Central Asian Republics would welcome such a move: though the USA may not be averse to the idea. The scholar Noam Chomsky, has said "Erdogan… is basically trying to create something like the Ottoman Caliphate, with him as caliph, supreme leader…" Such a development world be threatening to Iran which has always been antagonistic towards Turkish (and earlier Ottoman) machinations. However, Turkey being a NATO member, the USA could see this as yet another "window of opportunity" to counter Russia, Iran and China. All three countries would have to address these realities at some point in time – though for different (and not necessary convergent) objectives. Having enjoyed a turbulent, though sometimes beneficial, relationship with Western Europe and aspiring for EU membership, Turkey may not be favourably disposed to a "Talibanized" Turkey – neither would the EU. Turkey would have to assess its priorities and interests on realpolitik. At present Turkey's closeness to Pakistan and especially on the Kashmir issue implies that India must monitor developments very carefully.

India

The northern, eastern and western borders of J&K were hot enough – and the prospect of them becoming incandescent to white heat is a distinct possibility with an equally high probability. This is in addition to the clash of interests with China in the South China Sea, Bay of Bengal and beyond. This new reality must determine India's manoeuvre – space in which it must safeguard its strategic interests: not necessarily as a fait accompli but more an opportunity to proactively enlarge it in conformity to accepted norms of international relations and ensure continued strategic advantage. That China would be similarly guided by internationally – accepted norms, or by any norms whatsoever, is an assumption to be made at grave risk. It would be extremely unwise to bet on the "best – case scenario" that China would get bogged down in Afghanistan like its predecessors and eventually pull out ignominiously: though that possibility does exist. We also would be ill – advised to look for any nation to bail us out of the current predicament. India has to go it alone.

The immediate priority for India was to airlift its nationals out of Kabul – something which has been substantially accomplished. Though not reported,

Map 17 India's Footprint IN Tajikistan

the only access would have been possible through Iran; which is indicative of the robust relations India enjoys with it. There are also reports that our Tajik base in Ayni was also used in evacuating Indian nationals from Kabul. This is the key to India's strategic footprint in Tajikistan (Map 17), and window of diplomacy.

India's only foreign air base at Farkhor, Tajikistan, started operations in 2002 with Russian acquiescence. Whether Russia would pressurize India to give up its presence in Tajikistan in deference to China remains to be seen. Diplomacy must ensure that this does not happen. At present India's potential (roundabout and not entirely trouble - free) access to Afghanistan is only through Iran – POK ensuring direct access impractical, and this must be maintained at all costs.

The current situation in Afghanistan is yet another factor in the rocky Sino – Indian relations, in addition to the confrontation in eastern Ladakh and the Indian Ocean. At present, India simply has to examine a range of varying degrees of unpleasant options. An interim priority would be to safeguard the

western, northern and eastern borders of J&K, and not allow further erosion of territory by both Pakistan and China pending a final settlement. The bitter reality is that India's choices are severely limited and are essentially diplomatic at this stage, though if a civil war or serious opposition erupts in Afghanistan, harder choices will have to be made as was the case when India backed the Northern Alliance. Unlike in 1971 when the USSR was a counterweight to Chinese designs, Russia is now playing a different and cautiously supportive role to China. Russia is engaging the Taliban as a legitimate political force, though is yet to give its government formal recognition. However, the Russian President Vladimir Putin has also declared that "…the BRICS is not interested in Afghanistan remaining a danger to the surrounding countries… {…so that…}… terrorism and drug trafficking {can} threaten us from Afghan territory…". Russia may have to review its position if a civil war erupts or the Taliban threatens the security of neighbouring Central Asian states. In such a situation, Russia may once again support the former Northern Alliance if not directly, then through proxies.

As part of the diplomatic effort the PM, in the capacity of Chairman, reiterated at the BRICS Summit on Thursday, 09 September 2021, that Afghan territory cannot be allowed to be used by terrorist outfits as a sanctuary to carry out attacks against other countries. He further urged the international community not to rush into recognizing the Taliban government on grounds that it was not inclusive and formed without negotiations – highlighting India's rejection of its legitimacy. This position has also been endorsed at the Dushanbe (Stalinabad) Declaration on the 20th anniversary of the SCO. The foreign Minister, Shri S Jaishankar, addressing the UN high – level meeting on the humanitarian situation in Afghanistan endorsed the recent UNSC resolution 2593 that calls for Afghan soil not being used for terrorism, and stressed that the need to combat it within Afghanistan should "guide" the international community. The UN Secretary General, Antonio Guterres said that food could soon out. The World Food Programme said that 14 million Afghan people were on the brink of starvation. China and Pakistan have offered help, and Shri Jaishankar, while asserting that India will stand with the Afghan people, asserted that India could not pledge financial aid to a Taliban – ruled Afghanistan but would offer humanitarian assistance. While India would look forward to maintaining and increasing the considerable goodwill it enjoys with the Afghan people, the prickly question of recognizing the Taliban – controlled government would have to be effectively addressed.

Rushing to recognize a government that has at least 14 members on the UNSC's terrorism black list does not make diplomatic sense – or any sense for

that matter: much less admitting it to the UN. Legitimizing such a government would be de jure recognition - implying a state of affairs that is in accordance with law (ie that is officially sanctioned). It would also officially permit a Taliban presence in New Delhi. This is certain to open a Pandora's Box that would be impossible to close. Recognition would be seen as appeasement of the minority, and non – recognition as anti – minority. Due recognition must be given to the rational and nationalist elements among both the minority and majority communities in India who categorically reject radicalism, extremism and religious fundamentalism. The sentiment expressed by Dr BR Ambedkar that the majority must not suppress the minority, and that the minority must not hold the majority to ransom is as valid today as expressed in his book in 1945. Allowing a schism based on religion would fatally weaken these rational nationalist elements and actually play into the hands of radicals and the Taliban - giving it the desired and dubious status of "Defender of the Faith" – something earlier usurped by the Ottoman sultans. Of course there are other pompous claimants to this title. It is imperative that religious polarization that would threaten the very fabric of India must be effectively managed – patriotism not being the monopoly of any group based on faith. Such a schism would also validate the moribund two – nation theory that was the very basis of Partition.

Recognition would immediately legitimize terrorist and radical religious groups of all faiths in India as also endorse Pakistan's role in the Haqqani faction of the Taliban – something akin to diplomatic and geopolitical suicide. Pakistan is playing an insidious role in legitimizing the Taliban government through the backdoor – the latest being a demand to allow representation by a Talibanized Afghanistan in the SAARC. As opposed to this, de facto recognition means a state of affairs that is true in fact, but that is not officially sanctioned. This position could be examined only to the extent it facilitates people – to – people contact and resumption of trade and humanitarian assistance to the Afghan people who are in fact the principal stakeholders. The formation of a truly inclusive government could pave the way to de jure recognition. India's stand has put the Taliban on notice - and shifted the onus of responsibility firmly on its shoulders – and is not different from the stand of Russia, Iran and Turkey; and much of the civilized world. This is in direct contrast to China's and Pakistan's myopically opportunistic approach. It must not be forgotten that the Taliban does indeed aspire to being recognized by the international community; a window of opportunity to be exploited and not rushed through blindly.

Additional prickly issues to be effectively resolved are the possibility of Afghan refugees seeking asylum in India (provided they can transit Pakistan); or Afghan diplomatic personnel already in India who do not wish to return -

and the management of Afghan students and the military undergoing training in India. India resolved the issue of refugees earlier. After Chinese control of Xinjiang circa 1950, the rebelling Kazakhs crossed the sands of Lop Nur and the mountains of Tibet and arrived on India's northern frontier. The Indian government granted them refugee status and interned them in camps in Srinagar pending final resettlement in Turkey circa 1951 - 56. A similar approach could be adopted to manage Afghan refugees; assisting their repatriation to countries amenable to hosting them – though at present a remote possibility. Staying on in India could pose problems: with the Taliban government accusing India of illegally detaining its nationals.

The Western Allies faced a similar dilemma when Soviet POW's liberated from German POW camps refused to return to the USSR but sought asylum in the West. In the event, the Western Allies had no option but to forcibly return them to the USSR where they faced long sentences in the GULAG or even certain death. Also the possibility of anti – India elements posing as refugees infiltrating cannot be discounted. Student visas can be extended on a case – to – case basis and their movements carefully (though discretely) monitored; with violations incurring immediate deportation. Military personnel on completion of training would perforce have to be returned to Afghanistan. Those claiming refugee statuses could be managed as indicated above. The risk that returning military personnel could join the Taliban cadres has to be accepted; in the event that they could also be exiled or eliminated. Even those joining the Taliban would remember their experience in India and, if in positions of power, be a moderating element – a long – term investment.

Doordarshan: through the Gates of the Future

Crystal – ball gazing is pregnant with uncertainties – possibilities and concurrent probabilities. However, the exercise does serve to make things a little clearer – or less unclear. It becomes a context in which fresh developments can be examined – a kind of SWOT analysis. After its pull – out from Afghanistan, whether the USA will engineer conflicts for intervention in other parts of the world to keep its armament - industrial complex afloat, to save face after its current drubbing and or impose its values and "civilization" on others is yet to be seen. It would do so but only in self – interest.

The current AUKUS grouping seems to be a pointer in this direction and has already set the alarm bells ringing loudly in the EU and especially in France; though mainly on economic grounds since Australia would not need to buy

these submarines from France. Germany and France are among the nations that eye the AUKUS with unease. There are already rumblings in Europe of a pan – European army. A very rational analysis has been expounded by Shri Sanjaya Baru on the AUKUS grouping. The UK and USA have no compunctions of offering military nuclear technology to Australia, when they have consistently denied it to India. This is the real face of the "Anglosphere concept" – and India does not quite 'fit' into it. He further argues that resistance to China is not a strong glue to keep these partners together – when economic interests and cultural prejudices would be sure to play a significant and perhaps overriding role. The USA and China see one another as competitors for global domination - clearly a "win – lose" game.

India does not seek to compete with China: only expects that it not encroach on its territory and not aid Pakistan in its neurotic endeavours. China is welcome to its BRO – but only so long it does not transit through territory that legally acceded to India. When these issues are amicably solved to mutual satisfaction, there is no impediment to favourable or even cordial relations – clearly a "win – win" game. India could aspire to acquire these French submarines and other hardware at discounted prices – a window of opportunity to be exploited to the fullest!

Providing Australia with nuclear submarines makes sense only if they carry nuclear - armed missiles. If the USA provides these, it would become among the biggest proliferators of nuclear weapons placing it firmly in the category of North Korea; and motivate Pakistan and possibly even Turkey towards similar adventures: Russia is unlikely to suffer a nuclear Turkey on its southern flank. In 1962 the USSR placed nuclear – tipped missiles in Cuba precisely to have the USA remove them from Turkey. Both the NPT and CTBT would not even be worth the paper they are written on. In the event, these submarines would only replace US submarines already in the region; simply under a different flag. The Australians would operate the submarines with Washington calling the shots: command and control is unlikely to be relinquished to Australia. India should not be seduced into joining AUKUS. If the USA wishes to play moral policeman in the region, it has freedom to do so. It would still continue to trade with China simply because China provides the US population with goods it cannot do without, and would be content to let the Australian navy pull its coals out of the fire. In the event, its performance as a moral policeman and "ally" has been demonstrated in Afghanistan for even the blind to see; something the Australians could remember – in their own interests.

Instigating a Sino – Indian conflict towards this unchanged global objective is not impossible; something India has to take note of. India's stand that the

QUAD is aimed to provide unfettered navigation of the seas to all and is certainly not a military "alliance" against anyone is a principled one. At the very best India is a "co – belligerent" and shares a common concern about China's designs – but purely within an India – specific context and not subordinate to those of Washington. Once the Sino – Indian border question and the CPEC – related issues are amicably resolved, India has no ill will towards China and can work with it to establish a regional order based on equity and justice – for all stakeholders. Chinese sponsorship of Pakistan in its neurotic anti – India posture as also of the Taliban does not promote an environment conducive towards such a just regional order. About India's proposed Agni – V test China has said that it stands for peace and stability in the region and wants India to halt the test. Why indeed? Simply because the realization is slowly dawning on China that another crocodile now swims in this river – and grows in size by the day. Chinese actions are not compatible with these lofty words. A hegemonic China wants peace in the region – but only on its terms; on a superior – subordinate relationship and with China calling the shots. No self – respecting country can (and should not) tolerate such arrogance.

A master – key to India's dilemma is to resolve the Sino – Indian border dispute in eastern Ladakh. The scope for negotiation or manoeuvre space lies between the Johnson Line of 1865 to the east and the Macartney – MacDonald Line of 1899 running mostly long the Karakoram watershed. In the event the Chinese are already west of this line. China cannot accept the Johnson Line since their Aksai Chin road would then run through Indian territory. While the CPEC running through POK is a sticking point, the reality is that India has not recovered POK since Independence, and China will safeguard the road with all possible means. China is unlikely to play the nuclear card, since it knows that India holds similar cards; has the will to play – and is adding more cards to the pack.

There are two bitter pills that India has to swallow – and "market" them to its population – and especially to the Honourable Opposition. It has done so de facto since Independence and only has to swallow them de jure. The first is settling the dispute in eastern Ladakh between the two Lines as indicated above. India would have to persuade China to adhere to the Macartney – MacDonald Line; as a sweetener it could "live "with the CPEC running through POK – while retaining its claim a la Taiwan.

The other bitter pill to swallow is to recognize the reality of POK. In the event, the north – western parts of POK are home to hostile tribes who accept nobody's authority. Instead of reoccupying POK (a herculean task in a hostile mountainous region), and attempting to "pacify" these tribes which the

Company Bahadur could not do, why not bequeath this problem to Pakistan – and China? These tribes are ill – disposed to the CPEC and would be happy to interdict it - with a little help from external (and indeterminate) entities. This is a window of opportunity for India; having the Chinese jugular within its grasp – and to be squeezed at will!

Pakistan neeeds to accept te reality that J&K was never part of it and that it has no locus standi at all. If it can abandon its fixation on J&K, relations can improve to the extent of being cordial. Rapid socio – economic change in J & K and its progressive integration into the mainstream would heighten discontent in POK. With investments in the state, there would be valid reasons to defend it. As far as Tibet is concerned India can adopt the pious approach that it is for the Tibetans to decide their status within China or outside it – while granting diplomatic de facto and continued "moral" recognition to the Tibetan government in exile; and with a consulate in New Delhi next to the Chinese Embassy. A similar approach could be adopted in the case of Taiwan – de facto recognition and consular representation. India could take a leaf from tiny Lithuania's approach which continues to rebuff China. Since China considers India of little or no consequence and is contemptuous of it, it is certain to ignore these steps! Will China be amenable to these overtures? Diplomatic finesse could help: coupled with increasing economic and military muscle – and with an assurance that both can be used. China can be placed on notice; it is for it to grasp the extended velvet covered hand with the assurance that once the gloves are off that hand can become a claw.

India must also recognize the much touted TAPI pipeline for what it is – a geopolitical and even economic non – starter. An emerging Russia – Iran – Pakistan – Turkey – Afghanistan – China axis is a distinct possibility. However, being no more than a marriage of convenience not unlike the Grand Alliance during World War II which was neither grand nor even an alliance, each participant would have its own overriding agenda – with caveats. Whether these countries (with the possible exception of Pakistan) would "dump "India completely to curry favour with China needs to be examined.

Russia enjoys very good relations with India, and Iran and Turkey have, to an extent, enjoyed a similar relationship. These countries are sovereign nations who would be in no hurry to compromise self - interest in favour to China. Russia, as also eventually China, would not want India to drift into the US "camp"; something the US would aspire for. India is poised to make the best of these rivalries – but that requires diplomatic finesse of a very high order. India's diplomats would have to work overtime to ensure that this remains so – and further tilts in favour of India. Russia may slowly realize that China is

no friend – but a competitor. A strong India (as also a resurgent Russia) could be counterweights to China; not as belligerents – but mainly to persuade it to accept the merits of justice and fair – play. This would ensure that the history of Eurasia would be determined by regional entities and not any trans – oceanic one.

Concluding Remarks

Developments in Afghanistan have, quite understandably, disappeared from the print and visual media - with more "breaking news" to entertain the masses. However, that does not mean that the situation on the ground has changed: and unlikely to change without deliberate interventions. The contemporary scenario in Afghanistan has presented India with many challenges to address – perhaps the most serious since Independence. India and its leadership will have to make many unpopular and unpleasant decisions – often in the teeth of formal and informal opposition both within and outside the country. This calls for many sacrifices by the people – especially economic. Infrastructure – building in J&K; including massive military infrastructure and maintenance of the armed forces for a long period must not be seen as an economic drain, but as a long - term investment. Cutting across the barriers of religion, region and caste the nation will have to be forged into a lustrous Sword and sharp Shield. These travails and tribulations will have to be borne with stoicism, resilience and fortitude; and in the teeth of opposition – with the confidence that the payoffs will eventually be favourable. This focus must be maintained notwithstanding which government is at the helm. Governments and policies can change, but strategic interests have a degree of permanency that cannot be tampered with every five years. China and the world are testing India's resilience. Any weakening of the resolve will condemn India to a status of irrelevance in the world order. History and geography have assigned India a role which it must play with growing confidence. India bares no ill will to anyone and covets nobody's territory – but shall not give away what is enshrined in the Constitution.

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ARE NATIONAL SECURITY LAWS DRACONIAN?

JAYANT UMRANIKAR

The Indian constitution tries to uphold the delicate balance between the fundamental freedoms of citizens and interests of the State. Yet, some Indian laws are criticised for becoming means of oppression rather than regulation. Public Safety Acts (such as the J&K PSA), National Security Act (NSA) and the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act, 1967 (UAPA) attract such criticism, besides the Section 124A of the Indian Penal Code that punishes 'Sedition'.

National Security Act, 1980:

NSA is a preventive detention law that allows the Centre or a State government to detain a person to prevent him from acting in any manner prejudicial to national security or to prevent him from disrupting public order or for maintenance of essential supplies and services.

a. Article 22 (3) (b) of the Indian Constitution allows for preventive detention and restriction on personal liberty for reasons of state security and public order.

Besides,

b. Article 22 (4) limits the detention of a person for no longer period than 3 months unless an Advisory Board reports sufficient cause for extended detention or such a person is detained under the provisions of any law enacted by the Parliament.

c. The maximum period for detention is 12 monthswhich is extendable if the government finds fresh evidence.

d. Detention under NSA is an administrative order passed either by the Divisional Commissioner or the District Magistrate (DM) and not detention ordered by police based on specific allegations /violation of the law.

e. Even if a person is in police custody or has been granted bail by a trial court or acquitted by the court, the same person can be detained under NSA.

f. The detainee does not have the right to move a bail application before a criminal court andthe official passing/carrying out the detention order has immunity from prosecution or any legal proceeding.

g. Inter alia, the law also takes away an individual's constitutional right under Article 22 to be produced before the magistrate within 24 hours when the accused is in (police) custody.

h. NSA may also be invoked if a person assaults a policeman on duty.

Inherent Safeguards:

All the detained persons have the right to make an effective representation before an independent advisory boardof three members, chaired by a High Court Judge.The other option is the Habeas Corpus.

The Supreme Court has held that the preventive detention should strictly maintain the delicate balance between social security and citizen freedom,"The law of preventive detention has to be strictly construed" and "meticulous compliance with the procedural safeguards" has to be ensured.

The Jammu and Kashmir Public Safety Act, 1978 (PSA) is a preventive detention law under which a person is taken into custody to prevent them from acting harmfully against "the security of the state or the maintenance of the public order" in the state of Jammu and Kashmir (now a union territory). It is very similar to NSA.This state law which retained under the Jammu and Kashmir Reorganisation Act of 2019.

UAPA

History

As an old victim of trans-border terrorism, India has enacted various legislations to counter terrorism.All these legislations, the Maintenance of Internal Security Act (MISA), the Terrorist and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act (TADA), and the Prevention of Terrorism Act (POTA) have been criticised ashighly draconian, and prone to misuse.

One common plaint about these laws has been the hold-all definition of 'terrorism' or 'terrorist act' which could be abused by the establishment against opposition politicians, journalists and anti-government activists. This definitional flaw was inevitable as, till date, even the UNO has not been able to come up with a universally acceptable and precise definition of 'terrorism'.

India-sponsored 'Comprehensive Convention on International Terrorism' is also stuck on this issue.

As MISA, TADA and POTA stand repealed, the main legislations for counter-terrorism now,are UAPA, 1967 and NIA, 2008. They are complementary and applicable throughout the territory of India. UAPA is a substantive law that defines 'terrorist act' and penalizes it with other allied offences. NIA is the procedural arm of UAPA that provides for the investigation and prosecution of offences affecting the 'sovereignty, security and integrity of India'.

Provisions

Initiallya preventive-detention legislation, UAPA was amended in 2004, (newChapter IV) after the repeal of POTA, to make it a counter-terrorism legislation.

1. It applies to every person in India or beyond India who commits an offence punishable under the act. It also applies to Indian citizens outside India, any person in the service of the government and persons on ships and aircrafts, registered in India irrespective of where they are.

2. UAPA Section 15, defines a 'terrorist act' to include a wider range of activities than those covered in repealed legislations of TADA and POTA.

