



# Vivek

*Issues & Options*

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2014 A year of Instability in Southern Asia

The Circle of Maoist Insurgency

Afghanistan: Possibilities of Sino-Indian  
Cooperation?

Arihant: Lessons from Submarine Programme

*and many more ....*

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## Editor's Note

The year 2014 was very significant one because of the political transition which brought in a strong leadership at the Centre indicating an end of coalition era. Hope and optimism generated due to Prime Minister Narendra Modi's being at the helm of affairs also had a concomitant positive impact on the economic outlook and India's place in the emerging global and regional dynamics. As we look forward to the year 2015 India is expected to gain ground in its domestic and international aspirations with emphasis on development and growth.

The coming budget will reflect the priorities of the government and how far it is willing to go to usher in reforms that would turn promises into substantial deliverables over a period of time. Some alacrity has already been shown by the government in adopting the ordinance route for effecting much needed reforms in coal, insurance, land acquisition and other sectors to overcome the obstructionist stance of the Opposition in the Parliament. Much more is needed to be done in the coming time.

This issue carries a review by Gurmeet Kanwal on what was the year 2014 like for South Asia and some others in the strategic neighbourhood. Of abiding interest to India is what happens in Afghanistan in the coming years. Gen. Sawhney and Sushant Sareen deliberate on the possibilities of India and China cooperating in Afghanistan with a view to stabilize the situation there. Gen. Gautam Banerjee looks at the state of Maoist insurgency in the last year and portents for the coming year. The success of Indian Mars Orbiter Mission is critically analysed by Radhakrishnan Rao while Admiral Raman Puri examines in detail as to what lessons Arihant nuclear submarine programme holds for our indigenization efforts.

South Korea is fast becoming an important cog in India's Look East Policy which now has been transformed into 'Act East Policy'. Maj. Gen. Chakravorty gives his perspective on evolving strategic relationship with Seoul. This issue includes many other analytical perspectives that deal with internal and external dynamics of India and its evolving international relationships.

Hope that you find this issue interesting.

Wishing you a Happy and Prosperous New Year from Team VIF

Vinod Anand

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## Looking Back: 2014 - A Year of Instability in Southern Asia

- *Gurmeet Kanwal*

The gruesome terrorist strike on hapless school children in Peshawar on December 16, 2014 once again underlined the dark reality that the Af-Pak region is the terror centre of Southern Asia. In fact, the region is the second most unstable region in the world and is closely competing with West Asia for the number one spot.

The greatest contributing factor to the unstable regional security environment in Southern Asia is the conflict in Afghanistan and the areas along the Hindukush Range astride the Durand Line. The present situation can be characterised as a stalemate at the strategic and the tactical levels. With the operational responsibilities of NATO-ISAF forces having come to an end, the situation is likely to deteriorate further in the coming years. The Afghan National Army has fought well since it assumed responsibility for security, but it is still many years away from achieving the professional

standards necessary to prevail over the Taliban that has begun to show that it is capable of resurgence. The remaining US forces will 'train, advise and assist' the ANSF. However, they are likely to continue to launch air and drone strikes in Pakistan against extremists sheltering in the Khyber-Pakhtoonkhwa and FATA areas against al Qaeda terrorists despite the adverse diplomatic fallout. A gradual drift into civil war appears to be the most likely outcome.

Pakistan's half-hearted struggle against the remnants of the al Qaeda and the home grown Taliban like the TTP and the TNSM, fissionary tendencies in Balochistan, continuing radical extremism and creeping Talibanisation in the heartland, the tentative counter-terrorism steps of the new civilian government, the floundering economy and, consequently, the nation's gradual slide towards becoming a 'failed state', pose a major security challenge for the

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\* *Gurmeet Kanwal, Visiting Fellow, VIF*

region. The Pakistan army's long-delayed offensive campaign against the TTP in North Waziristan has not made much headway as yet. Unless the Pakistan army gives up its idiosyncratic notions of seeking strategic depth in Afghanistan and fuelling terrorism in India and concentrates instead on fighting all varieties of Taliban that are threatening the cohesion of the state, Pakistan will continue to slide deeper into chaos.

Sri Lanka's inability to find a lasting solution to its ethnic problems despite the comprehensive defeat of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) has serious repercussions for stability in the island nation. Despite the election of a civilian government, the gradual resurgence of the LTTE remains likely as the core issue of autonomy has not been addressed. The unchecked rise of Islamist fundamentalist terrorism in Bangladesh, even as it struggles for economic upliftment to subsistence levels, could trigger new forces of destruction if left unchecked. Much will depend on how well the government of

Despite the election of a civilian government, the gradual resurgence of the LTTE remains likely as the core issue of autonomy has not been addressed.

Sheikh Hasina cooperates with the new government in India to neutralise organisations like HuJI and the Jamaat-ul-Mujahideen Bangladesh (JMB) that operate on both sides of the border.

The Maoist ascendancy in Nepal and its adverse impact on Nepal's fledgling democracy, as also Nepal's newfound inclination to seek neutrality between India and China, are a blow to what has historically been a stable India-Nepal relationship. Simmering discontentment that is gathering momentum in Tibet and Xinjiang against China's repressive regime has the potential to snowball into a full-blown revolt. The peoples' nascent movement for democracy in Myanmar and several long festering insurgencies may destabilise the military Junta despite its post-election confidence. The movement for democracy could turn violent if the ruling Junta continues to deny its citizens basic human rights.

The year gone by saw both China and Pakistan become militarily more assertive on India's borders than ever before in the last decade. China followed up its transgression into Depsang in the

DBO sector of Ladakh in 2013 with similar incidents at Demchok and Chumar that cast a shadow in President Xi Jinping's visit to India. Quite inexplicably, despite Prime Minister Narendra Modi's efforts at reaching out to the SAARC leaders, the Pakistan army under General Raheel Sharif repeatedly violated the cease-fire agreement and once again stepped up the infiltration of terrorists across the LoC to launch strikes in Kashmir after lying low for several years. However, a stronger than usual Indian response quickly dampened the enthusiasm of the Pakistani Generals. At year-end, ties between India and Pakistan remain strained and diplomatic negotiations have been suspended.

With the newly proclaimed Caliphate that calls itself the Islamic State, turmoil in West Asia is likely to continue. Despite the air strikes being launched by the US and its allies to halt its forward march, the IS militia has been gaining ground. The Israel-Palestinian stand-off shows no sign of abating. Israel refuses to halt the construction of new settlements in the West Bank and the Hamas militia is getting increasingly restive.

Iran's refusal to unambiguously renounce its nuclear ambitions and the vaguely stated threats of several of its neighbours to follow suit are a cause of concern in the region. Saudi Arabia is suspected to be funding Pakistan's nuclear expansion programme as a hedging strategy against the acquisition of nuclear weapons by Iran. If it is not halted, this course of action would be a disastrous blow to international non-proliferation efforts. The collusive nuclear weapons-cum-missile development programme of China, North Korea and Pakistan is also an issue of concern.

The continuing military stand-off along the 38th Parallel in Korea is a major destabilising factor in the precarious security environment in East Asia. Though the international community may be able to ensure that a major conflict does not erupt again between the two Koreas, the sub-region will remain volatile unless the Chinese use their influence with North Korea to persuade it to back off from the path of confrontation. Increasing Chinese assertiveness over the Senkaku/Diaoyu islands and in the South China Sea is completely out of character with China's stated objective of a peaceful rise.

India's standing as a regional power that has global power ambitions and aspires to a permanent seat on the UN Security Council has been seriously compromised by its inability to successfully manage the external conflicts in its neighbourhood, singly or in concert with its strategic partners, and the unending internal conflicts. In fact, the situation in Afghanistan and Pakistan could deteriorate beyond the ability of the international community to influence. The spill over of religious extremism and terrorism from Af-Pak and political instability in the CARs are also undermining international peace support efforts.

Other negative factors impacting regional stability include the unchecked proliferation of small arms being nurtured and

encouraged by large-scale narcotics trafficking and its nexus with radical extremism. Together, these conflicts are undermining Southern Asia's efforts towards socio-economic development and poverty alleviation by hampering governance and vitiating the investment climate.

With a history of four conflicts in 60 years and three nuclear-armed adversaries continuing to face off, Southern Asia has been described as a nuclear flashpoint. It appears inevitable that in 2015 India's extended neighbourhood will see a continuation of ongoing conflicts without major let up and also confront the possibility of new conflagrations.

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## Message and Meaning of Mangalyaan

- **Radhakrishna Rao**

Quietly and efficiently, India created a scintillating space history by becoming the first country in the world to reach the Red Planet in the very first attempt. Evidently, Europe, USA and Russia were able to pull off success in reaching Mars only after initial failures and repeated attempts. India also set a record by becoming the first Asian nation to successfully insert its Mars probe into the pre-designated orbit around the Red Planet without any hitches. For success had eluded the Mars probes of both China and Japan. As it is, the unqualified success of the Indian Mars probe Mangalyaan marks a giant leap for the Indian Space Research Organisation (ISRO) in terms of mastering the complex and challenging technologies involved in the accomplishment of a deep space planetary mission.

Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi who witnessed the historic moment of the Indian Mars probe slowly being nudged into its orbit around Mars on the morning of September 24 was left spell bound

after ISRO realized the breathtaking feat that was considered next to impossible. Prime Minister Modi applauded the magnificent achievement of the Indian space scientists with his observation, “We have dared to reach out into the unknown. And we have achieved the near impossible. Travelling a mind boggling distance of more than 650-million kms, we have gone beyond the boundaries of human enterprise and imagination. We have accurately navigated our spacecraft through a route known to a very few”. And as the eminent space scientist and former ISRO Chairman Prof. UR Rao observed, “No country had succeeded at its Mars mission this fast. Everything about our mission was correct. Significantly, Indian Mars orbiter probe was realized in a span of around 16 months with two third of its components having been sourced from the domestic industries.

For the Indian space scientists, this mission extraordinary celebrates the excellence that

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\* *Radhakrishna Rao, Visiting Fellow, VIF*



India has built across a number of fields--- from astronomy to engineering as well as materials science to exobiology. Not surprisingly then China has hailed the Indian space spectacular of inserting its Mars Orbiter into the orbit around the Mars describing the triumph as “the pride of Asia”. A report featured in the website of the state owned People’s Daily had praised India for making history “by becoming the first nation to successfully reach Mars on its first attempt.” As pointed out by Modi, of the 51 missions attempted across the world so far, a mere 21 had succeeded. The thrilling aspect of Indian Mars mission was it that it smoothly reached its pre determined orbit around Mars after a marathon cruise across the space spread across 300 days. And as observed by ISRO Chairman K Radhakrishnan, “Mars mission is a historical necessity since after having helped find water on the moon, looking for signatures of life on Mars is a natural progression”. Giving details, he said, “Mars orbiter has five scientific instruments, all built by ISRO. It has a colour camera for optical imaging of the planet’s surface,

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methane sensor to monitor the presence of methane in Martian atmosphere, a thermal infra red camera to study the geological features, a Lyman Alpha Photometer to study the Martian atmosphere and a payload to study the neutral composition of the planet’s upper atmosphere”. The data transmitted by these instruments will help ISRO study the chemistry and geology of Mars in addition to providing a peep into the early history and evolution of the planet. In view of a high rate of failures encountered by Mars probes, ISRO team involved in designing and developing the Mars Orbiter had carefully studied the successes and failures of the US, European and Russian missions to the Red Planet.

Significantly, at Rs.4500-million, Indian Mars mission launched in November 2013 by means of an augmented version of the four-stage Polar Satellite Launch Vehicle (PSLV) is considered the cheapest ticket to Mars. It also highlights the frugal engineering skill that ISRO has mastered in building satellites and launch

vehicles. According to British aerospace magazine *Flight International*, "Remarkably, ISRO has spent a mere US\$75-million on the Mangalyaan mission, an astoundingly small budget for a project so complex. By comparison, Alfonso Cuarón's acclaimed 2013 space epic *Gravity*, starring Sandra Bullock and George Clooney, was made at an estimated budget of US\$100-million." The price tag of Mangalyaan has been computed to be one tenth of what USA had spent on its MAVEN (Mars Atmosphere and Violet Explorer) mission which entered the orbit of Mars on September 22.

Even so there has been a criticism that a country like India battling the problems of poverty and backwardness should not fritter away its precious resources on grandiose space missions. But then India cannot afford to remain a silent spectator in so far as the race for conquering space is concerned. On a more practical plane, ISRO has clearly demonstrated that fruits of space technology can be effectively leveraged to tackle the problem of under development. Clearly and apparently, the strategic significance and geo political importance of the Indian Mas

probe is mirrored in comments emanating from west. For quite some time now, there has been a tendency in the west to run down Indian high technology strides. For instance, the well known British magazine *The Economist* has dubbed Indian Mars mission as "Indian elite's delusional quest for super power status". Going beyond such rhetoric, the brilliant triumph of the Mars mission implies that the country will definitely feel empowered in the cutting edge area where technology meets science. And at the end of the day, the successful implementation of the Mars mission would provide ISRO hands down experience in areas such as deep space communications, navigation, mission planning and management.

One of the key objectives of the Indian Mars mission is to gather evidence for the presence of methane on Mars. If Indian Mars provides solid evidence for the presence of methane in Mars, it would be a win-win development for the Indian space programme. There is as yet no clarity on the existence of methane on the Red planet. Monitoring the presence of methane has been the mainstay of the scientific payloads on most of

the probes sent to the Red Planet. For the traces of methane on the Red Planet could provide a pointer to the existence of primitive life forms at some point of the evolution of Mars.

Buoyed up by the successful accomplishment of Mangalyaan, ISRO is now looking at a follow on mission to the Red Planet. Whereas Mangalyaan is essentially a technology demonstrator, the second mission would focus more on scientific exploration of the planet. “We now have a good experience of making a satellite and reaching the Mars. If there is a scientific consensus, future Mars missions can be planned” says AS Kiran Kumar, Director of the Ahmedabad based Space Applications Centre (SAC) of ISRO. The space research organisation has also a plan up its sleeve to send probes to Venus and inner asteroid belt. Planetary missions form a part of Space Vision India 2025.

Indeed the success of India’s Mars orbiter marks a giant leap forward for the Indian space program which took off in a modest way

with the firing of a 9-kg. sounding rocket from a facility in the fishing hamlet of Thumba on the outskirts of Thiruvananthapuram in November 1963. And over the years, ISRO has systematically and methodically mastered the complex art and science of designing and building a variety of satellites and launch vehicles without any “external assistance”. Indeed, self reliance remains the hallmark of the Indian space program described as a success story on the shoe string budget.

On the one side, India has notched up the unsavoury reputation of being the largest importer of defence equipment and on the other hand the country is today a part of the elite space club.

India’s marvellous space strides when juxtaposed against country’s massive and depressing dependence on the imported combat hardware makes

for a terribly irreconcilable situation. On the one side, India has notched up the unsavoury reputation of being the largest importer of defence equipment and on the other hand the country is today a part of the elite space club. It is high time that India’s defence establishment took cognisance of ISRO’s impressive list of achievements to initiate a time bound action plan to free India from the curse of costly and crushing import of defence

hardware. It is not for nothing that the Prime Minister Narendra Modi has made a clarion call for the creation of an Indian military industrial complex fully well equipped not only to meet Indian defence requirements but also to position the country as a major exporter of defence equipment. For without being supported by domestically produced fighting equipment, India can never hope to lay claim to the status of being a global super power. While Indian space agency was driven by the vision and hard work of committed, talented and patriotic researchers and engineers, the defence establishment had gained notoriety for its lacklustre leadership, bureaucratic wrangling, incompetent and moribund state enterprises, corruption and scandals nourished by the shady middlemen enjoying “right type of connection”.

