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ISIS & Impact on India

Appointment and Dismissal of Governors

Need to Boost Indigenous Defence Production

Uniform Civil Code: Time for Debate

and many more

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3, San Martin Marg, Chanakyapuri, New Delhi – 110021, info@vifindia.org, www.vifindia.org

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Editor's Note

Two major developments on the domestic and international fronts have taken place since the publication of our last issue.

On May 16 came a historic electoral verdict wherein the world's largest democracy voted for a single party majority Government in over two decades. For the first time, a person born after the country attained independence and belonging to humble origins came to occupy the top post in what was clearly seen as a quest for change, a dream for development and an assertion of identity by the majority community which has hitherto felt neglected and frustrated by the minority vote bank politics pursued by most political parties.

NDA.02 has begun its innings on a positive note reaching out to neighbouring countries with which India has shared uneasy ties over the last decade, taking harsh though unpopular economic decisions in the nation's long term interests, bringing in efficiency and accountability in the work culture and functioning of the Government machinery and a strong emphasis on delivery.

The crisis in Iraq, the not so encouraging Monsoon and very high expectations of the people are among the immediate challenges before the Narendra Modi Government. The nation by and large has responded positively to the bold steps so far and one sincerely hopes that the Government obtains the desired results that would enable India to scale greater heights in all its endeavours.

On the international front, the Iraq situation following the success of the Islamist ISIS is a matter of deep concern both to India and the international community. Apart from apprehensions about oil supplies and hike in fuel prices as also safety of Indian nationals (many of them have been safely brought back to the country), the far reaching implications of growing Islamism on the Indian sub continent cannot be ignored.

In this issue, we have enlightening articles on the situation in Iraq, the debate on Uniform Civil Code, indigenization of defence production and the appointment and dismissal of Governors among others by our eminent panels of authors.

We look forward to your valuable feedback on the same

K G Suresh

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The ISIS Phenomenon and Impact on India

- *Sushant Sareen*

The emergence of the ultra-extremist Islamic State of Iraq and al-Shams (ISIS) on the scene in the Middle East is a few years old. Until recently, it was seen as yet another fanatical Sunni Muslim terror group operating in Syria. Its claim to fame was that it was even more extreme in its views and actions than even the Al Qaeda and its affiliates. ISIS had in fact targeted the Al Qaeda affiliate Jabhat al-Nusra and butchered its members to impose its dominance on some areas inside Syria. In a sense, ISIS seemed to be following the logical trajectory of competitive extremism and many people believed that the very logic of its rise will also not just impose a limitation on its growth but also lead to its downfall. While this may still happen, for now the ISIS has belied all such prognostications and has in fact gone from strength to strength by capturing more and more territory in Iraq and Syria, eliminating borders, threatening other

countries in the region, and announcing the revival of the Caliphate (its leader Abubakr al-Baghdadi proclaimed the new Caliph) and declared a global agenda which is attracting radical Islamists from across the world.

From being a fringe organisation in the Syrian civil war, the ISIS leapt on to the centre-stage of global jihad after its lightning raids in Iraq which resulted in their capture of large swathes of territory, including the second largest Iraqi city, Mosul. A large part of the Sunni dominated region of Iraq has also fallen to the ISIS. What shocked the world was not just the speed of the offensive but also the lack of resistance offered by the Iraqi army which virtually collapsed in the face of the assault. With the ISIS now literally knocking on the doors of Baghdad, the Iraqi state is now trying to get its act together and launch a counter-offensive to push back the ISIS. More than the Iraqi state, it is the Shia community

* *Sushant Sareen, Senior Fellow, VIF*

which is gearing up for the fight back because for them the ISIS represents an existential threat because of its venomous and virulent Sunni sectarianism which considers Shias as apostates. This is a label that is even worse than being Kafirs or infidels because while Kafirs can be tolerated under certain conditions, apostates only deserve death. The massacre of the Shias – soldiers, civilians, clerics and what have you – by the ISIS in areas it captured has left no doubts about its intentions.

The sectarian nature of the ISIS has naturally fuelled the age old Shia-Sunni conflict and once again brought it on to the centre-stage of the Islamic world. As a result, it is dragging in Islamic countries on one or the other side, something which could lead to a wider war in the region. Worse, it is agitating Muslim societies in not just the Islamic world but also in non-Islamic world. The whole situation is akin to a pressure cooker without a safety valve. In other words, it is a situation that is heading towards a blow-up or blow-out, depending on which

The sectarian nature of the ISIS has naturally fuelled the age old Shia-Sunni conflict and once again brought it on to the centre-stage of the Islamic world. As a result, it is dragging in Islamic countries on one or the other side, something which could lead to a wider war in the region.

perspective one takes. At the same time, the ISIS is also seen as a threat by its patrons and supporters like Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. How this equation ultimately settles – will states of the middle-east continue to support such groups to settle their scores with their regional and sectarian rivals, or will they in their own enlightened self-interest try to put this genie back in the bottle (if at all that can even be done) – remains to be seen.

What is however clear is that the post World War I map of the Middle East is changing. The

states carved out of the erstwhile Ottoman empire are collapsing. How the middle-eastern cookie will ultimately crumble and what new states will emerge out of the turmoil is not clear as yet. But one thing is certain. There is going to be prolonged instability in the entire region which will have its impact far beyond the region. India will of course not remain insulated or untouched from this turmoil. What is quite surprising, nay shocking, is that despite millennia of interaction with Islam

and the middle-east, how little India understands or knows about either Islam or the conflicts that are erupting in the Islamic world. It is almost as though India believes that by adopting an ostrich like attitude (burying its head in the sand and hoping that the storm will pass it by) it will remain unaffected (at least domestically, if not internationally) by the dynamics of what is happening in the Islamic world. The fact of the matter is that Indian Muslims will get affected and sucked in by the conflicts that are playing out in the Middle East and this will have its repercussions inside India.

For now, India has viewed the barbarism of the ISIS with horror and disgust, even an element of fear on what this strand of Islamism represents. But there is nothing novel in the savagery of the ISIS. With its short memory (almost like that of a gold-fish) India has forgotten that everything that the ISIS is doing today in Iraq, the Taliban have done in Afghanistan just some decade and half back. What is more, this is exactly what other Islamic terror groups Ansar Dine in Mali, Boko Haram in Nigeria, al-Shahab in East Africa, and other such groups in other parts of

the world have been practising. There is a continuum from Morocco in the Maghrib to Moro Islands in the Phillipines in not just the barbarity that ISIS has come to epitomise, but also its social and political charter. All that the ISIS has declared – forced prayers, Islamic punishments like stoning to death or amputation of limbs, destroying shrines and monuments of the past, treatment of women, declaring Shias out of pale of Islam etc. – is something that radical Islamists ranging from the Taliban to the Boko Haram also profess and practise. Despite this, Indian academics and left-liberals masquerading as secularists try to find some redeeming feature or justification for these groups by pointing to the local grievances against which these groups emerged. In the process, what is ignored is that the real driving force behind these movements and groups is their radical and literalist interpretation of Islam and local grievances or issues merely provides a fig-leaf for their millenarian goals.

It is precisely this mindset which in this age of globalisation and information will inevitably seep into India where political correctness and ignorance has

prevented the development of a potent counter-narrative to the radical Islamists. Small wonder then that there are credible reports of some Indian Muslims getting attracted to these movements, and linking up with Taliban/Al Qaeda in Afghanistan or ISIS type outfits in the Middle East. These numbers are still miniscule but they could grow in the months and years to come especially since many Muslim youth around the world are seeing people like al-Baghdadi as an inspirational and iconic figure.

Reports from Pakistan reveal that nearly 6000 odd people have moved to Syria to fight in the civil war there. There

are also reports that the Pakistani authorities in exchange for Saudi funds are turning a blind eye (if not actually encouraging) these Islamists to fight the 'dirty wars' in the Middle East. That this will have an impact on the sectarian politics in Pakistan is a no-brainer, especially after these people come back from the Jihad. Worse, the competitive extremism which is also underway inside Pakistan will in all probability manifest itself in rising export of terrorism into India.

Already, the mobilisation that is taking place among Indian Shias to volunteer to go to Iraq for protecting the Shia shrines could become a precursor of worse things to come.

In the case of India, apart from the real possibility of some Muslims in India going to the Middle East to fight, there is a huge diaspora in the Middle East from which recruitments for the jihadist cause could take place. Sooner or later these characters (those who survive) could come back to wage Jihad inside India. At the very least, they could bring back radical ideas that could spread this poisonous virus in India and disturb not just the already fragile communal relations in India but also lead to terrorism of a kind

India is just not prepared to fight effectively.

Already, the mobilisation that is taking place among Indian Shias to

volunteer to go to Iraq for protecting the Shia shrines could become a precursor of worse things to come. The government of India must strongly curb any such movement of Indian Muslims to go and fight for Islamic causes in other parts of the world.

Asides of the threat of radicalism and terrorism coming into India, the disturbances in the Middle East will also impact India economically, especially if the wider region starts getting

embroiled in the conflict. Around 70 Lakh Indians are working in the Middle East and they send around \$35-40 billion in remittances, which not just shore up the Indian economy but also help the families of these workers to lead a decent life. Any displacement of Indians from this region will therefore naturally have a severe impact on the Indian economy. Also, the Middle East is a huge export market for India and this could also be badly affected which in turn could lead to rise in joblessness in India. The bulk of India's energy supplies come from the Middle East and apart from rising oil prices as a result of disturbances, there could be disruption in supplies of oil which will have a terrible impact on India's economy. And finally, if all hell breaks loose in the Middle East, India will have to undertake virtually a 'Mission Impossible' of safely evacuating its people from the area.

The developments in the Middle East are confronting the Modi government with a grave challenge which is almost existential in some ways. Unfortunately there isn't much that the government can do given the mismanagement, mis-governance and callous and

cavalier attitude of the Manmohan Singh government in terms of preparing and strengthening India to ride out these kind of storms. Even as the Modi government starts to build India's capacities to handle such crises, for now all it can hope for is that things don't reach the meltdown stage anytime soon. Hope of course is not a policy, but for now it is all that is possible. The hope is also that the ultra-extremism repels Islamic societies and makes them stand up to the virulence that the Islamists represent. But chances of that happening are quite bleak because such is the nature of the beast.

Politically, the Modi government needs to get its narrative in order and should have an outreach programme that informs the public of the challenges and what the government is doing to meet them. It must counter the false and malicious propaganda that the government didn't do enough or failed to act in time to pull out the Indians who find themselves caught in the areas captured by the ISIS. The simple fact that not just the Iraqi government but also countries like the US were caught by surprise by the ISIS means that India was in no position to pull out its citizens from these areas before the ISIS captured

them. Similarly, the people of India must be told of how badly the previous government ignored this critical region in terms of building up information and influence networks that could be used in these kinds of crises. Contingency plans must also be formulated to evacuate citizens from areas that could get caught

up in the fighting in the months to come. The challenge before India is enormous but the trust that the people of India have reposed in the Modi government needs to be vindicated.

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Uniform Civil Code: Time for a Serious Endeavour

- *RNP Singh*

The principle of application of Uniform Civil Code contained in the Directive Principles under Article 44 of the Constitution, describes “The state shall endeavour to secure a uniform civil code for all citizens throughout the territory of India”. This provision of the Directive Principles could not be made possible inspite of sixty- six years of independence even though the Supreme Court, on number of occasions, expressed distress over the government’s failure in enacting a common civil code to end discrimination between various religious communities in matters of marriage, succession and property.

The spine of the controversy surrounding the uniform civil code has been the issue of secularism even though the Preamble of the Constitution states that India is a “Secular Democratic Republic” which clearly means that there is no state religion. A secular state shall not discriminate against any one on the ground of religion. It is

not concerned with relation of man with God. In the matter of *S R Bommai Vs Union of India* (1994), as per Justice Jeevan Reddy, it was held that the religion is the matter of individual faith and cannot be mixed with secular activities. Secular activities can be regulated by the state by enacting laws.

The objection to the implementation of uniform civil code is not a new phenomenon. The objection against it was raised by some Muslim members even in the Constituent Assembly when the motion was placed and debated on 23 November 1948. Some of the Muslim members put forward several objections on the ground of religion and placed amendments. But after thorough debate their amendments were negatived and the motion was adopted.

Mohammad Ismail Sahib (Madras: Muslim) while placing his amendment had argued “if anything is done affecting the

* *RNP Singh, Senior Fellow, VIF*

personal laws, it will be tantamount to interference with the way of life of those people who have been observing these laws for generations and ages. This secular state which is trying to create should not do anything to interfere with the way of life and religion of the people. Another Muslim member Naziruddin Ahmed while supporting Mohammad Ismail argued “in fact, each community, each religious community has certain laws, certain civil laws inseparably

connected with religious beliefs and practices. I believe that in framing a uniform draft code, these religious laws or semi-religious laws should be kept out of its way?” He further said that “what the British in 175 years failed to do or was afraid to do, what the Muslims in the course of 500 years refrained from doing, we should not give power to the state to do all at once.”

Mahmoob Ali Baig Sahib Bahadur (Madras) advocating on the same lines said that “I wish to submit that they are overlooking the very important fact of the personal law being so much dear and near to

certain religious communities. As far as Mussalmans are concerned, their laws of succession, inheritance, marriage and divorce are completely dependent upon their religion”.

B. Pocker Sahib Bahadur (Madras: Muslim) while placing his amendment went a step further and said that “it is a tyrannous provision which ought not to be tolerated; and let it not be taken that I am not voicing forth the feelings of the Mussalmans. In

Another Muslim member Naziruddin Ahmed while supporting Mohammad Ismail argued “in fact, each community, each religious community has certain laws, certain civil laws inseparably connected with religious beliefs and practices.

saying this, I am voicing forth the feelings of ever so many sections in this country who feel that it would be tyrannous to interfere with the religious practices,

and with the religious laws, which they are governed now. He further said, “I wish to submit that they are overlooking the very important fact of the personal law being so much dear and near to religious communities. As far as Mussalmans are concerned, their laws of succession, inheritance, marriage and divorce are completely dependent upon their religion”.

While supporting the motion on Uniform Civil Code, KM Munshi

(Bombay: General and Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar (Madras: General) put forth some such forceful arguments that it did not leave any scope to accept the amendments of Muslim members. Their arguments were so strong and logical that Dr. B. R Ambedkar refused to accept the amendments which were moved to this Article.

K M Munshi submitted that "...It must be remembered that if this clause is not put in, it does not mean that the Parliament in future would have no right to enact a civil code. The only restriction to such a right would be Article 19 (Protection of certain rights) of the Constitution and I have already pointed out that Article 19, accepted by the House unanimously, permits legislation covering secular activities. The whole object of this Article is that as and when the Parliament thinks proper or rather when the majority in the Parliament thinks proper an attempt may be made to unify the personal law of the country.