3. The act, criminalises many associated activities such as raising funds for terrorist acts, conspiring to commit or advocating, abetting or preparing for the commission of a terrorist act, organising terrorist camp and recruiting persons for the commission of a terrorist act, harbouring or concealing a terrorist, being member of a terrorist gang or organisation, holding property derived from commission of any terrorist act, and threatening a witness.

4. UAPA also prescribes punishment for offences committed by a company as well as by societies and trusts.

5. It criminalises merely being a member or attending a meeting of a designated terrorist organisation.

> The purpose of such wide-ranging definition is to ensure that terrorist plots, many of them hatched abroad and funded by hostile agencies, as well as front organisations of terrorists or financiers do not escape the legal dragnet.

6. The latest amendment to UAPA (July 2019), proscribes individuals and their activities by naming individuals as terrorists even if they have no

links with the 36 terrorist organisations mentioned in the First Schedule of the Act.

The amendment was necessitated due to the modus adopted by proscribed organisations of changing their name frequently and morphing into new organisations (though the members would remain the same) to escape the ban.

7. After the amendment, UN-designated global terrorists like, Jaish-e-Mohammad-chief Masood Azhar, Lashkar-e-Taiba-chief Hafiz Saeed, LeT chief commander Zakir Rehman Lakhvi and Mumbai-underworld-don Dawood Ibrahim Kaskar are included in Schedule IV of UAPA.

8. Section 35 of UAPA empowers the Centre to add an organisation or an individual, which it believes to beinvolved in terrorism, to the first and fourth schedule, respectively.

UAPA verses Normal Law:

Old statutes such as TADA and POTA established specialised Courts to try persons charged under those legislations and excluded the jurisdiction of ordinary criminal Courts. UAPA has no such provisions but Sections 11 and 22 of NIA Act, 2008 allow the Central and State Governments to establish Special Courts for the trial of scheduled offences, including UAPA.Hence NIAA Special Courts can try offences under UAPA if NIA is investigating them.

Arrest and Pre-Trial Detention

Section 43A, UAPA: the provisions related to arrest, search and seizure provided under the CrPC apply to all arrests, searches and seizures under UAPA also. Yet a person can be arrested or 'search and seizure' can be made based on mere 'personal knowledge' of a Police officer rather than 'reasonable complaint' or 'credible information', as under the CrPC. (Inter alia, this takes care of intelligence inputs received against the suspect.)

Under UAPA, the Magistrate before whom a person arrested is produced can grant Police custody for the initial 30 days instead of the usual 15 days prescribed by section 167 of CrPC. Further, if investigation cannot be completed within 90 days, then the Special Court could authorise further detention for a period of 180 days, like POTA. Resultantly, an accused arrested under UAPA

can be kept in custody for 180 days without charge sheet being filed.

Bail

a. A person arrested under UAPA cannot be released on bail or personal bond unless the public prosecutor has been heard. If the Court forms an informed opinion that the accusations are prima facie true then such person cannot be released on bail or on his own bond.

b. Just like TADA/POTA, Section 438 of CrPC does not apply to UAPA and so, any person apprehending arrest is barred from getting 'Anticipatory Bail' from the Sessions or the High Courts.

Burden of Proof

Section 43E of UAPA: the presumption of innocence is reversed if certain facts are proved against a person who has been charged under Section 15. Thus, like TADA and POTA, UAPA also puts the burden of proof on the accused under certain circumstances.

Confession to Senior Police Officers

Unlike POTA,confessions under UAPA are governed by Section 164, CrPC and the bar of Sections 25 / 26 of the Indian Evidence Act, 1872 applies to UAPA. Thus, any confession made to a Police Officer or to anyone in Police Custody will not be admissible in Court. Now, only in MCOCA (Maharashtra Control of Organised Crime Act, 1999) the confession recorded by a senior police officer carries evidentiary value.

It is unfortunate that misuse of POTA provisions and irresponsible behaviour by some police officers (In one terror-related case, confessions of all accused persons were found to be identical, except the name of the accused!) has resulted in the withdrawal of faith in professionalism of senior police officers.

In-camera Trials

UAPA also provides for in-camera trials and also allows the identity of the witness to be confidential. This does not meet international standards of fair trial but is essential to safeguard the life and interests of witnesses. Since we do not have a robust witness protection plan, anonymity is the next-best option.

UAPA's constitutionality has never been challenged in the Courts. It is only the 2019 amendment that allows the Government to categorize individuals involved in terrorism and not just organizations, has been recently challenged in the Supreme Court in two recent petitions.

Misuse

While granting bail to student activists in the Delhi riots conspiracy case (15th June, 2021), the Delhi High Court observed that theiroffences did not prima facie relate to terrorist activities under UAPA. It said, "…the right to protest is not outlawed and cannot be termed as a 'terrorist act' within the meaning ofthe UAPA…".It criticized the police for applying 'terrorist act' to conventional offences falling under ordinary penal statutes such as the IPC.

> The court, inter alia, stated that the law enforcement agencies have misused counter terrorism legislations against those who had dissented against the government.

The 2018 National Crime Record Bureau(NCRB) report also mentions that 3920 oldand 1182 fresh cases, totally making it 5107 cases under UAPA were pending investigation in 2018.

1. It is alleged that the provisions of UAPA are being used against civil rights activists and those who oppose the government or its policies.

> However, the maximum number of cases under UAPA have been registered in Manipur, Jammu & Kashmir and Assam - the border states having insurgency, Naxalite and Maoist activity leading to the increased use of UAPA.

2. It is also alleged that many respectable leaders of society, journalists, students opposed to the Citizenship (Amendment) Act or CAA, are currently being investigated with intent to prosecute under UAPAespecially in states where the BJP has been in power.

> Yet Kerala, which has a left government, has also seen increase in the cases of the UAPA from 30 cases in 2014 and to 185 arrests in 2018.

Conviction rates

As per the NCRB, in 2014 for cases disposed under UAPA, the conviction rate was 27%. In 2015, itwas 14.5%;in 2016 it was 33%but it was 49.3% in 2017

and27.2% in 2018. The conviction rates are low but not so low, when compared that (in 2020), conviction rates were at 39% and 41% for other serious offences like rape and murder. The conviction rate for corporate frauds is about 5%. Answering a parliamentary question, the MHA stated that 4390 arrests were made under UAPA in three years since 2018butonly149 convicted.

These low conviction rates do not really show that the legislation is ineffective.

a.   They show difficulties in investigating UAPA and terror cases that normally involve clandestine plots, conspiracy, planning and funding, at times involving foreign -state as well as non-state actors.

b.   The other factor impeding prosecution is the lack of legislation or established procedure to take intelligence reports as evidence. (United Kingdom has such provision.)

c.   Many of the modern investigation techniques, like polygraph, brain mapping or narco-testing do not meet the standards of conclusive evidence and even these techniques can be undertaken only on court orders.

d.   Need for consent of the accused for invasive investigation techniques is yet another hurdle.

Besides, conviction is a result produced by the Criminal Justice System as a whole. In China, the conviction rate in criminal cases is 99.9%. That does not necessarily mean that their laws are perfect and their police more efficient or judiciary is more decisive.

At the same time, one should realise that applying special laws indiscriminately, reduces their relevance and devalues the law enacted for extraordinary crimes.

Sedition

Section 124A of the Indian Penal Code, 1860 lays down the punishment for sedition. It isin Chapter VI, which deals with offences against the state. Sections 121A and 124A were introduced in 1870. In the British Raj, section 124A was used to suppress freedom fighters like, Lokmanya Tilak and Mahatma Gandhi, both of whom were found guilty and imprisoned.

Sedition was omitted from the new Indian Constitution but reimposed through the very controversial First Amendment by the Nehru government in 1951. In 1962 our Supreme Court interpreted the section to apply only if there is, "incitement to violence" or "overthrowing a democratically elected government through violent means".Yet,sedition was made a cognizable offence byPM

Indira Gandhi in 1973, making arrest without a warrant permissible.

Low conviction rate

The sedition law is ill- defined and includesthe terms "bring into hatred or contempt" or "attempt to excite disaffection" that could be variously interpreted, leading toharassment of government critics and opponents.

Between 2014-2019, 326 sedition cases were registered but charge sheets were filed in 141 cases resulting in only 6 convictions.On 15th July 2021, the Chief Justice of India N.V. Ramana highlighted the low rate of conviction under Sedition and stated that this law had been misused by the executive powers.

However, no party in power seems to be in favour of repealing this section.

AFSPA

The AFSPA is of colonial origin,initially introduced as an ordinance during the Quit India Movement launched by Mahatma Gandhi in 1942. Facing massive violence across India, the then Viceroy Linlithgow promulgated the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Ordinance, 1942 giving the Armed Forces a "license to kill" when facing serious internal disturbances.

The new Indian government promulgated four ordinances in 1947 to deal with internal security and turmoil caused by partition in Bengal, Assam and the United Provinces.

Post-Independence, Indian parliamentpassed three different acts under AFSPA;

1. The Armed Forces Special Powers (Assam and Manipur) Act, 1958 to deal with Naga insurgency,

2. The Armed Forces (Punjab and Chandigarh) Special Powers Act, 1983 to deal with Khalistan movement,

3. The Armed Forces (J&K) Special Powers Act, 1990 to tackle militancy and insurgency in Kashmir.

4. Arunachal (restricted to three districts), Mizoram (removed), Manipur (except Imphal city), Nagaland, Tripura (removed in 2015), Meghalaya (removed in 2018) have also come under AFSPA at different times.

After separation of Nagaland, Assam was brought under AFSPA in 1990 when the whole state was declared disturbed area due to violent Assam Movement.

The main features of AFSPA are:

● Governor of a State and the Central Government are empowered to declare any part or full of any state as a disturbed area if in their opinion, it has become necessary to stop the terrorist activity or any such activity that might impinge on the sovereignty of India, cause insult to the national flag, anthem or Indian Constitution.

● Section (3):If the Governor issues an official notification in The Gazette of India, the Central government has the authority to deploy armed forces for assisting the civilian authorities. Once a region is declared 'disturbed' then it has to maintain the status quo for a minimum of 3 months, as per The Disturbed Areas Act of 1976.

● Section (4): It empowers army officers in disturbed areas to shoot (even kill) any individual who violates law / or is suspected to violate law (this includes assembly of five or more people, carrying of weapons) etc. However, the officer has to give a warning before opening fire.

● Security forces can arrest anyone without a warrant, and search without consent.

● Once a person is taken into custody, he/she has to be handed over to the nearest police station, as soon as possible.

● Any prosecution of the officer on duty for alleged violation of human rights requires the prior permission of the Central Government.

The main objections(and defense) against AFSPA are given below:

1. It does not distinguish between a peaceful gathering of five or more people and an unruly mob.

However, the number of militants killed, their identities and the arms recovered from them,generally disproves this objection.*

2. "No prosecution can be initiated against an officer without the previous sanction of the Central government"and the government is reluctant to give such sanction.

In deserving cases, the sanction has been given and even those cases were mostly found to be false and mischievous. Some cases have been found to be true and officers punished.#

3.   The decision of the government to declare a particular area 'disturbed' cannot be challenged in a court of law.

> This is the legal and constitutional authority that cannot be challenged.

*According to SATP portal, in J&K, between 2000-2021, 4879 civilians, 3519 security forces and 13002 militants were killed.

a.   January 10, 2014 Indian Express:Over 120 army men including 41 officers have been punishment for committing human rights violations in J&K during the last 20 years. (GOC-in-C) of the Northern Command, Lt General Sanjiv Chachra, said that, 'Of the 1,524 allegations of HR violations levelled during the past 20 years, 42 involving 124 army personnel were found true; following investigation into each of them by an independent and autonomous body.'

b.   The Wire; 12 June 2020: On 1st January, 2018: The Union Ministry for Defence informed the Rajya Sabha that it had received requests from the J&K Government for sanction to prosecute defence personnel in 50 cases that occurred between 2001-2016. While the requests were pending in three cases, the Government had denied sanction to prosecute the accused in 47 cases due to lack of sufficient evidence, prima facie.

Need for AFSPA

It must be appreciated that the armed forces have no role in declaring any area as disturbed or seeking deployment there.

●   The Act is applied to an area only when the ordinary laws are found to be insufficient to deal with the serious situation created by insurgency and police are found inadequate intackling the terrorists.Hence the induction of the army becomes imperative to battle the insurgents/terrorists to maintain the territorial integrity of India.

●   Insurgent/separatist movements in India are proxy-wars waged against India by external -state and non-state -actors requiring the deployment of armed forces in a counter-insurgency mode with legal protection.

●   The army has evolved SOPs on the basis of various Court directives on AFSPA to avoid collateral damage. It needs special powers to deal with local and foreign terrorists and mercenaries, who are well armed and well-trained. The army cannot operate in militancy-hit areas without AFSPA and if repealed, the army may have to withdraw from affected area, creating impossible challenge to national security.

For some reason, Police fighting Naxal insurgency have no such legal protection. The Naxal affected districts do not get declared as 'disturbed' and the army is not called, in spite of the fifty-plus years of armed insurgency and left-wing extremism. No wonder, there is an allegation that AFSPA is used only against 'non- (Hindu) Indians' of the North-East and J&K!

Mon (Nagaland) Mishap

On 4/5 December, 2021, acting on credible intelligence on the movement of NSCN (Khaplang) insurgent group, the 21 Para, Special Forces unit of the 3rd Corps, conducted a botched-up operation that resulted in the killing of 14 civilians belonging to the largest Naga Tribe, Konyak. The army immediately regretted the unfortunate incident and appointed the Court of Enquiry. There was a renewed demand to withdraw AFSPA from Nagaland from the politicians and civil society.

Delving a bit deeper into the incident may bring out the necessity of continuing AFSPA. The incident did not happen because AFSPA was in force but because the 'credible' intelligence behind the operation turned out to be wrong or not properly analysed. The operation was launched on the basis of flawed inputs that resulted in an unmitigated tragedy. Watching their brethren killed, the local population attacked the army unit causing more deaths. The soldiers of the unit had no personal enmity with the civilians but were initially following orders to eliminate suspected insurgents and later fighting against the mob, in self-defence.

In spite of all precautions, once in a while, field operations in counter-insurgency do go awry, exposing the army personnel to possible criminal prosecution. This is where AFSPA offers protection from hasty arrests, till the in-depth enquiry takes place. Serious crimes, unprofessional conduct, atrocities, if disclosed in the enquiry, lead to Central sanction to prosecute. AFSPA does not condone crimes or grant blanket immunity but allows the Centre to separate wheat from chaff.

Court Rulings

In 1997, the Supreme Court (SC) had upheld the constitutionality of AFSPA and said that it was an enabling legislation that confers minimum powers on the army to operate in situations of widespread internal disorder. Even Pratap Bhanu Mehta admitted that 'moral and legal judgement on the conduct of security forces in the face of palpable violence, insurgency and terrorism is a tricky matter and should not be subject of easy moralising.'

In July 2016, a SC bench (Madan Lokur- U.U. Lalit) had ruled that every allegation of use of excessive force that results in death of an individual by the armed forces or state police (in Manipur) must be looked into and a first information report (FIR) registered.

In July, 2017 the SC dismissed a curative petition filed by the Centre against this verdict. The SC held that "there is no concept of absolute immunity from trial by a criminal court" if an Army man has committed an offence.

Thus, as of date, possibility of a criminal trial exists but only after the Central govt. approval to prosecute.

Are Indian laws exceptionally draconian? Let us compare them with the US and French legal frameworks to deal with the threat to national security. Both have multi-ethnic societies, like India.

USA: First Amendment vs Restrictions

Terrorism, wars, threats of wars and risks to national security have prompted the US government to restrict First Amendment freedoms, many times, despite the absolute language of the First Amendment.

Alien and Sedition Acts (1798): for the sake of national security,it stifled any speech that criticized the President, who was in undeclared conflict with France, at sea. It was justified as a measure needed to prevent threats to national security from within the country.The AlienEnemies Act (1798) permitted the govt to arrest and deport male citizens of enemy nation in the event of war. While other acts were repealed by 1802, the AE Act has stayed. In 1918, the act was amended to include women also.

During the Civil War, President Lincoln suspended the writ of habeas corpus in unstable parts of the North and so did the Confederate government.

World War I:The Espionage Act of 1917 and the Sedition Act of 1918, punished political dissidents because their speech allegedly presented a clear and present danger to national security and war efforts.

World War II and The Cold War:The government incarcerated the Japanese Americans at the beginning of WW-II.The Alien Registration Act(1940) or The Smith Act made it illegal to call for the overthrow of the U.S. government;started intrusive congressional investigations into personal beliefs and associations,

and other efforts, to suppress domestic Communism.

The US Supreme Court observed that national security does justify restrictions on First Amendment rights. It also noted that the government could shut down a newspaper if it published military secrets.

The Intelligence Identities Protection Act (IIPA) of 1982 prohibits 'outing' of intelligence operatives. E.g., Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) operative Philip Agee published a book, 'Inside the Company' exposing over 250 CIA operatives and assets in Latin America. The government revoked Agee's passport and the Supreme Court accepted the decision.

The War on Terror:The USA Patriot Act, passed after the 9/11 attacks, authorised the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) to use national security letters (NSLs) under Section 505. It is an administrative subpoena instrument forcing recipients to comply with requests for various data, records. It also prevents recipients from even acknowledging they have received an NSL.

"Secret evidence" is another questionable instrument used by the government, especially in immigration cases. In 2003 Sami al-Arian, a tenured professor at the University of South Florida, was arrested, based on secret evidence, for his alleged ties to the Palestinian Islamic Jihad. After legal contests and plea-bargaining agreement, he was convicted for conspiracy and sentenced to nineteen months in jail besides the 57 months already served for raising funds for the Palestinian Islamic Jihad.

The American Service-Members' Protection Act (ASPA)

Enacted on August 2, 2002 this US federal law protectsUS military personnel and other elected and appointed officials of the US government against criminal prosecution by an international criminal court to which the United States is not party.

French laws:

On July 30, 2021, Francepassed anew Law on Terrorism Prevention and Intelligence Gathering.

Terrorism Prevention

Now the governmentgot power to
● close places of worship where terrorism, hatred or discrimination is promoted.

● establish "individual monitoring and surveillance measures" against individuals presenting a "particularly serious" threat of terrorism.

The local prefects have power to

● establish special protection perimeters around places and/or events vulnerable to a terrorist attack, like concerts or sports events.

● order law enforcement officials to conduct searches of any place,upon authorization from a judge,if there is a "serious reason to believe" that a terrorism suspect frequents that place.

Intelligence

a. French intelligence services will, (on an experimental basis) intercept satellite communications, use algorithms to scan internet connection and browse data to detect possible terrorist activity.

b. Electronic communications operators shall keep, for one-year, technical data that would allow the identification of connection sources as well as technical data on the terminal equipment used.

c. The government could scramble the signal of drones to prevent them from flying over certain areas, like large crowd gatherings or prohibited areas.

The French Constitutional Council reviewed and found above provisions to be constitutional.

French Definition of act of terrorism:

Article 421-1 of the Criminal Code (CC) gives a list of ordinary offences which become acts of terrorism when 'committed intentionally in relation to an individual or collective undertaking the purpose of which is seriously to disturb the public order by intimidation or terror.'

1. The offences include murders, abduction and kidnapping, hijacking of planes, vessels, the production, sale, import or export of explosive substances, money laundering and insider dealing.

2. 'The participation of any group or association established with a view to the preparation, marked by one or more material actions, of any of the acts of terrorism provided for in previous articles shall in addition be an act of terrorism'.

3. Also punished are the participation in any group formed or association established with a view to the preparation of act of terrorism, the funding of terrorist groups and

4. 'Ecological terrorism' i.e., the introduction -into the atmosphere, ground, soil, water and food products- of substances liable to imperil human or animal health or the natural environment

French anti-terror laws provide exceptional rules for prosecution, examination and trial of terrorist acts:

- Terrorist suspects can be held in police custody before being charged for four days rather than two as is the norm. The further extension of up to 48 hours above the two days must be authorised by the examining magistrate.
- Under article 145-2 CCP, a suspect may be held in pre-trial detention after having been charged for up to four years in terrorist cases.
- Night-time searches are permitted in storage spaces of houses, in the context of terrorism (arts 59, 706-90 and 706-91 CCP).
- The police have the right to search cars without judicial warrant (article 78-2-2 CCP) and to obtain, subject to warrant by an investigating magistrate, access to private telephone calls (art. 706-95 CCP).
- The law also provides for longer sentences for acts committed for the purpose of terrorism. Thus, it will be a life sentence if in ordinary circumstances the term provided is 30 years (article 421-3 CC).

Thus, even the land of 'liberte, egalite, fraternite,' has enacted special laws and measures to deal with the menace of terrorism. They are not very dissimilar to UAPA provisions.

'Don't throw the baby out with the bathwater'

After comparing with other national security laws, our laws do not look as draconian as they may appear to be in comparison with the normal laws of the land. The French definition of terrorist act is very similar to UAPA definition. Unfortunate mistakes like the Mon massacre or politically motivated use of NSA, UAPA and PSA are avoidable aberrations and do not reflect on the utility or legality of these exceptional laws framed for exceptional crimes against the nation.