The high point of the Indian Mars mission is that it has helped bring on a common platform researchers and experts from a wide ranging fields including engineering, celestial mechanics, space physics, exobiology, chemistry, geology, optics and long distance communications. The technological spin offs derived from Mangalyaan

and subsequent planetary missions have all the potentials to give new thrust to the cutting edge technological expertise of the Indian industry. Of course, many civilian products with applications potentials in areas including health and medicine could be engineered from the technologies developed for planetary probes. On another front, the success of Indian Mars mission could nudge advanced space faring nations to involve India in ambitious deep space missions including a possible manned expedition to Mars. In the ultimate analysis, at the national level, the thrilling message of Mangalyaan is that every sphere of activity in the country could draw inspiration and lessons from ISRO to achieve excellence and scale new heights of achievement.

India Mars probe, the first interplanetary mission of the country is considered a logical follow on to the success India pulled off with the maiden lunar mission Chandrayaan-1 launched in October 2008. In the context of the changed political environment in the country, India considers interplanetary missions such as Mangalyaan as vital ingredients of its quest to sustain the

leadership position in space exploration.

Indeed, the accomplishment complex and challenging operations of inserting MOM into its final orbit around Mars stands out as a brilliant tribute to the meticulous and flawless implementation of the Indian space agency. Even a small slip here or minor lapse there could have sent MOM tumbling into the untraceable depths of space. .

According to Dr. V Adimurthy, who headed the study team on Indian Mars mission, the failure rate of Mars missions was substantial, amounting to almost 50%.The team had analysed the results of the past missions undertaken by various countries including the US and Russia. “Communication with the satellite and tracking it poses problems. So we had to have on-board autonomous control system,” said Adimurthy. It is not for nothing that ISRO researchers had carefully studied the failures and success of various missions to Mars before arriving at the spacecraft configuration and mission profile. Indian Mars

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Orbiter mission provides us with an opportunity to test technologies like spacecraft autonomy, long distance space communications, interplanetary navigation and miniaturized space payloads and systems.

On a global level there is a growing focus on exploring Mars with a view to unravel “secrets and mysteries” surrounding the Red Planet which is considered one of the benign planetary bodies

that could support human colonies. According to Prof. UR Rao, Mars holds great potential and relevance to earthlings because in about 500 years from now we might be able to use Mars

as resources base for earthlings. Former Indian President and internationally recognised space scientist Dr. APJ Abdul Kalam has made an impassioned plea for a well organised international collaboration to give a practical shape to the human dream of colonizing Mars. It is widely perceived that Mars could be the next outpost of human civilization in our solar system. But then the grim ground reality is that man is

still many years away from sending a human expedition to the Red Planet.

The view of the Indian scientific community is that Indian Mars probe will be in a position to look at Mars in a totally different perspective. As it is, data provided by the American Curiosity rover has not been able to establish the presence of methane on Mars. From the scientific perspective, detection of elusive methane on the Red Planet could determine whether life in primitive forms ever existed on Mars. Data made available by the US Curiosity

mission which landed on Mars in August 2012 revealed that conditions on the planet were once suitable for life even though there was no methane. There is also a speculation that life began on Mars.

According to Adimurthy, researchers are now more than curious to find more about Mars “because it holds the secrets of the past and the possibilities of the future”. Indeed Mangalyaan stand out as a brightest symbol of “ache din” for Indian science and technology.

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# The Relevance of Police Custody of an Accused Person

- *Dr M N Buch*

**U**nder Chapter XII of the Code of Criminal Procedure the police have the power, in fact the duty, to record information about the alleged commission of a cognisable offence and thereafter to investigate the offence, arrest the accused and produce accused persons before a competent court so that the court can take cognisance and bring the accused to trial. Under Chapter V Cr.P.C. the power to arrest and the procedure after arrest is laid down in considerable detail. Under section 41 B when making an arrest a police officer is required to prepare a memorandum of arrest attested by at least one respectable witness and countersigned by the person arrested. Under section 41D Cr.P.C an arrested person has the right to meet an advocate of his choice, under section 54 he is required to be examined by an authorised medical officer, with the record of examination containing any injuries or marks of violence on the body of the

arrested person, under section 55A the arresting officer is required to take reasonable care of the health and safety of the accused, under section 57 the arrested person must be produced before a Magistrate without delay and in any case not more than twenty-four hours after arrest, in bailable offences the police may grant bail and under section 58, to further protect the interests of the accused, the officer incharge of a police station must report every arrest without a warrant to the District Magistrate or, if the D.M. so directs, to the Sub Divisional Magistrate having jurisdiction. A very special responsibility for the safety of the arrested person vests in the arresting officer and the officer incharge of a police station. Under section 174 every case of suspicious death shall be brought under inquest by a competent Executive Magistrate and in addition where a person dies in custody of the police, then further enquiry will be made by a Judicial Magistrate. Further, under section 436 Cr.P.C a person

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

arrested for bailable offence shall be enlarged on bail by the police or a Magistrate and under section 437 a Magistrate may give bail to a person arrested for a nonbailable offence. In other words, the right to bail is normal, custody should be an exception.

This brings us to section 167 Cr.P.C. when the police, being unable to complete the investigation within twenty-four hours of the arrest of a person, may seek the orders of a competent Magistrate for detention of the accused in custody. Instead of giving bail the Magistrate may direct the detention of an accused person in police custody or in judicial custody as he deems fit. This custody will not normally exceed 15 days in the whole, provided that the Magistrate may authorise detention beyond this period but not for a period exceeding ninety days when the investigation relates to an offence carrying a sentence of not less than ten years imprisonment and sixty days in every other case. To take care of the interests of the accused police remand may not be given unless the accused is produced in person

before the Magistrate. This is to ensure that the Magistrate is convinced that the accused has not been subjected to undue harassment or torture during detention.

The question arises about what purpose police custody of an accused serves. Under section 161 Cr.P.C the police is entitled to examine witnesses who may have knowledge about the offence or may be otherwise able to help the police. The police officer may reduce into writing any statement

However, under section 162 Cr.P.C. statements made to the police may not be signed by the witness and, therefore, cannot be entered into evidence.

of a witness or he may record such statement by audio video electronic means. However, under section 162 Cr.P.C. statements

made to the police may not be signed by the witness and, therefore, cannot be entered into evidence. The only purpose for which such a statement may be used is to contradict a witness as per section 145 of the Indian Evidence Act. Though such contradiction will not render the witness liable for action for perjury, the court may draw an inference at its discretion about the veracity of the sworn statement made by the witness during trial. Similarly under



section 164 Cr.P.C. no police officer may record a confession, nor can any confession be recorded by a Magistrate until he is convinced that the confession is being made voluntarily. Therefore, any statement made by an accused person to the police has no evidentiary value at all. Under section 24 Indian Evidence Act a confession caused by inducement, threat or promise is irrelevant and inadmissible. Under sections 25 and 26 of the Indian Evidence Act a confession to a police officer may not be proved in court, nor may a confession by an accused while in police custody be proved against him. It is only under section 27 of the Indian Evidence Act that information obtained from an accused person may be proved. The exact wordings of the section are reproduced below:

“How much of information received from accused may be proved: - Provided that, when any fact is proved to be as discovered in consequence of information received from a person accused of any offence, in the custody of a police officer, so much of such information, whether it amounts to a confession or not, as relates distinctly to the fact thereby discovered, may be proved.”

It is for the purpose of section 27 that the police actually obtains custody of an accused. During police custody the accused is brought under interrogation. By and large the method of interrogation is rarely scientific or gentle. In fact it comes broadly within the definition of torture and the purpose is to extort information on the basis of which the police can try and collect evidence which can prove the crime. Because it is only that much part of a statement made by the accused in custody which leads to discovery of a fact or the physical material connected with the crime, such as a weapon, which is relevant that the police tries to pressurise an accused to give such information so that they can make recoveries based thereon. Quite often even such recoveries are faked. Therefore, the relevance of police custody is substantially reduced because ultimately the intention is to force from the accused some information on the basis of which he can be firmly implicated in the crime and his associates can be arrested. One reason for the dismal record of convictions is that instead of painstaking and scientific investigation of an offence the police tries to take short-cuts which can lead to information

which, in turn, is relevant under section 27 of the Indian Evidence Act.

The reprehensible act of torture and its use in solving crimes is brought out by a classic case from Italy. In March 1978 an extremist communist militant organisation called The Red Brigade abducted Aldo Moro, former Prime Minister of Italy. The abduction lasted over for two months. The investigating officer made a request to General Carlo Alberto Dalla Chiesa, the head of the Italian National Police, the Carabinieri, to apply third degree methods to an arrested member of the Red Brigade because he would then be able to extract accurate information about Aldo Moro's whereabouts. General Chiesa gave a classical reply which should be the motto of every police force in the world. He said, "Italy can survive the loss of Aldo Moro, it would not survive the introduction of torture". Information extorted by third degree is very often inaccurate because the accused, in order to escape torture, will willingly give replies as desired by the investigating officer. In a country whose Evidence Act in section 102

makes it mandatory for the burden of proof to lie on the person alleging a fact, which means that in a criminal prosecution the burden of proving guilt lies with the prosecution, in a country whose Constitution in Article 20 (3) provides that no person accused of an offence shall be compelled to be a witness against himself, the relevance of anything said in police custody is highly suspect and may not be used as proof against the accused. The question remains whether the provision of police custody should

Information extorted by third degree is very often inaccurate because the accused, in order to escape torture, will willingly give replies as desired by the investigating officer.

remain on the statute book at all.

In most civilised countries where there is rule of law the police do have

the right to obtain a court order remanding an accused to police custody. At the same time there are very strict rules about how the accused will be treated during custody, there is a provision for audio video recording of interrogation, physical mishandling of the accused or application of pressure which might physically harm the accused is totally prohibited and whereas an admission made by the accused in police custody is relevant and admissible, its evidentiary value

will certainly be weighed by a court to determine whether it is made voluntarily or not. Perhaps confessions made to the police in India should continue to remain inadmissible, but surely section 162 Cr.P.C. can be amended so that witnesses are required to sign the statement made to the police. The trial court should have the discretion, in case of discrepancy between the statements to the police and the court to decide on the veracity of the two statements. The witness may be prosecuted for perjury if he is unable to explain the discrepancy. This would certainly make the task of the police easier while investigating an offence because witnesses would be deterred from giving false statements either before the police or before the court. The possibility of prosecution for

perjury would be a deterrent to witnesses telling lies in court which negate the statement given to the police during investigation. One has to be careful in India about the police and its lack of bias in investigating an offence, but let us at least give the police a fair chance so that instead of using extra legal means to control crime it adopts the forensic skills necessary to solve crimes. Unfortunately neither government, nor the National Police Commission, nor successive Law Commissions have analysed the real problem of investigation in India and least rationalised the laws so that science and interrogative skills become the main tools of investigation.

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# Cyberterrorism and Information Technology Act : An Analysis

- **Commander Mukesh Saini**

Under the Information Technology Act (IT Act), 2000 a person can be sentenced to life imprisonment for merely having intentions of using a computer for likely indecency or immorality, irrespective of the fact whether he or she has anything to do with any terrorist organisation or not. This may sound shocking and ridiculous but it is the truth.

The complete text of Section 66F IT Act is given below:

#### 66F. Punishment for cyber terrorism

(1) Whoever,-

(A) with intent to threaten the unity, integrity, security or sovereignty of India or to strike terror in the people or any section of the people by -

(i) denying or cause the denial of access to any person authorized to access computer resource; or

(ii) attempting to penetrate or access a computer resource without authorisation or exceeding authorized access; or

(iii) introducing or causing to introduce any Computer Contaminant.

and by means of such conduct causes or is likely to cause death or injuries to persons or damage to or destruction of property or disrupts or knowing that it is likely to cause damage or disruption of supplies or services essential to the life of the community or adversely affect the critical information infrastructure specified under section 70, or

(B) knowingly or intentionally penetrates or accesses a computer resource without authorisation or exceeding authorized access, and by means of such conduct obtains access to information, data or computer database that is restricted for reasons of the security of the State or foreign relations; or any restricted information, data or computer database, with reasons to believe that such information, data or computer database so obtained may be used to cause or likely to cause injury to the interests of the sovereignty and integrity of India, the security of the State, friendly relations with foreign States, public order, decency or morality, or in relation to contempt of court, defamation or incitement to an offence, or to the advantage of any foreign nation, group of individuals or otherwise,

commits the offence of cyber terrorism.

(2) Whoever commits or conspires to commit cyber terrorism shall be punishable with imprisonment which may extend to imprisonment for life'.

After removing all 'irrelevant' phrases due to extensive use of the disjunction 'or', the following charge can be legally framed under Section 66F IT Act:

#### 66F. Punishment for cyber terrorism

(1) Whoever, **intentionally** accesses a computer resource **exceeding** authorized access, and by means of such conduct obtains access to any restricted information, data or computer database, with **reasons to believe** that such information, data or computer database so obtained **may be likely** to cause injury to **morality**, commits the offence of cyber terrorism.

(2) Whoever commits or **conspires to commit** cyber terrorism shall be punishable with imprisonment which may extend to imprisonment for life.

(Note: Words in **bold italic** have very wide undefined meaning)

It is horrifying to note that there is usage of the disjunction 'or' between sub clauses 1(A) and 1(B). While sub-clause 1(A) does has some semblance of acts related to terrorism, sub clause 1(B) has nothing to do with terrorism at all. There is an extensive use of the disjunction 'or' within sub clause (B) thereby casting the wide to be able to book any innocent person as desired. To further widen the scope, merely a relation to 'morality' or 'decency' has been

\* *Commander Mukesh Saini, (Retd.) Former National Information Security Coordinator (GOI)*

included as a crime. From the wide range of possible permutations given in the Act, It is possible to extract out any so-called relevant portion for framing a charge for even an imaginary offence, based on mere 'likelihood' or 'intention' of the same. The following box illustrates this:

**66F. Punishment for cyber terrorism**

(1) Whoever,-

~~(A) with intent to threaten the unity, integrity, security or sovereignty of India or to strike terror in the people or any section of the people by—~~

~~(i) denying or cause the denial of access to any person authorized to access computer resource; or~~

~~(ii) attempting to penetrate or access a computer resource without authorisation or exceeding authorized access; or~~

~~(iii) introducing or causing to introduce any Computer Contaminant;~~

~~and by means of such conduct causes or is likely to cause death or injuries to persons or damage to or destruction of property or disrupts or knowing that it is likely to cause damage or disruption of supplies or services essential to the life of the community or adversely affect the critical information infrastructure specified under section 70, or~~

(B) ~~knowingly or~~ intentionally ~~penetrates or~~ accesses a computer resource ~~without authorisation or~~ exceeding authorized access, and by means of such conduct obtains access to ~~information, data or computer database that is restricted for reasons of the security of the State or foreign relations;~~ or any restricted information, data or computer database, with reasons to believe that such information, data or computer database so obtained may be ~~used to cause or~~ likely to cause injury to ~~the interests of the sovereignty and integrity of India, the security of the State, friendly relations with foreign States, public order, decency or~~ morality, ~~or in relation to contempt of court, defamation or incitement to an offence, or to the advantage of any foreign nation, group of individuals or otherwise;~~

commits the offence of cyber terrorism.

(2) Whoever commits or conspires to commit cyber terrorism shall be punishable with imprisonment which may extend to imprisonment for life.

This is indeed a most unfortunate piece of legislation but it is included in our statutes and has the power to be abused. Research indicates that Section 66F IT Act was not part of the original proposal for amendments to the Information Technology Act in 2008. During review the Parliamentary Standing Committee asked the Ministry of Communication and Information

Technology to provide draft on Cyber Terrorism to be included in the amendments. The Ministry hurriedly prepared a draft which apparently got included with the rest of amendments to the IT Act without application of mind. The amendments to the IT Act got passed in the din of the houses of parliament. It is therefore, necessary to expunge Section 66F IT Act before it gets misused.

Obliviously, the question that arises is: should cyberterrorism be a crime? If yes, what constitutes 'crime' under cyberterrorism? Should it be part of the Information Technology Act or should it be part of the laws on counter-terrorism? Some of these questions and more are deliberated in succeeding paragraphs.

The nature of cyberspace is such that it can be anything: a means, a weapon, a force-multiplier, a source, a target/victim or a fruit of crime. There is also a need to distinguish between cyber crime, cyber terrorism, cyber espionage and cyber war. Clubbing all these offences under same clause can be harmful to national security besides flouting norms of human rights.