"....A further argument has been advanced that the enactment of civil Code is tyrannical to minorities. Is it tyrannical? Nowhere in advanced Muslim countries, the personal law of each

minority has been recognized as so sacrosanct as to prevent the enactment of Civil Code. Take for instance Turkey or Egypt. No minorities in these countries are permitted to have such rights. But I go further. When the Shariat Act was passed or when certain laws were passed in the Central Legislature in the old regime, the Khojas and Cutchi Memons were highly dissatisfied. Then they followed certain Hindu customs; for generations since they became converts they had done so. They did not want to conform to the Shariat; and yet by a legislation of the Central Legislature certain Muslim members who felt that Shariat law should be enforced upon the whole community carried their point. The Khojas and Cutchi Memons most unwillingly had to submit to it. Where were the rights of minority then? When you want to consolidate a community, you have to take into consideration the benefit which may accrue to the whole community and not to the customs of a part of it".

Munshi further submitted that "It is therefore, not correct to say that such an act is tyranny of the majority. If you will look at the countries in Europe which have a civil code, everyone who goes there

from any part of the world and every minority, has to submit to the Civil Code. It is not felt to be tyrannical to the minority. The point however is this, whether we are going to consolidate and unify our personal law in such a way that the way of life of the whole country may in course of time be unified and secular. We want to divorce religion from personal law, from what may be called social relations or from the rights of parties as regards inheritance or succession. What have these things to do with religion I fail to understand?"

While citing examples of the Hindu Law Draft, which was before the Legislative Assembly, K M Munshi submitted "if one looks at Manu Yagnyavalkya and all the rest of them, I think most of the provisions of the new Bill will run counter to their injunctions. But after all we are an advancing society. We are in a stage where we must unify and consolidate the nation by every means without interfering with religious practices".

K M Munshi while elaborating his point further said "... I know there

are many among Hindus who do not like a Uniform Civil Code, because they take the same view as the honourable Muslim members who spoke last. They feel that personal law of inheritance; succession etc is really a part of their religion. If that were so, you can never give, for instance equality to women. But you have already passed a Fundamental Right to that effect and you have an Article here which lays down that there should be no discrimination against sex. Look

Look at Hindu Law; you get any amount of discrimination against women; and if that is part of Hindu religion or Hindu religious practice, you can not pass a single law which would elevate the position of Hindu women to that of men.

at Hindu Law; you get any amount of discrimination against women; and if that is part of Hindu religion or Hindu religious practice, you can not pass a single

law which would elevate the position of Hindu women to that of men. Therefore, there is no reason why there should not be a civil code throughout the territory of India".

Munshi held the British rule responsible for this mindset. He said that "... this attitude of mind perpetuated under the British rule, that personal law is part of religion, has been fostered by the British and by the British courts.

We must therefore, outgrow it. If I may just remind the honourable Member who spoke last of a particular incident from Freshta which comes to my mind, Allauddin Khilji made several changes which offended against the Shariat, though he was the first ruler to establish Muslim Sultanate here. The Kazi of Delhi objected to some of his reforms, and his reply was 'I am an ignorant man and I am ruling this country in its best interests. I am sure, looking at my ignorance and my good intentions, the Almighty will forgive me, when he finds that I have not acted according to Shariat'. If Alauddin could not, much less can a modern government accept the proposition that religious rights over personal law or several other matters which we have been unfortunately trained to consider as part of our religion. That is my submission."

Munshi's submission was fully supported by another Member Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar (Madras: General). Krishnaswami submitted that "A civil code has been pointed out, runs into every department of civil relations, to the law of contracts, to the law of property, to the law of succession, to the law of marriage and similar matters. How can there be any

objection to the general statement here that the state shall endeavour to secure a Uniform Civil Code throughout the territory of India?"

While contradicting the arguments of Muslim members that their religion would be put to danger, Krishnaswami said "the second objection was that the religion was in danger, that communities can not live in amity if there is to be Uniform Civil Code. The Article actually aims at amity. It does not destroy amity. The idea is that differential systems of inheritance and other matters are some of the factors which contribute to differences among the different peoples of India. What it aims at is to try to arrive at a common measure of agreement in regard to these matters. It is not as if one legal system is not influencing or being influenced by another legal system".

While replying to B Pocker (Muslim member) who had levelled an attack against the Drafting Committee on the ground that they did not know their business, Krishnaswami said "I should like to know whether he has carefully read what happened even in the British regime. You must know that the Muslim law covers the field of contracts, the

field of criminal law, the field of divorce law, the field of marriage and every part of law as contained in the Muslim law. When British occupied this country, they said, we are going to introduce one criminal law in this country which will be applicable to all citizens, be they Englishmen, be they Hindus, be they Muslims. Did the Muslims take exception, and did they revolt against the British for introducing a single system of criminal law.”

Krishnaswami further argued “Now again there are Muslims and there are Hindus, there are Catholics, there are Christians, and there are Jews, in different European countries. I should like to know from Mr Pocker whether different personal laws are perpetrated in France, in Germany, in Italy and in all continental countries of Europe, or whether the laws of succession are not coordinated and unified in the various states. He must have made a detailed study of Muslim jurisprudence and found out whether in all those countries, there is single system of law or different systems of law”.

After hearing forceful arguments of K M Munshi and Alladi

Krishnaswami Ayyar, Dr Ambedkar while rejecting the amendments said “I am afraid I can not accept the amendments which have been moved to this article. In dealing with this matter, I do not propose to touch on the merits of the question as to whether this country should have a civil code or it should not. That is a matter which I think has been dealt with sufficiently for the occasion by my friend Mr. Munshi as well as by Shri Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar”.

Krishnaswami further argued “Now again there are Muslims and there are Hindus, there are Catholics, there are Christians, and there are Jews, in different European countries.

Ambedkar while making his observation on the amendments said “... I think most of my friends who have spoken on

this amendment have quite forgotten that up to 1935 the North- West Frontier Province was not subject to Shariat Law. It followed the Hindu Law in the matter of succession and in other matters, so much so that it was in 1939 that the Central Legislature had to come into the field and to abrogate the application of the Hindu Law to the Muslims of North – West Frontier Province and to apply the Shariat Law to them”.

He further observed “My honourable friends have forgotten that apart from the North- West Frontier Province, up till 1937 in the rest of India, in various parts, such as the United Provinces, the Central Provinces and Bombay, the Muslims to a large extent were governed by the Hindu Law in the matter of succession. In order to bring them on the plane of uniformity with regard to other Muslims who observed the Shariat Law, the legislature had to intervene in 1937 and to pass an enactment applying the Shariat Law to the rest of India. I am also informed by my friend Karunakara Menon, that in the North Malabar the Marumakkathayam Law applied to all – not only to Hindus but also to Muslims. It is to be remembered that the Marumakkathayam Law is a matriarchal form of law and not a patriarchal form of law”.

The excerpts of the debate in the Constituent Assembly, on the issue of Uniform Civil Code, mentioned above, does not leave any scope for any further discussion on this subject. The debate is so exhaustive, logical and convincing for all sections that is ample proof to show that it has nothing to do with the religion. Even then, its enactment is delayed and Article 44 of the Directive Principles of the Constitution is kept waiting is a matter of surprise. No further argument for its implementation is needed. The entire country is anxiously waiting to see whether the new government would now make a serious endeavour to secure for the citizens a Uniform Civil Code which is overdue in the absence of any effective or serious move by the earlier governments.

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Modi's Japan Visit: Need for a Paradigm Shift in Strategic Ties

- *Brig (Retd) Vinod Anand*

After evaluating the emerging strategic environment in the neighbourhood and beyond, Prime Minister Narendra Modi preferred to visit Bhutan first and thereafter Japan. While the visit to Bhutan underscored his understanding of the crucial strategic importance of Bhutan to India and the need to correct the drift in relationship which had crept in during the UPA's tenure, Modi's forthcoming visit to Japan is expected to bring in a paradigm shift in the nature of relationship between the two nations.

Although Japan has been somewhat disappointed with the postponement of his visit scheduled for first week of July to August, the ensuing time gap is expected to provide adequate time for both sides to address some of the constraints that inhibit strengthening further the economic and strategic relationship. For instance, Japan wants India to make its domestic

laws including the tax regime investor friendly to enable Tokyo to go in for huge investments in India. And India would like Japan to loosen some of the restrictions and limitations that restrain the cooperation in civil nuclear field, high end technology and defence industry.

The top priority of the Modi-led government is to return to the high growth trajectory that entails developing a robust infrastructure for which according to India's 12th Five year Plan, the requirement is over 1 trillion US dollars. Japan has been very active in providing Overseas Development Aid to India (in terms of grants and soft loans which has been around USD 36 billion till last year). However, with the right investment climate, Tokyo could provide New Delhi a very large proportion of the funds needed for development of infrastructure. While Japan is already involved in development of the Delhi-Mumbai Industrial

* *Brig (Retd) Vinod Anand, Senior Fellow, VIF*

Corridor, many more such projects are needed across the length and breadth of India.

During Prime Minister Shinzo Abe's visit to India in January, Japan was invited to invest in India's North East region for development of infrastructure. Japanese companies were also invited to develop a new port in Chennai which would improve connectivity to Dawei port in Myanmar (being developed by Thailand) and beyond. Not only this, there has been a Japanese promise of helping India's Export-Import Bank develop more attractive funding packages for Indian projects in regional countries. All this needs to be given a practical shape in the coming visit to Japan.

While India and Japan have set a target of US dollars 25 billion for 2014, it is much less than the trade figures of both nations with China. Despite the signing of Comprehensive Economic Partnership between the two countries in August 2011, the overall economic relations have not progressed beyond a point. This is more so in the areas of cooperation in strategic industries

like defence, cyber security, space and civil nuclear energy. It is here that some of the constraints that could be either political or constitutional in nature need to be attenuated or removed altogether. PM Modi's massive mandate would be very helpful in ushering in economic reforms and address some of the concerns of Japanese and other international investors. On the other hand, PM Shinzo Abe's government has also embarked upon certain reforms including changing the pacifist nature of Japanese Constitution

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that would help in enhancing defence and security cooperation.

What could be a game changer in

the evolving Indo-Japan strategic relationship is the likelihood of Japan signing the civil nuclear agreement during the forthcoming visit of Modi. This agreement would also have implications for some of the American nuclear energy companies who have apprehensions in cooperating with India in the civil nuclear sector as they are owned by the Japanese. (For instance, Westinghouse Electricity (Nuclear Energy) Company is owned by Toshiba). Both sides at present are exploring

ways and means as to how some of the mutual dissonance in this arena could be overcome.

Both Japanese and Indian political leadership share common perceptions about the evolving security situation in the Indo-Pacific region and understand the need for preserving strategic equilibrium that has been impacted upon negatively by China's assertive policies. Therefore, it makes strategic sense for both to work together in defence and security areas in order to create a degree of balance that would serve both countries' national interests.

Realizing this need, both countries had made a joint declaration in 2008 to strengthen defence and security cooperation. Consequent to the declaration, the India-Japan 2+ 2 dialogue mechanism was evolved wherein Foreign and Defence Secretaries meet regularly to discuss foreign policy and security issues such as maritime security, cyber security and space. Even though there has been some progress in these areas so far, much more substantial needs to be achieved.

Japan has also moved forward in revising its pacific outlook and is revitalising its defence

capabilities.

Besides strengthening its alliance with the US, Japan's New Defence Policy Guidelines and new security strategy postulates 'strengthening cooperative relations with countries with which it shares universal values and strategic interests such as Republic of Korea, Australia, the countries of ASEAN and India'. Strengthening bilateral relations with India in broad range of areas including maritime security is one of the cornerstones of the Japanese new defence strategy.

Japan's relaxing of restrictions on exports of defence technology and weapons and possibilities of joint development in defence industry need to be exploited. Modi's visit should be used for laying down a comprehensive framework for Indo-Japan defence cooperation something similar to that of the 2005 Indo-US Framework for Defence Cooperation but which is much more substantial. Cooperation in cyberspace and outer space would be critical to meet the challenges arising in these domains. China has been very active in cyber space wherein besides some other nations India and Japan have been at the receiving end of cyber attacks originating from China.

India is keen to acquire ShinMaywa US-2i amphibian aircraft for the Navy to strengthen its naval aviation arm. Some progress has been made on the subject but there are still some reservations on the part of Japan. There is also the question of manufacturing the aircraft jointly. While there is considerable scope for joint research development in high end technologies in both civil and military arena, the political push by both sides is necessary to move forward in these areas. Given the personal equation between both the Prime Ministers, some of the constraints in imparting positive momentum to Indo-Japanese defence relationship could be overcome.

There is also a need to have a candid dialogue on perceptions of regional and international security environment and evolve suitable responses. While India has been pursuing its Look East Policy since early 1990s, Japan has also been strengthening its relations

with the ASEAN and East Asian nations. Both India and Japan are well placed to work together and build on many of the existing bilateral and multi-lateral initiatives in the region. There is also a great potential for initiating fresh trilateral frameworks where both nations can cooperate with a third country.

Given the great degree of strategic convergence between Japan and India that is supplemented by the mutually complimentary economies, the forthcoming visit of the Prime Minister to Tokyo could bring in a paradigm shift in the nature of relationship between India and Japan. In the coming days, Indo-Japanese relationship could become critical in contributing to peace and stability in the Indo-Pacific region.

Some progress has been made on the subject but there are still some reservations on the part of Japan. There is also the question of manufacturing the aircraft jointly.

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Geo-economics of China's Balancing Act on Ukraine

- *Monish Gulati*

China has skilfully balanced its official position on the Ukraine crisis by indicating its support for a diplomatic solution to the logjam and at the same time according merit to the Russian concerns. This ambiguity has benefited China's foreign policy in many ways and has been a shining example of strategic understanding of a situation and use of diplomatic dexterity to leverage the same. As a result, China retains its economic and commercial agreements with both Ukraine and Crimea despite the latter's secession from Ukraine. This article looks at these deals and agreements and how China has put geo-economics before geopolitics in responding to the Ukraine crisis.

China-Ukraine Land Deal

China late last year concluded a deal to farm three million hectares of arable Ukrainian land over the span of half a century. Under the initial agreement worth \$1.7 billion with KSG Agro, Ukraine's

leading agricultural company, 100,000 hectares were slated to be leased to Xinjiang Production and Construction Corp (XPCC), a Chinese quasi-military organization also known as Bingtuan. The leased farmland in Dnipropetrovsk region, of Eastern Ukraine was to be cultivated principally for crops and raising pigs and the output sold to two Chinese state-owned grain conglomerates at preferential prices. Eventually the project size was expected to increase to three million hectares, 50 percent more than China's total leased agricultural land abroad; China's largest overseas project involving farmland.¹

When the Ukraine crisis broke out there were reports that China wanted back the \$3 billion loan for agricultural development provided by China's Export-Import bank to Ukraine as part of the land deal. However, China (amid some international outcry) soon clarified that it intends to stay invested in

* *Monish Gulati is an independent analyst based in New Delhi*

Ukraine and the deal stands. The point here is that the decision to go along with Ukraine land deal was China's, but in the case of Crimea, China has prevailed on Russia to honour Crimea-specific agreements it had signed with Ukraine. It has also promised more investments in Crimea and is looking to secure better economic and trade deals with Russia as the US and EU sanctions against Russia begin to take effect.