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A Study of Motivational Factors in Indian Military

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ABSTRACT - Motivation in general context has been defined by various theories from Maslow's human five-level hierarchy of needs, Frederick Herzberg's Two-factor theory motivation-hygiene theory, Herzberg's critical factors-Job content factors (Motivators), and Job-context factors (Hygiene factors), David C. McClelland's three needs, Clayton Alderfer ERG theory and many more. However, we tend to forget that motivation is a Behavioural and mental concept, so it differs from person to person. Therefore, on the ground, it should be different for people from various walks of life and background viz. educational qualifications, social status, and nature of work. The Indian Military being an extremely professional and dedicated service has always delivered its best through motivated and sincere men. It is imperative to understand the factors and they are interrelationships for motivated men to face the day to day to day challenges in the Indian Military.

KEYWORDS- Indian Military, Motivation, Job Freedom, Work-Life Balance

1. INTRODUCTION

Motivation to work is of great importance in any professional service including the military since a lot of time is spent working in conditions that are not comfortable. Depending on the severity of an operation, people devote varying amounts of time to our work. What motivates an individual and how they value their time are two possible underlying factors in career choice. A person who chooses a demanding career, such as the military, has more obligations to work than someone who chooses a non-demanding position.

Furthermore, the relationship between work and personal life is being examined with new perspectives. The boundaries have augmented, and work and personal life are more intertwined than ever before. Previously, when a

person has left their workplace, they had fewer obligations or responsibilities to the company; as Karl Marx once stated, "Freedom begins at the gates of the factory." People nowadays frequently bring their work home, and coworkers socialize outside of work.

Moreover, the importance of being able to motivate employees to work has been emphasized, and it plays a vital role in the military. The subject is heavily debated, and far more study has been undertaken in recent years. Motivation is among the few factors that influence everything we do and experience, including our work, family, and friends, as well as our necessities.

"Obstacles are those frightful things you see when you take your eyes off your goal," as said by HenryFord, the American founder of the Ford Motor Company and father of modern assembly lines used in mass production, connotes the significance of the Motivation concept in depth. Every human being is focused on achieving personal and professional goals and the most important and underlying factor that drives every human being to reach their targets is motivation. Therefore, if we refer to the quote stated in the beginning we can interpret that fathom motivation human beings may come across several barriers which will hinder their journey of achieving targets. In fact, if this driving force would not have existed, then people would have lived in the rut of monotony and no great inventions would have happened. Humanity would have probably continued to exist in the stone age. However, in reality, the fact that humanity is constantly progressing is proof enough that motivation exists as a prominent factor.

Motivation plays a dominant role in the organizations that are in the workplace with the simplest reason being that an adult spends the maximum of his or her hours in the office. With every job, there is one common problem that employees experience, which is getting stuck in the machine of time and routine. This leads to boredom and is known to be the de-motivator by the experts. Hence, it is the duty of the human resource managers and/or professionals to ensure that there are varied ways and means, strategies implemented to keep employees motivated and regain momentum and velocity while achieving targets. Effective and efficient leaders can implement different situations with respect to different organizations with the most common ones being positive reinforcement by setting high expectations, embedding discipline and punishment, fair treatment of employees, satisfying employee needs by various means, setting work-related goals, restructuring jobs, and finally rewarding and recognizing on accomplishments and excellent job performance. By motivating employees an efficient leader should be able to reduce the gap between an individual's actual state and some desired state. As stated by Dale Carnegie, an American

writer, and lecturer, and developer of famous courses in self-improvement, salesmanship, and corporate training," One of the most tragic things I know about human nature is that all of us tend to put off living. We are all dreaming of some magical rose garden over the horizon-instead of enjoying the roses blooming outside our windows today" (Carnegie,1937). Employees aspire and dream to fulfill their targets, an effective leader needs to motivate them and provide them the framework to achieve success in their journey. That's how the employees will be able to reap the benefits of their hard work and dedication, they will be able to develop their competencies and be committed to the work environment. As human resource professionals, we have decided to understand and deep dive into this predominant factor. Now, let's take a turn to discover the meaning and foundation of motivation as a concept.

According to, Richard Ryan, founder of Self Determination Theory (contemporary motivational theory), and Edward L Deci," Motivation concerns energy, direction, persistence and equifinality-all aspects of activation and invention. Motivation is at the core of biological, cognitive, and social regulation. Perhaps more important, in the real world, motivation is highly valued because of its consequences: Motivation produces" (Deci & Ryan, 1985, 1991; Ryan, 1995). These last two words help explain why leaders want the employees to be motivated within the organizations: because this condition leads to much-desired outcomes rather than desired productivity. As we can see in the definition, intensity, specific direction and persistence are the key accelerators in the process of getting motivated. Therefore all efforts made towards achieving the targets are bound to be framed within these key drivers. Let's gain knowledge on various sources of motivation, some of which are already stated in the definition above:

- **Behavioural:** This is to get wanting and good repercussions to stay away from unwanted or unhappy consequences
- **Social:** The need for belongingness to something i.e. group, team, etc
- **Biological:** Fulfilment of needs of biological nature such as hunger, thirst, carnal desires, etc.
- **Cognitive:** satisfaction of intellectual needs
- **Affective:** emotional needs
- **Conative:** achieving personal goals by overcoming all challenges and threats
- **Spiritual:** the goal of self-realization

1.1 RESEARCH OBJECTIVE

The study shows that in the context of the military, the majority of study has been done on leadership traits, the effect of pay/promotion/ recognition on job effectiveness, attitude to changing Military behavior, Transformational leadership for the future, Decision making. No concrete study has been done which covers the majority of factors affecting motivation in the Indian military. The Objectives of this research are

a)   To identify and selection of the various factors affecting motivation in the Indian Coast Guard.

b)   To develop a framework/ hypothetical model between motivation and selected factors.

c)   To Study the inter-relationship between each factor and with respect to Motivation.

d)   Development of questionnaire and testing it in ICG to test its effectiveness.

1.2 SCOPE AND OBJECTIVES

Scope:

This research focuses exclusively on the enrolled personnel who serve under officers in the military. The study's scope is with only sample size 125.

Then a pilot survey was undertaken in which 45 EPs were asked to give a rating to all the factors (0 being the lowest and 10 being the highest) based on the importance of the factor in their life, relation to the military, and criticality of factors affecting motivation. All the responses were then analyzed and the mean value of all factors was calculated. The factors having a mean value greater than 8.0(Locke, Rhine 1976) was accepted as the critical factor. Hence, six factors were obtained namely Needs, work-life balance, pay-work balance, the meaningfulness of job, training, and organizational support.

1.3 PROBLEM STATEMENT

Is there an effective system of measuring motivation in the Indian Military to have a better understanding of the needs, expectations of Enrolled Personnel? Has there been the identification of factors that play a key role in motivating a person?

1.4 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

● The Eps have not decided their wellbeing and their responses can differ greatly according to their mentoring.

● The research is common and should not be used with hardcore business activities for general intent only.

● This trial is limited by the pandemic of Covid-19 Most citizens cannot be accessed directly.

2. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The system used for analysis is explained in this section. It discusses the collection processes, the analysis methods, and how data may be analyzed. The essay discusses the important problems in the collection of data and the conclusions of the research.

2.1 RESEARCH DESIGN

The analysis of data for this research is carried out in four stages namely Descriptive Statistics, Reliability Statistics, Correlation, and regression analysis. The descriptive analysis will comprise studying the behavior trend of the data, to get an approximated idea about what the initial data is pointing towards. The reliability analysis will tell us whether the sample size undertaken for this research is sufficient depending on the data collected by questionnaires. Correlation analysis will tell the level of interaction/impact between the independent and dependent variables. Lastly, Regression analysis will depict the model's goodness of fit, how well defined the model structural integrity is between the concerned selected factors.

2.2 DATA SOURCES AND COLLECTION METHODS

(i) The age of the participants in the survey. Around 57% are in the age group 24-28, 21% in 29-35, 17% in 18-23 and 5% above 35 years of age.

(ii) The years of service done by the respondents wherein 57% has served 1 to 5 years, 26% 5 to 10 years, 12% less than 1 years, 5% 10 to 15

years. Figure 3 tells that 46% of respondents are married and 38% are unmarried. 5 % are single and widowed and the rest 7% are Divorced.

(iii) Further results show the mean value of each independent variable (Needs, Work-life Balance, Pay work Balance, Meaningfulness of job, Training, Organizational support, and one dependent variable Motivation. The mean value for each variable was observed to be low (highest 1.9524 and lowest 1.0952) and the standard deviation is also low (highest 0.36265). Hence, we can conclude that majority of the respondents are young technical officers in the age group 24-28, having total service 1 to 6 years, married, and do not agree with the present conditions of any selected variable.

2.3 RELIABILITY ANALYSIS

A reliability test was undertaken to check the consistency of the scale used i.e. Likert scale with respect to the questionnaire. The range of values is from 0 to 1. The acceptable value is above 0.7. SPSS tool of Cronbach alpha was used and the result shows that responses for selected variables are consistent and reliable.

VARIABLE NAME	NO OF ITEMS	CRONBACHALPHA COEFFICIENT
Needs	5	0.941
Work Life Balance	5	0.734
Pay Work Balance	5	0.717
Meaningfulness of Job	5	0.813
Training	5	0.757
Organizational support	5	0.846
Motivation	5	0.851

2.4 CORRELATION ANALYSIS

A statistical tool that specifies the extent to which two or more variables are related to each other. The impact relationship of one variable on another variable is explained by correlation. The value of correlation varies from -1 to +1. A positive correlation means that both variables are proportionally related but the extend of the proportional depends on the value of correlation. +1 value shows that both variables are directly related. Higher the value of correlation means stronger the relationship between two variables. A negative correlation means both variables are inversely related. Software used SPSS.

Correlations

		Needs	work_life_bal ance	pay_work_bal ance	Meaningfulne ss	Training	Organizationa l_support	Motivation
Needs	Pearson Correlation	1	.178*	.106	.320**	.185*	.293**	-.140
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.046	.236	.000	.038	.001	.119
	N	126	126	126	126	126	126	126
work_life_balance	Pearson Correlation	.178*	1	.319**	.493**	-.084	.235**	.141
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.046		.000	.000	.350	.008	.116
	N	126	126	126	126	126	126	126
pay_work_balance	Pearson Correlation	.106	.319**	1	.263**	.019	.182*	.389**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.236	.000		.003	.830	.041	.000
	N	126	126	126	126	126	126	126
Meaningfulness	Pearson Correlation	.320**	.493**	.263**	1	.022	.253**	-.044
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.003		.810	.004	.623
	N	126	126	126	126	126	126	126
Training	Pearson Correlation	.185*	-.084	.019	.022	1	.258**	-.204*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.038	.350	.830	.810		.004	.022
	N	126	126	126	126	126	126	126
Organizational_support	Pearson Correlation	.293**	.235**	.182*	.253**	.258**	1	-.085
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.001	.008	.041	.004	.004		.342
	N	126	126	126	126	126	126	126
Motivation	Pearson Correlation	-.140	.141	.389**	-.044	-.204*	-.085	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.119	.116	.000	.623	.022	.342	
	N	126	126	126	126	126	126	126

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

The above values show a strong correlation between the various independent and dependent variables. The highest correlation value was observed to be between Motivation and Job involvement (0.8950) and lowest between MOTIVATION and organizational support (0.720).

2.5 HYPOTHESIS FORMULATION

The above analysis conducted shows that the sample size we have undertaken is adequate (KMO), the reliability of the scale is good (Cronbach), and presence of a significant relationship between the dependent variable and independent variables. To prove the convergent validity i.e. the data we have collected is suitable and significant for our model, the concept of regression is used. Regression is a statistical concept that is used to determine how an independent variable is numerically related to the dependent variable. Regression helps to predict how the dependent variable will vary when the independent variable is changed. Therefore, regression is used to prove the MOTIVATION model. Thus every relationship between the independent and dependent variables is referred to as a hypothesis statement and regression is done to prove the significance of the relationship between them.

H1: There is a strong relation between Need and Motivation.

H2: There is a strong relation between Work-life Balance and Motivation.

H3: There is a strong relation between Pay work Balance and Motivation.

H4: There is a strong relation between Meaningfulness of the job and Motivation.

H5: There is a strong relation between Training and Motivation.

H6: There is a strong relationship between organizational support and Motivation.

RELATIONSHIP OF JOB FREEDOM AND MOTIVATION

Model Summary				
Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.630[a]	0.898	0.052	2.42257

ANOVA						
Model	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig	
1	Regression	69.454	5	13.891	2.367	.044[b]
	Residual	704.260	120	5.869		
	Total	773.714	125			

H0 (Null Hypothesis):

Strong relation between job freedom and MOTIVATION does not exist.

HPT1 (Alternate Hypothesis):

Strong relation between job freedom and MOTIVATION exists.

The regression predicts the relationship of Job freedom and Motivation is statistically significant because the (p-value = 0.044) is less than 0.05. The coefficient of determination r2 = 0.90, shows that 90% of the variation in Independence to use skills is determined by Motivation which also indicates that the model is significant. Hence, we reject H0 and accept H1.

RELATIONSHIP OF WORK-LIFE BALANCE AND MOTIVATION

H0 (Null Hypothesis):

Strong relation between WLB and MOTIVATION does not exist.

H2 (Alternative Hypothesis):

Strong relation between WLB and MOTIVATION exists.

Model Summary

Model	R	R-square (R^2)	Adjusted R Square (R^2)	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.621[a]	0.722	0.001	2.48690

ANOVA

Model	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig	
1	Regression	31.556	5	6.311	1.020	.041[b]
	Residual	742.158	120	6.185		
	Total	773.714	125			

The regression predicts the relationship of Work-life balance and Motivation is statistically significant because the (p-value = 0.041) is less than 0.05. The coefficient of determination r2 = 0.721, shows that 72.1% of the variation in Work-life balance is determined by Motivation which also indicates that the model is significant. Hence, we reject H0 and accept H2.

It was observed that all null hypothesis was rejected and there exists a strong relationship between all 6 factors and motivation.

3. CONCLUSIONS

The above analysis proves that all the hypotheses we have taken into considerations are true and therefore there are significant relations between independent variables and one dependent variable. Military drills include counseling as an effective method to keep the spirits high however the motivational factors brought out in the study need to be taken into account for understanding the perspective of an individual and then individually devised motivational programs can be put to use.

Recommendation

Recognition of needs, their acceptance, and expression in an understanding environment provides employees with the space in which they are free to be creative, follow their own job goals, experiment with new things at work, etc which is identified in this study.

The maintenance of work and life in a balanced form means to develop certain priorities, rules in life in order to have proper management between numerous responsibilities at work and within the different aspects of life. This problem is vibrant to both the organization's workers. Many prominent authors have characterized WLB as satisfactory levels of the struggle between work and non-work demands. Several WLB studies have shown consequences regarding vibrant employees that develop a feeling of discontent due to intrusion between job requirements and family problems. In respect to ICG, the statistical data shows a low average of WLB thereby indicating that the respondents are facing difficulties to maintain WLB and thereby are not content with their job. On discussions, reasons for meager WLB were the high workload experienced due to less manpower, irregular office timings, long duration of sailing throughout the year, less social gatherings, less personnel time for recreation, etc.

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FORMAL MENTORING FOR EFFECTIVE GROOMING OF YOUNG OFFICERS AND SAILORS IN THE INDIAN COAST GUARD

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Abstract

The Indian Coast Guard recognizes mentoring relationships as a means of helping staff to make progress with their career and organizational life. For example individuals with mentorship progress further in the company, earn higher revenues, are less likely to leave the company and, according to the research, have more productive working patterns. This paper highlights the potential to incorporate mentoring in a more organized way to improve the Coast Guard's human capital growth. Also, the benefits and drawbacks of mentoring in military organisations as well as lessons learnt from other military organization's (US military) are being covered in this paper. A review of the evidence related to mentoring suggested that the introduction of formal mentoring will benefit the navy but it is pertinent to mention that only formal mentoring will not solve the purpose of this study. Coast guard mentoring should be based on a hybrid of formal and informal mentoring and voluntary and involuntary mentoring programmes to foster a healthy culture of mentorship.

Key Words

Mentor-Mentee Relationship, Indian Coast Guard, Mentoring Strategy

Introduction

Mentoring or mentorship is a relationship among two people wherein a

trusted person i.e a mentor assists the other person i.e a protégé in learning something that the latter would have learned gradually or not at all otherwise. Mentoring involves a relationship between a more experienced (and probably more knowledgeable) individual (mentor), who is expected to play the role of a teacher, guide, counsellor, adviser and motivator to the mentee or protégé. The origins of mentorship are ancient. The word „mentor" owes its origin to Greek mythology, and features in Homer"s classic Odyssey. In the epic, Mentor figures as a friend of Greek king Odysseus. When Odysseus leaves for the Trojan War, he places his son Telemachus in Mentor"s charge. In Odyssey, Goddess Athena appears in disguise as Mentor and guides him to deal with personal dilemmas. Regarding the role of Mentor in the encouragement of Telemachus, the term Mentor has gained usage as meaning someone who shares knowledge and wisdom with a less experienced colleague. In the Indian context, mentorship was inherent in the "guru-shishya" (teacher – disciple) tradition. In organisational management, mentorship is being considered an important tool for personal and professional development.

Social change has a profound impact on organisational culture, including in military organisations, as employees remain impressionable and susceptible to changing social values and norms in their environment. The Indian Coast Guard has been responsive to societal changes and attendant challenges in the human resource domain. Reforms have been directed at addressing salient issues, which affect morale, motivation and efficiency of serving personnel, who constitute the vital „fighting element" of the Coast Guard human resource. This paper would attempt to bring out that the Coast Guard organisational culture and development of its human resource could be substantially improved and enhanced by introducing a culture of mentorship, with potentially far-reaching effects across the Service. The factors entailed in the proposition, concerning available international examples, would be brought out, in the discussion. Broad recommendations towards the introduction of mentoring culture in the ICG would form the concluding part of the paper.

Mentoring in Organisational Culture

When a more experienced and elder member of the organisation takes a subordinate, under his wing; sharing knowledge gained over the years, and assisting in the socialisation of the less experienced person, a mentoring relationship is said to be present. Broadly, mentoring is of two types, formal and informal. Mentoring process involves sequential stages, wherein the mentor

and mentee need to collaborate and remain committed to the mutually derived goals, aimed at developing the protégé's skill sets, qualities, knowledge, as well as thinking. An effective mentoring relationship is based on respect and trust.

It has been established that the introduction of mentoring programmes could be beneficial to organisations in developing their human resources and strengthening organisational culture. A well-implemented mentoring programme benefits both protagonists in the mentoring relationship, as well as the organisation.

Organisational Benefits of Mentoring

Mentoring stands to benefit various types of organisations in several ways and to varying degrees. The nature of mentoring relationships also changes as participants move up the hierarchal ladder.

a) **Development of Human Resources.** Mentoring has the most immediate advantages in terms of human resource development. Employee motivation, job performance, as well as retention rates can all benefit from mentoring. It can help newly hired employees integrate more quickly into the organization's culture, increase employee satisfaction, encourage strategic succession planning, as well as improve communications, interactions and knowledge transfer within the organisation. The most significant aspect from research on mentoring in civil organisations is that mentoring precisely promotes career success, as well as mentored employees, are much more motivated as well as committed to their organisation and career.

b) **Strengthening Organisational Culture.** Mentoring offers a structured system for reinforcing & ensuring organisational culture continuity. Mentoring can assist in the development of an excellent corporate culture by providing members with implicit knowledge acquisition of what is intended of them now and, as a result, how much they can expect from the organisation. This can be critical to the success as well as the effectiveness of an organisation. Mentors can help in the diffusion of culture by carrying myths and legends to subordinates, thus providing context to several stories about the organisation, just as in conventional societies in which tribal folklore, as well as fables comprising "moral lessons", are transferred down from one generation to the other.

c) **Mentors as 'Deep Sensors' of Morale.** Moreover, mentors being transfer agents of corporate culture could even play a role as "deep sensors" of

motivation and morale and can assist in communicating early warning signals of potential issues to senior management long before they manifest through normal channels. Mentors could often be in a good position to spot talent which might not otherwise be noticed. They could act as a „sounding board" for ideas which the protégé could be hesitant in approaching his direct superior. Mentors can also provide valuable advice and guidance to their protégés on the best way to cope with the subtleties of the organisation"s informal politics.

Roles of Mentors and Protégés

Mentor

A mentor is indeed a trustable counsellor as well as a guide who is engaged in the creation & support of a less experienced person. The mentor would be expected to perform the following roles:-

a) Act as a mentor and teacher to the protégé by assisting in his or her development.

b) Assist in potential career planning as well as strengthen the protégé's relationship with the command chain.

c) Provide advice as well as coaching on activities that will result in experience and skill development.

d) Teach social, technical, and management skills, as well as effective behaviour and organisational function.

e) Counselling on both professional and personal issues.Encouragement to protégés to seek challenges.

f) Provide constructive feedback on the performance of the protégé.

g) Fulfil training requirements and developmental activities to prepare the protégé to be an appropriate and effective mentor.

Protégé

A protégé, or mentee, is the more junior person being mentored. The protégé would be expected to perform the following roles:-

a) Seek out and initiate communication with the supervisor and mentor.

b) Demonstrate the willingness to accept responsibility for one's growth and

development.

c)   Strive for success at one or even more levels above current position in the organization.

d)   Stay receptive to feedback & coaching.

e)   Search for possible challenging assignments and new responsibilities.

f)   Raise issues of concern regarding professional development.