Terrorism implies imposing one's will regarding a religion or race on others by instilling terror in the minds of the masses through large-scale death, destruction and loss of assets. It attempts to coerce the government to change its policies and governance model to align with those of the terrorists. To achieve these objectives, terrorist organisations use technology and cyberspace extensively. Cyberspace is used for identification of the target, preparation of a terror attack, in support of a terror attack in progress, terrorism indoctrination, launching psychological operations and even undertaking battle damage assessment post a terror attack. There also exists a reasonable possibility of selecting the National Critical Information Infrastructure as a target of a terrorist attack. Therefore it is necessary to bring such perpetrators to justice. It is also necessary to give a statutory status to cyberterrorism to get necessary international support.

Cyberspace is used for identification of the target, preparation of a terror attack, in support of a terror attack in progress, terrorism indoctrination, launching psychological operations and even for undertaking battle damage assessment post a terror attack.

Terrorist organisations are generally well equipped in statecraft and many forms of warfare, therefore the subject is very challenging for handling by the normal law enforcement procedures. Terrorists do not follow any humanitarian international laws and generally abuse the benevolent acts of the government towards its citizens. They use the cover of innocent citizens to undertake their cowardly acts. Therefore there exists a reasonable possibility of someone on behalf of State harassing innocent citizens. To achieve a balance between the conflicting and complex needs of law enforcement and human rights, general criminal procedural laws are loosened but additional checks are introduced to prevent abuse. An overarching general law like the Information Technology Act is not capable of handling the complexities of terrorism. Therefore cyberterrorism should ideally be a part of relevant counter-terrorism laws.

Any accusation of cyberterrorism should be accepted if there is a

direct or evidentiary link between a 'resource' in cyberspace used by the accused and any 'declared' terrorist organisation. In case such a link is not available then it may be necessary for the executive to take a considered decision to declare such 'resource' as a terrorist related 'resource' before anyone associated with it can be tried under the provisions of cyberterrorism. There are sufficient laws to deal with hacking or similar crimes as well as attacks on the Critical Information Infrastructure from undeclared terrorist organisations. Hence cybercrime and cyberterrorism should not be mixed.

Following acts may constitute acts of cyberterrorism provided there is evidence of direct or indirect association of the accused or the 'resource' in cyberspace with any declared terrorist organisation:

- (a) Hacking/attacking Critical Information Infrastructure as defined under Section 70 of IT Act.
- (b) Planning or conspiring to hack/attack Critical Information Infrastructure as defined under Section 70 of IT Act.

- (c) Hacking /attacking or planning to hack/attack any .gov.in site.
- (d) Inciting communal/racial disharmony using cyber resources including social media.
- (e) Using cyber resources for planning, communication, command structure, analysis of victims, creating false identity, stealing identity for direct or indirect support of physical or cyber attack.
- (f) Undertaking propaganda warfare/psychological warfare against the Government of India or states through the medium of cyberspace.
- (g) Using cyber resources to raise funds, transfer monies, issuing online assurance for funds, exchange currencies, distributing funds, supporting local advocacy groups or sleeping terrorist cells, procuring any product (moveable/ immoveable/online) for an act or in support of terrorism.
- (h) Propagating/indoctrination of terrorists' preaching or advocacy or thought-process or teaching.
- (i) Recruiting, motivating or on-line training for acts of

terrorism or joining terrorist organisations.

- (j) Hacking, penetrating or attempt to penetrate or using any innocent cyber-resources to be a 'zombie' for any cyber terror act or for masking terrorists' or cyber terrorist acts or any attempt to transfer blame of cyber-terrorism on innocents.
- (k) Any offence covered under Section 43 IT Act for the purpose of terrorism or in support of terrorist activities.
- (l) Any other act even if accused is not linked to any declared terrorist organisation, who through cyberspace, coerces the Government of India or Indian states to alter policy policies in favour of a group or race or religious entity or terrorist organisation, provided such coercion is real, possible and likely to be effective if not countered.

('Resource' in cyberspace includes but is not limited to computer, computer network, hardware, firmware, software, computer script, e-mail, chat, instant messaging, document, database, data stream, website, social media, application (app) and web/computer universal resource location.)

There is an urgent need to clearly and concisely codify the acts of cyber terrorism, while the existing ambiguous and catch-all law should be taken off the statute. It is therefore suggested that Section 66F IT Act be repealed at the earliest (even if it takes longer to enact any law under counter terrorism related laws) and amend the appropriate counter terrorism laws to include acts of cyber-terrorism with its associated procedures and safeguards.

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# Afghanistan: Can it be A Template for India, China Cooperation?

- *Lt. Gen Ravi Sawhney & Sushant Sareen*

One of the most troubling, but also fundamental, questions confronting India is while New Delhi is keen on cultivating with China a mutually beneficial and cooperative relationship that, despite an element of competition, is not only conflict-free but also cordial, does China want a similar relationship with India? Despite trade between the two Asian giants booming, and a fair degree of convergence in interests in global forums, there are outstanding issues – among others, the boundary question – between them that cause strains in the bilateral relationship. Some actions by the Chinese – stapled visas for people and officials from the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir, the ‘aggressive’ and ‘intrusive’ patrolling along the disputed stretches of the Line of Actual Control, the complete disregard for India’s concerns and sensitivities when it comes to relations with Pakistan – muddy the waters by fouling up the public

mood in India.

Even as the two sides work to manage, if not resolve, these issues, Afghanistan has emerged as something of a test case on not just how India and China will relate to each other but also on whether they will either work in conjunction or at cross-purposes on other emerging issues like the West Asian crisis. With the Western involvement, and perhaps even interest, in Afghanistan almost over, countries of the region will have to do some of the heavy-lifting to ensure that Afghanistan doesn’t once again become the cockpit of terrorism which will also affect them. Among all of Afghanistan’s neighbours, India and China are probably the only two countries with the diplomatic, political, economic and military clout to help in stabilising Afghanistan. They can synergise their strengths to prevent Afghanistan’s descent into chaos.

The Russians, still suffering from the hangover of their Afghan

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\* Sushant Sareen, Senior Fellow, VIF

misadventure in the 1980s, are very wary of getting involved in Afghanistan directly. The Iranians have a crucial role to play but can't do much alone partly because of their strained relations with the West and partly because of their deepening involvement in West Asia to combat the scourge of the Islamic State. The Pakistanis are more of a problem and, notwithstanding the horrible massacre of school children in Peshawar, are unlikely to become part of the solution unless someone like China is able to knock better sense into them. The Central Asian states have their own problems and can at best play a supporting role.

The Uighur terrorists and separatists in Xinjinag, India-centric jihadists, Central Asian extremists, all will once again make a bee-line for Afghanistan and make it a safe haven for plotting and launching terrorist attacks.

The problem as far as Afghanistan is concerned is that even though the interests of both India and China converge, their strategies diverge. Both countries are extremely apprehensive of Afghanistan getting destabilised and once again becoming a base for global and regional jihadist terror groups. The Uighur terrorists and separatists in Xinjinag, India-centric jihadists, Central Asian extremists, all will

once again make a bee-line for Afghanistan and make it a safe haven for plotting and launching terrorist attacks. A civil war in Afghanistan between the resurgent Taliban and the forces opposed to them will also spill over into other countries. This, in turn, will force countries affected by the war in Afghanistan to cultivate proxies, which will only further fuel the war within and without Afghanistan. But keeping Afghanistan secure from extremists and jihadists is just one of the common interests shared by India and China.

For Afghanistan to remain safe it must become economically viable and vibrant. While

for the foreseeable future, foreign aid and assistance will be necessary to keep Afghanistan afloat, it cannot remain a donor driven economy endlessly. There are two potential areas that can propel Afghanistan towards economic viability. The first is Afghanistan leveraging its location to become a bridge between South Asia on one side and Central and West Asia on the other. China really doesn't need Afghanistan as a bridge to reach Central Asia, but

India does. More importantly, Afghanistan becoming a transit hub between Central and South Asia makes sense only if these routes extend into India. Without India, Afghanistan's utility for transit is neither attractive nor viable. The second is extracting the mineral resources of Afghanistan and using them to set up industry in Afghanistan and exporting some of the raw material to other countries. Here both India and China have a role to play, not just in making investments in developing infrastructure – roads, railways, pipelines –but also setting up industries in Afghanistan. Peace, security and stability is however a sine qua non for Afghanistan being able to exploit its location and its mineral wealth to become a self-sustaining economy.

The biggest spoiler in Afghanistan is also the country that is likely to be most despoiled by a destabilised or Talibanised Afghanistan is Pakistan. It is also the major point of divergence in how India and China seek to stabilise Afghanistan. For now, China appears set to ride on Pakistan's shoulder to play a role in Afghanistan. While Pakistan undoubtedly is critical to solving the Afghan conundrum, it has also

remained the biggest obstacle in efforts to stabilise Afghanistan. The Chinese however, have placed faith in Pakistan and have been taking their cues from Pakistan while forging their policy in Afghanistan. Given the influence that China exercises on Pakistan – the much delayed and much-hyped Operation Zarb-e-Azb in North Waziristan was in no small measure the result of Chinese pressure – the Chinese are ideally placed to force compellence on Pakistan to change its destructive policy on Afghanistan, both in terms of the support and sanctuary being given to Taliban and their affiliates as well as its denial of transit rights to India.

But as long as China sees Afghanistan through the prism of Pakistan and refuses to exert its influence to make Pakistan do the right thing, the prospects of India and China working together on Afghanistan will remain very bleak. Worse, the entire grandiose plan to make an economic corridor through Pakistan with one section branching out into Afghanistan is going to become a victim to the instability that will spill over into Pakistan from Afghanistan. What the Chinese are not getting is that Pakistan's current policy of getting the Taliban a stake in power in

Afghanistan is going to push Afghanistan into the throes of extremism and jihadism which, beyond a point, even Pakistan won't be able to control. The difference between the approach of India and Pakistan is that while India seeks to develop its influence in Afghanistan by helping to stabilise that country, Pakistan exercises its influence by destabilising Afghanistan. As such, with or without China, India will need to remain engaged with Afghanistan because its vital security interests are involved in a stable, non-talibanised Afghanistan.

Of course, if the Pakistan part of the problem is sorted out – either by China pulling its weight to make Pakistan fall in line or, in the extreme case, China bypassing Pakistan completely – India and China can work together through

Most of all, India has a much deeper cultural and social connect with the Afghan society than China and can assist the Chinese in this developing a better understanding of Afghanistan.

Central Asia or through Iran to help Afghanistan. India can also share its development template in Afghanistan with China to rebuild that country. Both the countries have the technical and institutional strengths for build Afghan capacity to handle their affairs. Most of all, India has a much deeper cultural and social connect with the Afghan society than China and can assist the Chinese in this developing a better understanding of Afghanistan. The spin-offs of Sino-Indian

cooperation in Afghanistan will also have positive impact on their bilateral relationship. But in the ultimate analysis everything will depend on what sort of a relationship China wants with India?

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# Enhancing Strategic Relationship with South Korea

- *Maj Gen (Retd) P K Chakravorty*

## Introduction

There have been ancient links between South Korea and India. In modern times, it was bifurcation of the international system into two rival blocks after 1945 that prevented links between the two countries. Transformative changes in Indian economy and foreign policy in early 1990s drove the two countries to commence cooperating economically and strategically. The fast changing landscape of Indo Pacific security architecture resulted in intensifying the strategic partnership between these countries. With Narendra Modi being at the helm of affairs, India-South Korea relations are expected to further strengthen as he aims to make Indian a 'competitive manufacturing' hub. Technical and financial assistance from South Korea will be vital for boosting Indian economy. The recent visit of our External Affairs Sushma Swaraj who landed in Korea on 28 December 2014 to

participate in the 8<sup>th</sup> India Republic of Korea Joint Commission Meeting has further strengthened relations between the two countries.

## Economic Relations

Rapid developments took place with opening up of the Indian economy and initiation of "Look East Policy" in 1991. By this time; Korea had emerged as an industrial powerhouse and was looking beyond its traditional economic partners. It was in this background that both countries realised the need to deepen their mutual relationship. The economic relations have been on an upward trajectory since then and there are roughly 450 Korean companies (Chaebol in Korean) operating in India today. POSCO steel plant in Odisha will be the single largest foreign investment by any country in India.

The major achievement in economic relations has been operationalisation of Comprehensive Economic

*\*Maj Gen (Retd) P K Chakravorty, India's former Defence Attache to Vietnam*

Partnership Agreement (CEPA) in 2010. It is Korea's first free trade agreement with a BRICS member. Korean FDI to India, up to December, 2013 stood at US\$ 3.25 billion but it will go up after the environmental clearance to POSCO has been given.

Despite the recent rise in trade volume, there is much scope for further improvement. According to information available on website of Indian Embassy in Korea, India's share in Korea's global trade was 0.83 in 2002 which rose to 1.63 in 2013.

There is considerable scope to increase it. In 2013, India was Korea's 18<sup>th</sup> biggest source of imports while India was its 9<sup>th</sup> biggest export market. Korea's restrictive policy for agricultural imports such as fruits and vegetables is a barrier being faced by India. New Delhi needs to diversify its exports which are dominated by petrochemicals. There is tremendous scope for Korea to invest in Indian infrastructure projects. Under its 12<sup>th</sup> five-year plan (2012-2017), India needs to spend US\$ 1 trillion on its infrastructure projects. At the moment, Korean investments are

According to information available on website of Indian Embassy in Korea, India's share in Korea's global trade was 0.83 in 2002 which rose to 1.63 in 2013.

concentrated in manufacturing sector, wholesale and retail trade, financial and insurance activities.

### Strategic Relations

The geo strategic location of South Korea enables it to be the focus of four major powers comprising the United States (US), Russia, China and Japan. The country has a robust alliance with the US, China is her biggest trading partner, and Russia is a big trading partner and sporadically provides defence equipment to South Korea.

Culturally, there is an uneasy relationship with Japan but militarily they have an intelligence sharing pact.

Bilateral trade with India is \$ 18 billion and is being progressively enhanced. South Korea has strong military relations with the US. American troops are stationed on Korean soil but the country is against the deployment of Terminal High Altitude Area Defence (THAAD) missile system in their country as it is likely to offend China. Incidentally, China has good strategic relations with South Korea and strong economic bonds. South Korea currently is resisting pressure to take part in a

regional missile defence system that includes Japan.

Strategic relationship between South Korea and India started a decade ago. In East Asia, India's bilateral relations with South Korea, Japan, and Taiwan are influenced by the common factor of having China as a neighbour. India's growing strategic links with South Korea were evident in the "Agreement on Long Term Cooperative Partnership for Peace and Prosperity" signed during former Korean President Roh's visit to India in 2004. The high watermark of the security relations came in 2010, when South Korean President Lee Myung-bak and Indian PM Manmohan Singh upgraded the mutual relations and signed a "strategic partnership". The strategic partnership was a result of convergence between India's revitalised 'Look East Policy' and 'New Asia Initiative' launched by Korean President Lee. Further, President Lee was Chief Guest at the 61<sup>st</sup> celebration of India's Republic Day which marked the growing closeness between the two countries. The joint statement issued after the partnership said "considering that the ROK-India partnership is a factor for peace and stability in Asia as well as

between the two countries, the two leaders decided to enhance bilateral relations to a Strategic Partnership". Both countries also agreed to strengthen dialogue and exchanges in the area of defence through regular high-level military exchanges. They also agreed to explore the possibilities of joint venture cooperation in research & development, and manufacturing of military equipment including through transfer of technology and co-production.

Viewing India's aim of modernizing its Armed Forces, Korean technology would be necessary for developing state of the art weaponry. Further need was expressed for greater cooperation between the navies and coast guards in areas pertaining to the safety and security of international maritime traffic. Both countries gave adequate importance to Science and Technology and a dedicated fund of US\$10 million (with a contribution of US\$5 million by each side) to promote joint research was created. This also led to India posting its permanent Defence Attache in Seoul in 2010, a charge that was earlier handled by Indian Defence Attaché stationed in Tokyo.