Ukrainian Industrial-Military Complex

Another cause of concern for China is its cooperation with Ukraine's industrial military complex, which provides crucial technical support to some of China's major defence programmes. Ukraine makes the Antonov AN225, medium-size transport planes, gliders, and regional jets at a facility near Kiev. Antonov provides technical assistance to China's aircraft manufacturing sector and is involved in the development of ARJ21 regional jet and improvements on Y-8 transport aircraft. Zorya-Mashproekt

Ukraine makes the Antonov AN225, medium-size transport planes, gliders, and regional jets at a facility near Kiev. Antonov provides technical assistance to China's aircraft manufacturing sector and is involved in the development of ARJ21 regional jet and improvements on Y-8 transport aircraft.

company has supplied gas turbines to the Chinese navy. On April 12, 2013 in Feodosiya, Crimea at the Feodosiya shipbuilding company, Chinese Navy officials signed the certificate of acceptance for the first Zubr amphibious hovercraft and adapted to Chinese Navy needs. Construction of the second ship is ongoing. The Chinese Navy has placed an order for four craft at a reported cost of 315 million US dollars.

Russia-China Gas Deal

As the Ukrainian crisis spiralled out of control, Europe's dependency on Russian gas became a matter of concern. Some analysts felt it was

a non-issue because of the difficulty Russia would face to find a client as large as Europe, as it is the market for 65% of the Russian natural gas exports. Further, any disruption in gas exports would put a dent in the Russian budget.ⁱⁱ In this situation, the next obvious choice for export of Russian gas would be its neighbour China, which last year passed the US as the largest oil importer and imports over 40% of its natural

gas requirement. PetroChina, which imports over two-thirds of China's natural gas, pays about \$13.60 per thousand cubic feet for this natural gas which is more than double the current spot price of natural gas in the US, which is at a four-year high.

On May 21, Russia's state-owned gas company, Gazprom, sealed a \$400-billion gas supply deal with the China National Petroleum Corporation (CNPC) at a signing ceremony in Shanghai during the visit by Russian President Vladimir Putin to China. Under the deal, Gazprom will supply 38 billion cubic meters (bcm) of gas to China each year. The Russia-China gas deal had been in the works for over 10 years and was, struggling to move ahead on the issue of selling price of gas. While PetroChina wanted price-parity with EU (about \$10.50 per million BTU); Gazprom, Russia's largest natural gas company wants the price to reflect the cost of developing the Siberian gas fields (from where the gas for China would be sourced) in addition to the \$22 billion required to construct the pipeline ("Power of Siberia") between the two nations. Gazprom wants the selling price of gas to China pegged above \$13.50 per million BTU (which is the

price China currently pays for its gas imports). This 30-year deal to supply gas comes at a time when Chinese authorities are working to rebalance their national economy and establish reliable energy supplies.

Russian gas supply to China is expected to reach 68 bcm of gas per year, more than what Russia presently sells to Europe through the Nord Stream and has planned to sell through the South stream gas pipelines. Also Russian electricity and coal supplies to China are expected to increase fourfold.ⁱⁱⁱ Vladimir Chizhov, Russia's Ambassador to the European Union, said China's two major projects: the "Power of Siberia" gas pipeline and a 25 meter deep Crimean deep water port will continue despite the ongoing crisis in the Ukraine.

Power of Siberia

The main gas pipeline Yakutia-Khabarovsk-Vladivostok, named the "Power of Siberia" in December 2012, is being constructed to supply gas to China via the eastern route within the framework of the Russian-Chinese Agreements dated in 2004. "Power of Siberia" gas pipeline will carry 60 bcm of gas annually to Russia's Far East, where a branch line will

deliver 38 bcm a year to China (see Figure). Gazprom and China National Petroleum Corporation have a legally binding agreement from 2013.

The gas production will be from Yakutia (based on the Chayandinskoye field, gas reserves – 1.2 trillion cubic meters), which will evolve as a unified complex alongwith the Irkutsk gas production centre (based on the Kovyktinskoye field, gas reserves of 1.5 trillion cubic meters). The exploitation of the Chayandinskoye field will begin in 2019.

The Power of Siberia will become a unified gas transmission system (GTS) for the Irkutsk and Yakutia gas production centers and carry gas from these centers to Vladivostok via Khabarovsk. The GTS route about 4,000 kilometers will run in parallel with the Eastern Siberia – Pacific Ocean operational oil pipeline.^{iv} The first section of the Power of Siberia GTS, the Yakutia – Khabarovsk – Vladivostok gas trunk-line is expected to come on-stream in late 2017.

Great Silk Route

The Great Silk Route (GSR) from China to Europe through Central Asia, the South Caucasus and the Black Sea is a new transport corridor that is expected to directly link China and European countries, especially the countries of Southern Europe. The Chinese side is focused on the revival of this branch of the GSR (historically coming up to the district of contemporary Kerch, Crimea) and a port in Crimea will become a major hub on this trade route to Europe, bypassing Russia.

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According to data, in 2011, the volume of Chinese goods traffic into the European market was \$1.1 trillion dollars and

growing continuously. The

average increase is estimated at 10 percent per year.^v The geographical location of the Crimea in the path of the planned Eurasian flow of goods coming from the east bestows appreciable geo-economic significance on the region. As part of this project, Chinese firms will develop the Crimean port project which is worth \$3 billion in the first stage alone.

Crimean Deepwater Port

Ukraine's Kyivhydroinvest has signed a memorandum of construction for a deep water port 25 meters deep in Crimea at a cost of \$3 billion with China's Beijing Interoceanic Canal Investment Management (BICIM), whose owner Wang Jing has a concession agreement to build a water way in Nicaragua to compete with the Panama Canal.^{vi} The memorandum was signed by the companies during the Ukrainian-Chinese business forum in Beijing on December 5. The project foresees the building of several terminals and grain elevators with a capacity of 20 million tonnes. The port will be built in Saky district will be the main hub on the GSR. XPCC had also proposed to help build a highway in Crimea as well as bridge across the Strait of Kerch.^{vii}

Other Investments

The China Development Bank has confirmed its plans to invest \$5 billion in Russia's Far East. Investments will be channelled to regional economic zones and will finance large infrastructure projects according to Russia's Far East Development Ministry. Russia is ready to take on the transit cargo coming from the Asia-Pacific region to Europe to complement the GSR. The Trans-

Siberian and Baikal-Amur railroads in which Russia is investing \$18 billion to modernize could make up the land part of the route, reinforced by a seaway to the north.^{viii}

China is also looking at alternative energy projects in Crimea," And in a direct snub to the Americans, China will abandon a planned \$5 billion solar power plant in Nevada and invest the money in Crimea, instead.^{ix} Trade between Russia and China is growing rapidly. The annual trade turnover is currently at almost \$90 billion and is expected to surpass \$100 billion in the coming years. There is a proposal to improve the air connectivity between the Hainan Province of China and Russia.

Northern Sea Route

The Northern Sea Route that crosses the icy waters of Russia's part of the Arctic is considerably shorter than the current links between the Russian Far East and Europe and yields savings in time and fuel. The northern route is estimated to be on average 25 percent cheaper than the traditional one through the Suez. China's interest in the route is growing. In the summer of 2013, Russian icebreakers led the first

Chinese commercial ship through the Northern Sea Route to Rotterdam. It reached the destination 15 days earlier than it usually takes to go from China to Europe. The use of the Northern Sea Route and Russian assistance thereto is key to future Chinese trade.

Conclusion

The US reached a 10-year agreement with the Philippines on 28 April that will give its military greater access to up to five bases in the country.^x “The deal regarded as the centrepiece of President Obama’s visit to the Philippines will see the return of the US military presence to the region for the first time since it gave up its naval and air bases, including one at Subic Bay, in 1992. Despite statements that the deal is not intended to contain China, the accord will give the US more flexibility to project its military assets in the region. According to the Wall Street Journal: “The U.S. military has prepared options for a muscular response to any future Chinese provocations in the South and East China seas, ranging from displays of B-2 bomber flights near China to aircraft-carrier exercises near its coastal waters.”^{xi} US President Barack Obama ended

the recent Asian tour with a warning to China against using force to resolve territorial disputes, including an "ironclad" promise of military support for the Philippines.

Through its navigation of the Crimea events, China has shown how geo-economics can ride over geopolitics and can serve national interests better. While the Ukraine crisis has resulted in greater cooperation between Russia and China on strategic and economic issues, US moves in East Asia might serve to bring Russia and China even closer. But the worrisome aspect of this cooperation is that it has the potential to blunt, the currently preferred weapon of choice in the US arsenal- the economic sanctions.

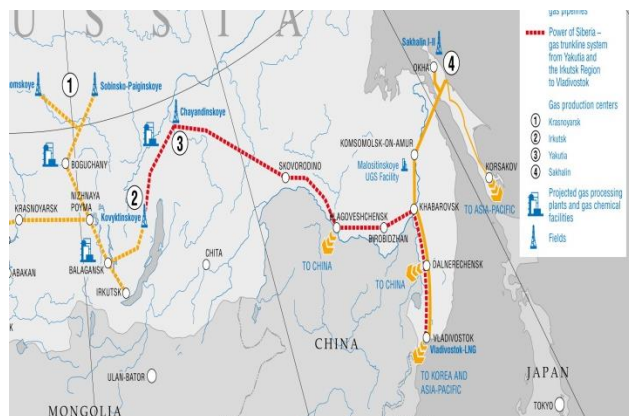


Figure- Power of Siberia Gas Transmission System (source: Gazprom)

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Recent Violence Against Minority Hindus in Bangladesh

- *Dr Prakasha Chandra Sahoo and Dr Atanu Mohapatra*

Introduction

Bangladesh was born in 1971 premised on a secular and democratic ethos as paragraph 2 of the preamble of the first constitution of Bangladesh which was adopted on November 4, 1972 accepted 'nationalism', 'socialism', 'democracy' and secularism as state principles. But "soon after its birth, the political history and politics of Bangladesh found itself within the twists and turns of majoritarian politics (Mohisin, 2009)". Through the Eighth Amendment to the constitution on 7 June 1988, Islam was declared as the state religion of Bangladesh (Article 2 Clause A) with the provision that other religions may be practiced in peace and harmony. "The above changes were brought about by successive political regimes to consolidate their power base by appealing to the sentiments of the majority. This not only transformed the

political identity of the state but also created internal polarization (Mohisin, 2009)". Since then the minority community (largely Hindus) face discrimination and continuous atrocities and violence as reported by many scholars and world bodies. It is also documented that the political process and the political parties were a major source of discrimination against minorities.

Demographic Changes by Religion

Census Year	Muslim	Hindu
1901	66.1	33.0
1911	67.2	31.5
1921	68.1	30.6
1931	69.5	29.4
1941	70.3	28.0
1951	76.9	22.0
1961	80.4	18.5

** Dr Prakasha Chandra Sahoo is an independent research scholar based in Delhi while Dr Atanu Mohapatra is Assistant Professor at the Dept of Extension & Communication, The M S University of Baroda, Gujarat*

1974	85.4	13.5
1981	86.7	12.1
1991	88.3	10.5
2001	89.6	09.3
2011	90.0	08.5

Source: BBS Population Report, 1991, Ct from, Shishir Moral, Rights of Religious Minorities, in Hameeda Hossain (ed). HumanRights Bangladesh, 2000, Dhaka, Ain 'O Salish Kendro, 2001, pp. 160. and Banladesh Bureau of Statistics (BBS) Literacy

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According to the 2001 census, the size of Hindu population was 11.6 million which means since the past 27 years only, 1.7 million population was added yielding a 0.6% annual average growth rate.

Ever since the birth of Bangladesh, the Hindu population grew only marginally and their relative share in the total population declined considerably. According to the 2001 census, the size of Hindu population was 11.6 million which means since the past 27 years only, 1.7 million population was added yielding a 0.6% annual average growth rate. By contrast, the Muslim population almost doubled from 61 million to 111 million and the annual average

growth rate was 2.2% during the same period. Therefore, the share of Hindu population to the country's total population declined from 13.5% to 9.2% during the same period and by 1.79% since 1991, whilst the relative composition of Christians and Buddhist population did not change. Further, the Hindu population declined to 8.2 percent in the country with annual growth rate coming down to 0.05 percent between 2001 to 2011 and it is projected that in 2051 the share of Hindu population will decline to 3.7 percent.

History of Violence against Hindus:

A history of bloodshed against Hindus prevailed even before independence of India and the violence against Hindus was a common phenomenon in then East Bengal and today's Bangladesh because Hindus were historically religious minority but at the time of Independence due to partition of the country, genocide against Hindus on the basis of religion was exemplary. Since 1947 the violence against Hindus in then Pakistan and now Bangladesh is a continuous phenomenon and

followed religiously by the majority of Muslims irrespective of political parties. The innumerable incidence of atrocities against Hindus like killing, rape, slaughter, forcible annexation of properties, burning of houses and abduction are taking place and in considerable number of cases the violators are the cadres of various political parties irrespective of whether they are ruling or are in opposition. According to an estimation, 475 persons belonging to the minority community are migrating from Bangladesh daily (Azad, Executive Director, Amity for Peace, Bangladesh).

After the 1947 genocide, Hindus were persecuted most in 1971 due to which large scale migration of Hindus to India took place. According to estimates, at the time of Bangladesh Liberation War, almost 3,000,000 Hindus were butchered in one of the biggest genocides of the century. An article in 'Time' magazine dated 2 August 1971, stated "The Hindus, who account for three-fourths of the refugees and a majority of the dead, have borne the brunt of the Muslim military hatred (Wiki, 2014). According to BBC (9 March 2013) "Official estimates say more than three million were killed and tens of thousands of women raped

during the Bangladesh war of independence. The minority Hindu community suffered disproportionately because some Pakistanis blamed them for Bangladesh's secession". "Hindu community leaders say the attacks are systematic and have been going on for years. They say they are not only carried out by hardliner Islamists but also by supporters of other mainstream political parties, including the Awami League and the main opposition Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BBC, 9 March, 2013). The aim of the violence, Hindu leaders allege, is to grab land and other property. As a result, they say, many Hindus are fleeing to India to escape harassment, intimidation and violence (BBC, 9 March, 2013).

Many Bangladeshi scholars like Salam Azad (Executive Director, Amity for Peace, Bangladesh) hold the view that Islam became the state religion in Bangladesh since 1982, a concept diametrically opposed to the slogans and principles on the basis of which the Bangladesh independence movement started i.e. secularism and democracy. Consequently, the minorities particularly Hindus, have been marginalized to the extent that they became unwanted

low grade citizens in their own country. In almost all of the cases, the Hindus are not getting justice from judiciary. While depicting the plight of Hindus and exemplifying the nature of injustice, Azad says “the writ petitions made by ASK, an NGO to safeguard minority rights had not been responded to. Democracy without secularism has been negatively acting over freedom of the minority communities. Some NGOs stood as shelter for the minorities but that too has been obstructed by creating grouping among NGOs. Rights of the citizens belonging to the minority communities are thus curtailed in manifold ways”.

Democracy without secularism has been negatively acting over freedom of the minority communities. Some NGOs stood as shelter for the minorities but that too has been obstructed by creating grouping among NGOs.

Shibir. Hindu houses have been looted, vandalized and burned in several places like Thakurgaon, Dinajpur, Rangpur, Bogra, Lalmonirhat, Rajshahi, Chittagong and Jessore (The Daily Star, January 7 2014). According to the New Age, “Miscreants attacked Hindu localities, temples and business establishments in Jessore, Satkhira, Thakurgaon, Panchagarh, Chittagong, Nilphamari, Kurigram, Lalmonirhat, Gaibandha, Dinajpur, Netrakona and some

other districts after the national elections (New Age, January 11, 2014)”.