Types of Mentoring

Formal Mentoring

Formal mentoring, commonly known as formal/organized therapy, relies on the objectives of the group and how defence goals work into the enterprise. This mindset encourages a "legal business" attitude to partnerships, resulting in little or no contact. Systematic therapy is typically linked to the order creation phase which has a time limit. In this method of relationship, the adviser and guardian create a written cooperation agreement, or contract, outlining their goals and responsibilities. From the beginning of the relationship, both parties have signed a cooperation plan to formalize and explain the relationship. All members need preparation to recognize their positions as a counsellor and defenders. All partners track the partnership, which improves or ceases until the organization's priorities are met. Many organizations, according to trends, favour organized therapy because it allows them the ability to know who is being taught, where they are being trained, and how they are being treated.

Informal Mentoring

Informal Mentoring, also known as conventional mentoring,is mostly concerned with their wellbeing and intentions (personal and). The determination of the defence function of this type of therapy is made easier by the use of goals. The mentor and mentee collaborate to develop an action plan that establishes career goals that will guide the protégé down the right career path. Informal mentoring not only inspires the mentee to establish career aspirations but also inspires the mentee to establish individual objectives. Informal mentoring tends to focus on the individual's personal developmental process. Informal mentoring is indeed a naturally occurring phenomenon wherein the mentor and mentee are often drawn together via internal forces. The connection is established by

Ser	Issue/ Factor	Formal	Informal
(a)	Focus	The focus is on organisational goals.	The focus is on the development of protégé and his/her goals.
(b)	Pairing/ Selection	Mentor and mentees pair by own internal forces, selection is natural by mutual attraction, the similarity of interests and personal characteristics.	The organisation facilitates the pairing of mentor and protégé. A list of suitable mentors is provided to the protégé. These matches are based on shared attitudes, work assignments, characteristics, as well as self-selected goals.
(c)	Partnership Agreement	Mentor and protégé establish a formal partnership plan, or contract, outlining standards, expectations and responsibilities.	Together, mentor and protégé formulate an action plan that establishes professional goals for the protégé.
(d)	Monitoring	Mentor & protégé examine the mentoring relationship against the programme to ensure that the formal partnership plan is followed.	Mentoring is left to the strength of the relationship between the mentor and protégé.
(e)	Duration	Formal mentoring programmes have a defined timeframe.	Informal mentoring programmes can last for years, and friendships developed as a result of this type of mentoring can last for a lifetime.
(f)	Training	Formal mentoring programmes require training to be imparted to both, mentor and protégé, facilitated by the organisation	Informal mentoring programmes may be undertaken with or without training.
(g)	Evaluation	The mentoring programme is analyzed to identify outcomes like benefits, cost-effectiveness, as well as difficulties.	The mentoring programme is not evaluated.

internal factors like mutual trust and respect, shared experiences, as well as shared interests. Informal mentoring can last for years, as well as the friendships formed, as a result, could last a lifetime. When all parties care for each other's well-being, informal counselling may be quite successful. Friendships, rather than being a need for jobs, keep the parties together.

Stages of Mentoring

The eventual aim of mentoring is to develop a very well, a proficient employee who outgrows a mentor's tutelage. The relationship should progress until the protégé is self-motivated, self-assured, as well as polished. A mentor's goal should be to bring his or her protégé to the point where he or she can be a mentor to someone else. The degree of reliance the protégé has on a mentor distinguishes different stages of mentoring. Mentoring stages include varying degrees of protégé dependency, as shown below.:-

a) Prescriptive Stage.

This is the initial stage of mentoring when the protégé has very little or no experience with the Coast Guard or even in the workplace. This is the most comfortable stage for the novice protégé, who relies on a mentor for guidance and support. That's the stage at which the mentor prescribes, orders, and advises a protégé. The mentor counsels and advises the protégé on a wide range of workplace issues as well as procedures.

b) Persuasive Stage.

The next stage is the persuasive stage, in which the mentor effectively persuades the protégé to seek answers as well as challenges. The protégé typically has some expertise but requires firm guidance to be successful. A protégé may need to be prodded into taking big risks at this stage, so a mentor should recommend new techniques, coach, as well as question and push the mentee into the discoveries.

c) Collaborative Stage.

With in the collaborative stage, the mentee must have gained adequate capability and expertise to collaborate with the mentor to collectively resolve issues and engage in "more equal" communication. During this stage, the mentee participates actively in their professional development with the mentor.

d) Confirmative Stage.

The confirmative stage is appropriate for a protégé with a lot of experience, who has mastered the job requirements but requires a mentor"s insight into Coast Guard policies and people. In this stage, the mentor acts more as a sounding board or empathetic listener.

The Mentoring Process

The formal mentoring process covers several steps. For example, the mentoring process followed in the US Navy Personnel Command covers critical steps as described below:-
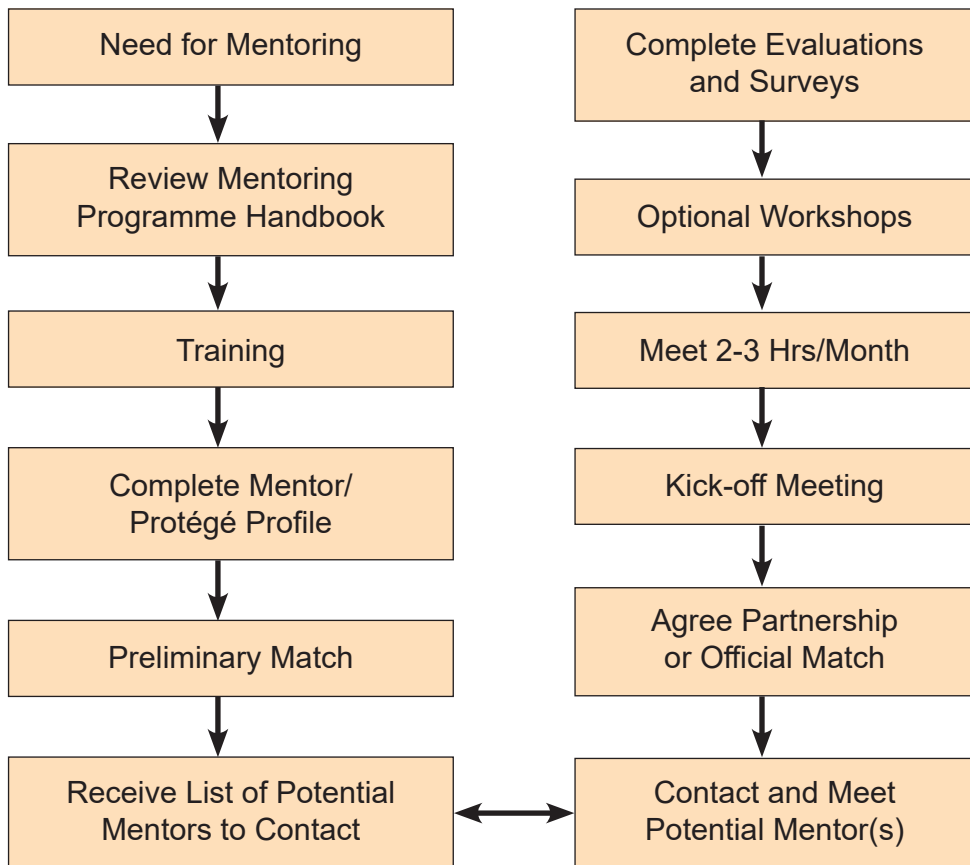
Fig 1: Formal Mentoring Process

Mentoring in Military Organisations

Mentoring is not fundamentally a new concept for military organisations. In military organisational culture, mentoring has been integral to the grooming of leaders. However, the value of a more structured, institutional approach to mentoring has been recognised in several military organisations. This is particularly relevant towards enhancing individual performance, aiding career development, leadership development and addressing issues such as diversity and retention of talent. Internationally, several military organisations have introduced mentoring systemically. Mentoring has been significantly emphasized upon in the US military over the past decade. Adoption of a mentoring philosophy, or culture, could result in several benefits for the mentor, protégé and the organisation. Surveys in the US Navy have revealed that officers in both, formal and informal programmes were more satisfied and more likely to remain in the Navy than those reporting no mentoring relationship.

Benefits of Mentoring in the Military

Benefits to Mentor

For a mentor, specific benefits from mentoring could include the following:-

a)   Enhanced self-esteem and status in the organisation, refined leadership and interpersonal skills, increased influence on the mission and direction of the organisation, and the personal satisfaction of watching the protégé grow and succeed.

b)   A chance to cultivate management, leadership, and interpersonal skills. A mentor sharpens these skills by delegating challenging work to a protégé and by giving constructive feedback.

c)   A source of peer recognition. Others will respect the role of a mentor in imparting the values of the Coast Guard to a protégé.

d)   The potential for developing or enhancing professional network by interacting with other mentors, as well as with contacts made through a protégé.

e)   Mentors and protégés can learn from each other.

Benefits to Protégé

For a protégé, specific benefits from mentoring could include the following:-

Self-confidence, which will lead to an increased likelihood of job satisfaction, higher productivity, and career success. It also reduces the time needed for the development of skills, increases awareness of the organisation and the individual"s significance to the organisation"s mission accomplishment.

By using the mentor as a role model, the protégé can learn from examples. In addition, the protégé can use the mentor as a sounding board to express new ideas or to vent frustrations.

For the novice protégé, mentoring allows for a smoother transition into the workforce. A new workforce member may also join the organisation with unrealistic expectations and naive illusions. A mentor can make this adjustment period easier through communication, understanding, and guidance.

For the seasoned protégé, mentoring helps the protégé feel more comfortable with the environment and Coast Guard culture while expanding their knowledge and professional skills. Under the mentor"s tutelage, protégés can be given opportunities to try more challenging tasks.

Organisational Benefits to the Military.

Fundamental benefits of mentoring to the entire organisation have been discussed in para 5. For the military, specific benefits from mentoring, of more relevance to the military, including the following:-

a) Mentoring supports combat readiness by enhancing the morale of recruits, fostering a culture of development and knowledge sharing, increasing professional and personal development for participants, reducing learning cycles, and improving satisfaction levels.

b) Mentoring improves organisational communication and comprehension of the organization's mission, vision, as well as goals. It also prompts the transformation process.

Introduction of Mentoring in the Indian Coast Guard

To an extent, some aspects of mentoring have been in prevalence in the Indian Coast Guard in a localised and informal manner, though the term is not used as such in official documents. Elements of mentoring are implicit in arrangements such as the „overstudy-understudy" concept at ab-initio training establishments, designation of supervisory specialist officers for junior officers undergoing watch-keeping training, „instructor-pupil" relationship in flying training, research guides at Staff College/Higher Command courses/NDC, and

in the concept of „Divisional Chief" for junior sailors. Also, informal mentors have played an important role in strengthening the development of expertise in niche skill areas, particularly in smaller cadres.

There is, however, scope to introduce mentoring in a more streamlined manner, to enhance human resource development in the Coast Guard. The Introduction of mentoring systematically would help the Coast Guard develop a mentoring culture, which could enhance organisational effectiveness as discussed earlier. Further, it could help enhance the personal and professional development of officers and men. The existing system of Divisional organisation provides a suitable platform for introducing elements of mentoring in a structured manner. Further, the availability of trainees and instructors of varying professional backgrounds at a common location provides more opportunities for introducing elements of mentoring in the wider community. These would need to be examined more closely to evolve suitable mentoring programmes. However, before proceeding further, it is important to understand the pros and cons of formal and informal mentoring and the lessons to be learnt from the experiences of other military organisations.

Lessons Learnt from US Experience

The US Military is probably the largest military organisation to adopt mentoring in a structured manner, towards improving its organisational culture. Formal mentoring has been introduced in a major way in the US military, including in the US Navy, over the last 15 years period. Therefore it would be instructive to study the findings of research undertaken to evaluate the efficacy of formal mentoring in the US military. One such research, undertaken by Prof W Brad Johnson and Prof Gene R Anderson, and published in Naval War College Review in 2010, is revealing in many ways. The paper, titled „Formal Mentoring in the US Military" brings forth evidence and issues regarding formal mentoring and also makes certain recommendations towards developing mentoring programmes in military organisations. Some of the salient findings and lessons learnt, as brought out in the study, are enumerated below:-

a)   Available research indicates that across the spectrum of seniority, from junior to senior levels, officers who had experienced mentoring or had developed mentoring relationships during their careers were more satisfied with their careers than the non-mentored respondents.

b)   Informal mentoring programmes are superior to formal mentoring programmes in terms of the career development of protégé. However,

formal mentoring programmes fare better in terms of emotional encouragement. According to a survey of officers in the United States Army, while many officers desire mentorships, they don't want these formal programmes to legislate these relationships.

c)   In terms of informal mentorship, the longer one serves, the more likely it is to find a mentor. Mentoring breeds mentoring. People who have been mentored are much more inclined to report mentoring others. Mentoring programmes that are facilitated by the organisation, through matching, training and oversight, outcomes indicate that satisfaction and commitment of protégés is higher. However, there is a paradox in that the more mentors perceive that they are being held accountable and scrutinised, the less willing they are to serve as mentors. Increasing mentor accountability informal mentoring programmes may backfire on the organisation by turning off potentially good mentors to mentors.

d)   When formal mentoring programmes are implemented in the absence of a larger, organization-wide mentoring strategic plan, run the risk of becoming ineffectual. It is important to remember that there is a wide range of motivations, interests, and skill levels among prospective mentors. Mentors who are dissatisfied, indifferent, or hostile to their protégés can also harm the mentoring relationship. Perfect strangers may be paired with informal training programs based on little data or with little communication about the match-making process. Mentoring has been criticised by cynics in the US military as a "faddish buzzword." Officers and senior enlisted personnel in the United States military have been extremely crucial of programmatic attempts to make mentoring versatile as well as imperative.

Not everyone sees mentoring positively. Negative reactions to mentoring equate mentoring with exclusivity, unfairness, cronyism and favouritism. Interviews with a large sample of US Navy admirals revealed that mentorship is associated with meritocracy in the minds of many.

Recommended Best Practices

It becomes apparent that the experience of US military organisations in introducing formal mentoring programmes has not been an unqualified success. Overall, mentoring has been well received but the modalities vary and several lingering questions remain over the efficacy of mandatory mentoring programmes. Towards developing the appropriate framework for the

development of mentoring in the ICG, it would be prudent to highlight some best practices, which could guide the process. Some best practices are enumerated below:-

a) **Develop an Overarching Master Strategy.** A Coast Guard-wide mentoring technique must be envisioned and articulated while taking into account organisational dynamics such as culture, hierarchical structure, traditions, and resources into account, as well as mentoring objectives specific to a branch of the service or local command. An overarching mentoring technique will provide a clear rationale as well as structure for mentoring, and a sense of cohesion among the service's different programmes. It must be appreciated that mentoring is but one variable predicting career success for individuals. Mentoring programmes should be seen as an adjunct to the education and skill development of human resources through institutional training mechanisms.

b) **Avoid Mandatory Programmes.** According to research, when mentors and mentees believe they have clear choices both about participating and who they participate with, both parties report more favourable outcomes. Mandatory formal mentoring programmes should be avoided due to the negative aspects mentioned in paragraph 17. (e). Organizations should provide prospective mentors and mentees with a sense of choice - by believing they have a voice in the process matching, mentors, as well as mentees, may begin to invest in the relationship before its official start; as a result, both stakeholders are inclined to feel more motivated to optimise the relationship.

c) **Top-Down Support for Mentoring.** Mentoring relationships will naturally occur in any perspective; moreover, to improve the quality of mentoring as well as broaden the advantages of all these relationships to a greater number of personnel, senior leaders must actively support mentoring efforts. Evidence from organisations shows that when leaders communicate their commitment to developmental relationships as well as model effective mentoring behavioural patterns, mentoring frequency and quality increase. Senior leaders must be careful not to micromanage mentors and must refrain from insisting on formal mentoring programmes.

d) **Development of a Mentoring Continuum.** Though transitional one-on-one mentoring is widely accepted as the standard method for developing mentoring programmes, theoretical as well as empirical evidence supports the comparative advantages of developmental networks or "mentoring constellations." Instead of placing the responsibility of professional and personal growth on a single mentor, military organisations must realize the

benefits of multiple short-term mentors, peer mentors, as well as mentoring groups, each of which forms a "mentoring constellation." The greater the depth and breadth of a person's developmental network, the greater the depth and breadth of career support. The strategic approach should concentrate on the development of a continuum framework that includes a variety of programmes designed to facilitate as well as reinforce protégés' professional and personal growth.

e) **Careful Selection of Mentors.** Not everyone can an effective mentor. Simply assigning a mentor to each protégé does very little to make sure effective and useful developmental relationships. Professionals must be welcomed to become mentors through a selective process that includes vigilant vetting and therefore is accompanied by training, supervision, as well as support. In the military, where personnel roles and responsibilities change frequently, it is generally presumed that personnel can be comfortably plugged into new tasks and job settings with only cursory training. Even though the system of "tricks of duty" may be efficient in technical and operational circumstances, it is inefficient in interpersonal roles. Planners should consider vetting mentors as well as identifying those who have illustrated effectiveness in interpersonal relationships when developing mentoring programmes.

f) **High-Quality Training Programs for Mentors.** Mentoring is both, an art and science. Professional military officers, no matter how experienced, are not systematically trained to fully understand the form and function of mentorship. Research in different organisations indicates that the quality of mentor-training programmes play a key role in their success or otherwise. Towards the development of an excellent mentoring continuum, it is essential to create high-quality training programmes for prospective mentors. These could be undertaken through mentor training workshops, training modules, online skill development modules, and other traditional means such as the publication of Handbook on Mentoring etc.

Recommendations for Introduction of Mentoring in the ICG

The Divisional System of the ICG implicitly caters to Divisional officers and Divisional Chiefs performing mentoring roles, as a part of their duties. Some elements of mentoring, and qualities expected of mentors are discussed in different contexts in Divisional Officer"s Guide Book. Likewise, aspects of mentoring also feature in the Divisional Chief"s Handbook. Usually, the

Divisional superiors form an integral part of the command and control hierarchy of serving personnel. The Mentoring role played by the Divisional officer and Divisional Chief does not amount to a formal mentoring relationship as per a specifically defined mentoring programme. Therefore, the mentoring latently practised in the Divisional System assumes a form closer to informal mentoring, albeit in a formal set-up. In addition, as brought out earlier, arrangements are in vogue, at the unit/organisational level to mentor junior officers and sailors, by relatively more experienced seniors. Examples include the „Overstudy-Understudy" concept, the „Senior Under Trainee Officer" (SUTO) concept and Supervisory Officers for Officers undergoing Watch Keeping qualification onboard seagoing platforms. However, these models are mostly locally evolved and are not formally laid down. They do not form a part of an overarching strategy for mentorship in the Coast Guard or towards the development of a mentoring constellation", as discussed earlier. To evolve a systematic culture of mentoring in the Coast Guard, the following measures are recommended:-

Developing a Mentoring Strategy.

It is evident from the lessons learnt from the US" military examples that the introduction of piecemeal, localised mentoring programmes is not effective in the long run, in absence of an overarching mentoring strategy at the larger organisational level. Therefore, it is imperative that a „Mentoring Strategy for the ICG" be developed, drawing from relevant elements of the Doctrine on Leadership. The Strategy should enunciate the „why and how" of mentoring, as perceived by the ICG, in its organisational interests. The endeavour should be to introduce a mentoring continuum in the Coast Guard, for different levels of protégés, facilitated by the creation of „mentoring constellations". The Strategy should provide the contextual framework for localised mentoring programmes, at sub-organisational and unit levels.

Determining Mentoring Types.

The US experience indicates that a mandatory, formal type of mentoring is not effective in military organisations, and will be counterproductive if imposed upon as such. However, facilitation by the organisation in fostering, monitoring and supporting mentoring relationships is a positive factor in successful mentoring programmes. Therefore, it is recommended that the ICG adopts a two-pronged approach to the development of mentoring constellations, as follows:-

a.   The primary thrust of the ICG approach to mentoring should be on encouraging informal mentoring. Informal mentoring could be facilitated

by the ICG at a larger level, by assisting prospective mentors and protégés to pair up and enter into mentoring relationships. This could be undertaken at suitable training bases, where a large number of trainee officers and sailors are available at a given time. In several training establishments, officers of different seniorities but same branches/cadres undergo training at the same location for longer durations, e.g. Officers undergoing Long courses and officers undergoing Sub Lieutenant Technical courses at Kochi. The organisation could facilitate the formation of informal mentoring relationships between prospective mentors and protégés by seeking volunteers, vetting mentors, suggesting pairs and providing training/education. Upon facilitation, mentors and protégés would be expected to take the relationship forward on their own, as per the tenets of informal mentoring.

b.   Elements of formal mentoring (e.g development of action plan, achievement of goals) are introduced in inter-personal reporting mechanisms in the existing appraisal hierarchy (for officers) and Divisional system/appraisal hierarchy (for sailors).

Determining Levels for Introduction of Mentoring.

It would be important to identify the levels at which mentoring programmes could be introduced so that they effectively serve the purpose. Different levels would require different types and qualities of mentoring and accordingly, it would define the suitability and eligibility of mentors. It is recommended that for the officer as well as sailors, a stage-wise, tiered approach be considered, as follows:-

(i)   **Officers Level 1 –** Post Appointment till Specialisation or (Asst Comdt with 5 yr seniority or Dy comdt with 1 yr of seniority)

(ii)   **Officers Level 2 –** Post Specialisation or Dy comdt with 01 yr seniority till clearing MCPE.