During the visit of our President, Smt Pratibha Patil to South Korea in 2011, an agreement on nuclear technology was signed. This permitted Korean companies to enter Indian market, build nuclear power stations and supply nuclear reactors to India. Korean companies possess technical know-how to build earthquake resistant plants at cheaper price which can help India in its quest to increase its energy production through nuclear power. South Korea has developed a world-class civil nuclear power plant which contributes up to 40 per cent of the total electricity of the country, the safety standards of which has the IAEA stamp of approval. South Korea can also help India in developing its renewable energy potential as it has cutting edge technology in wind power turbine and solar cells.

Indian defence companies held “Aerospace and Defence Exhibition” (ADEX-2013) in Seoul to showcase their indigenously manufactured weapons. This underlines strategic importance of Korea to India and marks it as one

of the central pillars of its “Look East Policy”. Further the Korean President Park Geun-hye visited India in January 2014. The two countries signed an agreement on ‘Protection of Classified Military Information’ further deepening their defence relations. They also agreed to launch a ‘Cyber Affairs Dialogue’. Further, National security organisations of the two countries will further enhance their cooperation. It is of interest to note that Samsung Techwin’s

Further, National security organisations of the two countries will further enhance their cooperation. It is of interest to note that Samsung Techwin’s 155 mm Self Propelled Gun is undergoing evaluation trials in India for induction in the Indian Artillery.

155 mm Self Propelled Gun is undergoing evaluation trials in India for induction in the Indian Artillery. This has occurred after tremendous persuasion by the Indian partner Larsen and Toubro.

Indigenisation forms an important aspect of our Defence Procurement Policy. Our Indian Navy has a requirement of about 160 ships. Our shipyards need technological knowhow which South Korea can provide as it is the world’s second largest ship builder. With Korean assistance all types of war ships can be built by India indigenously. Additionally, Korea is looking for



international partners for its space program and Indian cost-effective expertise should be an attractive proposition.

The current geo political environment needs India and South Korea to cooperate strategically. According to Sukjoon Yoon, South Korea, a genuine middle-power can exert only limited and selective influence upon the great powers. However, by networking with other powers such as India, the impact of South Korea would be enhanced exponentially. He further adds that regional rivalry between USA-China and China-Japan has diplomatically marginalised other states impacting their ability to build partnerships based on trust and limiting the scope to build strategic partnerships. China is definitely a factor as far as the deepening of strategic relations between India and Korea is concerned. China's assertive behaviour in South China Sea, East China Sea and the Yellow Sea is a cause of concern for Korea. Declaration of new Air Defence Identification Zone (ADIZ) by China in November last year is a big concern for Korea, as it overlaps with 3,000 square km of Korea's ADIZ.

At the working level India and Korea have to understand defence needs comprehensively. There is a need to enhance Track II dialogues and defence industrial contacts to understand mutual requirements comprehensively. This is likely to enhance mutual understanding and possibly lead to defence joint ventures and co development.

### **Recent Visit of External Affairs Minister Sushma Swaraj**

The recent visit of Mrs Sushma Swaraj in December 2014 was a step forward in strengthening economic and social relations with South Korea. Along with her South Korean counterpart Yun Byung-se, it was decided to chart out a road map to further deepen engagement. To boost their strategic ties both countries decided to enhance cooperation in ship building, electronics, defence production, infrastructure, energy besides outlining mutual interest in areas of nuclear energy and cyber security. The Minister invited South Korean companies to make bold investments to benefit from Indian Government's focus of 'Make in India' policy. She was of the view that was great scope for companies to invest in the manufacturing sector and both countries would benefit from their

initiative. She also discussed the co production of Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG) tankers with Indian shipyards. Overall the visit further strengthened economic and strategic relations between the two countries.

### **Conclusion**

The focus of the current Indian Government is on development.

South Korean industries by boldly investing in our 'Make in India' programme can greatly assist us in this field. Strategically both countries need to intensify their cooperation as it would enhance their strategic combined coefficient exponentially.

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# India's Foreign Policy in 21st Century: A Need for Change

- *Abhinav Pandya*

**F**ew months back, when I was visiting Permanent Mission of India to UN in New York City to explore an internship opportunity in counter-terrorism and political affairs, I had the opportunity to hear Prime Minister Modi speak for the first time in Rajya Sabha after his election. I distinctly remember a succinct observation and a brave confession which the newly elected Prime Minister made. Mr. Modi remarked that the 1200 years of slavery has somewhere led to a major dent in the self-confidence of India as a nation and of its citizens. In an international environment, be it academic, political, cultural, diplomatic or social, one can feel the depth of the observation made by Prime Minister Modi.

During my tenure as International Student Representative at Cornell University, I got a chance to interact with international community in both formal and informal settings. In my interactions and outreach

activities, I found that there were several misperceptions about India. In diplomacy, perception plays a significant role and it is something which is created and nurtured by a nation in myriad areas. The general perception of India was of a meek, over polite, and an ambiguous nation in international politics. No doubt, our complex and ironical; social, cultural, religious and historical textures play a major role in forming that perception, but there is something which is conveyed by the foreign policy of a nation. And, there, on a closer analysis, one can find a range of shortcomings which will be dealt in the following paragraphs. A few examples of such misperceptions:

- a) Minority communities are discriminated against in India.
- b) Caste system of India is an equivalent of apartheid or racism.
- c) Kashmir has never had any historical connection with India.

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*\*Abhinav Pandya, International Student Representative, 2013, CPAS Board*

d) India is considered a China and Pakistan centric-nation which has the potential to become a major player in the world politics but is marred by its slack decision-making, poor foreign policy and corruption.

The aforementioned misperceptions are just a few prominent examples. Of course, there are several more and there can be a grain of truth in them. The intent of this article is to seek solutions within the domain of our geo-political strategy and diplomacy. The suggestions made are based on vigorous academic research, formal and informal interviews of the diplomats, academicians and politicians from across the world, and from my experience as the International Student Representative and the Chairperson of International Affairs Forum.

**Challenges of Indian Foreign Policy:** 1) It can be observed that Indian foreign policy suffers from lack of confidence, clarity and assertive attitude. Further, there is a plethora of systemic, institutional and policy related

lacunas. India is perceived as a confused nation in terms of foreign policy. The case of China clearly explains the importance of perceptions. The rise of China is perceived as threat by western nations. During my interactions with the Chinese student and diplomatic community, I found that besides economic and strategic issues, the major reason for this is the wrong perceptions resulting from the difference in communication strategies of the west and the east. China is heavily

I found that besides economic and strategic issues, the major reason for this is the wrong perceptions resulting from the difference in communication strategies of the west and the east.

influenced by Buddhist and Confucian values therefore, it as a society speaks less, and is generally introverted in nature. Since it is

not able to socialize properly in the world community, it is suspicious about the intentions of the western nations and tries to protect its geographical and culture identity at any cost. This suspicious nature and its internal fear led China to befriend terrorist nations like Pakistan. Due to insufficient communication and vigorous economic might of China, western nations also feel suspicious about China. This is so because western societies believe in direct ways of expression, and,

thus follows a regime of distrust between the west and China.

On similar lines, India is regarded as sort of a 'confused speaker'. Indian stand-point on the issues of Israel-Palestinian conflict, terrorism, human rights and democracy is perceived to be ambiguous. Hence, we need to show a clear stand on the relevant issues of international politics, which should be reflective of our interests, ideals and beliefs. Our international position must display our faith in, and our respect for our cultural and historical roots. At times because of the ideological foundations, we sacrifice too much and show a very compromising attitude. That kind of attitude based on mental weakness and a highly idealistic worldview, portrays the image of India as a weak nation. In diplomacy, too much politeness is considered weakness.

2) India needs to realize the importance of economic diplomacy. The trade and economic affairs in Indian consulates and embassies are handled by the diplomats who never received any specialized education in economics whereas on the other hand, the countries like Turkey and Kazakhstan have specialized diplomats for trade and economic affairs. In SAARC

also, India has not been able to utilize the full potential of trade. At both ministerial level and at the embassy level, the efforts for promoting trade are lacking. Therefore, India needs to pay attention to trade and economic diplomacy.

3) Similarly, there is no emphasis on cultural diplomacy. India cannot establish itself as a world power unless it sends a clear message that it respects and has strong faith in its historical and cultural traditions. This topic is elaborated further with solutions in the recommendations section.

4) Most important challenge which Indian diplomacy faces is the quality of diplomats. The diplomats in terms of their knowledge, training and sophistication are outdated and not up to the world standards. This area needs a complete overhaul. Partly, the reason for inadequate attention to economic diplomacy and lack of confidence is also the quality of Indian diplomats.

5) India lacks specialists in the field of water diplomacy, area experts, and climate diplomacy.

Recently, Mr. Modi's government has been vigorously pro-active in

foreign affairs. India is engaging global players like China, Japan, US and Russia in an astute manner, but still these changes appear to be emanating from the individual vision and foresight of the Prime Minister. What India needs is the systemic and institutional reforms, so that this pro-activeness and world-leader like behavior can be sustained in the long-run in a systematic and strategic manner.

### Recommendations:

#### Philosophy:

“Atmavishwas”,  
“Netrutva” and  
“Vishwashanti”  
must be the watch  
words of our  
foreign policy.  
However, they  
must be underlined by the  
principle of “Shathe Shathyam”.

Before discussing the solutions, it needs to be emphasized that the aforementioned three ideas must define our foreign policy. And, all the aforementioned three principles must be guided by the idea of ‘tit-for-tat’.

Before discussing the solutions, it needs to be emphasized that the aforementioned three ideas must define our foreign policy. And, all the aforementioned three principles must be guided by the idea of ‘tit-for-tat’. India must send a clear message that India is a friend of friends and enemy of enemies. We must end the era of over generosity and tolerance. We must send a clear message that

India will brook no tolerance to anti-national elements, Islamic terrorism and any kind of fundamentalism.

1) In today’s world diplomacy is transcending the confines of real-politic and venturing into new domains like economic diplomacy, climate change, development and soft power. It does not imply that military might has become redundant. Military power/hard power is still very relevant, but because of new global challenges like climate change, terrorism etc.

and phenomenon of globalization, the world community is engaging with each other on several fronts. And, any nation aspiring to become a global player must not only be pro-active in the new aforementioned domains but also needs to be creative and leader-like in its approach, setting new standards, norms and innovative thinking for ensuring a peaceful future. In ancient times, Indian diplomacy revolved around trade and soft power (culture and religion). However, if we look at the history, we find that whenever India dominated world politics through culture and trade, India was a

mighty economic and military power, be it Gupta era or Mauryan era. Since India was militarily and economically a powerful nation, it could dominate the world with its cultural influence. **Hence, today our diplomacy needs to be three-layered: We must have solid military and economic infrastructure as a base and then our active diplomacy must be a cultural one.**

1) The most attractive things of India for the world community are : a) Bollywood, classical music, classical dance and drama, b) Ayurveda, c) Yoga, d) Indian cuisine China has established Confucius centers all over the world. **Likewise, we can set up Vivekananda, Buddha, Ashoka and Kautilya centers across the world.** These centers should systematic, organized and scientific information on yoga, Ayurveda, Indian philosophy, spirituality, political thought and Indian cuisine. These centers can also render consultancy services to foreign governments, non-profits and private sector and bring foreign exchange for India.

Today the world is facing conflicts, Islamic fundamentalism, terrorism, depression, problems like drug abuse, HIV (as a result of unethical

lifestyle), teenage pregnancy. If India, with these centers of peace, harmony, and spiritual and healthy lifestyle can reach out to world community in west and conflict areas, India's diplomatic clout will increase manifold. Recently, in my research project with World Bank on Costa Rica, I found that Yoga classes were found to be very successful in reducing teenage pregnancy and drug abuse in Costa Rica.

2) It is quite surprising that awareness about Indian political thinkers like Chanakya, Vidura etc. in the international relations scholarship is very minimal. Our embassies can reach out to universities like Harvard, Cornell, Oxford and sponsor Kautilya centers of International Relations. In India, we can start schools and think tanks of international relations and trade, where the research is carried on Indian political thinkers and other aspects of diplomacy and political economy. They can have exchange agreements with European universities. This way, India will change the discourse of international relations scholarship.

3) India can form SAARC Peace and Reconstruction Corps, with development, diplomatic and

military professionals from all SAARC nations. To begin with, they can be posted in Afghanistan. This measure will counter the false notions like India has commercial and hegemonic interests in Afghanistan, and there will be more funds available for development and training of Afghan military, from all the SAARC nations. Additionally, India's diplomatic clout and relations with SAARC countries will improve. However, as a word of caution, it can be argued that because of a troubled history and internal politics of our neighboring countries, we should go for **'restrained and cautious engagement'** with them. Our focus should be more on our global presence, for which we must engage Europe, China, United States and Central Asia on equal footing. If we have a strong global diplomatic clout, it will have spillover effects on our relations with our neighboring countries.

4) In order to realize these ideas, we need an army of smart, fearless, modern, tech-savvy and sharp diplomats for which the existing recruiting system needs to be reformed. The existing recruitment system has failed not only to produce sufficient number of

diplomats, but also in raising a cadre of diplomats equipped with latest skillset and scholarship in International Relations. It has failed to address the 21<sup>st</sup> century challenges and requirements of diplomacy. Therefore, following measures can be undertaken to improve the quality of our diplomats:

a) 1/4th of the diplomats can be selected on a contract basis through a lateral entry system. Many bright Indian students are studying in Harvard, Fletcher, Georgetown and other such good universities like Jawahar Lal Nehru University, IIMs etc. These universities and their curriculum are advanced, keeping students abreast with the latest intellectual undercurrents in international relations like international trade, climate finance analytics, global non-profit organizations, trans-national terrorism, water security, social business, security communities and development investment. Students get global exposure in these universities i.e. they get to study with diplomats, civil society people, administrators, human rights activists and private sector people from across the world. So it gives an excellent exposure,

Additionally, India's diplomatic clout and relations with SAARC countries will improve.



making one a smart individual fully aware of global trends. Hence, such individuals with a decent international work experience can be selected on the basis of their CVs, cover letters and a series of specialized interviews. Then, they can be sent for 6 months orientation course in which they must be trained in Indian constitution, history, culture and diplomatic traditions. Having done that, they can be sent for field assignments. Their performance must be reviewed after every 3 years and then a decision taken on retaining them or asking them to leave.

b) 1/4th of the candidates can be selected on contract basis from the existing government officials in other central services, police services, state civil services, armed forces, private sector and non-profit sector. They also should go through an orientation course and sent to field postings.

c) 50 % should be selected on contract basis though regular competitive exam conducted by UPSC. Their tenure must be reviewed after every 3 to 5 years and then a decision taken on retaining them or not.

d) The ambassadors and high

commissioners should be appointed from diverse areas like business, private sector, non-profit sector, academics and politics. Leaders with diplomatic interests and experience from the ruling and other political parties can also be appointed as ambassadors. The nations where business interests are to be promoted can have envoys like Mr. Narayan Murthy, Nandan Nilkeni etc.

e) India needs to increase the number of diplomats to at least four to 5000.

f) We should get specialists in public diplomacy, soft power and water diplomacy and climate change.

g) In the training system the use and handling of social media should be given high importance.

6) India should set up a new secretariat for cultural diplomacy. People who have an in-depth knowledge of and faith in our cultural values, traditions and history must be brought in as advisors and experts in this secretariat. The soft power secretariat can make efforts for setting up Kautilya centers, Buddha centers, Asoka centers and Vivekananda centers across the world.

7) India should also set up a secretariat for development and trade diplomacy each. First, we need to set up development bank of India, which will be a systematic channel for giving aid to foreign nations. It can either be a SAARC development bank. It will generate a lot of jobs for youth in SAARC nations and because of India's leadership; its diplomatic clout will increase.

8) All the processes of visa and passport must be made online. The fee must be accepted by credit card or checks and cash system should be abolished. This needs to be done immediately and, as first priority because, the bureaucratic delays in passport and visa makes the worst impression of India on foreign nationals.