According to Dhaka Tribune, the violence against Hindus in these

areas erupted due to the refusal by Hindus to boycott the election imposed by Jamaat-Shibir activists of Prembag, Chanpadanga, Bahirghat, Beledanga and some adjacent areas. The mayhem continued for two-hour by exploding 250 bombs, vandalization of one hundred houses etc. “The Jamaat-Shibir men resorted to their newly adopted technique of inciting their followers by lies. Around 4 pm, they made phone calls to their

Violence in recent years

“We left our house in 1971 as the Pakistan army and Razakars set fire to our village. And we are passing through the same ordeal in 2014,” lamented Bishwajit Sarkar of Malopara village in Abhaynagar, Jessore (The Daily Star, January 2, 2014). Soon after the voting ended in Bangladesh, the Hindus had to face the ire of the activist of Bangladesh Nationalist Party and Jamaat-

activists and students of the local madrasa, telling them that five of their activists had been killed in a clash with Malopara villagers. Jamaat-Shibir activists poured in from nearby villages – Baliadanga, Jagannathpur, Deyapara, Joldanga, Basundia, Dhakuria and Bangram – and attacked Malopara (Dhaka Tribune, January 7, 2014)”.

According to reports, almost five hundred Hindu families of Gopalpur village were affected in these classes and became homeless. Besides this, at least 350 houses and 50 shops of five villages, including Pritampara, Sahapara, Profullahpara, Telipara, Madhabpara and Ajaypara of Kornai village were damaged, set ablaze and looted (The Daily Star, January 7, 2014). The Hindus were also attacked and looted in the strongholds of Jamaat-Shibir and Jamaat-BNP like Satkania, Loahagara and Banskhali upazilas Kaunia upazila of Rangpur and Nandigram upazila in Bogra (The Daily Star, January 7 2014). According to Dhaka Tribune (January 7, 2014) “Even homestead trees – coconut and banana – were burnt or chopped down and cowsheds were burnt, too. Idols in the houses were

vandalised. Everything else was looted”.

On 29 January 2014, 20 Hindu families of Satkhira district got threat letters to leave Bangladesh where it has been written that “time has come to leave your homes immediately, and this time you have been told nicely. But the next time there will not be any niceities. (Dhaka Tribune Correspondent, January 29, 2014; Satkhira Correspondent, January 29, 2014 published in Hindu Existence, January 29, 2014)”. According to BD News 24.com (January 10, 2014), two Hindu housewives were sexually abused in Manirampur Upazila in Jessore in the post-election violence against the minority community. They held the men hostage and sexually abused the two housewives. The sexual abuse and rape against Hindu women is also reported by International Business Times (February 19, 2014).

A large number of Hindu temples are also burnt, vandalized and looted frequently. According to reports, the Kali temple at Narayanpur village under Ramganj in Lakshmipur, Satdoha Langta Babar Ashram and Shri Radha-Gobinda Mandir were either looted or torched (New Age,

January 11, 2014; The Hindu, January 8, 2014). Besides these, the Kali temple at Battola and Kachubunia and the Durga temple of Ikri Union have also been attacked. The daily Ittefaq reported that “The members of the Hindu community are living in stark fear. Two people were killed in Gaibandha and Joypurhat (January 9, 2014)”. But according to International Business Times (February 19, 2014), “At least two dozen people were killed” in the violence. According to Ittefaq, The Hindu houses were set on fire in the Boalia village of Sukash union, Kushumba union of Joypurhat, Kuptola union of Gaibandha Lalmonirhat and Senpara of Shafinagar, Satkania, Loahagara and Banskhali upazilas and many of the Hindus are injured due to the violence against them.

After this wide spread violence against Hindus after the general election, the violence is continuing and in a recent incident on May 5 2014, a mob of nearly 3,000 attacked Hindu households and a temple in eastern Bangladesh after two youths from the community allegedly insulted the

Prophet Muhammad on Facebook at Homna in Comilla district, about 100 km south east of Dhaka (Hindu Existence, May 7, 2014). According to the Editor of Hindu Existence, “Minority Hindus are attacked again and again in Bangladesh on false rumors of defaming Muhammad in facebook. In most of the cases, it is established that some Muslim perpetrators like to use the social media like facebook to upload objectionable comments and pictures against Islam and

In most of the cases, it is established that some Muslim perpetrators like to use the social media like facebook to upload objectionable comments and pictures against Islam and Muhammad in a very motivated way.

Muhammad in a very motivated way. After spreading the rumors of blasphemy or the defamation of Muhammad, the Islamic goons

attack Hindus, Hindu-households, temples and specially the women folk”. Most of the news papers reported that almost all the violence and attacks on Hindus in 2014 were initiated by the activists or members of Jamat-e-Islami and its student wing and Bangladesh National Party.

The year 2013 also witnessed a large scale and widespread violence against Hindus in Bangladesh. All forms of violence

triggered against minority Hindus on 28 February 2013, on behalf of Jamaat-e-Islami and its student wing Islami Chhatra Shibir soon after the death sentence given to Hossain Sayeedi, the Vice President of the Jamaat-e-Islami and the International Crime Tribune and the government of Bangladesh held Jamaat-e-Islami for the violence (Wiki, 2013). “In some cases allegedly aided by Bangladesh National Party supporters, struck terror in the hearts of Hindus (News Bharati, March 03, 2013)”. According to news Bharati, almost all the victims alleged that BNP activists are directly involved in the attack. “Sayeede got death sentence because of you. You cannot stay in this country,” Bablu Bhuiyan, whose two houses were damaged, quoted one attacker as saying (News Bharati, March 03, 2013). Barisal, Bagerhat and Gazipur, Rajganj, Chittagong's Banskhali, Bagerhat, Gaurnadi upazila in Barisal, Kashimpur Bazar in Gazipur, Belka, Dhupni and Bangsher bazaar, Sundarganj upazila, Morelganj upazila are the areas where the most violent attacks took place. Expressing concern over the violence, the US Ambassador to Bangladesh Dan Mozena said “The United States is sad about the loss of lives and

property and concerned about the attacks on Hindu temples and homes (The Daily Star, March 12, 2013; clickittefaq, March 11, 2013)”.

The 2013 violence was spread across the country and Hindus of almost all the divisions were affected. Upazilas like Begumganj, Begumganj, Morrelganj, Raipur, Gaurnadi, Morrelganj, Lohajung, Shibganj, Kotalipara, Aditmari, Satkania, Wazirpur, Singra, Daudkandi, Netrokona, Bamna, Burhanuddin, Sirjdikhan, Rangpur Sadar, Fulbaria, Kaliganj, Kotalipara, Juri, Patuakhali, Sherpur, Netrokona, Sreepur, Gatibali and Gazipur were the most affected areas where violence with burning and loot of major temples took place.

Even after these wide spread violence, the attack against Hindus continued for the whole year. On November 3 2013, Bonogram bazaar in Santhia upazila, about 40 kilometres from Pabna sadar, the Hindus were attacked. A Hindu boy was attacked and his house was burned on the false allegation of maligning Prophet Mohammad (The Daily Star, November 3, 2013, atestoneinstitute, November 21, 2013). In another incident, a

group of masked criminals attacked 18 shops belonging to members of the Hindu community in a rural area in the district Lalmonirhat. The attack was allegedly launched by the main opposition party, BNP, and its crucial ally, Bangladesh Jammate-Islami, the largest Islamist political party (atestoneinstitute, November 21, 2013). According to Hindu community leaders, more than 50 Hindu temples and more than 1,500 Hindu homes were destroyed in 20 districts in 2013 alone. The President of the Bangladesh Hindu Buddhist Christian Unity Council said, "Conspirators are out to create a situation so that the Hindus can be attacked." Identifying the situation, Transparency International Bangladesh, a body of the Berlin-based Transparency International says, "Onslaughts and intimidation on minorities for ill and destructive political purpose before the election are not acceptable (atestoneinstitute, November 21, 2013)."

According to Hindu community leaders, more than 50 Hindu temples and more than 1,500 Hindu homes were destroyed in 20 districts in 2013 alone.

Underlying Cause of Violence

The larger objective of these kinds of violence and attack is to grab the land of Hindus. According to

Jyotrimoy Barua, a Supreme Court lawyer in the capital Dhaka, "When we say it's just political, it legitimizes the violence, Most of the people's houses they are burning are poor. If you burn their house, they will leave the country, and you get their land." "The Vested Property Act remained in force until 2001, allowing the government to expropriate "enemy" (in practice, Hindu) lands. Over the course of its existence, the government seized approximately 2.6 million acres of land, affecting almost all Hindus in the country (IRFR, 2012)". Once the land is acquired, the influential and political people used to grab those lands and most of the Hindu families in Bangladesh is affected by this law. "Many Hindus continued efforts to recover land lost under the act. The Vested Properties Return (Amendment) Bill of 2011 obligates the government to publish lists of returnable vested property through gazette notification within 120 days. Subsequently, Hindu leaders submitted applications to reclaim previously seized vested property and requested an extension to prepare further applications. The

Vested Property Return (Second Amendment) Act of 2012, passed on September 18, gives an additional 180 days for interested parties to submit applications for adjudication (IRFR, 2012)” but in practical these return act has not been enforced properly. According to Barkat et al (2008), in most of the cases, the beneficiary of these vested properties are the influential political people of different areas across political parties.

According to Jyotrimoy Barua “The violence isn’t just perpetrated by Jamat-e-Islami. In other provinces, opportunistic leaders have been accused of using divisive communal sentiments to enrich themselves. “In some constituencies, all the parties are tussling from the same group of voters — if anyone loses, he blames the Hindus (Time, January 14, 2014)”

Conclusion:

The violence against Hindus in Bangladesh is a part and result of wider religious intolerance spread against Hindus in the country is not the only cause to be believed. The economic and political aspect of violence in a wider prospect of neighborhood studies is required

to understand the phenomena of Hindu subjugation in the country. There is a great possibility of underreporting of actual intensity of the violence and oppression if we critically analyze the political, social and democratic situation prevailing and the status of media in Bangladesh over the last 42 years. Whatever may be the cause of the violence against Hindus in Bangladesh, but it is clear that almost all the political parties of Bangladesh are trying to derive political mileage from the plight of Hindus. Besides, draconian laws like vested property act is a useful instrument to grab Hindu land holdings by the majority Muslim community. In the absence of any major economic opportunities, agricultural land is the only economic resource for which there is a lot of competition to grab and successive governments played an instrumental role in grabbing Hindu land to satisfy the majority influential community. Most of the Hindus hold the view that land is the major reason for which they have been attacked historically. Being one of the influential countries in the South Asian region, India should try to influence Bangladeshi authorities to save the minorities Hindus in Bangladesh. When there is already a world opinion on the

issue, India and the Hindus in rest of the world need to intensify their campaign for safeguarding of minority rights in Bangladesh.

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Boosting Indigenous Production Must Top Priorities

- **Radhakrishna Rao**

It is in the fitness of things that in less than a month of taking over as the Prime Minister of India, Narendra Modi came out strongly in favour of rejuvenating the Indian defence production sector for not only making India totally self-reliant in meeting the needs of its armed forces but also positioning the country as a leading exporter of state of the art fighting equipment. While dedicating India's largest warship, INS Vikramaditya aircraft carrier, to the nation, Modi made a resounding pitch for giving a go by to massive arms import by creating a strong and vibrant home grown industrial base for the production of state of the art defence equipment. Indeed, Modi envisions the emergence of a resurgent Indian military industrial complex through the creation of conditions conducive for such an eventuality. "We need to give immense importance to latest technology. This will help the nation. Why should we import defence equipment? We must be

self sufficient .Why can't we send our defence equipment to others? " wondered Modi.

Of course, Modi is fully well aware that India's dependence on imports for meeting two third of its defence hardware requirement and the emergence of the country as the largest importer of arms reflects poorly on the technological capability of the country to produce state of the art arms and ammunition. By all means, there is an imminent need to reverse this far from salutatory trend and put the country on the path of self reliance in defence production through a range of pro active initiatives supported by a strong political commitment and an appropriate ground level action. A most recent study by the New Delhi based think tank Institute for Defence Studies and Analysis (IDSA) reveals that the Indian defence industry's dependence on import is significant and in some years the quantum of import had exceeded the direct import reported to the

* *Radhakrishna Rao, Visiting Fellow, VIF*

Indian Parliament.

At the Seminar on Defence Procurement Procedures 2013, organised by the Vivekananda International Foundation, it was unanimously felt by the country's leading strategic experts that, "Despite several initiatives undertaken by the Government, the stated goal of self reliance in defence production still remains elusive. One of the main reasons is that for too long India has been importing over 70 percent of its armament and hardly any worthwhile technology has been developed indigenously.

Incidentally, more than one third of the defence budget goes out of the country by way of acquisition either through the direct or indirect import. Perhaps there is no denying the point that over the last one decade of the rule of UPA (United Progressive Alliance) government, the defence sector of the country was more in news for all the wrong reasons: there were serious allegations surrounding the defence acquisition programme reportedly manipulated by shady middlemen with a notorious expertise for string pulling through massive

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kickbacks. There are also allegations that the powerful import lobby enjoying the patronage of a section of the political setup and bureaucratic establishment had for long played a notorious role in sabotaging India's endeavours for self reliance in defence production. As such, the Modi led Government should first see that this import lobby ceases to exist in any form. And such a step to a large extent would facilitate the growth of self reliance in defence production without any roadblocks.

Though a number of measures are in the pipeline to boost the prospects of indigenous defence production sector, lack of appropriate follow up action at the ground level has proved to be a big hindrance in the way of making India self reliant in defence production. This is an area where the political dispensation in New Delhi should display maturity by tying up the loose ends while implementing the pro active measures. In this context, Kutub A.Hai, a former Chief Executive of Mahindra Defence Systems says, "There have been a number of high powered committees

constituted by the government over the past ten years and some very valuable recommendations have been made to restructure and streamline defence production and procurement. Sadly, very few of these recommendations have been accepted and even these have suffered from poor implementation owing to bureaucratic interference. Defence acquisition must be viewed as one of the pillars of national security and all measures necessary—including but not limited to increased FDI (Foreign Direct Investment)—must be implemented to ensure that the country and our armed forces always have the required options to deal with the variety of threats to which we are subjected in the current and future environment”.

Of course, for quite sometime now, the Indian defence industry has been strongly battling for increasing FDI in the defence production sector beyond the present 26% cap. The former Defence Minister A.K. Antony, despite his commitment to enhancing the level of indigenous defence production, had consistently stonewalled any effort to increase FDI in defence sector. But then following growing pressure from industry bodies, in July 2013, it was decided that FDI

of more than 26% could be allowed on a case by case basis subject to the condition that such an approval helps Indian industries “access modern and state of the art technology. But this approach was considered yet another attempt at retaining status quo. All said and done, the grim ground reality is that 26% cap on FDI is not a commercially attractive proposition for global defence and aerospace industries to ensure the inflow of technology, expertise and resources.