(iii)   **Sailors Level 1 –** Post Recruitment till promotion to U/nvk or U/Ytk.

(iv)   **Sailors Level 2 –** till promotion to Adhikari/Sahayak engineer.

Training and Education on Mentoring.

Provision of training and education in mentoring is vital towards the successful introduction of mentoring programmes. It is recommended that mentoring be introduced as a dedicated subject in officers training capsules, as

an adjunct to leadership and behavioural subjects. Further, reference literature on mentoring, for Intra-ICG use, could be developed with assistance from the reputed military and civil institutions (both national and international) dealing with the subject. As leadership and management, mentoring is also an art and science and would demand focussed attention in terms of the education of prospective mentors and protégés. Healthy culture of mentoring demands the establishment of cordial relationships between mentor and protégé and not formal ones. This will need to be emphasised through education.

Identification of Suitable Mentors.

As seen in para 18 (e), the suitability of prospective mentors is an important factor in the eventual success or failure of a mentoring relationship. Persons with demonstrated efficacy in interpersonal relations could be recommended by supervisory officers for mentoring roles, by suitably recording their fitness in their confidential reports. This would assist the organisation to decide upon the suitability of a particular officer or a senior sailor as a prospective mentor.

Conclusion

In the civilian world, effective mentoring relationships have been shown to enhance corporate hiring and retention efforts, assist in bringing newly hired up-to-speed, endorse diversity initiatives, improve employee satisfaction as well as promotion success, encourage succession planning, and improve communication and knowledge training inside organisations. A review of evidence related to mentoring in organisations in the US, including military organisations, suggests that on the whole, mentored individuals tend to be more satisfied in comparison to their counterparts who did not enter into a mentoring relationship. In the US military, anecdotal evidence suggests that mentors play an important role in identifying and promoting new talent. Flag officers in the US military have reported having been mentored by senior officers at crucial junctures in their careers. However, evidence also suggests that formal mentoring programmes, which could be successfully implemented in civil organisations, may not be as successful in military organisations. As the Indian Coast Guard looks towards introducing mentoring in its organisational culture, it must do so with due regard to lessons learnt from comparative examples and guard against it being perceived as promoting favouritism/cronyism or being rendered ineffective. The endeavour should be to strike a balance in fostering a healthy culture of mentorship, in the interest of the organisation and its members.

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IMPORTANCE OF ISLAND TERRITORIES IN INDIA'S SECURITY MATRIX

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Islands for long have been the subject of mystery and romance in popular culture including classics of literature such as Treasure Island, Robinson Crusoe and Lord of the Flies, as well as more recent films such as Castaway and The Beach. Since the early 20th century, however, the strategic, military and economic importance of islands and island territories - be they big or small - has increasingly been realised and exploited by nations around the world. India has two groups of island territories on both its seaboards: the Lakshadweep Islands on the Western seaboard and the Andaman and Nicobar group in the Bay of Bengal. Presently these are seen primarily as idyllic and exotic destinations for tourists, though even in that respect they have not been developed to the extent that other island IOR nations such as the Maldives and Seychelles have. The Indian polity has no doubt realised their strategic importance, particularly of the Andaman group, and created the first Tri-Service Unified Command of the Indian Armed Forces – the Andaman and Nicobar Command. Yet, despite the ANC having now been in existence for around 20 years, it still remains a much smaller Command when compared to those on the mainland.

Island nations such as the United Kingdom and Japan, as a result of their closeness to and dependence on the seas for their economic prosperity as well as national security, also have a higher degree of 'maritimity' or maritime character. Both these nations had amongst the most powerful navies in the world at various points of time in their history, which were instrumental in the expansion of their respective Empires and territories – though the British Empire lasted for many more years than did the Japanese. Their geography also gave them the advantage of insularity over other continental powers which were threatened, conquered and occupied by powerful adversaries. In the case of Britain, the English Channel, the Royal Navy (and the Royal Air Force) were all that stood between it sharing the fate of Poland, France, and most other nations of continental Europe which simply collapsed under the German blitzkrieg. As for Japan, its military forces – even as they kept getting smaller

and smaller – defended each of its island territories during the American led Pacific campaign with fanatical resolve, fighting almost to the last man in each case. The local Japanese ethnic population also often chose to follow suit. One can keep arguing endlessly about whether the U.S. decision to drop the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki was the right one, given that Russia had entered the war a few days before. However, if one were to wargame an alternative scenario, that is the invasion of the Japanese home islands themselves, there is little doubt that it would have resulted in many more lives lost – most of which would likely have been civilian – and taken many more months for Japan to capitulate.

While Britain and Japan were two of the main players of the Second World War, on the side of the Allies and Axis respectively, other islands too saw major campaigns and battles – both for their capture as well as defence. The British garrison on 'Fortress' Singapore' surrendered rather tamely to a much smaller invasion force, much to the disgust of Winston Churchill[1]. On the other hand, the island of Corregidor in the Philippines – which the Americans occupied after they were forced to vacate the Bataan peninsula – was defended for much longer and with far more resolve. The U.S. commander Lt Gen Percival was ultimately forced to surrender due to starvation and illness rather than any superior Japanese effort[2].

The Mediterranean too saw similar contrasting battles and outcomes. Despite the British having set up considerable defences on the island of Crete to defeat a German invasion, the latter were able to capture it through an airborne assault, largely due to poor communications and lack of tactical decisiveness on the part of the Allies[3]. On the other hand, the island of Malta held by a small British garrison was constantly under siege by German and Italian forces from Jun 1940 to around November 1942. The Axis resolved to bomb or starve Malta into submission, by attacking its ports, towns, cities, and Allied shipping supplying the island, in preparation for an amphibious invasion. Malta was almost starved of essential supplies, but somehow managed to hold out thanks to a few Allies convoys that were able to come through the Axis bombing cordon[4]. Of these, the Operation Pedestal convoy of August 1942

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2.   Young, D. J. (2015). The Fall of the Philippines: The Desperate Struggle Against the Japanese Invasion, 1941–1942 (Illustrated ed.). McFarland & Company.

3.   Beevor, A. (1991). Crete: The Battle and the Resistance (1st ed.). Murray, 1991.

4.   Holland, J. (2003). Fortress Malta: An Island Under Siege, 1940 - 43. Miramax.

is perhaps the most notable. Out of the 14 merchant ships comprising the convoy, nine were sunk, as well the escorting aircraft carrier HMS Eagle, one cruiser and three destroyers. The most crucial supply item was fuel, carried by SS Ohio, an American tanker with a British crew. Despite being repeatedly bombed by Axis aircraft, Ohio somehow made it to Malta, having to be towed the last few miles by a destroyer. It then discharged the oil into two smaller tankers and sank just as the last of its cargo was emptied! While costly for the Allies, it was a strategic victory nevertheless. The arrival of Ohio justified the decision to hazard so many ships; its cargo of aviation fuel revitalised the Maltese air offensive against Axis shipping and ultimately contributed to the Allied success in North Africa, as air and naval forces operating from Malta were able to successfully interdict Rommel's supply lines[5].

The Pacific Campaign, unlike the European theatre, was almost entirely a series of battles fought either for the conquest of island territories or for destruction of the enemy's naval capability. The Pearl Harbor attack which triggered the American entry into the war was one of the latter. However, soon after Pearl Harbor, the Japanese invaded the Philippines, the Dutch East Indies (now Indonesia), the Bismarck Archipelago, Guam, the Gilberts, the Western Solomons and Wake Island, most of which were captured without much resistance from the defenders.

The year 1942 was a pivotal year in the Pacific campaign, when the inexorable expansion of the Japanese was, firstly, checked at Midway and, secondly, decisively reversed at Guadalcanal. Unsurprisingly, both were islands of immense strategic importance. Despite the Japanese having had much of the upper hand from December 1941 to April 1942, they had been stung by hit and run operations carried out by American naval forces against Wake Island and, more significantly, the famous Dolittle raid on Tokyo by B-25 Army bombers launched from the deck of an American carrier, the USS Hornet[6]. Though the raid achieved little in terms of actual damage, it had a massive and disproportionate effect on the Japanese psyche as it revealed the vulnerability of the Japanese home islands to enemy attack for the first time. The primary threat to the Imperial Japanese Navy was seen as the US carrier capability. Admiral Yamamoto, the C-in-C of the Combined Fleet decided that

5.   Smith, P. C. (1998). Pedestal: The Convoy That Saved Malta (New Ed). Crecy Publishing.

6.   Charles River Editors. (2018). The Doolittle Raid: The History and Legacy of the First American Attack on Tokyo During World War II (Large Print ed.). CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform.

the capture of Midway Island was essential, firstly, to try and draw out the US fleet and destroy it in a decisive battle and, secondly, for launching bombing raids against Pearl Harbor subsequently. As is well known, the Japanese suffered a comprehensive defeat, losing four fleet carriers to the Americans' one and Midway remained in American hands. Various factors contributed to this, including the Americans breaking the IJN code (JN-25) which gave them vital intelligence on the Japanese intentions, superior tactics on the part of the American commanders – especially RAdm Raymond Spruance, astounding courage and sacrifice shown by American aviators in the face of heavy odds and most of all a large slice of luck, in terms of American dive bombers somehow arriving over the Japanese carriers from different directions at the time that they were at the most vulnerable[7].

Guadalcanal was a quite different type of campaign. While the Japanese had occupied Guadalcanal in May 1942, they had not deployed significant military forces there, preferring to post mostly construction personnel for the purposes of making an airfield. Consequently, Allied forces, on 07 Aug 1942 were able to catch the Japanese by surprise and land the 1st Marine Division on Guadalcanal (which captured the airfield), as well as on the neighbouring island, Tulagi, with the objective of using both these as bases against Japanese held territories. This provoked the Japanese into action, who rapidly started landing their own troops to recapture the island as well as destroy the defending naval forces in a series of engagements[8]. The captured airfield – renamed Henderson Field by the Americans – proved invaluable for launching air attacks on slow moving Japanese amphibious ships attempting to land troops during daytime. Consequently, the Japanese were forced to carry out the landings only at night and, that too, using conventional warships such as destroyers and cruisers, whose speed enabled them to move outside the range of the American aircraft before first light. The campaign which lasted from August 1942 to February 1943 saw a series of pitched battles. On land, the US Marines held out despite against constant onslaughts by the Japanese troops from different directions[9]. At sea, however, it was a different story with the Japanese Navy – using superior night fighting skills – prevailing in most engagements[10]. Despite these tactical

7. Hone, T. C. (2016). *The Battle of Midway: The Naval Institute Guide to the U.S. Navy's Greatest Victory* (Illustrated ed.). Naval Institute Press.

8. Frank, R. B. (1992). *Guadalcanal: The Definitive Account of the Landmark Battle* (Illustrated ed.). Penguin Books.

9. Frank op cit.

10. Hornfischer, J. D. (2011). *Neptune's Inferno: The U.S. Navy at Guadalcanal.* Bantam.

naval victories, the strategic victory – as in the case of Malta – was that of the Americans'. The Japanese ultimately failed in their objective of recapturing the island, as their supplies dwindled and, facing starvation, they were forced to evacuate their troops[11].

The victory of the Americans at Guadalcanal was truly a turning point in the Pacific Campaign, which also coincided with a number of major reverses suffered by the Axis in other theatres such as North Africa and Stalingrad. Hereinafter, the Allies would be on the offensive and both Germany and Japan would spend the last two years of the War desperately trying to defend their occupied territories and stave off defeat.

Guadalcanal was followed by amphibious assaults by the Americans on the Gilbert and Marshall Islands between Nov 1943 and Feb 1944, followed by the Marianas Campaign during Jun-Jul 1944. All these campaigns came at a high cost for the Allies, but took the lives of immeasurably more Japanese, who preferred death to surrender as the more honourable option. More importantly, capture of these islands provided the Allies with vital air and naval bases, as they approached ever closer to the Japanese home islands, and eased logistics supply for their widespread naval forces. Tinian Island in the Marianas itself provided the Americans six 2,400 m runways for attacks by B-29 bombers on the Philippines as well on mainland Japan. In fact, the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki were carried out by such bombers launched from Tinian[12].

Though the Americans had met stiff resistance when capturing the Solomons, Gilberts and the Marianas, their next two challenges – the capture of the islands of Iwo Jima and Okinawa – were even more formidable[13]. Before that, however, a decision was taken by the American leadership to recapture the Philippines – largely at the insistence of General Douglas MacArthur who had memorably said "I shall return" when he was forced to flee the islands and shift his headquarters to Australia, to avoid capture by the Japanese[14]. Ultimately, the recapture of the Philippines, though boosting MacArthur's

11. Hammel, E. (2020). *Guadalcanal: Starvation Island (Guadalcanal Battles Series)*. Crown.

12. Toll, I. W. (2016). *The Conquering Tide: War in the Pacific Islands, 1942–1944 (The Pacific War Trilogy, 2) (Illustrated ed.)*. W. W. Norton & Company.

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image in the minds of the US public, contributed little to putting pressure on the Japanese home islands. The capture of Iwo Jima and Okinawa, on the other hand, achieved though they were at a horrific cost, did just that. While the victories were achieved primarily by the US Marines supported by Army troops, the US Navy – which by then had achieved near total sea control – played no small part by battering the Japanese shore positions with devastating, non-stop naval gun fire[15]. By this time, the ultimate defeat of Japan was inevitable and the only questions which remained were how much more time it would take and how many more lives would be lost. In the event, the dropping of the atomic bombs certainly brought the war to an abrupt end, though whether it was a justifiable decision is still a matter of debate and controversy.

After the Second World War, the only military conflict that has involved islands is the Falklands War between the UK and Argentina in 1982. While the British Isles themselves were some 7000 nautical miles from the Falklands, the British territory of Ascension Island provided them a base that was much closer – around 3300 nm – to the theatre of conflict for logistically supporting their forces. Despite fierce resistance by Argentinian forces, which succeeded in sinking four British frontline warships, along with two landing ships, the British were successful in recapturing the Falklands[16].

All the above examples serve to highlight the importance of island territories during wartime. Islands can serve as naval and air bases, complete with logistical, maintenance, repair, medical as well as rest and recuperation (R&R) facilities for combat personnel. For this reason, colonial powers of the 19th and first half of the 20th Century, who have granted independence to their former colonies on the mainland, have held on to far-flung island territories located in all the world's oceans, considering their possession as vital to protecting their national interests. For example, Britain – in addition to the Falklands and Ascension Is – also has the British Virgin Islands, the Cayman Islands, Montserrat, Saint Helena, Tristan da Cunha and the Turks and Caicos Islands[17]. Of more relevance to India is the U.K.'s possession of the so called British Indian Ocean Territories, also known as the Chagos Archipelago with its island of Diego Garcia on which is located a joint UK-US military facility. This has been the subject of an

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15. *Toll. The Pacific War Trilogy, Vol 3. Op Cit.*

16. *The Official History of the Falklands Campaign: The Origins of the Falklands War: Vols. 1 & 2 (Government Official History Series) by Lawrence Freedman (2007–06-28). (2021). Routledge.*

17. *United Kingdom (2021). CIA World Factbook. https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/united-kingdom/#government*

international dispute between the UK and Mauritius, which has laid claim to the archipelago – a claim that in 2019 has been upheld by the International Court of Justice and the United Nations General Assembly[18], but which has not been accepted or acted upon by the UK after the ICJ ruling, saying that the ICJ ruling was "an advisory opinion, not a judgment[19]." France is another former colonial power which has a number of legacy island territories of which the largest are French Polynesia - with its capital at Papeete, Guadeloupe, Martinique, Mayotte, New Caledonia, Saint Martin, and Reunion[20], the last of which is also a major naval base. The US – while not strictly a former colonial power like the U.K. and France – has its own island territories, which include American Samoa, Guam, the Northern Mariana Islands, Puerto Rico, and the U.S. Virgin Islands[21]. Other U.S. territories previously held such as the Federated States of Micronesia, the Marshall Islands, Palau as well as the largest – the Philippines – have become independent, though the first three have signed a 'Compact of Free Association'[22]. The US, UK and France are nations which have friendly relations with India; however, this is not the case with the next country – China – that is also looking to develop its own island territories. The biggest of these is Hainan Island, on which China has built a major naval base at Yulin which includes subterranean caverns for its nuclear submarines as well as jetties and facilities for its aircraft carriers[23]. However, the most controversial are the islands which China has either developed or appropriated to itself in the South China Sea (SCS) – specifically in the Spratley and Paracel Group[24]. China has been in possession of Woody Island in the Paracel Group since 1956, though this

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19. Mills, C. (2021, December 28). *Disputes over the British Indian Ocean Territory: February 2021 update. House of Commons Library.* https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/research-briefings/cbp-9134/

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21. United States. (2021). *CIA World Factbook.* https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/united-states/#government

22. *Ibid*

23. The Diplomat. (2017, March 16). *China's Most Important South China Sea Military Base.* https://thediplomat.com/2017/03/chinas-most-important-south-china-sea-military-base/

24. United States Department of Defense. (2021). *Military and Security Developments Involving the People's Republic of China 2021.* pp 15-16

has also been claimed by Taiwan and Vietnam and created facilities for basing ships and operating large military aircraft. China has also reclaimed and created artificial islands at Mischief Reef, Fiery Cross Reef and Subi Reef and installed military facilities - including 3,000m runways, naval berths, hangars, reinforced ammunition bunkers, missile silos and radar sites along with accommodation blocks, administrative buildings, hospitals, and even sports complexes[25]. In doing so, China has also ignored international bodies such as the arbitration tribunal constituted under Annex VII of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), which ruled in July 2016 against the PRC's maritime claims in Philippines v. China[26]. For India, Hainan and the SCS islands need to be of special concern, as they make the Indian Ocean much closer for the PLA Navy to deploy its warships in a future maritime conflict scenario. China does not have any similar island territories in the Indian Ocean. What it does have, however, are several countries in which it is trying to gain influence, which it could then leverage, by providing economic assistance, creating infrastructure, selling military hardware and – more recently – through Covid vaccine diplomacy. This concept has long been talked of as the so called 'String of Pearls'[27], but which now has been replaced by the more prosaic 'Belt and Road Initiative (BRI)'[28]. China already has set up a military base at Djibouti and created port infrastructure at Gwadar in Pakistan, Hambantota in Sri Lanka and Kyaukphyu in Myanmar (which are also being operated by Chinese companies)[29]. In addition to these, strategically located island nations of the Maldives, Seychelles and Mauritius are also being actively wooed by China using similar promises of economic, military and infrastructure development assistance – all of which would, no doubt, be leveraged to extract something in return[30].

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25. *Japan Ministry of Defense. China's Activities in the South China Sea (2021). https://www.mod.go.jp/en/d_act/sec_env/pdf/ch_d-act_b_e_210906.pdf*

26. *Press Release : The South China Sea Arbitration, (Republic of the Philippines V. People's Republic of China), The Hague, 12 July 2016. https://docs.pca-cpa. org/2016/07/PH-CN-20160712-Press-Release-No-11-English.pdf*

27. *Gurpreet S. Khurana (2008) China's 'String of Pearls' in the Indian Ocean and Its Security Implications, Strategic Analysis, 32:1, 1-39, DOI: 10.1080/09700160801886314*

28. *World Bank (2020, March 20). Belt and Road Initiative. https://www.worldbank.org/ en/topic/regional-integration/brief/belt-and-road-initiative*

29. *Mason, S. (2021, April 2). A Future Chinese Indian Ocean Fleet? War on the Rocks. https://warontherocks.com/2021/04/a-future-chinese-indian-ocean-fleet/*

30. *The Diplomat. (2015, March 11). Modi's Trip and China's Islands: The Battle for the Indian Ocean. https://thediplomat.com/2015/03/modis-trip-and-chinas-islands-the-battle-for-the-indian-ocean/*

Other than island territories being important as bases, the latter half of the 20th century also saw them gaining considerable economic importance. This is because of the 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), which enunciated the concept of the Exclusive Economic Zone or EEZ, an area of the sea in which a sovereign state has special rights regarding the exploration and exploitation of marine resources. The EEZ stretches from the baseline out to 200 nautical miles from the coast of the littoral state (or for that matter an island territory)[31]. Though the UNCLOS has been ratified by most nations around the world – the US being a notable exception – there have been a number of disputes concerning overlapping and claimed EEZ's of littoral nations. Most of these disputes are still unresolved; the foremost being the ones concerning the SCS. Another characteristic of the EEZ is that it often creates disproportionately large sea areas vis-à-vis the coastline and area of the country or island in question. For example, India with a coastline of about 7516 km has an EEZ a little over 2 million sq. km[32]. On the other hand, the two groups of French island territories in the Indian Ocean: the first comprising mainly Reunion, Mayotte, Tromelin, Glorioso, Juan de Nova, Bassas da India and Europa Islands have an EEZ of 998,523 sq km while Crozet, Kerguelen, Saint-Paul and Amsterdam islands have an EEZ of 1,613,164 sq km, thereby giving France a total of 2,611,687 sq km of EEZ[33] in the IOR.