**Training of the Diplomats:** To create a generation of smart, confident and aware diplomats, major changes are needed in the training pattern for the diplomats. First, only those people should be allowed to write UPSC exam for foreign services, which have a Master's degree in international relations, public administration, conflict and peace studies, human rights etc. They should also have a minimum of two to three years of work experience in geo-political analysis, conflict resolution,

refugee rehabilitation, security, development or cultural diplomacy. There must be at least two to three rounds of interview the details of which can be worked out.

In the training, the emphasis should be on the latest, skill based courses. The curriculum should include subjects like conflict resolution and peacekeeping, food security, area studies, climate change, international law, evaluation (Results Based Management), development economics, international trade and finance, security studies, international public management, energy policy, water diplomacy etc. The emphasis must be on power point presentations, project assignments, group assignments and writing research papers in the area of interest. The curriculum must include a course in statistics and econometrics, and computer software like Geographical Information Systems, Stata and Microsoft Office. The curriculum should also include social media and public diplomacy etc.

The training should be of two years. First year should include general courses in diplomacy, security, Indian history and culture. In the second year, the emphasis should be on

specialization in the field of interest. There should also be a capstone course in which the candidates should undertake consultancy projects for domestic and international clients in private sector, non-profit organizations, think tanks and trade organizations. Last but not least, the trainees should be asked to find a three month internship with local or international organization working in the field of geo-political analysis, diplomacy, energy consultancy, refugee rehabilitation, international trade and human rights, like UN, IFC, FAO (Food and Agricultural Organization), Oxfam, Pathfinder International, Brookings Institution etc. They can be also sent to semester long exchange programs to reputed universities of international relations.

**Publicity:** The graduates from communication schools can be involved with foreign ministry to design advertisements that reflect India's culture, strength and power in non-aggressive, but assertive way. The advertisements

can be designed for Indian tourism, which can be promoted at global level. The advertisements can have strong brand ambassadors like Mr. Amitabh Bachchan who has a major fan following in Central Asia, Middle East and eve United States.

So far, in foreign policy India has been defensive and reactionary. We will have to take a resolution that we will be proud, confident and assertive world leaders. We have to take a vow that we will not be a mere labour-supplying nation

The advertisements can have strong brand ambassadors like Mr. Amitabh Bachchan who has a major fan following in Central Asia, Middle East and eve United States.

in the world. We will export philosophers, yoga teachers, academicians and leaders.

With these changes in place, India has the potential to redefine the norms and definitions in diplomacy. However, all this can be achieved only if India is strong, militarily and economically. We have to engage the world, and engage it on an equal footing. The world should know us for reasons other than poverty, Kashmir and Pakistan.

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# Obama's Forthcoming Visit to India: What it means for Defence Cooperation

- *Dr Harinder Sekhon*

**H**ectic preparations are underway for the forthcoming visit of President Obama to India later this month where he will be the Chief Guest at the Republic Day Parade. This visit, like PM Modi's visit to the US in September 2014, will be extremely high in optics especially as there are many firsts to the visit – the first time ever that a US President will be chief guest at India's Republic Day and the first ever also for an incumbent US President to visit India twice during his term in office. The significance of the invitation to Obama is deeply appreciated but the United States obviously expects that there would be some substantive strategic announcements during Obama's visit which will give a fresh impetus and sense of strategic direction to the future trajectory of US-India relations. During his earlier visit to India in November 2010, President Obama, in his address to the Indian Parliament had stated that the Indo-US

relationship will be “one of the defining partnerships of the twenty-first century,” rooted as they are in common values and interests. It is therefore natural for Obama to aim at leaving a lasting legacy in foreign affairs through this visit in the last two years of his Presidency.

Coming barely four months after Indian PM Modi's extremely successful visit to the US, Obama would logically like to carry the momentum forward and work towards “specific deliverables to realise the true potential of India-US strategic relationship in the 21st century”<sup>1</sup> thereby sending a strong message about the great value he places on the partnership with India. While five key areas, which include trade and economic links, Energy and Climate change, Defence and Global issues, form the basis of the US-India Strategic Dialogue and were also mentioned in the Modi-Obama Joint Statement of September 2014, given the global security architecture, common threats and

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challenges that confront us, and India's own considerable plans for defence modernization, Defence and High Technology agreements will, as expected, get more attention during Obama's forthcoming visit.

**Background:** Despite very tentative beginnings, US-India defence ties have continued to grow through the decade of the 1990s, beginning with the 1991 visit to India of Lieutenant General Claude M Kicklighter, the then the Commander-in-Chief of the US Army Pacific Command. The so-called Kicklighter proposals were described as the key element in transforming India-US defence relations. The proposals comprised service-to-service exchanges and expansion of the defence cooperation framework: steering groups were established among the three services within both countries to intensify military-to-military cooperation. The Kicklighter proposals made it possible to hold the first ever joint military exercises between India and the United States in February 1992. This was in keeping with the US policy of "cooperative engagement" with the militaries of

friendly countries. Another major achievement in Indo-US defence ties was the US Defence Secretary William Perry's visit to India from 12 to 14 January 1995. Perry and the then Indian Minister of State for Defence, Mallikarjun, signed the first Agreed Minute on Defence Cooperation, aimed at strengthening as well as expanding defence cooperation to meet the requirements of the new post-Cold War world.<sup>2</sup>

While much progress was made in holding regular joint military exercises, and the US has emerged as the biggest supplier of weapons to India, various matters like Defence co-production did not meet expectations. Matters stalled over the issue of transfer of high technology weapons due to stringent US export control legislation. While India took a big step in 2009 by agreeing to certain clauses of the End User Monitoring Agreement (EUMA) problems remained due to India's reluctance to sign the Communications Interoperability and Security Memorandum of Agreement (CISMOA) and the Basic Exchange and Cooperation

Agreement for Geo-spatial Cooperation (BECA).

**Current Scenario:** However in 2012, describing defence cooperation with India as the “lynchpin” of the US’ re balance strategy that focuses on the Asia-Pacific region, US defence Secretary Leon Panetta said “America is at a turning point. After a decade of war, we are developing a new defence strategy — a central feature of which is a “rebalancing” toward the Asia-Pacific region. In particular, we will expand our military partnerships and our presence in the arc extending from the Western Pacific and East Asia into the Indian Ocean region and South Asia.”<sup>3</sup> Panetta further announced that the three defence pacts that his predecessor (Robert Gates) insisted on were now off the table. Panetta said he has also asked the Pentagon to cut red tape that was holding back arms sales to India.<sup>4</sup>

Unfortunately, US-India relations hit a rough patch during 2013-14 and things began to look up only after a new Government assumed office in New Delhi in May 2014. On his visit to India in August, then US Defence Secretary, Chuck Hagel announced that the US

would take definite steps to energise the Defence Trade and Technology Initiative (DTTI), announced by Leon Panetta in 2013. The aim of the DTTI was to shift US-India defence relations from a buyer-seller relationship to one involving co-production and co-development. It said the “closest partners” would collaborate in “defence technology transfer, trade, research, co-development and co-production for defence articles and services, including the most advanced and sophisticated technology.”

**US Expectations:** In the bilateral arena, therefore, US would like to see a more expanded participation, with a sustained and a higher level commitment to move forward on the strategic partnership from India’s MOD. While interacting with the strategic community in New Delhi in December 2014, a senior US Department of Defence official stated that there has been a perceptible shift in policy and in the way the US now views India, India’s defence offsets policy is seen as a major hindrance towards enhanced defence cooperation. This is one of the major factors why the DTTI has not worked efficiently. There have been two meetings between US and India Defence officials since Chuck

Hagel's August 2014 visit to India and the US hopes that some significant announcement can be made under the DTTI during the Obama visit. US Under Secretary of Defense for Acquisition, Technology and Logistics Frank Kendall, who has been tasked to lead the US side on discussions on DTTI, visited India in November and the US hopes to get at least two projects across the "finish line" before the Obama visit. The Pentagon has apparently given license approval for the co-production of two projects and even set aside USD 20 million for strategic co-operative science and technology projects with India, something the US has not done with any other country. Without giving details about the two licenses approved<sup>5</sup> by the Pentagon, it was conveyed that these projects would fit in with the Modi's vision of "Make in India" but to implement the Indian PM's positive vision for India, the Indian bureaucracy must shed its inertia and overcome the lack of strategic knowledge amongst the civilian staff in the DRDO and the MOD.

The Defence Framework will however remain a lackluster document if definitive steps are not taken to give it more teeth by laying out positive "Next Steps" in the document to actually escalate defence cooperation through an agreement for co-production of one or two weapon platforms.

A key deliverable will be the signing of a new 10-year defence framework that will replace the existing agreement of June 2005. Apparently, this agreement is "all but done" and awaits a final clearance. This Framework will outline the modicum of exchanges on various aspects like upgraded military and naval exercises between India and the US, looking at ways to move forward on the DTTI, holding of regular meetings between US and Indian Defence officials and furthering 'knowledge partnerships' between the National Defence Universities in both countries. The Defence Framework will however remain a lackluster document if definitive steps are not taken to give it more teeth by laying out positive "Next Steps" in the document to actually escalate defence cooperation through an agreement for co-production of one or two weapon platforms.

**Concluding Observation:** US-India relations are still a work in progress, and the two nations have not been able to achieve the full

potential of their partnership. There is some “strategic distrust” that is evident between our policy elites. Though we have come a long way since the low point in our relations witnessed in 1971, leaders in both countries would need to display immense “statecraft” to nurture and strengthen this relationship. There seems to be a lack of vision and commitment on both sides as President Obama has been more preoccupied by other more pressing matters. To India, the United States seems too transactional and there remains a residue of substantial mistrust towards the United States that often forces the Indian government to be cautious on something new like a security relationship with the United States, a caution that in turn frustrates the US as this delays or even stymies initiatives. It is in India’s own interest to put in place a long-term framework for India-US strategic partnership, and to add value to that partnership in all of those areas that are critical for India’s own economic and strategic advancement.

## Endnotes

1. Lalit K Jha, “Why Obama Promptly accepted Modi’s R-Day invite,” 5 January 2015, available at : <http://www.rediff.com/news/report/why-obama-promptly-accepted-modis-republic-day-invite-india/20150105.htm>
2. For details see, Harinder Sekhon, *New Directions in US-India Relations*, in MK Rasgotra, ed., *The New Asian Power Dynamic*, Sage, New Delhi, 2007
3. Sujan Dutta, US plucks defence thorn in India side: Three pacts Antony opposed are off the table, available at - [http://www.telegraphindia.com/1120607/jsp/nation/story\\_15580241.jsp#.VKud1smMFnI](http://www.telegraphindia.com/1120607/jsp/nation/story_15580241.jsp#.VKud1smMFnI), accessed on 6 January 2015.
4. Ibid.
5. According to media and other sources, India and the U.S. are negotiating a deal for the purchase of high altitude, long endurance (HALE) Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (UAV) and perhaps an announcement confirming this would be made this



month when US President Barack Obama visits India. Another item on the agenda could be an announcement for the acquisition of an Artillery gun as India's Defence Acquisition Council recently cleared the INR 157 billion (about \$2.56 billion) proposal to buy 814 mounted

155mm artillery guns. However, for this a fresh RFP has to be issued, with "Buy and Make in India" terms that allow foreign partnerships.

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# Arihant and Lessons for Our Submarine Programme and Indigenization

- *Vice Admiral Raman Puri*

The launch of India's first nuclear propelled submarine INS Arihant was indeed a historic occasion, which has been widely reported in the press and the comments have been very largely laudatory. It is important however to trace the history of India's quest for submarine capability leading to nuclear submarine capability and the many obstacles it has meandered through to fully comprehend the strategic import of this event and the many lessons it has in India's quest for self reliance in its arms acquisition effort.

It was in 1955 that the government of India for the first time thought of re equipping the Indian armed forces. For the navy this called for an addition of 3 corvettes, 3 frigates, 2 destroyers and one aircraft carrier. What is important to note however is that even eight years after independence it was Great Britain that decided what the Indian Navy as indeed the Indian armed forces should have, i.e those fleet units that could complement the British fleet. A request from the

Indian Naval Staff for a submarine was refused by the British. The submarine essentially provides a sea denial capability and the British did not approve of the Indian Navy acquiring such a capability in the Indian Ocean as it did not quite compliment the British fleet.

After the 1962 war with China, sops for both the Air Force and the Army were offered by the United States, but for the wish list of the Indian Navy, we were told to seek British assistance. On being pressed for a submarine, the British first offered only submarine training. After the training was completed and the British again requested, they publicly stated that a submarine that was to be scrapped could be offered. Fundamentally the British (Western) policy remained to deny India a submarine or sea denial capability in the Indian Ocean and India then scouted for submarines with the Soviets.

The year 1965 is the next watershed year when the Soviets not just

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offered the four submarines we had bid for but increased the numbers to eight new 'F' class submarines which were advanced submarines for their times and two submarines of this class after modernization remain in service even today. However, subsequently when India wanted to build submarines indigenously, the Soviets declined to offer the capability to design and build submarines in India. The Naval Staff then evaluated the Swedish and German designs and the saga leading to the selection of the HDW offer is well known. Two submarines were to be built in Germany and two in India. As brought out aptly by Rear Admiral Raja Menon in his article in The Outlook, the overseas part of the project included three big ideas. One team representing the Mazagon Docks would learn how to actually construct the body of the submarine that was designed; another would oversee the building of the submarine in Germany, and learn to form the backbone of the construction team in the years to come. The third group would learn how to design submarines from K / Lubeck, the German groups that quickly recovered the wartime submarine

The Naval Staff then evaluated the Swedish and German designs and the saga leading to the selection of the HDW offer is well known.

building technology of the Germans and these designers were soon to become the backbone of the submarine design groups in India.

The subsequent controversy over the contract with HDW led us to take the most unfortunate decisions which showed a complete lack of strategic vision and we allowed the indigenous submarine programme to lapse after two submarines had been constructed in India as per the contract. The nation thus allowed the Mazagon Dock facilities built for submarine construction with an investment of considerable financial and human capital to decay and the latter especially has cost us dear. Welders migrated to Dubai, engineers retired and eventually all that was left was designers who formed the Navy's submarine design group which undertook the necessary designs and passed on the construction technologies to the industry, especially to companies like L&T (this aspect we will revisit with the nuclear submarine story). The net result however, was that we resigned ourselves to outright purchase of submarines once again and signed with the Soviets for ten Kilo class

submarines. The four HDW class submarines and the nine Kilo Class submarines today form the backbone of Indian conventional submarine fleet. We however, continue with license production (SCORPENE) with a very high imported content especially in crucial sensors combat & propulsion management systems & so on, ignoring capabilities built in the country as will be evident from this article

### **The Nuclear Story**

The story of India's quest for nuclear propulsion began with the feasibility report of the Bhabha Atomic Research Center (BARC) on nuclear propulsion. A more detailed report was prepared and in 1971, Indira Gandhi asked the Naval Staff to look into nuclear propulsion. It is at this time that the naval staff also scouted for building conventional submarines and obtaining the necessary submarine design capabilities. HDW contract as stated above provided for these capabilities and despite the attrition of personnel, the design and overseeing and construction resources built up, served the nations nuclear program well.

In 1974 Indira Gandhi authorized the project to undertake feasibility studies for a nuclear propulsion reactor to give the Nation a survivable nuclear deterrent. This programme in the 35 years since, in its effort to design and build a nuclear submarine, has gone through a number of technical and other problems including a possible 'sabotage' by personnel in high positions, with international ramifications, which would be worthy of a 'Thriller Story'. This included the victimization of Captain Subba Rao (Retd) who had the courage to bring forth serious technical flaws in the designs and other issues and had to suffer time in jail till the Supreme Court exonerated him. This era is worth examination for it is necessary to bring in the public domain the possible sinister motives of those who acted against Captain Subba Rao a brilliant and dedicated naval officer and the establishment's total inability to protect this officer against charges in respect of which he defended himself and it took ultimately the Supreme Court to exonerate him after a number of trying years.