Meanwhile, the interest that the Narendra Modi led government has evinced in terms of enhancing FDI cap in defence sector has been welcomed by industry bodies in the country. However, while enhancing the FDI limit, caution must be exercised to ensure that such a step will not compromise the national interests in the long run and the control of the joint ventures getting FDI remains in Indian hands. Further, as stressed by the Federation of Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry (FICCI), the foreign company’s home government must provide “ in-principle permission to share technology with Indian partner” while the intellectual property rights should remain with Indian partner. FICCI is also

right in its stand that adequate and mutual strategically beneficial safeguards be put in place while ensuring higher levels of FDI flow into the defence production sector of the country. In the ultimate analysis, there is a need to put in place a full fledged Indian Defence Technology Commission (DTC) charged with the task of facilitating India's self reliance in defence production through variety of well conceived measures including the regular monitoring of high tech home grown defence projects. In this connection, the ruling dispensation in New Delhi should initiate an action plan to create DTC without further loss of time.

Experience shows that foreign OEMs (Original Equipment Manufacturers) are least interested in making available technologies to the enterprises manufacturing hardware under licensed production scheme.

As it is, the spectacular success that Indian space programme has been able achieve over the years is partly due to the guidance, direction and support provided by the Space Commission. It is also high time that the Indian defence production sector takes a leaf out of the success story that the Indian space programme has scripted with a shoe string budget.

Moreover, the strategy of licensed production should be adopted only as an "inevitable option" and not

as "routine arrangement". It was the obsession with the licensed production that deprived India's aerospace giant Hindustan Aeronautics Limited (HAL) of its talent and expertise for designing and developing 'Made in India' products on a large scale and in a sustained manner. It was the myopic vision of the men in uniform who lorded over the fortunes of HAL for many years that forced HAL to go in for licensed production with a view to meet the "schedules and

deadlines" set up by the Defence Ministry.

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All said and done, FDI by itself cannot be viewed as a magic wand to help India usher in an era of self sufficiency in defence production. It can be considered as one of the tools in the endeavour for achieving self reliance in defence production. Clearly and apparently, Indian defence

industry as a whole comes in very poor light in so far as the investment in research and development is concerned. In particular, the private sector in India fares badly in terms of investing in research and development. As such, the burden of investing in research and development is carried by state owned research organisations and public sector industrial enterprises. Indeed, USA was able to emerge as a formidable military power and technology leader through massive investment in research and development. Private sector in USA is in the forefront of much of the investment on research and development. For instance, during 2012, US investment on research and development covering defence, aerospace and homeland security was a whopping US\$75-billion. Similarly, in France, aerospace enterprises are known to invest 15% of their annual turnover into research and development. As such, a set of incentives should be made available to the Indian private sector industries to motivate them to invest in research and development as a prelude to creating expertise in frontier areas of technologies. Acquisition of overseas companies specializing in

high end technologies by the Indian private enterprises could be yet another route to acquire new technologies and innovative manufacturing processes. As it is, the biggest handicap of the Indian defence industry is its far from satisfactory expertise in the area of precision manufacturing. What's more, India now sadly lacks the technology, processes and system resources to design, develop and produce most of the high end fighting equipment required by its defence forces. This gap needs to be filled in rapidly and efficiently.

Public private partnerships especially in critical high technology areas like aero engines could be a win win situation for Indian defence production sector. In this context, the joint venture agreement that the Mazagon Dock Ltd (MDL) has entered into with Pipavav Shipyard and Larsen and Toubro (L&T) for the construction of ships and submarines respectively could help lay ground rules for clearing many such joint ventures in the defence sector in the years ahead. Similarly, the offset clause forming part of India's defence acquisition programme should be exploited to the hilt to help the domestic industry acquire new and

innovative technologies in a time bound fashion and hassle free manner. Of course, the revised offset policy announced in 2012 has a very lofty objective focussed on developing an internationally competitive defence industry in India. But there have been instances of foreign vendors trying to skirt the offset obligation and as such there is a critical need to closely monitor the implementation of the offset obligations in a manner advantageous to the Indian industry. India's defence offset policy stipulates overseas vendors bagging order worth more than Rs.3.000-million should plough back 30% of the order value into the country by way of sourcing of materials and services, technology transfer and joint ventures.

India's defence production has for long has been synonymous with nine large public sector defence undertakings and 41 facilities under Ordnance Factories Board(OFB) and the slow and rather lacklustre entry of private entities into the sector is a recent phenomenon. As such, there is a feeling that state owned

companies continue to receive preferential treatment much to the disadvantage of private sector. In this context, the Government should strive to create a level playing field to encourage the greater participation of the private sector in the country' defence production matrix. Similarly, since the defence orders being not continuous and also not big enough to be an economically viable proposition, the private companies involved in defence production should be allowed to produce civilian products from the spin off of the technology developed for the products it would be manufacturing. And the private sector would also need a hand holding till such time as it becomes mature enough to take care of itself.

Though the Technology Perspective and Capability Roadmap(TPCP) projecting the details of the requirements of the armed forces for fifteen years(2012-2027) is in place to help the domestic companies prepare for the development and production, there is no clarity on the kind of "incentives and support" they would receive to

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take care of the risks involved in the venture.

Defence forces too have an equally significant role to play in the complex and challenging exercise of creating a well equipped Indian industrial infrastructure to help the country usher in an era of self reliance in all aspects of defence design, development and production. First the overwhelming fascination that a section of the defence set up has for high tech weapons systems put on sale in the global weapons bazar should be given an immediate go by. For it must be realized that no weapon system that India procures from abroad is made to suit the Indian conditions. Take for instance, how the environmental control system on-board the much touted Russian origin T-90 tank had come cropper during trials carried out in Pokhran ranges. Second, the availability of spares and maintenance services too could pose a serious problem after a few years of the procured equipment in service. Moreover, the life cycle support could come at a very high cost. On the top of these, the possibility of US sanctions making the US origin equipment unserviceable is an eventuality that one cannot wish away.

Equally conspicuous is the problem of some components or subsystem of the imported weapon carrying a “malware” with serious consequences for the performance of the equipment.

Even if there are delays and hiccups in the developmental cycle of a home-grown defence equipment, they are nonetheless the best option for the Indian defence forces. Low price tag, easy availability of spares, affordable maintenance cost as well as the possibility of up-gradation through feedbacks obtained through regular field trials are some of the plus points associated with home grown defence products. Moreover, India can slowly enter the export market for defence products with initial focus on the third world countries. This implies that massive outgo of foreign exchange involved in the import of defence hardware could be turned into a steady inflow of foreign exchange into the Indian kitty through exports. But here again the defence set up could prove to be a spoiler. Defence forces should be firmly told that they cannot change the specifications of a product that would like to own midway through the developmental cycle. Such an approach makes for delay, cost

escalation and in many cases the total abandonment of the project, providing a grist to the mill of import lobby hell bent upon delivering a mortal blow to the quest of Indian defence self reliance. Moreover, the defence forces should be made to make a firm commitment on buying the products that are being developed as per their specifications.

In the ultimate analysis, the NDA Government should involve all the stake holders in the Indian defence production sector with a clear cut mandate to each one of them to ensure the success of self reliant path in defence production. There should be a clear cut clarity and specific time line in so far as achieving the goals of indigenisation in defence production sector are concerned.

The time seems to be ripe and opportune for turning India into a major, world class defence production hub. Indeed, through proper planning and suitable proactive measures, the defence production sector of the country can be positioned as a sunrise sector and a major contributor to the all round economic and technological growth in the country. India can become a military super power only when its defence forces are equipped with home grown fighting equipment. And this is the future the Indian defence forces are keenly looking forward to. Now is the time for the ruling dispensation in New Delhi to act and move ahead.

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Urgent Need to Restore Pride in India

- *Dr M N Buch*

The Chambers Twenty-first Century Dictionary gives a number of definitions of the word 'pride', which include "self respect; personal dignity; the finest state; the prime". In the armed forces, esprit de corps and morale are both functions of one's pride in one's regiment, unit, squadron, etc., in which there is the firm belief that it is the finest in the world. It is pride in the regiment which makes a soldier fight till the last bullet and be prepared to sacrifice his life. It is pride in one's country which makes a man volunteer to fight against the country's enemies, it is pride in one's work which makes a person put in his best into whatever he is doing, for a workman to produce items of high quality, for a policeman to do his duty, for a teacher to give the best education to his students, for a cobbler to produce a fine pair of shoes, or the owner of an industry to ensure that whatever his company produces is the finest product in the market. If there is no pride, then all work will be lackadaisical and slipshod, there

will be no patriotism and there will be lawlessness. These issues are both axiomatic and interdependent. If Gandhiji had no pride in India, there would have been no freedom movement, it is because Jaichand had no pride in India that Mohammed Ghauri could defeat Prithviraj Chauhan through betrayal.

The other day a lady, herself from the upper class whose husband was a senior IAS officer and who has enjoyed all the privileges which this country can offer, held forth on how rotten this country is. According to her, the joint family was a den of iniquity, our religion and culture have ingrained subordination of women in the Indian psyche, at even her advanced age she was afraid of sexual molestation. The government is rotten, the rural folk are steeped in intrigue and urban folk are lumpenised. Utility services do not function and there is rampant corruption. She is happy that her two sons are in the United States and she never wants them to come back. When it was pointed out that because of

* *Dr M N Buch, Dean, Centre for Governance and Political Studies, VIF*

lack of gun control, the United States has a long record of violence, her answer was that despite the fact that one can buy a gun off the shelf there is only sporadic violence, whereas in India this would have led to wholesale butchery. The question arises whether this is the opinion of an individual or whether this is how all Indians think. Is there no patriotism left in India, no sense of pride in the country?

The Vietnamese War was a traumatic experience for the United States. In order to counter the fallacious Domino Theory which stated that success of the Communists in one country would have a cascading effect and bring other countries under subjugation, the United States was drawn into the Vietnam Civil War between Central and South Vietnam. The French, who were the colonial power in the Indo-China, supported the South Vietnam Government. Increasingly, the United States became a partner in a wholesale war in which it claimed to be supporting

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democracy, without a realisation that Ho Chi Minh and the people of North Vietnam were fighting a patriotic war to liberate the country from the colonial masters, whereas the government of South Vietnam was a puppet of France. Ho Chi Minh had pride in his country, the South Vietnamese leaders had none. Ultimately this deep spiritual force which is a combination of faith in one's cause and one's country, proved to be invincible and Vietnam became

the first example of a guerilla movement evolving into a national struggle in which the United States of America was brought to its knees and had to accept the Ho Chin

Minh Government and withdraw from Vietnam totally. It is the pride of the Vietnamese people in that country and in themselves which enabled them to defeat the might of the United States.

The war had its obverse, which is that amongst the young in America there was a virtual revolt against what was considered an unjust and unjustified war. In the Second World War, the Allies prevailed because they fought a

war for justice in which they felt pride. In Vietnam, the Americans failed because the people of America had no faith in their own country in the justification for the war. The long term effect of the war was that there was a strong streak of disestablishmentarianism built into the American psyche and for some years the Americans were not proud of themselves. This certainly weakened the nation. It is to the eternal credit of Ronald Reagan that through his tub thumping, drum beating insistence on seeing America as the best country in the world, in fact God's own country, that national pride was restored to America and the people started to believe in themselves. Despite the fact that Reagan was often a bumbling conservative, one can never underplay his role in restoring pride to America and the Americans. One mentions this because ultimately it is the intangibles which held the country together and make it great. Narendra Modi, the Prime Minister, throughout his tenure as the Chief Minister of Gujarat talked about the 'asmita', or pride, of the people of Gujarat. He now talks about the 'asmita' of the people of India.

One can quote a personal experience of what pride means. In the eighties of the last century on a visit to Thailand when the author wanted to buy a new suitcase, the shopkeeper in Bangkok, on learning that he was an Indian, told him that he could not afford the price. The same author, when visiting the United States in 2007, found an environment of curiosity in India and respect for it because of its technical capabilities and its growing economy. Even taxi drivers waited to know how India had made such progress. One suddenly felt proud of being an Indian, one's chest swelled, the head was held high and one walked erect. How is it possible that in seven short years that pride has evaporated and highly placed people are going around trenchantly criticising their own country?

Let us begin by countering the argument that our culture, our religion and our social mores are all defective. The Sanatan Dharma is the oldest surviving religion in the world which has withstood all the assaults of the revealed religions without breaking or disappearing. At the same time, the revealed religions such as Christianity and Islam were

always welcomed in India and added to the multi polarity of this very diverse nation. It is not merely a question of co-existence, but rather a question of mutually beneficial cohabitation. There has been friction at the margin and this has very often led to the adoption of extreme attitudes. But these are all marginal because in the main, the truth about happy cohabitation continues to prevail. It does not in Pakistan and, unfortunately, in much of the Arab world today. Is this not a cause for pride in India and its culture? On the material side, it would be foolish to deny that China has made much greater progress than India, as a result of which in the matter of social infrastructure and in providing basic services China is ahead of us. At the same time, in terms of political organisation we have opted for a genuine democracy whereas China has opted for absolute dictatorship. Which is the better system, one in which the Three Gorges Dam could be built in record time but thirty lakh people were displaced in the process without any protest being permitted, or is it better to have an entire mining and steel

manufacturing project almost indefinitely delayed because the voice of a tribal community has to be heard and its interests protected? Our democratic system is inclusive, including of extreme views and though this may lead to a relatively slow pace of material progress ultimately India reaches its objective without inflicting undue pain. The inefficiencies of this system are considered evil by those who have no sense of pride, without realising that at least it protects them from the midnight knock on their door. We may be

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slow, but we are free. Is this not something of which we should be proud?

This does not mean that there is not a great deal which has not gone wrong in India. For example, in our haste to expand the educational system we have sacrificed quality. Once again there is a democratic dilemma here. Do we deny education to many in order to provide quality for a few? Or do we expand the base of education to make it universal and then introduce quality so that it is all pervading? There is a great deal of unrest in the country which started as welcome movements for

social justice but which have been hijacked by self seeking politicians. In fact, this is one of our greatest failures because from the dream of Nehru and the purposive government that he established we have drifted a long way into an era of self seeking politics, corrupt politicians, a complete loss of national pride, with personal gain totally replacing the national interests. Power has been converted to a purchasable commodity which is to be used to enrich the purchaser. All this can happen only if one subverts the organs of the State, including the law and order machinery, the development administration, the regulatory mechanisms and those structures which build an enabling environment for doing business. It is not the joint family or religion which have destroyed our value systems. It is greed which has done it and which has removed all inhibitions, moral, social or even governmental. Crime against women is only one manifestation of this complete breakdown of government. There is insurgency, militancy, separatism, dacoity and crime of every description because we have emasculated our law enforcement agencies through political interference and corruption. In such an

environment, the law abiding cower and scoundrels stride unchecked. Governments refuse to govern because they feel that decisions relating to governance could lead to temporary unpopularity which could cost votes. As a result, the organs of government, the Civil Service, the Police, the development agencies have all become corrupt, indecisive, inefficient, ineffective and even predatory. Is this irreversible? Can the economy never recover? The answer has to be an emphatic No.