As mentioned earlier, India has two island territories on either seaboard: the 36 islands of the Lakshadweep Group in the Arabian Sea[34] and the 836 islands and islets of the Andaman and Nicobar Group in the Bay of Bengal[35], both of which are Union Territories. The Lakshadweep Islands are low lying coral islands, with shallow reefs and lagoons on the leeward (sheltered) size and steep underwater gradients on their windward side, which provide few

31. United Nations. (1982, December). United Nations Convention on Laws of the Sea (Part V Art 55–58). UN Office of Legal Affairs. https://www.un.org/depts/los/convention_agreements/texts/unclos/part5.htm

32. Saha, S. (2021). National Centre for Polar and Ocean Research (NCPOR),Goa, Ministry of Earth Sciences, Government of India. https://ncpor.res.in/pages/researchview/7

33. https://maritimelimits.gouv.fr/resources/areas-frances-maritime-spaces-sovereignty-and-jurisdiction

34. Official Website of Administration of Lakshadweep | India. (2021). https://lakshadweep.gov.in/

35. Official Website of Andaman and Nicobar UT . (2021). https://www.andaman.gov.in/about

anchorages or sheltered harbours for medium and large vessels. There are a few deep water jetties, but they are not protected by any breakwaters and consequently exposed to the open sea[36]. There is also just a single 1204 metre runway on the island of Agatti, which can operate only one fixed wing aircraft at a time and does not have any hangar facility. There is a Pawan Hans helicopter detachment based at Kavaratti, which undertakes flights to and from the mainland, as well as some larger islands[37]. The Andaman group on the other hand has been created due to collision of two submarine tectonic plates resulting in sea mounts that broke the sea surface. They are larger than the Lakshadweep Islands and their terrain is more undulating, reaching a maximum height of 2418 feet above MSL[38]. Their geographic conformation provides a number of natural, protected harbours, of which Port Blair on the island of South Andaman is the largest, as well as being the capital of the Union Territory. The Govt of India has notified 23 ports in the Andaman & Nicobar Islands; however, the main shipping activities are carried out at Port Blair and eight ports in other islands: Diglipur, Mayabunder, Rangat, Hut Bay, Car Nicobar and Katchall[39]. Port Blair's Veer Savarkar airport is the only airfield operating civil flights, which also has a Naval Air Station (INS Utkrosh); and there are Indian Naval Air Stations at Campbell Bay (INS Baaz) and Shibpur (INS Kohassa) as well as an Indian Air Force Station at Car Nicobar[40].

It needs just one glance at the map to realise that both these island territories are very strategically located. The Lakshadweep groups sits astride the 8 and 9 degree channels through which shipping proceeds to and from the Gulf of Aden and the Persian Gulf on the one side and off Dondra Head, the Southernmost point of Sri Lanka, on the other respectively. Similarly, the Andaman and Nicobar group sit just north of the major shipping lane running between the Malacca Strait and off Dondra Head. India's EEZ afforded by the Lakshadweep Group – specifically Minicoy – has an overlap with that of Maldives, and similarly the

36. *Andaman Lakshadweep Harbour Works (ALHW) (2021). Lakshadweep Facilities. http://andssw1.and.nic.in/alhw/Laskhadweep-data-facilities?dataid=OQ==*

37. *Port, Shipping & Aviation | Lakshadweep | India. (2021). https://lakshadweep.gov.in/departments/port-shipping-aviation/*

38. *Geography of Andaman and Nicobar Islands (2021). Go2andaman.Com. https://www.go2andaman.com/andaman-nicobar-islands/geography/*

39. *http://andssw1.and.nic.in/pmb/history.html*

40. *List of Airports in Andaman and Nicobar Islands. (2021). http://indiaairport.com/states/andaman_nicobar_islands/index.htm*

EEZ afforded by the Andaman Group has an overlap with Myanmar, Indonesia and Thailand. All these have mutually (and amicably) resolved through the establishment of international maritime boundaries between these countries[41]. The EEZ's of both island territories are rich in fish stocks[42] and in addition, the Andamans are believed to have significant potential oil and gas reserves[43].

The strategic importance of the Andaman Islands has been well understood by the Indian polity and military, which established the Andaman and Nicobar Command, the first tri-Service and Unified Command of the Indian Armed Forces, way back in 2001[44]. Since then, there has been considerable development of military facilities and build-up of military components of all three Services on the islands. However, despite recognition of its strategic importance, the ANC still has comparatively fewer and less potent formations and assets vis-à-vis those that form part of mainland Commands[45].

While comparisons may be odious, one between the U.S. State of Hawaii and the Andaman Islands may be instructive. The island of Oahu in Hawaii houses the headquarters of the U.S. Indo Pacific Command, the biggest unified component command of the U.S. military and one of its biggest naval bases at Pearl Harbor[46] – the attack on which precipitated the American entry into the Second World War. Despite the catastrophic damage suffered, the Americans recovered fast, salvaging most of their battleships, repairing their shore maintenance facilities and making the harbour operational in record time. It thereafter served as the hub for all American military activity during the Pacific Campaign. Pearl Harbor is also essentially a forward base for U.S. power projection and rapid deployment. Consequently, major U.S. assets such as aircraft carriers, nuclear submarines, stealth fighters, long range bombers, the

41. *Marine Regions. (2014). Andaman and Nicobar• MRGID 8333. https://www. marineregions.org/eezdetails.php?mrgid=8333*

42. *Govt of India. (2021). Survey & Research Activities. http://fsi.gov.in/LATEST-WB-SITE/fsi-surv-res-det-frm.htm.*

43. *NDR (National Data Repository)-Directorate General of Hydrocarbons | Ministry of Petroleum and Natural Gas, Government of India (2021). Andaman Nicobar. https://www.ndrdgh.gov.in/NDR/?page_id=790*

44. *Roy, P. K., & Cawasji, A. (2017). Strategic Vision 2030: Security and Development of Andaman & Nicobar Islands (1st ed.). VIJ Books (India) Pty Ltd. p. 74*

45. *Ibid. Pp 91-93*

46. *U.S. Indo-Pacific Command. (2021). https://www.pacom.mil/About-USINDOPACOM/*

25[47] Infantry Division of the U.S. Army as well as elements of the Marine Corps are based here[47]. On the other hand, the assets of the Andaman and Nicobar Command comprise mostly corvettes and patrol vessels, IAF helicopters and a single Amphibious Brigade of the Indian Army[48]. Though there are several natural deep-water harbours, these have not been developed to their full potential in terms of jetties and other support infrastructure such as dockyards, drydocks and logistics depots required by larger ships and submarines. It is also a common adage that "Offence is the best form of defence." Hence, the ANC's primary role should not be to defend the A&N islands, but to serve as a forward base for our own power projection and offensive operations, which in itself will act as a deterrent.

If the Andamans do have a structured, if comparatively small, military establishment the Lakshadweep Islands have even fewer and smaller facilities. The Indian Navy has a shore establishment INS Dweeprakshak on the capital Kavaratti, primarily to carry out surveillance of the adjoining sea lanes and interception of suspicious vessels[48], but which has a limited naval and air defence capability, when facing a conventional threat. Furthermore - unlike the Andamans - neither the Indian Army or the Air Force yet has a permanent presence in the islands. The reasoning of the Indian military seems to be that if these islands are under threat, troops and air assets – as also naval ships – could be deployed quickly from the mainland to ward off that threat. Development of any infrastructure also often faces opposition from a strong environmental lobby, which regards any kind of dredging or creation of jetties as detrimental to the delicate island ecology as they are likely to destroy coral formations and harm marine biodiversity[50]. This is in sharp contrast to China's creation of islands out of reefs in the South China Sea and development of military infrastructure thereon. While India cannot hope to match China's financial clout when it comes to committing resources, the Indian government needs to take a call on striking the right balance between ensuring our national security and protecting the environment and give priority accordingly.

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47. Ibid
48. Wikipedia. (2021). Andaman and Nicobar Command. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Andaman_and_Nicobar_Command#Force_structure
49. Neeraj Singh Manhas, China in the Oceans: Quest for Expansion. (2021). Blue Rose Publishers.
50. "The development plan that could end up sinking Lakshadweep islands." (2021). Mongabay. https://india.mongabay.com/2021/06/the-development-plan-that-could-end-up-sinking-lakshadweep-islands/

Whether there will be a conflict between India and China in future is not the intention of this paper to speculate upon. However, last year's Galwan clash showed that tensions between the two most populous countries can ramp up in very quick time. The fact that the situation then did not transition to full-fledged hostilities was due to some quick and proactive military and diplomatic actions, but this scenario may not play out every time. Hence, the Indian military always needs to be cognisant of China's military capabilities and plan its strategy and force structure to counter these capabilities, even if it cannot hope to match them quantitatively. China is – somewhat like Nazi Germany was in the late 1930s – a non-status quo power and has kept redrawing the boundaries from time to time, with scant regard to the (mostly vocal) opposition that it has faced. In the 1930s, it was the other European powers – primarily Britain and France – which kept following a policy of appeasement with Germany, as it annexed one neighbour after another, till it was too late. The PLA Navy has increased its presence in the Indian Ocean from 2008[51], ostensibly for the purpose of anti-piracy, but more likely to validate the reach and sustainability of its naval assets as well as acquire invaluable data on hydrological and bathy conditions for their operation, especially submarines. Its acquisition of Djibouti as a naval base, which can also accommodate PLA Navy Marines[52], needs to be watched closely. China's islands in the South China Sea, along with Hainan, would give it the capability to rapidly deploy forces in the Indian Ocean just as islands such as Hawaii and Guam provide the Americans. China may consider using Gwadar, Hambantota and Kyaukphyu as replenishment ports for its warships more regularly. If may be noted that the CPEC also provides China road access from Xinjiang to Gwadar, that could potentially be used for rapid mobilisation of PLA troops. If China can win over more sympathetic governments in the Maldives, Seychelles and Mauritius in future with attractive deals and investments, they may be able to avail replenishment facilities there too. India could ultimately find itself the only IOR nation not allied with, dependent on or subservient to China. In the event that competition between India and China leads to confrontation, which in turn leads to conflict, our island territories could be a prime target for

51.   White, J. T. (2020). China's Indian Ocean Ambitions: Investment, Influence, and Military Advantage. Brookings.https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/FP_20200615_chinas_indian_ocean_ambitions_white-1.pdf. p 3

52.   Jean-Pierre Cabestan (2020) China's Military Base in Djibouti: A Microcosm of China's Growing Competition with the United States and New Bipolarity, Journal of Contemporary China. p.9

Chinese adventurism. It is relevant to mention that Chinese have enhanced their amphibious capability considerably in the last decade, as they have done in other capital ship types too.

Are our island territories prepared in terms of sea, air and land defences to counter a Chinese attack? I do not wish to speculate or make general assumptions on such a scenario, or its outcome. Rather, the Indian leadership and military must carry out strategic net assessments as well as operational level wargaming of these scenarios with as much realism – and as few assumptions (especially those favourable to India) – as far as possible. If these net assessments and wargames do show up critical vulnerabilities of our island territories, then course changes are imperative towards optimising the strategy, organisation and force structures for their defence. If we do not imbibe these lessons and face an adverse outcome in the form of China occupying one of our islands in an actual future conflict, the effort required for its recapture would be monumentally high – as the Pacific Campaign of the Second World War has shown.

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PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE IN 21ST CENTURY IN THE CONTEXT OF SOCIAL MEDIA

LT GEN (DR.) D. B. SHEKATKAR, PVSM, AVSM, VSM (RETD)

PROFESSOR VIJAY KHARE

Introduction

War and / or conflict has always been and will always continue to be struggle of wills which originate at and start in the mind of people on the battle field. War or conflict is also termed as struggle for power. The power could be political, economical or military. The attitudes and behaviour of people on opposing sides ultimately impacts the outcome of the war or conflict. There are many example of this across the world in history of mankind and warfare.

Psychological Warfare and propaganda came of age during ancient conflicts and wars from at the time of Mahabharat. Psychological and Information Warfare came of age again after industrial revolution and Second World War. Second World War and thereafter Cold War which witnessed emergence of many new nations and conflicts/wars across the world. Information Warfare to support conventional / unconventional conflicts was accompanied by one sided news, doctored, fabricated news, images electronic means transmitted through mass media and social media. With the emergence of social media. With the emergence of Social Media as a powerful tool to impact unsuspecting minds of people, specially young generation, in future and throughout 21st Century, the Psychological warfare, propaganda media, and social media mechanism that conveys the message to impact minds will be revolutionised.

Psychological Warfare and Social Media

Psychological War constitute a planned process of conveying message

to selected group known as target audience to promote particular theme that results in desired attitude and behaviour which affects the achievement of political, economical, religious and military objectives. The advent of Information Technology (IT), information explosion, rapid use and involvement of media, specially social media in all information activities and evaluation of consolidated methodology called 'Perception Management and Image Management' to obtain desired, favourable attitude and response conditions prevailing across the world today, make it easy for Psychological Warfare operator, social media platforms, organisations, government to impact the minds of own people, adversaries, enemy, non stateoperatives and non state actors specially terrorists. Any conflict, war first emerge in the minds of people, decision makers, government, governing mechanism and then it engulfs the religious groups, society and nations. Psychological Warfare, information warfare, social media is also used as force multiplier in support of Conventional Warfare to ensure own victory and defeat the destructive designs of adversary and enemy. In 20th Century Warfare created new means and mechanism of communications, impacting the minds of people and the warriors. In 21st Century social media has become an instrument of conflict, aggression, and war, but the big problem is how to use it as instrument of peace.

Today we live in a Cyber era, surrounded by Smart Phones, I Pads, Social Media Network, You Tube, Blogs, Twitter, Facebook and so on. Under the over reaching shadow of Internet, Google etc. Logging on to a Desktop, Laptop, I Pad, or hand held devices are all open avenues to community. In India at present we have over 100 million internet users. If facebook users become a population of any nation on this plannet, it would be second most populas nation on this earth. In 20th Century there was a firm belief that any one who rules the sea will rule the world. In 21st Century any one who rules the space will rule the sea, earth and the world. Be it social media, electronic media, even to a great extent print media is based on space and related to space. No wonder many powerful nations are in the race to rule the space. Social media has affected not only the peaceful human interaction, but also extremism, terrorism, fundamentalism and radicalisation. It is desirable that instead of making pro active use of social and electronic media for destructive purpose our society makes the use of social and electronic media for peace, existence, progress and prosperity of human being on this earth.

Radicalisation of young generation and vulnerable people through different means and mechanism as well as misuse of media and social media, duly funded, sponsoredand promoted by few nations is a new emerging security challenge to nations and government across the world. No nation will be an

Exception including India. Since war and conflicts begain in the minds of people, it is in the minds of people that defence of peace, progress, and stability must be constructed. We need to consider the following philosophically when it comes to Psychological Warfare and impact of Social Media :-

- Body, Brains, Heart can be scanned and seen.
- Body can be scanned.
- Brain can be scanned. Brain mapping.
- Heart can be seen.
- But what do we do with Mind ?
- Mind can not be seen
- What to do and how to do with minds of people, society.
- How to impact minds ?
- How to influence minds ?
- How to condition minds ?
- Conditioning of minds relates to perception management, image management, consequence management.
- Perceptions are based on what you see, what you hear, from whom you hear and hence importance of print media, electronic media and most important of all social media.

ShriPranayKhullar explained in an article in news paper Economic Times about war and peace. "He wrote that the preamble to UN Charter sums up our existential dilemma of today in an intensively evocative way stating that since war begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that defence of peace must be constructed." Referring in Indian context he further wrote that "In a land where history had sought to be sketched in an arc from Gautama to Gandhi, it is but appropriate to reflect on such defences and revive them intime when war and terrorism have cast their shadow today. It is in the rock-edicts of Ashoka that one finds the earliest instance of transformation of a king who not only abjured war but who went onto ban war in his kingdom as a measure of state policy. His inquiry into Psychological roots of war led him to believe that hatred for the others beliefs is primary cause of war but that hatred can never be appeased by hatred ; it can be appeased only by love which is the eternal law". This inner understanding transformed Ashokainto the great apostle king of peace and spiritual values, remembered not because he fought and won wars, but because he had the courage to perform the more difficult task of winning the hearts of people".

Urdu writer Krishna Chander narrates a story of two soldiers returning back home after world war II. One soldier hoped that some day all soldiers will lay down their arms and refuse to fight, to which the other responded, in that case the enemy would win. The story captures out inner most insecurities and condoning which would require an enemy even when none might exist. Similar thing happened to East Pakistan (new Bangladesh) during 1971 war. India's aim was to liberate East Pakistan to establish a state for the people of East Pakistan who had no cultural, language, similaritieswith West Pakistan. Though Indian Armed Forces were in a position and situation to cause damage to Pakistan Army in East Pakistan, but that was not the main aim. War commenced on 03 Dec 1971, by 13 December 1971 it was clear that Pakistan Army was not in a position to prolong thewar. A combination of Conventional War and Psychological War convinced the East Pakistan Commanders that they will not be able to withstand the final assault of Indian Army on Dacca (the then Capital of East Pakistan and now Capital of Bangladesh). Psychologically Pakistan Army had lost the war in East Pakistan. On 14 Dec 1971 Indian Army Commander at Kolkatta and Chief of the Army Staff General (Later Field Marshal) Manekcha made a offer to Commanders and Soldiers of Pakistan Army to give up Arms and Combat, and surrender to Indian Army to avoid casualties and death. Before making such offer to East Pakistan Army they were demotivated psychologically. The Commander of East Pakistan Army understood the gravity a situation and accepted the offer the surrender with Arms at Dacca. The surrender took place at Dacca on 16 Dec 1971 and East Pakistan was declared Liberated and Bangladesh was born on 16 Dec 1971. That was a perfect example of combination of Psychological War to support conventional War by cleverly using media. 93000 soldiers and commanders surrendered to Indian Army. In 21st Century the role of media, specially Social Media is much more to ignite the war or conflict and force the enemy to give up. In August 2021 Afghanistan was captured by Taliban and Al Quaida forcing the most advance Army of the world to withdraw from Afghanistan. How did this happen and why did this happen ?

Since 2001, digitization has been sweeping the world, connecting people, bchanging the way we think, interact, we work and even wage war. The internet and World Wide Web has provided us with a powerful medium that allows us to communicate virtually instantly across the globe and reach world wide audience. Increasing connectivity, proliferation of smart phones and burgeoning access to Social Media have created a medium that can be exploited to manage perceptions, shape opinions and thus affect own operations and / or those of the adversaries. Due to biological warfare in the form of Wuhan Virous,

COVID-19, Pendemic towards the end of 2019, 2020 and 2021 the entire world has been terrified. 57 lakh people have died across the world. Over five lakh people lost life in USA alone. Very claver use of communication mechanism the pharmaceutical industry has made the best use of Pendemic to generate money for themselves. World came to almost a grinding halt for few months, Aviation, Education, every aspect of human life has been adversely affected due to misuse of social media because social networking sites can be used to reach "critical mass" instantly and provide the people with our own point of view. Social media can also be used to gauge public sentiment. Trekking and analysing traffic can give security forces a sense of the public mood and enable them to take pre-emptive action to stall a likely protest or demonstration.

Considering above discussion, there is a need to conduct an indepth research study to fulfil following and come to a Logical action plan by all those who are connected to, and are concerned with Government and governance.

● To study the condition prevailing across the world which makes it easy for a Psychological Warfare Operator to impact minds of people of adversaries, enemy, state and non state actors.
● Need to study the motivating Psychological factors of modern society and specially the youth. Protecting our youth and young generations across the world from adverse Psychological impact has not received attention of the scholars, academic institutions and also the governments.
● Need to study as to why and how young minds (youth) gets radicalised on the pretext of religion, cast, creed, breed, colour and social aspects as well as the mental frame world of society.
● Need to study the role played by Print Media, Electronic Media and most important of all Social Media in building and moulding perceptions and image.
● Need to study, how should democratic society, legally elected government should deal with Psychological Aggression, Psychological Warfare in highly inter connected and inter dependent world of 21st Century.
● Need to study the importance of Psychological Warfare and Social Media as force multiplier in support of conventional warfare to ensure own victory.

Conclusion

The ability to manage and change the perceptions of the targeted audience is considered the fourth instrument of power available to the nation state. The other three being, Political, Diplomatic and Military power. State not having the required vision, capabilities and capacity for perception management and also for Countering the perception management capabilities of other adversaries and also of groups posing threats to national defence, national security and economic well being tend to become soft and vulnerable to external forces.

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COVID 19 : IS IT PANDEMIC

BIOLOGICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE PHILOSOPHICAL – CONCEPTUAL ANALYSIS

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✍ **PROFESSOR (DR) VIJAY KHARE**

Introduction

Concept of warfare emerged from the emergence of humankind. The concept, means and mechanism of warfare continued to change with the developments in human existence. The warfare witnessed changes from the use of massive visible forces until the 20th century to asymmetrical, invisible, but highly destructive forces in the 21st century. We have heard, read and even seen the use of nuclear technology, chemical agents and terrorism to cause unimaginable destruction to humankind.

In 1945, World War-II saw the use of nuclear weapons to destroy human beings. Between 1965-1975, the Vietnam War saw the use of chemical agents against Vietcong. In 2001, the world saw the unthinkable use of a commercial aircraft to damage a superpower and scared the entire world by 9/11 terrorist attack on the USA. In anger and to show its military supremacy, America destroyed Afghanistan, in 2001, Iraq in 2003, followed by Libya, Egypt and Syria in the second decade of the 21st century. Syrian's were subjected to chemical attacks, which was attributed to the ruling regime in Syria. But the chemical agents were used by another nation.