Be it as it may the launching of the ARIHANT on 26 July 2009 is an astounding achievement. The strategic import of this event has

been well reported. While we will initially have a 750 kms SLBM capability, an IRBM should also be available as all critical technologies in respect of an underwater launch stand largely established. ICBM capability will necessarily have other political & strategic considerations and require additional developmental effort. On balance, it seems that our current requirements will be met by an IRBM capability. As to the technological achievement, a large constraining factor is the submarine's hull diameter of about 8 meters. Two key elements have to be compressed to fit in into this diameter. Firstly, the nuclear reactor and secondly the missile and this is a major challenge. Apart from these the design development and production of the integrated combat and propulsion management systems, Sensors, Secondary Steam, and propulsion machinery and a host of other systems was a challenge to be met largely with own efforts for in this program other than liberal design & consultancy assistance from the Soviets/ Russians, nothing else was quite possible.

Western countries started their nuclear reactor programs with a view to developing the nuclear bomb and a nuclear propelled submarine for which enriched Uranium and a light water reactor are necessary.

As regards the nuclear reactor, the BARC civilian power reactors were just too large and would not meet the performance parameters. This was so as India's nuclear power program was essentially built around natural Uranium using heavy water as the moderator. Nuclear submarine reactors on the other hand are light water moderated reactors using highly enriched Uranium as the fuel. Western countries started their nuclear reactor programs with a view to developing the nuclear bomb and a nuclear propelled submarine for which enriched Uranium and a light water reactor are necessary. Their nuclear power programs took the pressurized light water reactor route as it saved them the cost and effort in utilizing the technology and designs built in their nuclear bomb and nuclear submarine propulsion development effort. Canada which did not have nuclear weapon ambitions followed the heavy water r-natural Uranium route to power generation as a safer and more cost effective way. The same has been India's case. However, as far as nuclear propulsion goes both the enrichment and light water reactor

technologies had to be mastered by BARC to realize the nuclear submarine.

The complexity of designing and building a light water reactor to fit into the 8 M diameter hull of ARIHANT and producing highly enriched Uranium (HEU) enriched to levels of at least about 20% (power light water reactors require no more than 3-5%) were daunting tasks before the BARC. It may be noted that the higher the level of enrichment the smaller could be the reactor size. Also the shielding provided to the reactors had to ensure that the submarine when diving to deep depths of 200 -300 meters and higher, the residual radiation which the crew would be exposed to over prolonged undersea operational schedules would be negligible and well below the limits prescribed. BARC in short, had no experience in the design, development and construction of light water reactors, producing HEU, sizing the reactors to fit a submarine hull and the provision of right type of shielding. These were difficult tasks indeed.

Therefore, while the political clearances and push were there, actual work on the Advanced Technology Vessel (ATV) i.e.

nuclear powered submarine could begin only in the 1980s. The submarine would basically be a ballistic missile firing submarine (SSBN) and here again India deviated from the normal, practice of first, building a nuclear propelled attack submarine equipped with torpedo's and sub surface to surface cruise missiles (SSN) before graduating to a nuclear powered ballistic missile carrying submarine (SSBN) It seems that the Naval Staff was not too keen on this idea of a ballistic missile carrying submarine (SSBN) and instead preferred the Nuclear attack submarine(SSN) first, but then the political directions based on national strategic requirements prevailed.

Thus in 1984 three year lease agreement for acquiring one Charlie 1 class nuclear powered cruise missile submarine (SSN) was signed and the ATV project was set up under the DRDO with a retired Vice Admiral M K Roy heading the project and reporting to the SA/RM/DG DRDO. This was probably so as the Navy then declined to steer the project but remained fully committed to it and was deeply involved in all its facets. This is a facet which has been sadly lacking in our other major DRDO programs like LCA,

AKASH MBT & so on where the Users have largely kept away. So that the Navy's Submarine Design Group (SDG) which actually designed the ATV trained with Russia's Rubin design bureau and the joint DRDO- Navy - BARC project efforts were well synergized. Though with the coming of Mr. Gorbachev on the scene in 1985 there was an attempt to deny India the lease of a Charlie 1 class submarine, the matter was resolved after strong reaction from the Indian side and the Chakra (Charlie 1 class submarine) arrived in Indian waters in 1988.

There was tremendous gain to the trio of Navy, BARC and the DRDO from the lease of the Chakra from 1988-1991. For nine months the Soviets ran the submarine and for the balance period in excess of two years the Indians operated and maintained the submarine with some Soviet personnel always remaining on board. The navy got first hand experience in operating, maintenance and safety drills, while BARC gained knowledge on various aspects of reactor design and shielding issues, stated above. The DRDO interacted with the

Navy on various technical aspects of the submarine combat and propulsion management systems and sensors as also their operating environment.

The Navy's submarine design matured with Russian design consultancy and while the Navy developed the designs of the submarine and converted them for industrial manufacture, the DRDO developed the missiles and associated fire control system as also the SONARS & EW systems,

For nine months the Soviets ran the submarine and for the balance period in excess of two years the Indians operated and maintained the submarine with some Soviet personnel always remaining on board.

which are the crucial sensors for the submarine. BARC was busy with the reactor, fuel and other systems. The Navy was involved with

Indian industry both public and private in developing the downstream systems connected with the reactor, that is the steam and auxiliary machinery and other systems for the nuclear submarine including their testing and certification. This too has been a tremendous effort. The integration of the submarine has been managed through the much talked of public private partnership in which the private and public sector have contributed their strengths and the efforts

synergized by strong Navy-led project teams at various levels. Here again it is worth mentioning the deep commitment of the Navy(User) to the project and the high levels of synergy achieved between the various organizations involved. **This was possibly due to there being no BUY/ BUY & MAKE or the current Joint Venture options being available.**

The DRDO's contribution to the development of ARIHANT has been significant. Apart from the fact that the submarine has been developed under the aegis of the DRDO, the ballistic missile and its fire control system has been a tremendous challenge for our scientists and engineers. New technologies for underwater launch and control of the missile had to be mastered and highly innovative measures adopted for the developmental firings and trials. Further as stated development of the Ballistic Missile to be accommodated and employed within the dimensional space constraints of a submarine has been critical to the project. The sophisticated Multi Sonar suite and EW systems have also been developed by DRDO and these systems and the communication suite manufactured by the BEL.

The DRDO, Navy, BEL and Tata Power combine has further been instrumental in the development and production of the submarine combat and platform management system including the hardware and software required. This again was technologically a highly challenging task.

While the above were the various design and development challenges of the various sophisticated systems and sub systems that go to make a nuclear ballistic missile carrying submarine the actual construction and fitting out of the submarine were equally demanding. After more than a decade of intensive design and development effort it was on 05 January 1998 at the Hazira facility of L&T that the first steel plate of the ATV project was cut even while the development of crucial systems was still continuing.

For integrating the submarine sections transported from Hazira to Vishakhapatnam, a shipbuilding centre designed, constructed and operated by the Navy was commissioned sometimes in the year 2000. The fitting out which is a major activity in submarine construction was undertaken by the Navy,



Walchandnagar industries and Larsen and Turbo in respect of different sections, with all the weapon and sensor related work being undertaken by the Navy. With all this construction & fitting out effort over a period of ten years ARIHANT has been launched as a functional, fully-fitted out submarine. It will now undergo a series of full system harbour trials. In this the primary system a nuclear reactor which generates the heat to drive secondary system, a steam turbine which would turn the ships propellers are all being tested separately. After all the systems are tested the primary and the secondary systems would be mated. At an early date now the submarine if all goes well will begin extensive sea trials when all the propulsion and combat systems will be extensively tested in their operational environment. Weapon trials to include the firing of the submarine arsenal of the B-05 short range ballistic missiles would also be undertaken before declaring the submarines as fully commissioned and operational.

In this the primary system a nuclear reactor which generates the heat to drive secondary system, a steam turbine which would turn the ships propellers are all being tested separately.

It will thus be seen that realizing the ARIHANT has taken over 25 years since the project was sanctioned in 1984. Was this time span excessive? A survey of equivalent capability creation by other countries would show that we have probably done as well as if *not* better than most and at costs which are an order of magnitude lower at about Rs 4,000- 5000 crores, which is the range of costs quoted, also an equal amount would cover the cost of R&D and infrastructure creation. All this, is very much less than what others have achieved. Compare this to the cost of the Scorpene (conventional submarine) at approximately Rs 4,000 crores and more a piece. To put the comparison of costs in perspective the ARIHANT nuclear submarine has a displacement of over 6,000 tons as compared to the Scorpene which is about 1,500 tons. The capabilities of the Nuclear Submarine in terms of speed, endurance, and combat are vastly superior to the Scorpene. The issue is- does it make sense to acquire the Scorpene at costs comparable to a nuclear submarine? The Chinese are now set to reduce their

conventional Submarine force levels as they stabilize their nuclear submarine program which has been beset with numerous problems. The US, UK France have now only nuclear submarines. It is time that we looked critically at our mid/long term conventional submarine force levels which were defined almost 30 years ago. We will probably require some conventional submarines for relatively shallow water offensive tasks; however with plans to acquire both the nuclear ballistic missile and nuclear attack submarines the number of conventional submarines needed, can be substantially reduced. The present force levels of conventional submarines may be good enough, while we undertake indigenous construction of more nuclear submarines that are afoot.

At the technological level the ARIHANT also shows that the nation has developed the capability to:-

a) Design, develop and manufacture most of the submarine sensor and communication systems as also the submarine combat and platform management systems, integrated to the submarine

sensors and weapon systems. All these systems, it is a pity, are to be imported in the Scorpene class and the decision is difficult to understand. It is hoped that follow on submarines will have indigenous systems.

b) Though we have not yet developed the submarine torpedoes and sub launched cruise missiles like the Klub and the Exocet, with the sub launched, ballistic missile and ship and helicopter launched torpedo capabilities now developed our R&D effort could be focused in these areas. The success with Nirbhay needs to be followed up for an underwater launch capability. However, the rationale of the Scorpene being fitted with the Exocet Missile whose range is much lesser than that of the Klub class and also has no land attack capability is also difficult to understand. This is especially because of the extremely high costs of the Exocet when compared to the Klub and the conditions that have had to be accepted. However, the development & production of a sub surface & surface launched cruise missile capability which should be now well within our reach in a five year time frame, again at much lower costs should be a priority area.

c) Another aspect of import is that R&D to production system (ARIHANT & the general DRDO case) is very different to the in production abroad to Licensed production in India case which our Procurement & Production system in the country is familiar with and JVs with foreign partners will not alter the situation. The latter results in replicating mature production processes but no meaningful transfer of technology, leading to very high life cycle costs, inability to modify or upgrade except at very high costs and to a level agreed to/ defined by the vendor (the Mirage upgrade program among others is a typical example of this phenomenon where it seems we were not be able to use available indigenous capability and settled for French terms & conditions at exorbitant costs.) and finally, dependency & end user restrictions in the maintenance and operations as well. In the former i.e. R&D to production route for the first of type system (indigenous development case) has necessarily to go through a process of Technology Design & Production maturity; the process necessarily takes time depending in the Technology Readiness Levels for the system in the country and this happens the World over with systems being accepted at MK1, 2

etc with a continuous technology development and higher levels of Mission Need Fulfillment. Also in the process the transfer of technology from R&D to production and thence to the user is complete and the capabilities of our production system enhanced. As our experience of the last 60 years shows developing capability through the license production route touted as TOT has only resulted in an ad hoc arsenal where large amount of foreign technology of which we have little understanding has been passed off or labeled indigenous. This process now needs to be reversed by a synergized effort of the User, DRDO (and other S&T partners) and the industry. The ATV project shows the way forward.

(a) The current levels of indigenization using domestic development effort have reached approximately 75 % by cost. Efforts are in hand to take it beyond 95% for our future nuclear submarines.

(b) There have been also a number of spin off benefits from the indigenization efforts of the ATV Programmes. For example ship building steel and a number of equipments developed for the ATV

programme are now being utilized in other Naval Programmes.

Therefore with the capability the nation has acquired in the field of submarine and its sensors design and construction as also the integrated combat and propulsion management systems through our experience with both the earlier HDW class and the ARIHANT, as also the upgrades to our other conventional submarines, it would be appropriate that

(A) We now recast our submarine acquisition plans towards follow on Nuclear Ballistic Missile and Attack submarines (whose main armament is the sub launched cruise missile and torpedoes) while reducing the conventional submarine force levels. The time taken to develop these first of type systems will be considerably reduced in the follow on class as indeed is the case with the follow on Arihant which is likely to be just 5 years and is probably less than the time it would take to acquire even conventional submarines as our Scorpene & most of the other major foreign acquisition experiences show.

(B) Simultaneously, thrust needs to be given to increasing the indigenous content of the submarines developing the sub

launched IRBM/ICBM & cruise missiles with suitable land attack capability, as also the torpedoes which we sadly continue to import at very high costs. These are not just financial costs as these also ensure by various means a situation of permanent dependency and the atrophy of indigenous R & D and production capability. There is always this question of state-of-art when it comes to system definition and selection and here it is good to bear in mind that submarines need to essentially deal with the Anti Submarine Warfare capabilities of the countries of our national security concern. Neither their absolute submarine force levels (which should impinge on our ASW system) nor some hypothetical state of art as depicted in the Arms Merchant brochures, (which in our conditions often fail to perform and those in the system are well aware of this aspect) are of great relevance.

The essential point is that we need reliable and interoperable systems to beat the competition; this fact is generally forgotten when a import option is available. The philosophy seems to be to BUY WHATEVER IS POSSIBLE AND BUILD ONLY THAT WE MUST. Further, costs seem to be of no consideration. This

needs to be stopped and a Force Development and Production strategy developed by our Acquisition Planning System based on our modernization needs to meet future threats. The propensity, as of now is to fill the current voids and the entire planning is geared towards the same. A plan based on our National Security Strategy will necessarily have a time horizon on a rolling basis of at least a decade or more given our complex geopolitical environment and the denial regimes we face. We also need to take in account the technology readiness levels available in the country for the various technologies required for the systems under consideration.

(C) The follow on to scorpene class submarine ( where again considerable ToT fees have been paid) design and construction be taken up indigenously though some systems /sub systems may need to be imported and no Global

RFP need be issued. Project ATV could be the model. Not only will this contribute substantially to our R&D but also give a boost to industry lead to submarines being delivered at reduced costs. The Scorpene /HDW designs could be chosen for the hull and submarine systems and the ATV experience extensively used for the combat and propulsion management systems. This will also lead to series production in numbers that give the industry the scales for their active participation in the development and production effort.

(D) A long term view should be taken of the our submarine mix and a continuous development and production program for the nuclear and conventional submarines along with all the other lines of development necessary to effectively utilize our submarines needs to be put in place.

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## Vimarsha on 'Science' of Economics

Vimarsha, VIF's monthly series of talks, was held on 18 Dec 2014 with Dr. Rathin Roy, Director & CEO, National Institute of Public Finance and Policy (NIPFP) and Member, Seventh Central Pay Commission, Government of India, speaking on the 'Science of Economics as Applied to India'. A large audience, comprising many senior retired bureaucrats and military veterans among other informed citizenry, attended the event. General NC Vij, Director VIF, introduced the guest speaker and the subject to the audience while Amb Prabhat P Shukla, Distinguished Fellow VIF, presided over the evening session.

General Vij presented a brief overview of the state of Indian economy over the past six months. He said going by the present indicators, the Indian economy appears to be back on track. However, he stressed greater structural reforms are still needed, especially in infrastructure, manufacturing, insurance etc, to reboot the economy.

Dr Rathin Roy's talk focused on the nature of economy and how it

affects economic policies in India. By his own admission, Dr Roy belongs to the growing class of economists who revolt against globally established economic norms and principles, perpetuated by institutions such as IMF and World Bank. He said in his speech that academic economists, who are often fed on imported economic logic, are leading the government to formulate skewed policies which not only affect the economic progress of the nation but also influence to a great extent the economic decision making of the people. While he stressed on the need to synthesize laid down economic principles with local conditions, he also asked global financial institutions including the rating agencies to be more transparent and accountable with their predictive analysis. Dr Roy presented four examples from four different domains to buttress his arguments.