How does one put India back on the rails? The present government has a comfortable majority and in a democratic environment it can certainly take strong decisions. The first and foremost has to be to trim the government. Perhaps India does not need more than twenty central ministries. Keeping this as a target one has to reduce the ministries by merging those which do like work. The burgeoning bureaucracy at the top level has to be drastically pruned, which means one Ministry having one Secretary with only Additional Secretaries heading departments within the Ministry. This must be ruthlessly adopted and enforced. This should go down to the State and Local government also. There

must be maximum devolution of powers to the local governments and the maximum delegation within ministries and departments. Let the lowest functionary empowered to do a particular job be made to do it, but with tangible accountability. There should be ruthless weeding out of the scoundrels, the corrupt, the lazy, the inefficient, the intriguers within the Civil Service so that, starting with the All India Services, it is only the best who remain within government. The environment

should be one of duty to one's job and the service of the people of India, complete integrity, hard work, diligence, quick decision making and efficient implementation. All extraneous influences must be removed, which means that every functionary works within an environment free of pressure or of fear.

Restoring systems is well within the competence of government and this has to be done with speed. Once the systems are restored, government must attend to the task of actually governing and producing results. The highest

priority must be given to education and health care so that within a short time frame there is universal coverage by both in which an effort is made to ensure quality.

The economic environment should be such that it encourages entrepreneurship, efficient production and industrial expansion and people friendly business which creates meaningful jobs and brings everyone within the employment net. The idea is to unleash the economic energies of our people so that what they do in

the United States by way of new start ups they do in India by creating new ventures.

All crime must be ruthlessly dealt with and we must

very quickly restore respect for law. This would very swiftly eradicate separatism, Naxalism, terrorism and other forms of violent crimes. Making the police efficient is not all that difficult. What is needed is a clear-cut mandate, the empowerment of the police to function without fear or favour and accountability which quickly punishes policemen who do not do their duty, harass people or transgress law. After all when the Emergency was declared this

The environment should be one of duty to one's job and the service of the people of India, complete integrity, hard work, diligence, quick decision making and efficient implementation.

very police force was sent a signal throughout India at midnight of 25th June 1975 to arrest a very large number of people who were considered undesirable by the then government and because the mandate was clear, by 0400 hours on the morning of 26th June more than 95 percent had been taken into custody. It was lack of direction which made the police ineffective, not some intrinsic inefficiency from which it suffered. Give the police a firm mandate but keep it on tight leash and it will do wonders, so much so that the lady whose laments started this article would feel completely safe on our streets. Ultimately it is how soon the present government restores a sense of national pride, the pride that every Indian feels because he is an Indian, the restored 'asmita' of our people, which will determine how quickly India will progress. Ultimately it is all a question of pride.

One could break up the task of good government which leads to restored pride somewhat as under: When the Japanese chased the British Army out of Burma and what can at best be called a rabble fled to India it is William Slim, later Field Marshall Slim, who was given the task of rebuilding the Fourteenth

Army. His mantra was simple. Every unit was first taught to have pride in itself through training, training and more training, with even noncombatant clerks becoming fighting soldiers. Then the troops were taught not to fear the jungle, but to live in it and off it. If surrounded, bash the enemy, if attacked stand your ground and fight back, never retreat. Aggressive patrolling was encouraged, Japanese lines were infiltrated, the enemy was ambushed and every successful ambush raised morale. Soon the rabble became an army and then XIV Army took the offensive. It did not stop till it had destroyed the Japanese. If Slim could do this to a defeated army, can we not at least restore the systems of government? But, like Slim, we have to move step by step, the first one of which is the restoration of morale. Then comes the use of this instrument to deliver government to our people. Then comes high level policy which can revitalise the country. This would be followed by releasing the latent energy of our people till a stage comes when the country moves into automatic transmission. Government would then become the mentor, the guardian, the protector, the philosopher and guide, but it is the people who will

be the prime movers. Pride is what will initially enable this, but thereafter pride would be the motivating force. Chanakya did this for Chandra Gupta Maurya, Modi has to do this for modern day India.

If Seleucus Nicator could be defeated, can we not, through good government, defeat the devil of despondency?

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The Appointment and Dismissal of Governors

- *Dr A Surya Prakash*

A controversy surrounding the appointment and removal of governors is de rigueur whenever there is a change of government at the Centre. Therefore, the political class appears to be living up to this tradition in this season of political change in New Delhi. Spokespersons of the Congress Party are crying foul over the Narendra Modi government's decision to ease out some governors and make fresh appointments. Among the governors whose letters of resignation the Centre would like to receive are those of Congress politicians like Ms. Sheila Dikshit (Kerala), Mr. J. B. Patnaik (Assam), Ms. Margaret Alva (Rajasthan) and Ms. Kamla Beniwal (Gujarat). There are others too like Mr. K. Shankaranarayanan (Maharashtra). Thus far, reports indicate that only four governors – Mr. B. L. Joshi (Uttar Pradesh), Mr. Shekhar Dutt (Chhattisgarh), Mr. Ashwini Kumar (Nagaland)

and Mr. M. K. Narayanan (West Bengal) have put in their papers after the Congress Party's debacle in the Lok Sabha election.

All others, including hardcore Congress politicians like Ms. Sheila Dikshit and Mr. J. B. Patnaik are clinging on to their gubernatorial positions. The conduct of these politician-governors betrays absolute gracelessness. Despite the tectonic political change that has come about at the national level, they hang on to their governorships as if it is a matter of right, thus compelling the Union Government to signal its mind. But, some governors are proving to be stubborn. For them a nudge is not enough. The Maharashtra Governor wants a communication from "an appropriate decision-making authority", for him to consider quitting the Raj Bhavan in Mumbai.

The conduct of Ms. Dikshit is indeed inexplicable. She was

* *Dr A Surya Prakash, Distinguished Fellow, VIF*

Chief Minister of Delhi for 15 years and in the Delhi Assembly election last December, the Congress Party was decimated. It secured just 8 of the 70 seats and Ms. Dikshit lost her own seat. Thereafter, the United Progressive Alliance (UPA) at the Centre was routed in the Lok Sabha poll. It is therefore strange to see a politician of such long standing digging in her heels, raising technicalities and continuing as Governor.

The Congress Party's protests on this count are untenable because the UPA Government had dismissed some governors appointed by the BJP, when it came to power in 2004. This government had removed the governors of Uttar Pradesh, Gujarat, Haryana and Goa on July 2, 2004 without assigning any reason. The Congress wanted them out because these Governors had been appointed by the previous BJP-led coalition. Therefore, the Congress Party does not have the moral right to assert that the present governors should not be replaced. But, there is another reason why the objections are untenable,

The Congress Party's protests on this count are untenable because the UPA Government had dismissed some governors appointed by the BJP, when it came to power in 2004.

namely that the objectors are proceeding on the assumption that governors are being removed for political reasons alone. This was incorrect at least in respect of two governors – Mr. M.K. Narayanan of West Bengal and Mr. Wanchoo of Goa, who have now stepped down. It is now in the public domain that the Central Bureau of Investigation wanted to question these two governors in regard to certain matters pertaining to the controversial Agusta Westland Helicopter Deal in which the Italians say sums of money have been paid as bribes. The Centre was of the view that these governors should quit office before being interrogated by the CBI. But, neither of them was willing to comply. The CBI therefore has no option but to question both the governors in their Raj Bhavans, following which they resigned.

Following the dismissal of four governors in 2004, Mr. B.P. Singhal moved a Public Interest Litigation in the Supreme Court questioning the government's decision and seeking quashing of the presidential order. A five-judge Bench of the Supreme Court,

headed by the then Chief Justice, Mr.K.G.Balakrishnan, delivered its judgement on May 7, 2010 and partially upheld the contention of the petitioner. Significantly, the court held that under Article 156(1) of the Constitution, the Governor holds office during the pleasure of the President. “Therefore, the President can remove the Governor from office at any time without assigning any reason and without giving any opportunity to show cause”. Also, “As there is no need to assign reasons, any removal as a consequence of withdrawal of the pleasure will be assumed to be valid and will be open to only a limited judicial review”. However, it said the President cannot exercise his power in an arbitrary, capricious or unreasonable manner. ¹(B.P. Singhal vs Union Of India & Anr, Writ Petition (Civil) No. 296 of 2004, para 50 (i))

It also declared that “a Governor cannot be removed on the ground that he is out of sync with the policies and ideologies of the Union Government or the party in power at the Centre. Nor can he be removed on the ground that the Union Government has lost confidence in him. It follows therefore that change in government at Centre is not a

ground for removal of Governors holding office to make way for others favoured by the new government”. ² (Ibid, para 50 (iii))

These are the key observations of the court and supporters of these Congress-Governors are quoting the court’s verdict selectively. While it is true that the court has said that change of government at the Centre cannot be reason for removal of a Governor, the court has unambiguously declared that a Governor holds office at the pleasure of the President and he can be removed “without assigning any reason and without giving an opportunity to show cause”. Secondly, the Congress Party and some lawyers advising it presume that the Centre has no reasons to ask some Governors to go.

The stand taken by the Congress now is at gross variance with the affidavit filed by the Manmohan Singh Government in this case. In this affidavit, the government claimed that the power of the President to remove a Governor was “absolute and unfettered” and that the term of five years provided in the Constitution was subject to the doctrine of pleasure contained in Article 156(1). It also

claimed that the removal of a Governor was not justiciable. The Attorney General, appointed by that government submitted that in a democracy, political parties are formed on shared beliefs and they contest election with a declared agenda. If a party which comes to power with a particular social and economic agenda, finds that a Governor is out of sync with its policies, then it should be able to remove such a Governor. The court observed that “The learned Attorney General was categorical in his submission that the Union Government will have the right to remove a Governor without attributing any fault to him, if the President loses confidence in a Governor or finds that the Governor is out of sync with democratic and electoral mandate”. ³(Ibid, para 8)

It is therefore pathetic to see some law officers appointed by the previous government now arguing against removal of Governors. It is equally pathetic to see some of them make the presumption that the Centre has no reasons to ask some Governors to go. They conveniently forget that many Congress appointees have shown

little respect for constitutional values. Worse still is the shocking media expose of the scandalous goings-on in some Raj Bhavans.

The Sarkaria Commission’s View

The issues pertaining to the appointment and dismissal of governors and their role was dealt with exhaustively by the Sarkaria Commission on Centre-State relations. This commission was appointed in July, 1983 to “examine and review the working of the existing arrangements between the Union and the States in regard to powers, functions and responsibilities in all spheres and recommend such changes or other measures as may be appropriate”. ⁴ (Report of the Commission on Centre-State Relations, Part I, page iii)

The issues pertaining to the appointment and dismissal of governors and their role was dealt with exhaustively by the Sarkaria Commission on Centre-State relations.

It submitted its report after years of painstaking work which included discussions and interviews with surviving members of the Constituent Assembly, meetings with Chief Ministers of 21 states, discussions with union ministers and leaders of seven political parties and visits to states. In short, it was the most

comprehensive exercise to take a look at Centre-State relations arrangements as they prevailed over three and a half decades since the Constitution came into being.

Since the Commission's appointment coincided with the changing political landscape – India was moving away from one-party rule and several regional political entities had begun to emerge in the states – there was much pressure on this Commission to consider the political relations between the Union and the States and to firmly lay down the ground rules. The new and emerging political forces were urging the Commission to come up with recommendations that would restrain the Union (which was in the hands of the Congress Party for all but 3 years since independence) from acting arbitrarily and whimsically while dismissing state governments run by other parties; while imposing President's Rule in the states; and while appointing Governors in the states. Many states argued that the Commission's recommendations must end the tyranny of the Union and restore the federal balance.

Given this background, the Commission paid considerable

attention to the appointment and dismissal of Governors and their conduct. The Commission conducted a survey of the tenure of Governors from 1947 to October, 1986 and found that of 154 tenures of governors examined, as many as 104 tenures (two-thirds) had ended before the stipulated period of five years. It also found that relatively fewer governors completed their tenures during the period between April, 1967 to October, 1986. The Commission said that the five-year tenure of a Governor "should not be disturbed except very rarely and that too for some extremely compelling reason. It is indeed very necessary to assure a measure of security of tenure to the Governor's office".⁵(Ibid, para 4.7.08)

While the Commission did not suggest that the doctrine of pleasure must be done away with, it wanted some safeguards to ensure that Governors were not dismissed arbitrarily. However, it made it clear that a Governor cannot enjoy the safeguards available to a Supreme Court judge or the Comptroller and Auditor General vis-à-vis the procedure for removal from office. The Commission said: In contrast with those of the Governor, the

nature of the duties and functions of other constitutional functionaries, such as judges of the Supreme Court and the Comptroller and Auditor General is entirely different. They are bound by the very oath of their office to perform their duties 'to the best of their ability, knowledge and judgement, without fear or favour', independently of the executive. This is why a Supreme Court judge or the Comptroller and Auditor General cannot be removed from his office except while following the stringent procedure prescribed in the Constitution on the ground of proved misbehaviour or incapacity". ⁶(Ibid, para 4.8.04)

Normally the five year term should be adhered to and removal or transfer of the Governor should be by following a similar procedure as for appointment i.e. after consultation with the Chief Minister of the concerned State". ⁷

does not agree to dilute the powers of the President in the matter of selection and appointment of Governors. However, the Commission feels that the Governor of a State should be appointed by the President, after consultation with the Chief Minister of that State. Normally the five year term should be adhered to and removal or transfer of the Governor should be by following a similar procedure as for appointment i.e. after consultation with the Chief Minister of the concerned State". ⁷(Report of the National Commission to Review the Working of the Constitution, para 8.14.2)

This matter was also considered by the National Commission to Review the Working of the Constitution. This commission was by and large in agreement with the recommendations of the Sarkaria Commission in this regard.

The Commission said that after careful consideration of the public responses it received and after full deliberation, "the Commission

The Constituent Assembly Relied on the Doctrine of Pleasure

The Supreme Court took note of the recommendations of the Sarkaria Commission and the National Commission to Review the Working of the Constitution. It also decided to examine the opinion of our Constitution-makers in this regard and therefore pulled out the debates of the Constituent Assembly on this

issue. During the debate, many members wanted the Constitution to specifically list out the possible reasons for the President to withdraw his pleasure. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, who headed the committee that drafted the Constitution, however did not agree. He said: "Sir, the position is this: this power of removal is given to the President in general terms. What Professor Shah wants is that certain grounds should be stated in the Constitution itself for the removal of the Governor. It seems to me that when you have given the general power, you also give the power to the President to remove a Governor for corruption, for bribery, for violation of the Constitution or for any other reason which the President no doubt feels is legitimate ground for the removal of the Governor. It seems, therefore, quite unnecessary to burden the Constitution with all these limitations stated in express terms when it is perfectly possible for the President to act upon the very same ground under the formula that the Governor shall hold office during his pleasure. I, therefore, think that it is unnecessary to categorize the conditions under which the President may undertake the removal of the Governor." ⁸(B. P. Singhal vs Union

Of India & Anr, Writ Petition (Civil) No. 296 of 2004, para 36)

The court noted that following Dr. Ambedkar's response, the Article in the present form was adopted, rejecting the suggestions/amendments proposed by Mr. K. T. Shah, Prof. Shibban Lal Saxena and Mr. Lokanath Mishra. It said the debates showed that several alternatives were considered and ultimately the Article in its present form was adopted. "The debates however disclose the following: (i) The intention of the founding fathers was to adopt the route of Doctrine of Pleasure, instead of impeachment or enquiry, with regard to removal of Governors; (ii) It was assumed that withdrawal of pleasure resulting in removal of the Governor will be on valid grounds but there was no need to enumerate". ⁹(Ibid, para 37)

Dealing with the issue of Doctrine of Pleasure, the court said: "The provision for removal at the pleasure of an authority without any restriction, as noticed above, applies to Ministers as also the Attorney General apart from Governors. Persons of calibre, experience, and distinction are chosen to fill these posts. Such

persons are chosen not to enable them to earn their livelihood but to serve the society. It is wrong to assume that such persons having been chosen on account of their stature, maturity and experience will be demoralized or be in constant fear of removal, unless there is security of tenure. They know when they accept these offices that they will be holding the office during the pleasure of the President".¹⁰(Ibid, para 39)

When a Governor holds office during the pleasure of the Government and the power to remove at the pleasure of the President is not circumscribed by any conditions or restrictions, it follows that the power is exercisable at any time, without assigning any cause. However, there is a distinction between the need for a cause for the removal, and the need to disclose the cause for removal. While the President need not disclose or inform the cause for his removal to the Governor, it is imperative that a cause must exist. If we do not proceed on that premise, it would mean that the President on the advice of the

When a Governor holds office during the pleasure of the Government and the power to remove at the pleasure of the President is not circumscribed by any conditions or restrictions, it follows that the power is exercisable at any time, without assigning any cause.