Towards the end of 2019 and the beginning of 2020, the deadly biological virus originated from Wuhan in China has spread across the world within a few months. No nation on this planet has remained untouched from Wuhan Virus/China Virus/COVID-19. It is becoming increasingly difficult to deep an accurate account of the number of people infected due to the virus, number of people who have died across the world and continue to die at

least up to the end of 2020. Once penetrates the body, biological agents tend to remain and continue to spread. It is estimated that by the end of 2020 a significant number of people will lose life in the world due to China/Wuhan Virus/COVID-19.

Forum for Integrated Security of India. (FINS) has made an effort to understand the emergence of the virus, origins of the virus, scope and nature of its spread. As well as, the actors to be held accountable, responsible and answerable for this unprecedented, unimaginable and uncontrollable biological attack on human beings, which in future may also impact, animals, birds, aquatic animals, fisheries and even plants.

Biological warfare is part of unconventional warfare, which is an old concept of warfare. Many countries in the past, especially during the First and Second World War, have used biological agents against opposing forces, and even the civil population of the enemy country. Biological weapons (agents) may include any organism such as bacteria, virus etc. the nature and scope of a biological attack can be an act of terrorism, by a range of actors including by a terrorist, fundamentalist non-state organizations or even a state/nation to destroy the opponent. It can only be a threat or hoax (fake news) to the actual use of a biological weapon, which is also referred to as an "agent". A biological and chemical weapon is not a bomb or missile-like nuclear weapon. The production and use of a biological weapon are prohibited under the Geneva Convention. Still, there are reports that at least 16 countries continue to carry out research and development on possible biological weapons (agents). India does not conduct any such activity.

Government of India's Ministry of Defence appointed a committee of experts to examine "Re-Orientation, Reorganization of India's Defence Mechanism and Re-balancing of Defence Budget" (also known as "Shekatkar Committee"). In a December 2016 report, the committee cautioned about the "unconventional threats" in the form of terrorist attacks (terrorism), chemical attack and biological attack. The report's recommendations have clearly stated that India should be prepared to face the threats due to "Means and Mechanism of Disruption and Destruction of Masses and Collapse of Governing Mechanism" instead of the use of Weapons of Mass Destruction (nuclear weapons). It is believed that for some reasons, the committee did not give many details on use, mechanism, methodology, for fear of the information reaching out to wrong agents, suspicious elements within India, and across ; due to mishandling of files and carelessness in handling classified information.

Wuhan virus/China Virus/COVID-19 spread across the world is part of "contactless war" and biological war. Due to leak and fast spread of coronavirus, which reportedly leaked out from a laboratory in Wuhan, China, the entire world is suffering today. The possible courses of tis leak can be one of the following or a combination :

● It can be an incidental leak and spread during the research in the laboratory, which was kept hidden by some scientists working on the virus project.

● It can be an accidental leak and spread during the research, which was not disclosed to the world.

● It can be an "experimental leak" to see the impact and expected effect of the virus' potency. It was expected to be confined to a limited area but has gone out of control. Following the adverse impact, world reactions and internal instability, the Chinese Government has not accepted the responsibility.

Due to the spread of the virus, crores of people have fallen sick and lakhs have died across the world. The economy, air transportation, has been adversely impacted. Train services and shipping lines had to be stopped. Tourism shipping and industries have been stopped. The virus-triggered lockdowns resulted in a shortage of food, medicines, and other essential commodities. Academic and educational institutions have been closed. Millions of people working in various parts of the world had to be repatriated to their countries, which has resulted in a shortage of workforce to run industry and business. Even the election process to form new governments has been adversely affected. In many countries, even the disposable of dead bodies has become a problem. Also, the shortage of hospitals, medical staff and medicines has resulted in the avoidable loss of lives. These are just a few examples of disruption and destruction of masses. India is among the worst suffered nations due to the pandemic. Millions of people had to move out of big cities and industrial townships to their native place by foot since trains and bus services were suddenly stopped. The world probably has not suffered such deaths, destruction and disruption after the World War-II.

This is a new concept of bio-industrial, bio-economic, bio-psychological warfare as a weapon of destruction and disruption of masses, economy, trade,

commerce, stability, peace, progress and war capacity, capability and war endurance of the enemy or adversary. At a limited scale, this can happen in future in countries located in the Pacific region and South China Sea region. This can happen in Tibet, which is now under adverse control and illegal occupation of China. Also, China can use the biological agent in Xinjiang, China to destroy local Uighur-Muslim population.

In all probability, the spread of this pandemic was aimed at the USA and Europe, the two major opponents of China's economic and military power's display of freed, expansionist design and arrogance. But the entire world is suffering today and will continue to suffer at least for the next two to three years; before some semblances of normalcy is established. Hence, the Pandemic cannot be described and attributed as a natural disaster, the impact of climate change, environmental degradation. This is part of biological warfare.

Since such a Pandemic has spread for the first time after World War-II, the world was not prepared to face such a massive biological attack. Defence measures such as "emergency response" to such type of unconventional attack are unfamiliar and unknown. Use of face masks, sanitizers, social distancing and so on are left to the individual citizens. But how do a state's governing and administrative mechanism should respond ? Which country had thought of such a massive spread of Pandemic ? Even the World Health Organization (WHO) was caught sleeping and unprepared.

There is an urgent need to impose sanctions on China and it must be subjected to economic, industrial, academic, technological and international isolation. There is a need to seriously and urgently consider re-organization of United Nations Security Council, and usefulness of its highly arrogant, greedy, expansionist, self-centred governing mechanism. It is no fault of the people of China. By and large the youth and young generation is deeply indoctrinated to support the Communist Party of China's arrogance, power and leadership.it is up to the young generation of China to consider to build a good future for themselves ; can they progress, prosper and remain stable in isolation from the rest of the world, dreaming to be a lone superpower that will be hated and kept isolated by the world. Or they would like to be a useful segment of the newly emerging post-COVID-19 world in the third decade of 21st Century? Only China's young generation can decide. No one else can decide for them.

Conclusion

COVID-19 has made adverse health and psychological impact across the world. People are now suspicious and scared of China. China has achieved the aim of establishing its supremacy though in wrong way to terrorise the world.

✍ ABOUT THE AUTHOR

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Lt Gen D B Shekatkar has experience of three decades in combating insurgency and terrorism in different parts of India. He served as Additional Director General of Military Operations and also Additional Director General of perspective Planning at Army Headquarters, New Delhi. He is member of Governing Bodies, Advisory Board of number of Academic and Education Institutions in India.

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Heroes Who Have Contributed To The National Security Of Our Nation : Part 2

**MAJ GEN (DR) VIJAY P PAWAR, AVSM, VSM**

Background

In the Part 1 of Article 'Heroes who have contributed to the National Security of our Nation', published in the quarter ending September 2021, details of three Military Leaders/ Heroes were covered. The list of such leaders / heroes is long and there is a need to identify and remember all such leaders when we talk of our National Security.

In this Part 2 of the article, an attempt has been made to highlight four more leaders / heroes who have contributed towards the National Security – Nation building and preparing the Nation to face future challenges. All these leaders mentioned in the article are ex Presidents of India, about whom when you read , you would agree to place them on a very high pedestal to appreciate their single handed contribution towards National Security. Identifying more such great personalities and acknowledging their valuable deeds,from time to time,would encourage many to follow the foot steps of their past great leaders.

What encompasses National Security has been briefly spelt out in Part 1 of the article. To recollect, these are aspects of a Nation related to defence, security, foreign policy, leadership, country's strategic interest-both domestic and international to include economy, finance, technology, environment, social culture, policy making , R and D and so on. In this Part 2 we will read the contributions of four Presidents of India, ie Dr Rajendra Prasad, Dr S Radhakrishnan, Dr APJ Abdul Kalam and Dr Pranab Mukherjee, who have in their life time worked selflesslytowards National Security.

Dr Rajendra Prasad
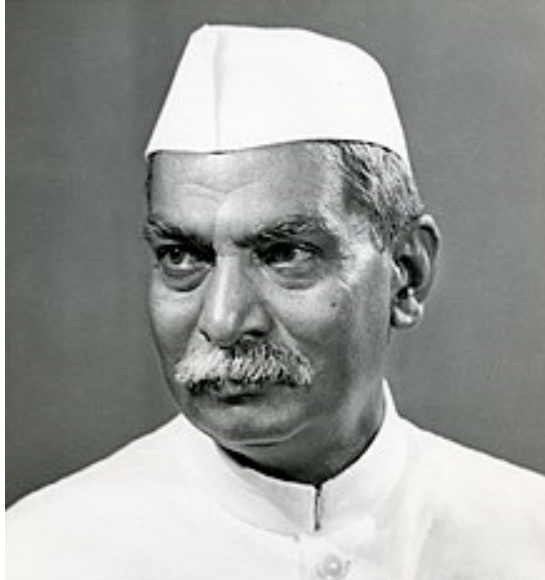
Introduction

Dr Rajendra Prasad was an Indian independence activist, lawyer, scholar and subsequently, the first President of India. He was in office as President of India from 1950 to 1962. An Indian political leader and lawyer by training, Prasad joined the Indian National Congress during the Indian Independence Movement and became a major leader from the region of Bihar and Maharashtra. A supporter of Mahatma Gandhi, Prasad was imprisoned by British authorities a number of times. He served as Minister of Food and Agriculture in the central government. Upon independence in 1947, Prasad was elected as President of the Constituent Assembly of India, which prepared the Constitution of India and served as its provisional parliament.

As President, Prasad established a tradition of non-partisanship and independence for the office-bearer and retired from Congress party politics. Although a ceremonial head of state, Prasad encouraged the development of education in India and advised the Nehru government on several occasions. In 1957, Prasad was re-elected to the presidency, becoming the only president to serve two full terms. Prasad stayed in office, as the President of India, for the longest term of around 12 years. Post the completion of his tenure, he continued to contribute to the development and progress of the Nation.

Early Days

Prasad was born in a Kayastha family in Ziradei, in the Siwan district of Bihar. His father, Mahadev Sahai Srivastava, was a scholar of both Sanskrit and Persian languages. His mother, Kamleshwari Devi, was a devout woman who would tell stories from the Ramayana and Mahabharata to her son. He was the youngest child and had one elder brother and three elder sisters. His mother died when he was a child and his elder sister then took care of him.

After completion of traditional elementary education, Prasad was sent to the Chapra District School. Meanwhile, in June 1896, at the early age of 12, he was married to Rajavanshi Devi. He, along with his elder brother, Mahendra Prasad, then went to study at TK. Ghosh's Academy in Patna for a period of two years. He secured first position in the entrance examination to the University of Calcutta and was awarded Rs. 30 per month as a scholarship. There, Prasad studied science and graduated with first division and later studied MA in economics again with a first division - once the examiner commented on him to say that the 'examinee is better than the examiner'.

Achievements

Provided Political Leadership to Bihar.Rajendra Prasad was instrumental in the formation of the Bihari Students Conference in 1906 in the hall of Patna College. It was the first organisation of its kind in India and produced important leaders from Bihar like Anugrah Narayan Sinha and Krishna Singh who played a prominent role in the Champaran Movement and Non-cooperation Movement.

As a Teacher. Rajendra Prasad served in various educational institutions as a teacher. After completing his M.A in economics, he became a professor of English at the Langat Singh College of Muzaffarpur in Bihar and went on to become the principal. Later on he undertook legal studies and entered the Ripon College, Calcutta (now the Surendranath Law College). In 1909, while pursuing his law studies in Kolkata he also worked as Professor of Economics at Calcutta City College.

As a lawyer. In 1915, Prasad appeared in the examination of Masters in Law from the Department of Law, University of Calcutta, passed the examination and won a gold medal. He completed his Doctorate in Law from Allahabad University.In 1916, he joined the High Court of Bihar and Odisha. In 1917, he was appointed as one of the first members of the Senate and Syndicate of the Patna University. He also practised law at Bhagalpur, the famous silk town in Bihar.

Role in the Independence Movement. Dr.Rajendra Prasad had a major role in the Independence Movement. Prasad's first association with Indian National Congress was during 1906 annual session organised in Calcutta, where he participated as a volunteer, while studying in Calcutta. Formally, he joined the Indian National Congress in the year 1911, when the annual session was again held in Calcutta. During the Lucknow Session of Indian National Congress held in 1916, he met Mahatma Gandhi. During one of the fact-finding missions at Champaran, Mahatma Gandhi asked him to come with his volunteers. He was so greatly moved by the dedication, courage and conviction of Mahatma Gandhi that as soon as the motion of Non-Cooperation was passed by Indian National Congress in 1920, he retired from his lucrative career of lawyer, as well as his duties in the university, to aid the movement.

Acted to Boycott Western Educational Institutes. He responded to the call by Mahatma Gandhi to boycott Western educational establishments by asking his son, Mrityunjaya Prasad, to drop out of his studies and enroll himself in Bihar Vidyapeeth, an institution he along with his colleagues founded on the traditional Indian model.

Active Participation in the Independence Movements. During the course of the independence movement, Prasad interacted with Rahul Sankrityayan, a writer, and polymath. Rahul Sankrityayan was greatly influenced by Prasad's intellectual powers, finding him to be a guide and guru. In many of his articles Prasad mentioned about his meeting with Sankrityayan and narrated about his meetings with Sankrityayan. Prasad wrote articles for the revolutionary publications 'Searchlight' and the 'Desh' and collected funds for these papers. Prasad toured widely, explaining, lecturing, and exhorting the principles of the independence movement.

Jan Seva during Floods in Bihar and Quetta. Prasadplayed an active role in helping people affected by the 1914 floods that struck Bihar and Bengal. When an earthquake affected Bihar on 15 January 1934,he set up Bihar Central Relief Committee on 17 January 1934, and took on the task of raising funds to help the affected people. After the 31 May 1935 Quetta earthquake, when Prasad was forbidden to leave the country due to government's order, he set up the Quetta Central Relief Committee in Sindh and Punjab under his own presidency.

Appointments before Independence. Prasad held responsible appointments before Independence. He was elected as the President of the Indian National Congress during the Bombay session in October 1934. He again became the president when Subhash Chandra Bose resigned in 1939. On 8 August 1942, Congress passed the Quit India Resolution in Bombay which led

to the arrest of many Indian leaders. Prasad was arrested in Sadaqat Ashram, Patna and sent to Bankipur Central Jail and was released after nearly three years. After the formation of Interim Government of 12 nominated ministers under the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru on 02 September 1946, Prasad was allocated the Food and Agriculture department. He was elected as the President of Constituent Assembly on 11 December 1946. On 17 November 1947 Prasad became Congress President for a third time after J B Kripalani submitted his resignation.

As President of India

- Two and a half years after independence, on 26 January 1950, the Constitution of independent India was ratified and Dr Rajendra Prasad was elected the Nation's first President.

- As President of India, Rajendra Prasad duly acted as required by the Constitution, independent of any political party. He travelled the world extensively as an ambassador of India, building diplomatic rapport with foreign nations. He was re-elected for two consecutive terms in 1952 and 1957, and is the only President of India to achieve this feat.

- Prasad acted independently of politics, following the expected role of the President as required in the constitution. Following the tussle over the enactment of the Hindu Code Bill, he took a more active role in state affairs. In 1962, after serving twelve years as the president, Dr Rajendra Prasad announced his decision to retire.

Post President Period

- After relinquishing the office of the President of India in May 1962, Dr Rajendra Prasad returned to Patna on 14 May 1962 and preferred to stay in the campus of Bihar Vidyapeeth.

- A month before Indo-China War, Dr Rajendra Prasad was awarded the 'Bharat Ratna', the nation's highest civilian award.

- He died on 28 February 1963, aged 78.

Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan

Introduction

Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan was an Indian philosopher and statesman who served as the first Vice President of India from 1952 to 1962 and second President of India from 1962 to 1967. One of the most distinguished twentieth-century scholars of comparative religion and philosophy, Radhakrishnan held the King George V Chair of Mental and Moral Science at the University of Calcutta from 1921 to 1932 and Spalding Chair of Eastern Religion and Ethics at University of Oxford from 1936 to 1952.

Radhakrishnan defended Hinduism against what he called "uninformed Western criticism", contributing to the formation of contemporary Hindu identity. He has been influential in shaping the understanding of Hinduism, in both India and the west, and earned a reputation as a bridge-builder between India and the West.

Radhakrishnan was awarded several high awards during his life, including a knighthood in 1931, the Bharat Ratna, the highest civilian award in India, in 1954, and honorary membership of the British Royal Order of Merit in 1963. He was also one of the founders of 'Helpage India', a non profit organisation, for elderly underprivileged in India. Radhakrishnan believed that "teachers should be the best minds in the country". Since 1962, his birthday has been

celebrated in India as Teachers' Day on 5 September every year. 15 years of Vice President and President of India is a great contribution to the country of an intellectual , specially when the Nation was in a nascent form and just trying to stand up on its feet.

Early Life

Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan was born in a Telugu-speaking Niyogi Brahmin family, in Tiruttani of Chittoor district in the erstwhile Madras Presidency (which was in Andhra Pradesh till 1960, and now in Tiruvallur district of Tamil Nadu). He was born to Sarvepalli Veeraswami and Sita (Sitamma). His family hails from Sarvepalli village in Nellore district of Andhra Pradesh. His early years were spent in Thiruttani and Tirupati. His father was a subordinate revenue official in the service of a local zamindar (local landlord). Radhakrishnan did his primary education at K V High School, Thiruttani. In 1896 he moved for higher studies to the Hermansburg Evangelical Lutheran Mission School in Tirupati and Government High Secondary School, Walajapet.

Radhakrishnan was married to Sivakamu, a distant cousin, at the age of 14 They were married for 53 years. The couple had five daughters and one son, Sarvepalli Gopal, who went on to a notable career as a historian

Radhakrishnan was awarded scholarships throughout his academic life. He joined Voorhees College in Vellore for his high school education. After his First Year of Arts class, he joined the Madras Christian College of the University of Madras at the age of 16. He graduated and finished his masters too from the same college.

Radhakrishnan studied philosophy by chance rather than choice. Being a financially constrained student, when a cousin who graduated from the same college passed on his philosophy textbooks to Radhakrishnan, he automatically decided his academics course.

Achievements

Education. Sarvepalli wrote his bachelor's degree thesis on "The Ethics of the Vedanta and its Metaphysical Presuppositions". Two of his professors, Rev William Meston and Dr Alfred George Hogg, commended Radhakrishnan's dissertation and thesis that was published when he was only twenty. This led him to his critical study of Indian philosophy and religion and a lifelong defence of Hinduism against "uninformed Western criticism".

The Spirit of Abheda and the Ethics of the Vedanta. Radhakrishnan worked to negate the criticism of his guides and Christian teachers on Hinduism to rise above them as he was hurt by the treatment accorded to Hinduism in missionary institutions. He commended his Christian teachers as the greatest thinkers in India. Swami Vivekananda too encouraged Radhakrishnan to work on his studies. Truly having become the greatest philosopher of India during his times, Radhkrishnan was successfully able to propagate - "Every other individual is to be regarded as your co-equal, and treated as an end, not a means." and "The Vedanta requires us to respect human dignity and demands the recognition of man as man."

Academic Career. In 1918, Radhakrishnan was selected as Professor of Philosophy by the University of Mysore. In 1921 he was appointed as a professor in philosophy to occupy the King George V Chair of Mental and Moral Science at the University of Calcutta. In 1929 Radhakrishnan was invited to take the post vacated by Principal J Estlin Carpenter at Manchester College. During these periods, it gave Radhakrishnan opportunity to lecture to the students of the University of Oxford on Comparative Religion. He was also in receipt of a large number of individual honours He wrote a number of articles and books on religious subjects too. In 1936 Radhakrishnan was named Spalding Professor of Eastern Religions and Ethics at the University of Oxford, and was elected a Fellow of All Souls College. In 1939 Pt Madan Mohan Malaviya invited Radhakrishnan to succeed him as the Vice-Chancellor of Banaras Hindu University (BHU); Radhakrishnan served as its Vice-Chancellor till January 1948.

Political career. Radhakrishnan started his political career "rather late in life", after his successful academic career. His international authority preceded his political career. He was one of those stalwarts who in 1928, seconded the idea of renaming Ceded Districts division of Madras Presidency as Rayalaseema. In 1931 he was nominated to the League of Nations Committee for Intellectual Cooperation, where after "in Western eyes he was the recognized Hindu authority on Indian ideas and a persuasive interpreter of the role of Eastern institutions in contemporary society". When India became independent in 1947, Radhakrishnan represented India at UNESCO (1946–52) and was later Ambassador of India to the Soviet Union, from 1949 to 1952. He was also elected to the Constituent Assembly of India. Radhakrishnan did not have a background in the Congress Party, nor was he active in the struggle against British rules. He was the politician in shadow. His motivation lay in his pride of Hindu culture, and the defence of Hinduism against "uninformed Western criticism". According to the historian Donald Mackenzie Brown, "Radhakrishnan

had always defended Hindu culture against uninformed Western criticism and had symbolized the pride of Indians in their own intellectual traditions."

Teacher's Day. When Radhakrishnan became the President of India, some of his students and friends requested him to allow them to celebrate his birthday, on 5 September. He replied, - 'instead of celebrating my birthday, it would be my proud privilege if September 5th is observed as Teachers' Day'. His birthday has since been celebrated as Teacher's Day in India.

Charity. Along with G D Birla and some other social workers in the pre-independence era, Radhakrishnan formed the Krishnarpan Charity Trust.