Lending his support to Dr Roy, Amb Shukla complimented him for giving a refreshingly different account of how to micro-manage economic affairs of the state. He also said while the purist economists remain prisoners of

orthodoxy, the media is not doing a fair job of economic reporting either. While remaining fixated on issues like market sentiments et al, the media often ignores the real economic issues facing the country. During the final session, lots of insightful questions were raised by members of the audience. A few of the questions related to the lack of communication between economists and the government,

linking human growth to economic growth and drawing upon traditional economic wisdom of the country. It was also brought out by a member of the audience that economic policies are often the result of political considerations with little economic prudence behind them.

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## Interaction with KIDA, a South Korean Think Tank

**D**r Cho Nam Hoon, Director, Korean Institute for Defence Analyses (KIDA), leading a three-member delegation, visited VIF on 17 Dec 2014 for an interaction on issues bearing strategic relevance to both India and South Korea. The delegation interacted extensively with members of VIF faculty across a wide spectrum of issues, inter alia, economic and defence cooperation between the two countries, the emerging power balance in Asia-Pacific, and South Korea's strategic compulsions. The discussions were held largely against the backdrop of a rising China and growing realisation amongst Asia-Pacific countries for multilateralism across political and economic spectrum. Some of the participants underlined the need for a regional cooperative security arrangement with the US taking a lead. The visiting delegation spelt out South Korea's strategic compulsions to walk a diplomatic tightrope between a leading economic partner, China and a long term security ally, the US. While South Korea wants to expand its relations with China, it does not see the rising Asian

power as a potential alliance partner, the visiting delegate maintained. Dr Cho, however, refused to see merit in 'China threat' theory while he underscored China's potential for North Korea's de-nuclearisation process. South Korea's troubled relationship with Japan also formed part of the discussion, especially in the context of re-balancing strategy, with the VIF experts advising their counterparts from South Korea to get over historical legacies. Among other issues discussed comprehensively between the two sides were the emerging economic order in East Asia, global nuclear denuclearisation, and potential for the unification of two Koreas.

Setting the agenda for discussions earlier, General NC Vij, Director VIF, had underlined the increasing significance of Asia-Pacific countries for India's 'Act East' policy. He expressed satisfaction that despite a lukewarm relationship in the past, South Korea and India have gradually moved closer to each other in recent years, evidenced by the growing number of bilateral



exchanges at the highest political level. He said while both countries already enjoy a robust economic partnership, the need, however, is to take bilateral defence cooperation to the next higher level. Reciprocating General Vij's sentiments, Dr Cho urged that both countries jointly identify areas of specific cooperation between the two nations. It emerged from the interaction that while there may have been divergence of views on certain issues, there is increasing desire

between the two countries for closer cooperation on a whole range of other issues. The role of Track-II diplomacy in furthering bilateral relationship between the two Asian countries was also highlighted during the discussion. Director VIF thanked the delegation for their visit to the VIF and wished to carry the dialogue process forward.

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## Round Table on India-Sri Lanka Relations

Experts and scholars from Pathfinder Foundation, Sri Lanka and members of VIF Faculty discussed a broad range of bilateral issues between India and Sri Lanka on 09 December 2014. The Sri Lankan team was led by Amb. Bernard Goonetilleke, Chairman, and consisted of two other scholars, Dr. VK Valsan and Dr. Indrajit Coomaraswamy. General NC Vij, Director, VIF, led the VIF's battery of experts, including, among others, Lt Gen Ravi Sawhney, Amb RS Kalha, Amb TCA Rangachari, Mr CD Sahay, and Lt Gen Ata Hasnain. Held over five grueling sessions, the interaction ranged across a complex web of intricate issues confronting the bilateral relationship, inter alia, Tamil ethnicity, fisheries issue, and China's growing footprints in the Indian Ocean.

In his opening remarks, General Vij highlighted India's close proximity to Sri Lanka, both in terms of geography and cultural and civilisational linkages dating back 5,000 years. While India's relationship with Sri Lanka has been traditionally warm and friendly, in recent years, especially since the beginning of the Sri

Lankan Civil War in the 1980s, new dimensions have been added to the relationship, posing tough diplomatic challenges, especially to India. He, however, said the upcoming celebrations marking 2000 years of Lord Buddha's Enlightenment would provide an opportunity to both countries to get closer to each other.

Strategic and security issues, including extra-regional influence, were discussed in the first session. With Lt Gen Ravi Sawhney in the Chair, two presentations were made, one each by Amb. Bernard Goonetilleke and Amb RS Kalha. The issue of maritime security in the Indian Ocean, especially the recent docking of a Chinese submarine off the Sri Lankan coast largely dominated the proceedings in this session. It emerged from the discussions that while sea-piracy remains a genuine concern for all, it is being used as a pretext by some extra-regional powers to amass disproportionate naval strength in the Indian Ocean, posing serious threats to security and safety of strategic sea lanes of communication. The visiting side, however, said ports built with Chinese assistance in Sri Lanka

would be used for commercial purposes only, while no anti-India activities would be allowed to be carried out from within Sri Lanka's territorial waters. They also added Sri Lanka has the political maturity not to allow activities which may affect India's security.

With Amb TCA Rangachari chairing the second session, Lt Gen Ata Hasnain and Dr. Indrajit Coomaraswamy shared their perspectives on the extremist threats to South Asia. Various manifestations and trends of terrorism in the region were also discussed by them. While General Hasnain dwelt on the religious dimension of terrorism, Dr. Coomaraswami touched upon the identity politics in Sri Lanka. The latter shed light on the various facets of extremist threats to Sri Lanka, including Tamil nationalist extremism and Buddhist Sinhala extremism. He said while there are no global templates available on how best to tackle terrorism, strengthening democratic institutions and balancing interests of all sections of the society are among measures required to be taken to prevent the rise of radicalisation. In the context of Sri Lanka, it was highlighted that magnanimity and

toughness should go hand in hand in dealing with violent extremism / nationalism.

The agenda for discussion in the third session was bilateral economic cooperation, with a special focus on infrastructure development. The session was chaired by Amb Bernard Goonetilleke with Vice Admiral Anup Singh and Dr. Indrajit Coomaraswamy on the panel. The discussion brought home the point that while there is close geographical proximity between India and Sri Lanka, its advantages have been lost due to lack of infrastructure development. The Admiral said while the FTA (Free Trade Agreement) signed between the two countries in 1998 serves as a model for other countries, especially for differently-sized countries, the need however is to move from FTA to CEPA (Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement) regime, a win-win situation for both. Besides laying emphasis on infrastructure development, other potential areas for economic cooperation identified by him included tourism expansion, maritime economy, and services – health, education and training etc. Dr. Coomaraswamy, on his part, said Prime Minister

Modi's invitation to SAARC leaders for his swearing in and his subsequent visits to neighbouring countries have set off positive trends for resetting the economic bilateral cooperation. While the speaker hoped that Prime Minister Narendra Modi's 'Make in India' campaign will have positive spin offs for Sri Lanka, he also stressed on the need for reducing the level of trust deficit between the two neighbours.

With Amb Rajagopalan in the Chair, the Fourth Session extensively dealt with bilateral political aspects, including Sri Lanka's 13th Amendment, India's political compulsions vis-à-vis Tamil issue, anti-India forums in Sri Lanka, and non-compliance of bilateral agreements, among others. While Dr. Valsan said 'our sovereignty and your security' remains the concomitant theme of Indo-Sri Lankan relations, Amb Goonetilleke analysed the anatomy of contentious fisheries issue between the two countries. Since the fisheries issue is also a livelihood issue, it needs to be approached from a humane angle, the latter said. His prognosis for resolving this contentious issue lay in regulating 'illegal' fishing activities under a licensing regime. Amb Goonetilleke,

however, flagged Sri Lanka's security concerns as regards illegal shipment of drugs and weapons by the fishing communities. Amb Rajagopalan urged the need for quite diplomacy between India and Sri Lanka in so far as repatriation of over 100,000 ethnic Tamil Sri Lankans from India and rehabilitation and resettlement of Tamil refugees in Sri Lanka are concerned.

The final session was devoted to cultural and religious issue, with a focus on dialogue between Buddhism and Hinduism. There were two speakers in this session – Dr. Valsan and Prof. Makkhan Lal. While Dr. Valsan gave a fascinating account of different facets of Buddhism, dwelling especially on how Sinhala Buddhists in Sri Lanka are different from Buddhists elsewhere, Prof. Makkhan Lal, quoting profusely from Vedas and Upanishads, argued that Hinduism and Buddhism are essentially one and the same. The interaction concluded with an understanding reached between the heads of the two participating institutions to carry forward the dialogue process through periodic exchanges.

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## Interaction on India-Japan Relations

A four-member delegation from Japan Institute of International Affairs, led by Ambassador Yoshiji Nogami, visited VIF on 08 December 2014 for an interaction on India-Japan relations. The interaction broadly encompassed three strategic aspects: strengthening of bilateral relations between Japan and India, domestic development agenda and policies under Prime Minister Shinzo Abe, and regional architecture in the Asia-Pacific. The responses to views were given by Amb. Rajiv Sikri, Amb. Aftab Seth, and Amb. PP Shukla, following which there was a Q&A session.

In their opening remarks, Directors of the two institutions underlined the increasing significance of stronger bilateral relationship between the two Asian countries in both regional and global strategic framework. While General NC Vij, Director VIF, underscored Japan's centrality in India's 'Act East' Policy; Ambassador Yoshiji Nogami noted the increasing significance of tri-lateral cooperation between Japan, India and the US in relation to Asia-Pacific. Both, however, agreed on

the need for exploring further potential for tri-lateral or even multilateral cooperation amongst regional countries, including Vietnam and Australia. The Indian analysts, while expressing satisfaction over the present state of relationship between the two countries, also stressed on the need for Japan to facilitate the economic prosperity of the regional countries. The economic prospects of Japan and India were also discussed against the backdrop of China's economy.

The current political trends and their influences on foreign policy making in both the countries were also discussed. Through his structured presentations, Prof Toru Itu explained the rationale behind Prime Minister Abe's sudden decision to hold mid-term elections, calling it a national referendum on 'Abenomics'. If re-elected, Abe would push through the second phase of reforms directed towards fiscal consolidation. He also saw great potential in the leadership of the two countries for taking the bilateral cooperation to the next higher level. Interestingly, he paired 'Abenomics' with 'Modinomics' in his presentation.

His recipe for improving bilateral cooperation included, joint efforts towards establishing international norms in Asia, cooperation for democratizing and stabilizing India's neighbours, and support for 'Modinomics' by boosting investments in infrastructure in India.

The Japanese presenters also touched upon the imperatives shaping up their country's foreign policies. It also emerged from the presentation that Japan is impelled to reinterpret Article 9 of its Constitution against the backdrop of US' diminishing influence in the region, another imperative for Japan to seek additional alliance partners in the region. Significantly, while Japan's security threats are getting multiplied, its defence capabilities remain hamstrung due to a pacifist constitution. It was also noted during the interaction that the US rebalancing strategy will be tested against the country's assumed role of being a net security provider in the region.

In so far as the Indian responses to the above views are concerned,

the VIF experts noted with satisfaction the steady rise in the bilateral relationship since Prime Minister Mori's path-breaking visit to India in 2000. With the bilateral relationship having progressively reached a global strategic level, efforts should be made to secure global commons in domains such as maritime, cyber and outer space, they contended. While Amb Aftab Seth said growing bonhomie between Japan and India is giving comfort to other regional countries, Amb Rajiv Sikri said India is willing to become a stakeholder in the economic prosperity of its neighbours. In so far as the regional cooperation in Asia-Pacific is concerned, the Japanese interlocutors held out TPP (Trans-Pacific Partnership) as the best template for regional growth. With AIIB (Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank) and EU-Japan cooperation also forming part of the interaction, Amb PP Shukla shared his views about the imperatives for India to balance out its relations with major world powers.

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## Interaction with a Chinese Delegation

A five-member delegation from China Institute of International Strategic Studies (CIISS), led by Maj Gen (Retd) Zhu Da, Vice Chairman, and comprising Maj Gen (Retd) Zhang Jianguo, Senior Advisor, Mr Li Jie, Executive Secretary General, Senior Col (Retd) Lin Yu, Senior Research Fellow, and Mr He Botao, Assistant Research Fellow as members of the delegation, interacted with the VIF faculty on 02 Dec 2014. The interaction covered a broad spectrum of bilateral issues, including, among others, the regional cooperation on terrorism and Afghanistan, and the evolving security situation internationally. General (Retd) NC Vij, Director VIF, welcomed the delegation and briefed them about the outcome of his recent delegation level visit to China for a trilateral conference on Afghanistan's future. In his opening remarks, the Director said that improvement in bilateral ties between China and India, particularly their economic cooperation, is crucial for the economic well being of the two countries as also for the region's peace and security. He flagged unresolved border dispute between

China and India and China-Pakistan nuclear collaboration as areas of major concern for India. While he urged for better clarity in China's India policy, he also suggested both countries exchange maps delineating their perceptions of the borders as part of Confidence Building Measures (CBMs).

Sharing his perception of Sino-Indian relations, Maj Gen (Retd) Zhu Da said India forms an important part of China's foreign policy calculus, underlined by development imperatives and peaceful co-existence among the neighbours. He listed out big power relationship, relationship with peripheral countries, development imperatives, and multilateralism as among the core principles of China's foreign policy under the leadership of President Xi Jinping, adding further that India fits well into all of these categories. He also stated that while China has retained continuity in its foreign policy, it is also trying to adapt itself to the changing dynamics of international situation. China would want to evolve its relationship with India in a manner that can be emulated by

other countries as well. Responding to India's sensitivities vis-à-vis the lingering border tension, the Chinese General said preparations are underway to resolve the border dispute. He, however, suggested that India and China move forward in their relationship while keeping the border issue at bay, a suggestion that was questioned by the VIF experts. The latter argued that economic cooperation between China and India can not substantially progress unless the border dispute reaches an amicable settlement. They also expressed their amazement as to how PLA (People's Liberation Army) managed to embarrass their own President during his recent visit to India by creating unnecessary tension along the borders with India.

The interaction witnessed a whole lot of prickly issues between China and India being thrown up for discussion, including the Indo-US strategic partnership and China-Pakistan nuclear collaboration. As regards the deepening strategic engagements between India and US, the visiting delegates said China has no problem with India pursuing relationship with any other country. However, such relations should not impact

China's interests. The same also holds true for China-Pakistan relations, the VIF experts argued. There was near consensus across the table that both China and India need to remain sensitive to each other's concerns.

Adding to the list of potential CBMs between China and India, the Indian analysts suggested that both countries jointly undertake environmental assessments of building large dams in the ecologically fragile Tibetan region. In so far as regional cooperation between the two countries is concerned, it was mutually agreed that China and India need to team up their efforts in stabilizing Afghanistan, a prerequisite for achieving peace and security in the region. Harping on the flawed strategy of distinguishing between good and bad terrorists, they also stressed on the need for China to remain alive to potential terrorist threats arising out of Pakistan's FATA (Federally Administered Tribal Areas) region. It was also mutually agreed upon by the two sides that ensuring peace and stability is a precondition to economic development in the region as such it is incumbent upon both China and India to maintain good neighbourly relations. With Gen Vij



moderating the discussion, others who actively participated in the interaction from the VIF side included Amb. TCA Rangachari, Lt Gen (Retd) Ravi Sawhney, Amb

R Rajagopalan, Amb Rajiv Sikri and Dr. Harinder Sekhon.

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## French Defence Minister at VIF

At the invitation of the Vivekananda International Foundation, the French Defence Minister, Mr. Jean-Yves Le Drian, delivered a talk on 1 December 2014. Welcoming the Guest, VIF Director Gen (Retd) N C Vij briefed the visiting delegation about the current state of affairs between the two countries in the field of defence; nuclear cooperation, counterterrorism and space cooperation. The importance of France as one of India's most important source for arms import was acknowledged by the director apart from highlighting the ongoing defence and security cooperation between the two countries. He, however, said the low-profile economic ties between the two countries need to be given equal importance as other aspects of the bilateral ties. Emphasising the need to tackle, with collective efforts, extremism and terrorism, he said, the rising force of the Islamic State in West Asia is a major challenge to global peace and stability.