Council of Ministers, may make any order which may be manifestly arbitrary or whimsical or mala fide. Therefore, while no cause or reason be disclosed or assigned for removal by exercise of such prerogative power, some valid cause should exist for the removal. Therefore, while we do not accept the contention that an order under Article 156 is not justiciable, we accept the contention that no reason need be assigned and no cause need be

shown and no notice need be issued to the Governor before removing a Governor".¹¹(Ibid, para 42)

The Congress party has always believed that when in power, it must have persons of its choice posted as Governors because the Governor is the crucial link between the Centre and the state and he is the eyes of ears of the Union Government. This is the reason why it has rejected the advice of the Sarkaria Commission that active politicians should not be Governors. However, the party, which never allowed two-thirds of the governors it appointed to complete their terms

for one reason or the other, is now singing a different tune after its rout in the parliamentary election. Suddenly, the party is talking of constitutional niceties which it never respected when it was in power at the Centre for over fifty years. The party must gracefully accept the peoples' verdict and ask its appointees in various states to put in their papers, lest it be seen as an attempt by the party to cock a snook at the electorate. The Narendra Modi Government cannot ride on the backs of Governors it has no confidence in and provide the people the good governance it has promised. Let us not forget that at the end of the day, Governors have to be the eyes and ears of North Block, not the eyes and ears of 10, Janpath!

References

1. (B.P. Singhal vs Union Of India & Anr, Writ Petition (Civil) No. 296 of 2004, para 50 (i))

2. (Ibid, para 50 (iii))

3. (Ibid, para 8)

4. (Report of the Commission on Centre-State Relations, Part I, page iii)

5. (Ibid, para 4.7.08)

6. (Ibid, para 4.8.04)

7. (Report of the National Commission to Review the Working of the Constitution, para 8.14.2)

8. (B.P. Singhal vs Union Of India & Anr, Writ Petition (Civil) No. 296 of 2004, para 36)

9. (Ibid, para 37)

10. (Ibid, para 39)

11. (Ibid, para 42)

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Harnessing Information Technology to Promote Nationalism

- *Sanjay Kumar*

During the process of evolution of human civilization, there have been quite a few very significant discoveries / inventions which have given a quantum leap to human civilization. Just as the discovery of fire during the early stone age and the invention of wheel probably five thousand years ago in Mesopotamia took the human civilization several leaps ahead in one stroke, the emergence of information and communication technology during the latter part of previous century has brought about a certain kind of digital revolution globally, metaphorically weaving nations across the globe together into a single family (*vasudhaiva kutumbakam*). Information Technology has become all-pervading and is changing every aspect of how people live their lives and conduct their businesses. The diffusion of technology further has led to cultural globalization, marked by shared norms and knowledge across different

populations and cultures.

It is a pity that in a globalized world, India, a leading global giant in information technology, has done precious little to imbibe the unifying force of information technology for the purpose of nation building. The neglect of culture by the powers that be in post-independence India increasingly manifests in religious conflicts, ethnic clashes and moral and spiritual deprivation of the society at large. The rot that seems to have set in due to neglect of culture does affect not only every single sphere of both public and private lives of the citizenry, but also threatens the country's vital security and national integrity. Further, modern images of India often show poverty and lack of development. It is the image of a nation which has been perpetually at war with itself, fighting diseases, hunger, corruption, illiteracy, communal tension, caste conflict, gruesome crimes etc. The nation's self-

* *Sanjay Kumar, Assistant Librarian, VIF Resource Research Centre and Library*

esteem undoubtedly has taken a severe beating especially with the corrosion that has taken place in its image in recent years. Post election results, as the country awaits a bright future under a pragmatic leadership, the biggest challenge for the incumbent government perhaps would be restoring the country's self-esteem while infusing a sense of nationalism.

In order to achieve the aforementioned objectives, one needs to look at India's approximately eight thousand year old history and civilization – ties that bind India and facts that make us proud.

India had developed a fairly advanced Harappan civilization along the river Indus over 8000 years ago while much of the world's population still lived as nomads in forest settlements. Environmental concerns have been a dominant theme in much of the traditional folklore in India. The concept *vasudhaiva kutumbakam* in fact goes beyond the concept of world as a single family as it encompasses plants, animal and other micro-organisms. For more than two

millennia, India has suffered one bloody invasion after another, yet the civilization of India has remained intact. Hinduism is the most ancient and only continuously surviving religion and culture that has successfully maintained itself while so many other cultures and civilizations have vanished. India was the richest country on earth until the arrival of the British in the early 17th Century, a world leader in terms of contribution of GDP to world GDP for 1700 years. Arthashastra, written by

India had developed a fairly advanced Harappan civilization along the river Indus over 8000 years ago while much of the world's population still lived as nomads in forest settlements.

Chanakya two thousand and three hundred years ago, is an important study of statecraft, economic policy and military strategy. Ramayana and Mahabharata (c. 1000-500 BC), two great ancient epics of India, depict not just stories of great valour but also refer to military formations, theories of warfare and esoteric weaponry. The world's first university was established in Takshila in 700 BC. Ayurveda and Yoga are India's important contributions to the world. These facts and many others, potentially inspirational for the younger generations, do not get sufficiently highlighted while

foreign rulers and invaders are given undue importance in the school curriculum. Let us not forget that a country without a proper sense of its history loses its self-esteem and is bound to drift away.

Bereft of a sense of history, India is squandering away its young demographic dividend, lost away to social media, facebook, twitter, gaming, chat groups etc. The impact of information technology on modern life however is ambiguous as it gives rise to both unification and diversity. Policy makers, therefore, need to be conscious of the fact that the true potentials of information technology, India's young demographic dividend, and her glorious past and culture are not lost away due to lack of farsightedness. Discourses about harnessing the potentials of information technology for national security in India have remained largely focused on cyber warfare and information security – developing capabilities to launch cyber offensive on the adversary while protecting the critical information infrastructure networks. While military, economy, science and technology etc. are important components of India's comprehensive national

power, sustenance of comprehensive national power in the long term hinges largely on India being a knowledge power. It is gladdening that the 2014 election manifesto of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) talks of developing e-libraries for schools.

National E-Library

E-library undoubtedly is a novel concept which promises to revolutionize the library scenario across India, potentially as an effective instrument to steer India towards a knowledge era. Besides, the concept gels perfectly well with the e-learning processes, a growing phenomenon worldwide. Besides serving poor students who cannot afford to buy good quality books to meet their regular educational requirements (textbooks, references, past question papers etc.), a national e-library (schools across India connected to a single library) could also become an ideal platform to promote cultural nationalism, provided it is implemented with due prudence. Besides, a national depository archiving important records from history, ancient vedic literature etc in digital form would also fit in the scheme of digital libraries. As part of an effort to digitize old and rare books, a few

libraries in India have started building what may be loosely termed as institutional repositories. The need however is to consolidate such individual efforts into a common national database of old and rare books. The concept of digital library, supported by a federal government, has opened up vistas of immense possibilities, especially for librarians who are daring enough to experiment with new ideas. Digital library could well emerge as a gateway to future learning with timely and easy retrieval of information, especially in dedicated centers of learning such as the proposed four defence universities mentioned in the BJP election manifesto. Digital contents have grown in popularity worldwide across a wide spectrum of users and Indians are no exception to this growing club of digital content users.

The concept of E-library opens up possibilities for new vistas of learning and could be immensely useful, especially for students who are studying in schools which have no proper library facilities.

Barring the fact that there is a big digital divide in the country as large chunk of the population has no access to internet and computers (the estimated internet population in India in 2013 stood at 190 million which is expected to go up to 243 million by June 2014, according to the Internet and Mobile Association of India (IAMAI), the idea of Digital Libraries surely is a welcome step which promises to usher India in a knowledge era.

Digital library could well emerge as a gateway to future learning with timely and easy retrieval of information, especially in dedicated centers of learning such as the proposed four defence universities mentioned in the BJP election manifesto.

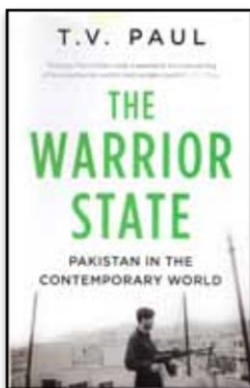
Conceivably, there could be difficulties to surmount before implementing the e-library project nationally. First and foremost, extending internet penetration across

the whole extent of India would be a daunting challenge. Ownership of digital contents (copyright issues), creating necessary technical infrastructure and a dedicated team of talented professionals, scanning a vast amount of data and converting them into digital formats are amongst few conceivable problems associated with the implementation of digital libraries. However, these challenges can be overcome with

perseverance and determination as the true mark of leadership lies in initiative, innovation and implementation.

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The Warrior State: Pakistan in the Contemporary World



A Wonky State Behaving Like Warrior State

- *Sushant Sareen*

In recent years, there has been a veritable deluge of books on Pakistan and all that's wrong with that country. There have also been some books which have tried to argue, even if unconvincingly, that all is still not lost and that Pakistan is a very resilient state – 'a hard country', if you will – which could bounce back provided it gets some things right. The latter set of books are really more of an apologia for Pakistan and appear more like the academic version of the phenomenon known as 'paid news'. The former set of books tend to deal more with the events and developments in and around Pakistan to explain what

happened and why. TV Paul's book "The Warrior State: Pakistan in the Contemporary World" breaks fresh ground by using political theory and concepts to delve into why Pakistan is what it is.

There is a lot in this very interesting, and even exciting, book on Pakistan that one can quibble over and disagree with. Apart from some of the conclusions, comparisons and theories that Prof. Paul, an Indian origin academic at the McGill University, tries to apply to Pakistan, the title of the book itself has been questioned. During a recent book discussion

programme, Prof. Paul was candid enough to disclose that his original title was 'Paradox of Pakistan' but that the publisher wanted a more attractive, eye-catching and compelling title and hence 'Warrior State'. Though Prof Paul does provide the theoretical and practical justification for this title throughout the book, Pakistan's description as a warrior state at best describes the outward manifestation of a psychologically disturbed state which perhaps is more appropriately describable as 'a paranoid state', 'a pernicious state', 'a perverse state', 'a perfidious state', 'a predatory state' and 'a schizophrenic state'.

Indeed, in order to understand and make sense of how the Pakistani state thinks and acts, it is imperative to understand the Punjabi psyche, which political theory alone is perhaps ill-equipped to handle. Suffice it here to say that Punjab (on both sides of the Radcliffe line) is probably the region with the most feudal mindset in the entire subcontinent.

Punjabis understand power and authority better than anyone else and kowtow to it with great alacrity. At the same time, they are quick to defy authority if they sense that they can do so with impunity. In

that sense, they revel in anarchy, something that is so visible in Pakistan where no sooner than a new government assumes office that predictions start on how and when it will collapse. The concept of 'jugar' is also something that comes naturally to Punjabis. As a problem solving concept this is unexceptionable, but when applied to administration, foreign and security policies of the state as well as its strategic policy, it can easily lead to disaster. This is something that is so apparent in what is happening in Pakistan today, where the 'jugar' of using 'non-state actors' in pursuit of political and foreign and strategic policy objectives is now confronting the Pakistani state with the blowback of its short-sighted strategic and tactical 'jugar'.

Right in the beginning of the book, Prof Paul asks some very fundamental questions about why Pakistan has become the theatre of internecine violence, why it has emerged as a 'failing state', why does it remain a garrison or heavily militarised state, why does it remain so problematic for the international community and what sets Pakistan apart? While Prof Paul does attempt to answer these questions in his book, which

packs in a lot in just under 200 pages, he understandably – after all he is an academic and a Malayali to boot – he doesn't take into account the havoc wrecked by 'jugar'. One of the possible answers to the questions raised by Prof Paul could be that with the state relaxing its authority by allowing private militias to grow, it created the opening for defiance of the state's authority, an opening that has steadily widened to a point where the states authority has got emasculated to a shocking extent.

Prof Paul is right on the mark when he says that for Pakistan, military might and war (in one form or another) is a natural state of affairs. In fact, it has been said that for Pakistan it isn't so much about winning wars but fighting them that's important. This is something which is partly the fault of India which has proved to be a somewhat hesitant, and even defensive and non-aggressive (in the sense of initiating conflict) adversary. Quite simply, India has been diffident in terms of taking action that would force compellence on Pakistan. The result is that Pakistan is secure in the belief that while it may suffer reverses in conflict with India, it won't suffer irredentism from

India, not even in PoK which India claims to be its part. In other words, unlike India which because of historical experience fears conquest from the western borders, Pakistan has no such fear. In her latest book, the US academic C. Christine Fair writes that it isn't security but ideology (political Islam and increasingly radical Islam) that drives the Pakistani state. Security is a veil which justifies its stand or at least makes it comprehensible, even rational, in the eyes of the international community.

Prof Paul also highlights the use of ideology in the forging of security policy that has converted Pakistan into a 'warrior state', but he also lays out the fear among Pakistanis of India wanting to gobble up their country. In a way this dichotomous or contradictory line of thinking -- wanting to cut India down to size which according to Pakistani generals is not so difficult given India's fault lines, and at the same time being paranoid of India – is what is fuelling the national schizophrenia inside Pakistan. This presents a challenge to the Indian policy maker. Prof Paul very ably points to Pakistan's failure to factor in how its strategic policy – not just in terms of its militarization but

also in terms of its alliances with countries like China – creates a security dilemma for India which then takes steps that only add to Pakistan's threat perception from India.