Role in Constituent Assembly. Radhakrishnan was against State institutions imparting denominational religious instruction as it was against the secular vision of the Indian State.

Philosophy. Radhakrishnantried to bridge Eastern and Western thought, defending Hinduism against "uninformed Western criticism",but also incorporating Western philosophical and religious thought. Radhakrishnan was one of India's best and most influential twentieth-century scholars of comparative religion and philosophy

Appraisal. Radhakrishnan has been highly appraised. Scholars all over the world believed that it would not be possible to find a more excellent example of a living "bridge" between the East and the West than Professor Radhakrishnan. Radhakrishnan's concern for experience and his extensive knowledge of the Western philosophical and literary traditions had earned him the reputation of being a bridge-builder between India and the West.

Awards and Honours. Radhakrishnan was a recipient of a large number of National and International awards. He was the recipient of Bharat Ratna in 1954. He was nominated 27 times for Nobel Prize - sixteen times for the Nobel prize in literature, and eleven times for the Nobel Peace prize.

APJ Abdul Kalam
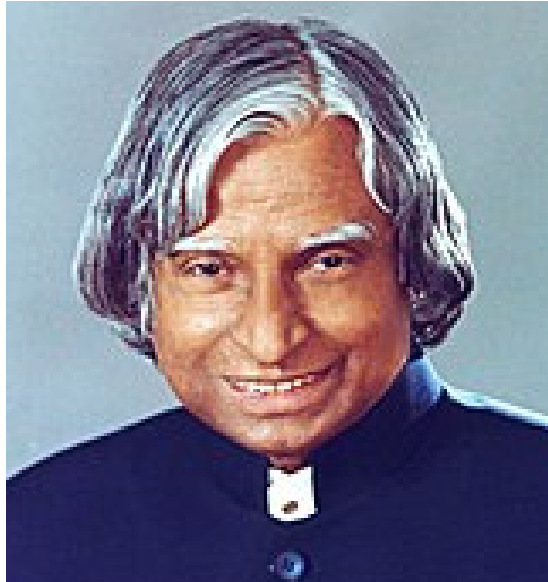
Introduction

Avul Pakir Jainulabdeen Abdul Kalam was an Indian aerospace scientist and politician who served as the 11th President of India from 2002 to 2007. On having studied physics and aerospace engineering, he spent the next four decades as a scientist and science administrator, mainly at the Defence Research and Development Organisation (DRDO) and Indian Space Research Organisation (ISRO). He was intimately involved in India's civilian space programme and military missile development efforts. He thus came to be known as the Missile Man of India for his work on the development of ballistic missile and launch vehicle technology. He also played a pivotal, organisational, technical and political role in India's PokhranII nuclear tests in 1998, the first since the original nuclear test by India in 1974. Known world over, Abdul kalam was one of the fewPresidents to be awarded Bharat Ratna in 1997. An individual whose contribution to the National security was immense.

Early Life

Abdul Kalam was born on 15 October 1931 to a Tamil Muslim family in the pilgrimage centre of Rameswaram on Pamban Island, then in the Madras

Presidency and now in the State of Tamil Nadu. His father Jainulabdeen was a boat owner and imam of a local mosque, his mother Ashiamma was a housewife. His father owned a ferry that took Hindu pilgrims back and forth between Rameswaram and the now uninhabited Dhanushkodi.

Kalam was the youngest of five siblings, the eldest of whom was a sister, Asim Zohra, followed by three elder brothers: Mohammed Muthu Meera Lebbai Maraikayar, Mustafa Kalam and Kasim Mohammed. He was extremely close to his elder siblings and their extended families throughout his life and would regularly send small sums of money to his older relations, himself remaining a lifelong bachelor.

Kalam's ancestors had been wealthy traders and landowners, with numerous properties and large tracts of land. Their business had involved trading groceries between the mainland and the island and to and from Sri Lanka, as well as ferrying pilgrims between the mainland and Pamban. As a result, the family acquired the title of "Mara Kalam Iyakkivar" (wooden boat steerers), which over the years became shortened to "Marakier." With the opening of the Pamban Bridge to the mainland in 1914, the businesses failed and the family fortune and properties were lost over time, apart from the ancestral home. By his early childhood, Kalam's family had become poor; at an early age, Kalam sold newspapers to supplement his family's income.

In his school years, Kalam had average grades but was described as a bright and hardworking student who had a strong desire to learn. He spent hours on his studies, especially mathematics. After completing his education at the Schwartz Higher Secondary School, Ramanathapuram, Kalam went on to attend Saint Joseph's College, Tiruchirappalli, then affiliated with the University of Madras, from where he graduated in physics in 1954. He moved to Madras in 1955 to study aerospace engineering in Madras Institute of Technology. While Kalam was working on a senior class project, the Dean was dissatisfied with his lack of progress and threatened to revoke his scholarship unless the project was finished within the next three days. Kalam met the deadline, impressing the Dean, who later said to him, "I was putting you under stress and asking you to meet a difficult deadline". He narrowly missed achieving his dream of becoming a fighter pilot, as he was placed ninth in qualifiers, and only eight positions were available in the IAF.

Kalam was noted for his integrity and his simple lifestyle. He never owned a television, and was in the habit of rising at 6:30 am and sleeping by 2 am. His few personal possessions included his books, his veena, some articles of clothing, a CD player and a laptop; at his death, he left no will, and his possessions went to his eldest brother, who survived him.

Achievements

Joined DRDO and designed a hovercraft. After graduating from the Madras Institute of Technology in 1960, Kalam joined the Aeronautical Development Establishment of DRDO. As a scientist after becoming a member of the Defence Research & Development Service (DRDS), he started his career by designing a small hovercraft, but remained unconvinced by his choice of a job at DRDO.

Kalam at ISRO. Kalam was also part of the INCOSPAR committee working under Vikram Sarabhai, the renowned space scientist. In 1969, Kalam was transferred to the Indian Space Research Organisation (ISRO) where he was the project director of India's first Satellite Launch Vehicle (SLV-III) which successfully deployed the 'Rohini' satellite in near-earth orbit in July 1980. Kalam had first started work on an expandable rocket project independently at DRDO in 1965. In 1969, Kalam received the government's approval and expanded the programme to include more engineers.

Development of PSLV. In 1963 - 1964, Kalam visited NASA's Langley Research Center in Hampton, Virginia; Goddard Space Flight Center in Greenbelt, Maryland; and Wallops Flight Facility. Between the 1970s and 1990s, Kalam made an effort to develop the Polar Satellite Launch Vehicle (PSLV) and SLV-III projects, both of which proved to be successful.

Developed Agni, Prithvi and many other Missiles. Kalam was invited by Raja Ramanna to witness the country's first nuclear test 'Smiling Buddha' as the representative of TBRL, even though he had not participated in its development. In the 1970s, Kalam also directed two projects, 'Project Devil' and 'Project Valiant', which sought to develop ballistic missiles from the technology of the successful SLV programme. Despite the disapproval of the Union Cabinet, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi allotted secret funds for these aerospace projects through her discretionary powers under Kalam's directorship. Kalam played an integral role convincing the Union Cabinet to conceal the true nature of these classified aerospace projects. His research and educational leadership brought him great laurels and prestige in the 1980s, which prompted the government to initiate an advanced missile programme under his directorship. Kalam and Dr V S Arunachalam, metallurgist and scientific adviser to the Defence Minister, worked on the suggestion by the then Defence Minister, R Venkataraman on a proposal for simultaneous development of a quiver of missiles instead of taking planned missiles one after another. R Venkatraman was instrumental in getting the cabinet approval for allocating ₹ 3.88 billion for the mission, named Integrated Guided Missile Development Programme (IGMDP) and appointed Kalam as the chief executive. Kalam played a major part in developing many

missiles under the mission including 'Agni', an intermediate range ballistic missile and 'Prithvi', the tactical surface-to-surface missile.

As Chief Scientific Adviser. Kalam served as the Chief Scientific Adviser to the Prime Minister and Secretary of the Defence Research and Development Organisation from July 1992 to December 1999. The PokhranII nuclear tests were conducted during this period in which he played an intensive political and technological role. Kalam served as the Chief Project Coordinator, along with Rajagopala Chidambaram, during the testing phase. Media coverage of Kalam during this period made him the country's best known nuclear scientist.

Developed a low cost Coronary Stent. In 1998, along with cardiologist Soma Raju, Kalam developed a low cost coronary stent, named the "Kalam-Raju Stent". In 2012, the duo designed a rugged tablet computer for health care in rural areas, which was named the "Kalam-Raju Tablet"

Abdul Kalam as President. Kalam won the 2002 Presidential election with a majority electoral vote. His term lasted from 25 July 2002 to 25 July 2007. Kalam became the 11th President of the Republic of India in an easy victory, and moved into the Rashtrapati Bhavan after he was sworn in. Kalam was one of the few Presidents of India to have been honoured with a Bharat Ratna, India's highest civilian honour, He was also the first scientist and the first bachelor to occupy Rashtrapati Bhawan.During his term as president, he was affectionately known as the 'People's President', saying that signing the Office of Profit Bill was the toughest decision he had taken during his tenure. In September 2003, in an interactive session in PGI Chandigarh, Kalam supported the need of 'Uniform Civil Code' in India, keeping in view the population of the country. At the end of his term, on 20 June 2007, Kalam expressed his unwillingness to consider a second term in office.

Post Presidency

After leaving office, Kalam became a visiting professor at the Indian Institute of Management, Shillong, the Indian Institute of Management Ahmedabad, and the Indian Institute of Management Indore; an honorary fellow of Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore; chancellor of the Indian Institute of Space Science and Technology Thiruvananthapuram; a professor of Aerospace Engineering at Anna University; and an adjunct at many other academic and research institutions across India. He taught information technology at the International Institute of Information Technology, Hyderabad, and technology at Banaras Hindu University and Anna University.

In May 2012, Kalam launched a programme for the youth of India called 'What Can I Give Movement', with a central theme of defeating corruption. His last talk to students was on "Creating a Livable Planet Earth" at the Indian Institute of Management Shillong where he succumbed to a massive cardiac arrest.

Religious and Spiritual Views

A proud and practicing Muslim, daily namaz and fasting during Ramadan were integral to Kalam's life. His father, the imam of a mosque in his hometown of Rameswaram, had strictly instilled these Islamic customs in his children. One component of Kalam's widespread popularity among diverse groups in India, and an enduring aspect of his legacy, is the syncretism he embodied in appreciating various elements of the many spiritual and cultural traditions of India.

In addition to his faith in the Quran and Islamic practice, Kalam was well-versed in Hindu traditions; he learnt Sanskrit, read the Bhagavad Gita and he was a vegetarian. Kalam also enjoyed writing Tamil poetry, playing the veena (an ancient Indian string instrument), and listening to Carnatic devotional music every day. In 2002, in one of his early speeches to Parliament after becoming President of India, he reiterated his desire for a more united India, stating that "during the last one year he met a number of spiritual leaders of all religions ... and I would like to endeavor to work for bringing about unity of minds among the divergent traditions of our country". He expressed this in the second-to-last book he published, presciently titled "Transcendence: My Spiritual Experiences with Pramukh Swami".

Honours and Awards

Kalam received seven honorary doctorates from 40 universities. The Government of India honoured him with the Padma Bhushan in 1981 and the Padma Vibhushan in 1990 for his work with ISRO and DRDO and his role as a scientific advisor to the Government. In 1997, Kalam received India's highest civilian honour, the Bharat Ratna, for his contribution to the scientific research and modernisation of defence technology in India. In 2013, he was the recipient of the Von Braun Award from the National Space Society "to recognize excellence in the management and leadership of space-related projects". In 2012, Kalam was ranked 'number 2' in Outlook India's poll of 'the Greatest Indian'.

Pranab Mukherjee

Introduction

Pranab Mukherjee served as the 13th President of India from July 2012 to July 2017. He was the President of all political parties and widely honoured and respected. Known to be the best parliamentarians and statesmen of India, Mukherjee was said to be the wisest Presidents because of his wide experience in almost all fields. In a political career spanning five decades, Mukherjee was a senior leader in the Indian National Congress and occupied several ministerial portfolios in Government of India, from time to time. Prior to his election as President, Mukherjee was Union Finance Minister from 2009 to 2012. He was awarded India's highest civilian honour, the Bharat Ratna, in 2019, by his successor as President.

As President, Mukherjee promulgated Criminal Law (Amendment) Ordinance, 2013, providing for the amendment of the Indian Penal Code, Indian Evidence Act and the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1973, on laws related to sexual offences. By July 2015, President Mukherjee rejected 24 mercy pleas including those of Yakub Memon, Ajmal Kasab, and Afzal Guru. Pranab Mukherjee became the first President of India to reply all the mercy petitions in his term for the death row inmates and also replying the petitions of former Presidents. In January 2017, Mukherjee announced that he would

not contest the 2017 Presidential elections, citing "advanced age and failing health". Pranab Mukherjee's dedication not only as President but in the many important appointments he held even before he was the President of India needs recognition as an individual who has done great to the Country.

Early Life

Pranab Mukherjee was born into a Bengali Brahmin family in Mirati, a village in the Bengal Presidency of British India (now in Birbhum district, West Bengal). His father, Kamada Kinkar Mukherjee, was active in the Indian Independence Movement and was a member of the West Bengal Legislative Council between 1952 and 1964 as a representative of the Indian National Congress; he (Kamada) was also a member of AICC. Pranab's mother was Rajlakshmi Mukherjee. Pranab had two siblings: older sister Annapurna Banarjee and older brother Piyush Mukherjee.

Pranab Mukherjee married Suvra Mukherjee on 13 July 1957. Suvra Mukherjee was born at Narail, Bengal Presidency. She moved to Kolkata while she was 10 and married Pranab. The couple had two sons and a daughter. Suvra died on 18 August 2015, aged 74, while Mukherjee was still in office. Their elder son, Abhijit Mukherjee, was a Congress MP from Jangipur, West Bengal, and has continued in politics. Pranab's daughter Sharmistha Mukherjee is a Kathak dancer and also a politician of the Indian National Congress.

Mukherjee attended Suri Vidyasagar College in Suri (Birbhum), which was then affiliated to the University of Calcutta. He subsequently earned an MA degree in political science and history and an LL B degree, both from the University of Calcutta

Pranab was an upper-division clerk in the Office of the Deputy Accountant-General (Post and Telegraph) in Calcutta. In 1963, he became a lecturer (Assistant Professor) of Political Science at Vidyanagar College, Kolkata, affiliated to the University of Calcutta and he also worked as a journalist at Desher Dak (Call of the Motherland) before entering politics.   Mukherjee first ran for public office in 1969, when he won a seat in the Rajya Sabha (upper house) of the Indian parliament as a member of the Bangla Congress, which soon merged with the Congress Party. He served an additional four terms, although he left that chamber in 2004 and contested and won a seat in the Lok Sabha (lower house). He served there until mid 2012, when he ran for

the elections of President of India.

Mukherjee's hobbies were reading, gardening, and music. He was inspired by Deng Xiaoping and quoted him quite frequently. Mukherjee celebrated the Durga Puja at his ancestral home in Mirati village. He used to make it a point to be at Mirati village every year to take part in the four-day rituals, the puja having a "social dimension" for him, as he also wanted to be with people of his area.

Achievements

Politics. Mukherjee got his break in politics in 1969 when he was elected to the Rajya Sabha, the upper house of Parliament of India, on a Congress ticket. His first stint was as Finance Minister of India in 1982–84 while he was also the Leader of the House in the Rajya Sabha from 1980 to 1985. Mukherjee had viewed himself and not the inexperienced Rajiv, as the rightful successor to Indira following her assassination in 1984. For this thought, Mukherjee was side lined from Congress during the premiership of Rajiv Gandhi.Mukherjee lost out in the ensuing power struggle. He formed his own party in 1984 - the Rashtriya Samajwadi Congress, which merged with Congress in 1989. He was then appointed as Planning Commission head in 1991 and foreign minister in 1995. Following this, as elder statesman of Congress, Mukherjee was the principal architect of Sonia Gandhi's ascent to the party's presidency in 1998. In 2004, Mukherjee won a Lok Sabha seat for the first time. From then until his resignation in 2012, he held a number of key cabinet portfolios in Prime Minister's Office – Defence (2004–06), External Affairs (2006–09), and Finance (2009–12) – apart from heading several Groups of Ministers (GoMs) and being Leader of the House in the Lok Sabha. He was considered the top-ranking Indian cabinet minister and he presided over cabinet meetings in the absence of the Prime Minister. Mukherjee's political skills and long experience in government have also led him to head a large number of committees of ministers in the government. Even at the time of his resignation, on being nominated as the UPA's Presidential candidate, Mukherjee was heading several Groups of Ministers (GoMs) and Empowered Groups of Ministers (EGoMs).

Minister of Defence. As Minister of Defence, Mukherjee expanded co-operation with the United States. On the Wikileaks cables release the US was full of praise for the "uniformed leadership" of Indian armed forces. Mukherjee in June 2005 had inked the ten-year Indo-US Defence Framework

deal. Despite increasing co-operation with the United States, Mukherjee maintained that Russia would remain India's 'topmost' defence partner. Russia and India held their first joint anti-terror war games in Rajasthan in October 2005, during which Mukherjee and Russian Defence Minister Sergei Ivanov narrowly escaped injury after a heavy mortar landed several metres from their platform. The Russian ministry subsequently declared its hopes to follow up joint military exercises in India and with further joint exercises on Russian territory.

Minister of External Affairs. Mukherjee was appointed External Affairs Minister of India in 1995. Under his leadership, India was made "Full Dialogue Partner" of ASEAN as part of the Look East foreign policy initiated by Narasimha Rao. His second term, as external minister, began in 2006. He oversaw the successful signing of the US-India Civil Nuclear Agreement with the US government and then with the Nuclear Suppliers Group, allowing India to participate in civilian nuclear trade in spite of not having signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. Mukherjee played a crucial role in mobilising world opinion against Pakistan after the 2008 Mumbai attacks.

Minister of Commerce and Industry. Mukherjee served as Commerce Minister of India three times. His first appointments were in the Indira Gandhi government from 1980 to 1982 and again in 1984. His third appointment as Minister of Commerce and Industry in the 1990s saw him contribute significantly to the negotiations which led to the establishment of the World Trade Organization.

Minister of Finance. Mukherjee's first appointment as the Finance Minister of India was in 1982, and there after he became Finance Minister three more times to bring in a large number of economic reforms. He was applauded for successfully returning the last instalment of India's first IMF loan, appointing Manmohan Singh as Governor of RBI, ending the License Raj to help open the Indian economy, targeting budget deficit reduction from 6.5 % to 4.1% in a period of five years, scrapping the fringe benefit tax and the commodities transaction tax, improving funding of many sectors like Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission, the National Highway Development Programme, Project for Improving Literacy and health care and so on. In 2010 he was recognised as the 'Best Finance Minister of the Year'.

Other Important Appointments held. Mukherjee was chairman of the Indian Statistical Institute in Kolkata. He held the posts like Chairman and President of the Rabindra Bharati University and the Nikhil Bharat Banga Sahitya Sammelan , trustee of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad and the Bidhan

Memorial Trust. He also served on the Planning Board of the Asiatic Society.

National and Foreign honours. Amongst Mukherjee's most outstanding honour in India were Padma Vibhushan and Bharat Ratna. He also received honours from foreign countries like Bangladesh , Ivory Coast and Cyprus. His list of Academic awards is long and non endingHis recognitions of being 'the Best Finance Minister in the World (1984)' and 'Best Finance Minister of India (2012)' , need to be mentioned again – at the cost of repetition.

Conclusion

The first President of Republic of India had a large number of responsibilities towards the appointment which Dr Rajendra Prasad , in his longest tenure of 12 years, executed well. He set the pace and an example for others to lead the Country as its first citizen in the right manner. His contribution to the Nation and its security needs our praise.

Dr S Radhakrishnan's contribution to the nation all along has been commendable. He was well known world over for his Philosophy and his talks on peace. He believed in a secular India and guided the Nation in its initial years of Independence by occupying the highest posts of Vice Present and President of India. Certainly a National Hero who contributed to the nation's development and security in an exemplary manner.

Dr Abdul Kalam was a visionary. His achievements for India have been noteworthy. He dedicated himself and his knowledge to the Nation. It can be recalled that after his stepping down from the post of Scientific Adviser to the Prime Minister, he said that he would target meaningful interaction with 10000 students in two years, which he did. He encouraged youngsters to learn and achieve. It is a difficult task here to summarize and reproduce all of A P J Abdul Kalam's great achievements and contributions to India's National Security.

Dr Pranab Mukherjee, a great politician- popular and achiever, who has contributed to Defence of India, economy of the country, India's foreign relations and growth of the Industry in India besides many other things certainly finds a place amongst those outstanding individuals who have contributed remarkably to India's National Security. While doing so, he has even held the highest post of the President of India, to lead and guide the country.

All four personalities above, were Presidents of India and as individuals have contributed towards the National Security of the Country in a big way, and so, a special mention of them here. It is to conclude, that Individuals too contribute substantially, by their deeds to the growth and National Security of the Nation. The third and the last part of this article will cover contribution of a few outstanding Industrialists who have been our Leaders and Heroes to contribute towards the National Security.

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Major General (Dr) 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 terrain 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 Kupwara sectors to achieve the best during that time.

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