Among the most interesting concepts that Prof Paul forwards is that of the 'geo-strategic curse' that Pakistan suffers from. This is quite similar to the 'oil curse' or 'natural resource curse' that some countries suffer, only in Pakistan's case it is its location that visits this curse upon the state and society. Pakistanis never tire of flaunting their geo strategic location and how they are indispensable to the great powers. To an extent Pakistan has been supple to take advantage of circumstances – Cold War (SEATO and CENTO alliances), Afghan 'Jihad' against the erstwhile Soviet Union, War on Terror – and offer its services to the highest bidder. While this readiness to serve the interests of the Great Powers makes it more a mercenary state and not so much a warrior state, the fact is that Pakistan hasn't really capitalised on the goodies that flowed its way. Prof Paul is quite right in saying that the Pakistani elite have been past masters in milking geo strategic rents. Although in both

relative and absolute terms, the quantum of these rents hasn't been very high (on an average a couple of billion dollars annually) yet they have been enough of an incentive for the Pakistani establishment and elite to persist with the strategy of leveraging its location without any concern over the cost that such alignment entails. But with the US withdrawal from the region looming large, Pakistan's locational advantage could lose steam, especially if disturbed conditions inside Pakistan put paid to Chinese plans for an 'economic corridor' and if the US decides not to outsource Afghanistan to Pakistan. If both these things do not happen, then economically Pakistan can exploit its position only in relation to India. This means that Pakistan's location will be important only in the context of serving as a bridge between India and Central and West Asia.

There are a couple of issues that Prof Paul raises that one can join issue with. For instance, he flags the poor tax collection in Pakistan as a major problem in terms of the country's ability to reform and transform as a normal and viable state. Quite frankly, the tax revenue issue has been a little

overplayed in Western academic writings and analysis of Pakistan. Simply put, while there is a lot of tax evasion and avoidance, if Pakistan was to not artificially inflate its growth figures and its GDP numbers, then the ratio of tax revenue to GDP would be lot healthier than it is.

Prof Paul also talks of the possibility of some kind of revolution inside Pakistan. He discounts any outside impulse – from countries like the USA, Saudi Arabia or China – for change in Pakistan because these countries are more or less find it easier to deal with Pakistan as it is than what it ought to have been or should be. Inside Pakistan there is a lot of talk of revolution, but much of it is hot air. The only real revolutionary force is the Taliban or the Islamists. It is in this context that it was a little surprising that Prof Paul wonders why Islam hasn't served as a glue for Pakistan. Clearly, the reason

for this is that in Pakistan instead of an Islamic fusion, there has been an Islamic fission in terms of the multiplicity of sects, each considering the other heretical which in turn has made religion a dividing rather than uniting factor.

Finally, the book raises the question in the mind of the reader as to what was the purpose of being a warrior state? With all the shenanigans that Pakistan as a state has indulged in, if it had become a Switzerland or some other place which was hip and happening, one could find justification for the policy framework adopted. But looking at what Pakistanis have made of their state, it is difficult not to wonder at the self-destruct path on which Pakistan has embarked and from which it shows no sign of moving away.

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Book on Bangladeshi Migrants Released

‘Bangladesh Migrants - A Threat to India’ authored by P K Mishra, Senior Fellow of the Vivekananda International Foundation, was released at the VIF on 13 May 2014, by Shri Prakash Singh, IPS (Retd) and former Director General, BSF and a member of the advisory board of VIF. Lt General (Retd) Ravi Sawhney, chaired the session.

In his welcome address, Lt Gen Sawhney highlighted the problems faced by the country along its border with Bangladesh and the demographic changes noticed in border states and border districts besides in UP, Bihar, Delhi and various Bangladeshi pockets in most of the states from J&K upto Goa.

Recalling his stint at various border out posts along the Indo Bangladesh border starting from Sunderbans of West Bengal upto Tripura border, author P K Mishra described the demographic changes observed in various border belts and the vast government land and forests occupied by these migrants all

along the border. He referred to the oppression of the Hindu minority in Bangladesh in 2012 at Cox's Bazaar/ Chittagong including burning of Buddhist and Hindu temples, forcible conversions, molestation of Hindu girls, burning of thousands of Hindu houses and their villages in 2012, 2013 and in April 2014 and May 2014, which forced the community to seek refuge in India. Mishra also mentioned how about six lakhs of Bihari Muslims crossed the border and settled between Purnea in Bihar upto Islampur of West Bengal, on both sides of the national highway and close to Nepal and Bangladesh border.

Shri Mishra listed the porousness of the land border, existence of riverine border, gaps in the fencing, delay in fencing in Meghalaya, Tripura and Mizoram, delay in providing flood lights all along the fencing, under developed border areas, meagre amount of BADP and CAP funds from Centre for upgradation of border areas, want of border haats to sell local products, poor communication, health hazards, educational

problems, power shortage, presence of number of enclaves in the other country, adverse possession land cases and delay in their ratification by Indian Parliament, menace of cattle smuggling, inflow of FICN and drugs, mushrooming of Mosques and madrassas all along the border, particularly in North 24 Paraganas, Nadia, Karimpur, Tehatta, Jalangi, Murshidabad, Dhubri, Silchar, Karimganj border areas, nexus between security/politicians/ smugglers, nefarious design of ISI and DGFI, vote bank politics, increase in number of Muslim fundamental organisations in Assam and flexing of their muscles into Manipur/ Meghalaya and Tripura, ethnic Indian tribals becoming a minority, unauthorised sale of land to migrants, giving them voting rights/ ration cards and voters card, grabbing of employment/ educational vacancies by them and utilisation of PDS items and medicines meant for Indians by the migrant in fraudulent ways among the factors responsible for the problem and its economic impact on the country.

Shri E N Rammohan, ex DG BSF, narrated the problems faced by the Assamese people in their own state due to the entry of so many

migrants from Bangladesh and the apathy of local government to push them back and the assistance rendered to the migrants by the state government over the years, allowing them to settle in Assam which was the prime cause of the unrest going on for years in Kokrajhar .

In his address, Shri Prakash Singh, stated that the biggest problem facing India and having a direct bearing on the country's economy and security is that of the continuing illegal migration of Bangladeshis into India. He said the factors encouraging the influx from Bangladesh side included steep rise in population with increased pressure on land, mounting un-employment, recurrence of natural disasters like floods, cyclones, better economic opportunity in India, religious persecution of Hindus, discrimination of tribals, Islamic interest in expanding territory, porous and easily negotiable international borders full of anti socials and touts.

During the question answer session that followed, Shri Ajit Doval, Director, VIF, drew attention to the various recommendations of the Group of

Ministers on Border Management
issues.

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MoU with Centre for South Asian Studies, Peking University

On 30th May 2014, Dr Wang Xu, Asst. Director, Centre for South Asian Studies, Peking University, Beijing visited the VIF for signing of a Memorandum of Understanding between the two institutes for academic exchanges.

The objective of the MOU is to promote intellectual and educational exchanges and enhance cooperation between think tanks of the two countries in the areas of international affairs. Both the institutes will promote mutual cooperation related to research, teaching, seminars and other academic activities in order to establish long-term collaborative relations in the above mentioned areas between the VIF and the Centre for South Asian Studies, Peking University. Some of the major activities will include organization of international conferences,

workshops, seminars on issues of common interests and collaboration in research projects and publication of studies on international affairs and other issues of common interests.

Peking University was founded in 1898 and was originally known as the Imperial University of Peking. It was the first national university in China covering comprehensive disciplines and has been a leading institution of higher education in the country since its establishment. There is a Hindi studies department at Peking University which was set up in 1917. In 1946, the Department of Oriental Languages was established and Sanskrit and Pali were two of the earliest languages taught in the Department.

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Interaction with Chinese Think Tank Scholars

A three member delegation from the China Institute of Contemporary International Relations, Beijing led by Dr Li Li, Associate Research Fellow at CICIR visited the VIF on 30th May 2014 and interacted with the VIF faculty. The other members of the delegation were Dr Wang Shida and Song Qingrun.

The Chinese scholars were very keen to understand the Indian perspective on 'India's Foreign Policy- post 2014 Elections'. This was explained in some detail by

Amb R Rajagoplan. Discussions also revolved around China and South Asian Regional Dynamics and the questions of terrorism originating from Pakistan. While the Chinese official narrative continues to be that of Pakistan also being a victim of terrorism, there is a growing awareness among the Chinese strategic community of how the increasing incidence of terrorism in Xinjiang is related to what is happening in Pakistan.

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Interaction with Delegation from Royal College of Defence Studies, UK

A 17-member delegation of senior level defence officers and defence ministry officials from the UK and other countries led by Commandant RCDS, Royal College of Defence Studies (RCDS), Lt. Gen (Retd) Sir David Bill, KCB, visited the VIF on 30th May for a briefing and interaction on Indian economic and security perspectives.

Lt. Gen (Retd) Ravi Sawhney, an RCDS alumni and Distinguished Fellow, VIF welcomed the delegation. Chairman of VIF, Vice Admiral (Retd) KK Nayyar moderated the discussions and chaired the meeting. Amb KS Bajpai briefed the delegation on *India's Foreign Policy Environment* and Gen. (Retd) NC Vij, former Army Chief gave out

his perspective on Nuclear Status in the Region.

In the second session, Rajeev Mantri spoke on *India's Economy: Issues and prospects* and Dr Ajai Sawhney, well known expert on terrorism, explained the issue of *Jihadi Terrorism and India*. There was intense debate during question and answer session and the Indian experts explained the various aspects of India's approach and perspectives on the abovementioned subjects.

Towards the end, the British High Commissioner to India Sir James Bevan, KCMG also joined the deliberations.

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Interaction with US Army War College Scholar

Dr. Jeffrey McCausland of the Strategic Studies Institute of the U.S. Army War College visited the VIF on 11th June afternoon for an interaction with the VIF faculty on the subject of Pakistan's tactical nuclear weapons. VIF Director, Gen (Retd) NC Vij chaired the meeting and pointed out about the flaws about Pakistan's approach to nuclear weapons and the possibilities of the same falling into the hands of jihadis/terrorist outfits. Dr. McCausland is a retired U.S. Army officer and has experience in the TNW world, both as a gunner who would have deployed these weapons in a Cold War confrontation and on the policy side looking at threat reduction matters.

Dr. Jeffery made a power point presentation that gave out in

detail the implications of the use of TNWs and how they pose threat not only to the region but to the world. He also mentioned that he has been involved in a Track II initiative with the Pak Army in which he has tried to share from NATO's experiences with TNWs in an effort to dissuade them from further pursuing that avenue. The VIF faculty mostly agreed with the points made by him and pointed out the dysfunctional nature of Pakistani state and the dangers posed by Pakistan's TNWs especially when the same may fall into the hands of radical elements and terrorists and the ever present threat to security of nuclear weapons.

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Interaction with French Delegation

On 11th June Mr. Nicholas Roche (Director for Strategic Affairs at the French Atomic Energy Agency) and H.E Francois Richier, Ambassador of France to India, accompanied by other members of the Embassy staff visited the VIF to deliberate on Pakistan's Tactical Nuclear Weapons, French experience of counter-terrorist operations in Mali and Libya and for exchanging of views on French Defence Institutional organizations.

VIF Director Gen. (Retd) NC Vij while welcoming the French delegation pointed out that Pakistan's stance on its tactical nuclear weapons not only posed threat to the region but the international community also. H.E Francois Richier linked the present discussions as a carryover from the previous interaction with the VIF which was very useful. Mr. Nicholas Roche gave a detailed presentation on his views about the complications and threats posed by Pakistan's proclivity towards use of tactical nuclear weapons. He stressed that the main dilemma is how to

calibrate your response so that nuclear threshold is not crossed. He opined that there is wide range of political, diplomatic and military options that could be presented to the leadership. He also agreed that Pakistan's nuclear weapons including the tactical weapons and their security are not only a regional concern but would also impact global security. In the second part of his presentation, he narrated the operations by French Defence Forces in Mali and Libya and explained the factors which contributed to its success. Integrating political efforts, military and diplomatic options, he said, were critical to success. He also analysed the French defence organization and briefed the VIF faculty on how the French were handling the defence affairs and institutions.

The VIF faculty members posed a number of questions and discussed, particularly Pakistan's Tactical Nuclear Weapons, the likelihood and scenarios when they might be used and the likely responses.

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Seminar on 'Engaging China: Opportunities and Challenges'

Vivekananda International Foundation held a day long seminar titled 'Engaging China: Opportunities and Challenges' on June 26, 2014. The seminar attempted to approach the issue of Sino-Indian relations from a multi-dimensional perspective and included sessions on Geopolitical and Regional Dynamics, India-China Economic Relations and a discussion on the Security Challenges faced by the two countries.

In his opening remarks General NC Vij, Director, VIF stressed the importance of India-China relations to the Asian regional landscape in particular and international political dynamics in general. Deliberating upon the concept of friendship between two equals, General Vij underscored the importance of an enhanced military preparedness on the part of India for peaceful engagement and co-existence with China.

In the session on Geopolitical and Regional Dynamics, Chairman Ambassador Nalin Surie stressed upon the critical importance of Sino-Indian relationship in the

emerging world order. Thereafter, Ambassador TCA Rangachari dwelt upon the similarities in the challenges faced by both India and China in their respective immediate neighborhoods due to the geographical size and economic prowess of these two countries. Speaking further, Ambassador Rangachari maintained that if China wishes to emerge as the sole regional superpower in Asia-Pacific, it needs to engage into constructive engagement with the East-Asian countries and limit its constantly expanding concept of 'core-national interest.' Ambassador Rajiv-Sikri in his address focused upon the need for India to revive BIMSTEC and rejuvenate its ties with Japan as a part of its Look-East policy. China sponsored BCIM and New Maritime Silk Road initiatives needed to be treated with caution.

Seasoned Sinologist Jayadeva Ranade emphasized upon the inter-linkages between 'China Dream' and China's Peripheral diplomacy and its repercussions for India. Mr. Ranade explained how the concept of 'China Dream'

is geared towards restoration of territories to the PRC that it perceives as its own. As a soft policy approach within the entire notion of 'China Dream,' PRC's peripheral diplomacy is posing immense security challenges for India in Lumbini, Nepal. According to Mr. Ranade, China's presence in Lumbini is directed towards undermining the authority of the Dalai Lama and thus further weakening of the Tibetan cause. Moreover, Lumbini is of particular concern to India as it is located barely 25 Km from the Indian border.

The session on Economic Relations was chaired by Dr. Arvind Virmani, and included Dr. Surjit Bhalla, Dr. Nisha Taneja, and Prof. ML Agarwal as the speakers. In this session, the panel while underlining the importance of India-China economic relations to India's economic interests also discussed the ways to overcome the deficit that has become the characteristic feature of Sino-Indian trade relations.

During the session on Security Challenges and Cooperation, Mr. RN Ravi stressed upon the fact that trade between India and China should not be used by the leaderships in the two countries to

sideline the border issue. Mr. Ravi maintained that in spite of burgeoning trade relations between the two countries, China is investing hugely in constructing infrastructure facilities along the India-China border. General JS Bajwa in his address highlighted the point that China has used the option of 'war' more often than any other foreign policy mechanism to resolve its border disputes. Deliberating upon the issue of South China Sea, Vice Admiral Anup Singh stressed that China's claims in the South China Sea, based upon the nine-dash lines are invalid as under the principle of common public good, border demarcations in water bodies are not recognized. Admiral Singh further discussed the issue of China's investments in the construction of naval facilities in the South Asian and African countries, and the prospect of these facilities being used by the PRC as wartime bases. As per Admiral Singh, these facilities would not operate as permanent bases, but as strategic 'places' bought out by China through its economic prowess.

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