The French Defence minister thanked the VIF and mentioned about the kind of responses the publications from the Foundation

are receiving in Paris. He dwelt the strategic relations between India and France, and the continuity in their political ties since many years. He concentrated his discourse on the issue of terrorism that is being tackled by France and how his country is fighting this dreaded phenomenon. According to him, the issue of terrorism is not at all a new phenomenon in France, and it had begun since the 1970s and 1980s. The emergence of left-wing extremists groups in his country was highlighted during his talk. He also talked about the change in the tactics of the terror groups after the ill-fated September 11 attack in New York in 2001. This incident had ushered in, what the minister termed as "hyper terrorism". There is a major concern about the proliferation of weapons systems into the hands of the terrorist groups. The role of French troops inside Afghanistan to fight al Qaeda since October 2001 was also mentioned.

Pointing out that a large number of foreign jihadists were fighting for the IS, the visiting dignitary said this was a serious matter which needs to be tackled on priority. He said France's role in

the military intervention in West Asia is mainly to preserve the safety of the region, and that of its allies. A detailed explanation about the evolution of the IS was given by Mr. Le Drian, and it gave a clear picture as to how this terror group came into prominence. The anti-West and anti-Shia stance were also explained. Other issues discussed, with regard to IS, included its source of funding; influx of foreign jihadists, and the roles played by France, namely, airstrikes, training of troops, and logistical support. Its role in training Kurdish Peshmerga troops and related military advises given were highlighted. According to the minister, military operations are not adequate to tackle the crisis but there is the need to reconstruct the national identities in Iraq. One of the most important challenges while fighting the Islamic State is its trans-frontier nature.

The latter part of the minister's talk focused on the role of French troops in fighting terrorism inside the tiny African country, Mali. While doing this, he focused amply on the counterterrorism measures in the Sahel region.

The minister acknowledged the issue of terrorism faced by India, particularly from outfits such as Lashkar-e-Taiba, and how this threat emanated from the neighbourhood. The minister said Pakistan's role in the fight against terrorism was not helpful. He expressed willingness to fight against terrorism with any partners, including India. He also said that France would remain in Sahel as long as its partners need it, and his country would continue to fight the IS. Towards the end of his talk, the minister reminded the audience that the issue of terrorism, be it anywhere, has to be solved through a political solution, including the ongoing crisis in Syria under the rule of Bashar al-Assad. Local forces must be included to fight the terror groups. Keeping in mind these developments, according to the minister, it should be in the interest of India and France to cooperate further in military-security affairs and uniting their efforts in fighting terrorism provides one of the best incentives to carry forward the ties.

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## Joint VIF-RUSI-CICIR Seminar on Afghanistan at Beijing

A trilateral conference ‘China, India, the UK and Afghanistan- A Partnership for Stability’ was held in Beijing from 24 to 26 November 2014 under the auspices of VIF, Royal United Services Institute of UK (RUSI) and China Institute for Contemporary International Relations (CICIR). A four member VIF delegation led by Gen. NC Vij took part in the deliberations that were in continuation of a series of discussions held on the same subject between the three think tanks with the objective of exploring ways to bring peace and prosperity to Afghanistan through cooperative efforts between China, India and the UK. Participants from Afghanistan and Pakistan were also invited to broaden the discussions as also to elicit their views.

Broadly, the sessions of the conference were divided into political, security and economic issues, interests of the regional powers and mechanisms for cooperation and future of Afghanistan. A visit to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of China was also organized where

officials concerned briefed the visitors on China’s efforts in restoring peace and stability in Afghanistan. On the final day, an interaction with representatives of international media was also organized to spread the message of cooperative efforts being made to improve the situation in Afghanistan.

Introductory remarks were made by Gen. NC Vij, Director VIF, Mr. Raffaello Pantucci, Director, International Security Studies, RUSI and Dr. Hu Shisheng, Director, Institute for South Asian Studies, CICIR. They reviewed the progress of the trilateral project and gave out their very broad perspectives on the emerging situation in Afghanistan after the installation of the new political dispensation of President Ashraf Ghani and CEO Abdullah Abdullah.

The first session was devoted to security issues. Lt. Gen. Ravi Sawhney stressed on the nature of threat to Afghanistan which was amply highlighted in the Pentagon Report of October 2014. Threat emanating from safe havens

across the Durand Line was an existential threat to the Afghan State and the present regime appeared to be speaking in two different voices indicating some differences between the two factions of the new Government of national unity. Inclusive decision making was lacking and there was a need to bring everybody together. Gen Sawhney brought out that Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF) were performing very bravely despite the many deficiencies they have in terms of lack of logistics capabilities, armor, artillery and other supporting elements. Even though ANA is incurring large number of casualties, it is still finding fresh recruits. Lack of air support and Intelligence, Surveillance and Reconnaissance (ISR) cover especially after it is withdrawn towards the end of 2015 would be a big blow to the ANSF capabilities. There is a continued requirement of training of ANSF at all levels. Though Pakistan has offered to train a brigade worth of ANA, yet it will depend upon whether the same is acceptable to Afghans. Funding the ANSF was another important issue; if the funds dry up after a time, the ANSF would be more like a mob. Dr. Hu Shisheng largely echoed the same problems in so far as

capabilities of ANSF were concerned. He also stressed that Pakistan's stance on Afghanistan would have impact on the emerging situation. He was critical of America's new anti-terror strategy and implored the international community to make further commitment of funds. Dr. Amrullah Saleh, formerly the head of National Directorate of Security under Karzai government made a very insightful presentation on the security situation in Afghanistan. He said that bulk of operations were being conducted by ANA, the Bilateral Strategic Agreement with the US has been approved by both Upper and the Lower Houses with Loya Jirga supporting it in 2013. However, the core of threat has not gone away. He also stressed that it is a wrong notion that only Pakistan can facilitate the process of reconciliation. It was unprecedented that President Ashraf Ghani went to Pakistan and met their Army Chief in GHQ and not PM Nawaz Sharif. The latest outreach by Afghanistan, in his view, had not given any substantial return from Pakistan. He also placed a lot of hope on China for providing aid and developmental assistance to Afghanistan especially after the recent visit of Ashraf Ghani to Beijing.

The second session was devoted to Afghan economy and prosperity and focussed on what India and China could do to develop the country's economy. Prof. Ye Hailin, Dr. Qu Fengjie, National Development and Reform Commission gave out the Chinese perspective while Raffaello Pantuci analysed the Chinese efforts in the shape of 'One Road, One Economic Belt' and how they might be of benefit to Afghanistan. The question of security first and development later was uppermost in the minds of entrepreneurs while investing in Afghanistan. The next session also looked at economy related issues and especially addressed the aspects of conflict sensitive investment in Central Asia and Afghanistan. While Amb. TCA Rangachari, Dr. Jenny Jiang, Vice President of New century Academy on Transnational Corporations, China Association of international Trade and Economic Cooperation and Amb. Baheen Sultan Ahmed Afghanistan presented their respective views, no clear and sustainable answers could be found to the complicated issue of conflict sensitive investments even though some ad hoc measures had been undertaken to address this issue. The next session moderated by Dr. Jenny Jiang with a number

of representatives from Chinese State Owned Enterprises explained their difficulties about investment in Afghanistan. Brig Vinod Anand discussed India's approach to encouraging investments in diverse sectors of Afghanistan's economy and possibilities of cooperation with China in this regard.

The first session on the second day was devoted to how China, India and Pakistan might cooperate in Afghanistan especially through regional mechanism like SCO or any such other mechanism. Dr Wang Xu dwelt on lack of trust between the regional countries that might prevent some accommodation on each others' interests. There was a need for CBMs; whether SCO and Heart of Asia process can result in a successful outcome is difficult to say but China would support all such efforts. Dr. Vishal Chandra, IDSA spoke about hope and despair and the need for international community to give a long term commitment to Afghanistan. The following session concentrated on the future of Afghanistan where Lt. Gen Ravi Sawhney again stressed on funding issues for ANSF and budgetary support to the government, containing

sanctuaries across the Durand Line and continued engagement by the international community in the absence of which an Iraq like situation might emerge. Lastly, the delegates to the conference were taken to MOFA where an official from the office of Special Representative on Afghanistan explained China's Afghanistan Policy. He explained how Afghanistan might be included in Silk Road Economic Belt initiative of China. He mentioned about the recent success of the Heart of Asia Conference held in Beijing and how China was extending economic and security aid to Afghanistan. China's proposal of reinvigorating the reconciliation process under regional arrangements could not get

consensus because of objection from some other countries. The delegates raised many questions about the likelihood of success of such a process and why should Taliban be given legitimacy with the start of such a process.

The last half day was devoted to interaction with international media where the participants answered a number of insightful questions on the roles of their respective countries in Afghanistan and joint efforts being suggested to encourage cooperation at both bilateral and multilateral levels.

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## Visit by Bangladeshi Parliamentary Delegation

On 25 Nov 2014, a ten-member Parliamentary delegation from Bangladesh held wide ranging interaction with the VIF faculty on 'India-Bangladesh relations and the way forward'. The interaction kicked off on a positive note, with former Ambassador Satish Chandra highlighting the upward spiral in India-Bangladesh relations in recent years. He complimented Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina for taking the momentum forward, appreciating, in particular, the extremely supportive stance adopted by her government in tackling terrorism. His introductory remarks also underscored the important role played by VIF in improving the bilateral relationship through Bangladesh's High Commission in India, especially during the previous Prime Minister's visit to Bangladesh in September 2011. Satish Chandra, however, stressed the need for further improvement in bilateral relationship.

Lt. Col. Faruk Khan, who led the delegation, highlighted Bangladesh's achievements, especially in terms of human

development indicators, democracy, secularism, contribution to UN peacekeeping etc. He also spoke of the rising trends of terrorism in Bangladesh. Khan significantly remarked that Bangladesh would have been another Afghanistan, but for Sheikh Hasina's tough stand against terrorism. In so far as Bangladesh-India cooperation is concerned, the two countries have shown tremendous maturity in resolving their maritime dispute in the Bay of Bengal, an example for other countries in Asia. India's no objection to an international arbitration favouring Bangladesh saw overcoming a 40-year old maritime dispute between the two countries. Khan also thanked India for extending support to Bangladesh in getting leadership of two international parliamentary forums - Commonwealth Parliament Association (CPA) and Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), another testimony to the level of improved bilateral cooperation between India and Bangladesh.

The visiting delegates from Bangladesh however pointed out that India needs to prioritise its



relationship with Bangladesh. While underscoring Bangladesh's centrality in India's 'Look East Policy', the Indian analysts said Modi's invitation to SAARC leaders for his swearing in as the Prime Minister was a clear pointer to the direction of India's foreign policy. The interaction, however, took note of the role of media in shaping people's perception of national security issues and foreign policies in both the countries.

While the interaction took note of the upward trajectory in India-Bangladesh relations, issues of concern such as illegal migration, land boundary, river water sharing etc were also comprehensively discussed. With land boundary agreement and the Teesta water sharing treaty between the two countries still awaiting final resolution, problems and obstacles in the relationship were identified and discussed in a frank and candid atmosphere. Illegal migration from Bangladesh was identified as an issue with huge security implications for both the countries. However, it was generally agreed that minor

hiccups in the relationship can be overcome with both sides showing pragmatism and the will to move forward.

India-Bangladesh cooperation in the regional context was another significant aspect of the two-hour long interaction, highlighted both in terms of evolving a joint approach to China's dam construction activities over Brahmaputra in Tibet and Dhaka taking a lead for improving connectivity among BIMSTEC countries. Other major take-away from the interaction included suggestions for evolving policies towards joint management of water bodies, introduction of work-permits for illegal migrants and the creation of joint forums for the parliamentarians and academicians to think of ways and means for furthering the relationship. Amb Veena Sikri, Amb Sanjay Singh, Lt. Gen (Retd) Ata Hasnain, Rana Banerjee and Amitabh Mathur were among others who interacted with the Bangladeshi delegation.

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## Interaction on 'One Road, One Belt' with Chinese Delegation

A five-member delegation from China Institute of International Studies, led by Dr. Guo Xiangang, Senior Research Fellow, called on the VIF faculty on Nov 24, 2014 as part of a larger deliberative process initiated by Chinese think tanks across the Asian region to garner support for China's proposed 'one road, one economic belt', an initiative that seeks to integrate the vast Eurasian landmass through various sea and land-based economic corridors. Announced by China's President Xi Jinping during his visit to Central Asia in September last year, the proposed economic corridors are expected to cost china a whopping \$40 billion. The Chinese scholars, while briefing the VIF faculty about the finer points of the proposal, said the initiative is basically aimed at developing China's western region as also other countries that lie along the route.

As part of its envisaged trans-national land and maritime transport policy, China plans to develop transport corridors from the Pacific to the Baltic Sea and

gradually develop a network of land-based economic corridors to cover most parts of Asia, including East Asia, the Middle East and the subcontinent. In all, plans are afoot to develop six economic corridors – China-Russia-Mongolia (North to South), New Eurasia Bridge, China to Central Asia to the West Asia, Bangladesh-China-India-Myanmar Corridor, China-Pakistan Economic Corridor, and Maritime Corridor in the South. The visiting scholars, however, said while China expects regional countries to study the proposal in-depth, it is ultimately for them to decide whether to join the initiative or not. China, however, expects India, an important country on the Eurasian bridge, to be on board for the proposal to realise its full potential. They also indicated that China's future Asian strategy would potentially revolve around 'one road, one economic belt'. Allaying India's apprehensions, they said 'one road, one belt' would not impact India's economic interests. On the contrary, it would accrue a whole lot of benefits to the participating countries.

The Indian interlocutors said while they supported BCIM (Bangladesh-China-India-Myanmar), they had certain reservations about the rest. India supports inter-connectivity in principle but there remain security related issues which cannot be wished away. The proposed economic corridors, passing through some of the most volatile regions, entail huge security risks, especially in terms of economic investment. Also, there exists perceptible trust deficit between China and India emanating mainly from their unresolved borders, a major impediment in the way of enhanced economic cooperation between China and India. While the Indian side argued that an early settlement of the border dispute would pave the way for better economic cooperation between China and India, the Chinese counterparts said India needed to look beyond the border issue and cooperate with each

other on other fronts. While raising questions about the technical and economical viability of the project, the Indian analysts also sensed a great deal of political judgment in the Chinese proposal as South Korea and Japan, China's two most important trading partners, were not included in the proposed 'one road' initiative. The session came to an end with the Chinese analysts insisting that India should mull over the proposal before reaching any final conclusion. Ambassador Kanwal Sibal, Dean Centre for International Relations and Diplomacy, VIF, moderated the session and made important interventions along with Mr. Jayadeva Ranade to present the Indian perspective, while Amb R Rajagopalan, Amb Rajiv Sikri, Lt Gen (Retd) Sanjiv Chachra, among others, contributed significantly to the brainstorming session.

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## Vimarsha: Article 370 and Resolution of Kashmir Problem

On Nov 20<sup>th</sup>, 2014, VIF organised a talk by General (Retd) SK Sinha, former Governor, Assam and J&K on 'Article 370 and Resolution of Kashmir Problem' under its *Vimarsha* series of public discourse. With Shri Vijai Kapoor, former Governor, Delhi in the Chair, General (Retd) NC Vij, Director VIF, set the ball rolling elucidating the nature of festering controversy around Article 370 of the Constitution granting special autonomous status to Jammu and Kashmir. The controversy, which has continued to simmer for over six decades, has been further exacerbated in recent times due to upcoming Assembly elections in the state. General Vij said while over the years, Article 370 has become an emotive issue for people across India, any attempt to tinker with it at this stage, especially when elections are round the corner, would only lead to flaring up of communal passions. His views on Article 370 and Kashmir also found resonance with the other two speakers, both advocating the need to maintain status quo for the time being as regards Article 370. Kapoor said

while it is important to preserve Kashmir's diversity, tackling issues such as unemployment, education, health, infrastructure etc. should be the Government's top most priority in the state. He, however, underlined the need to remain watchful about Pakistan's continued efforts to destabilise the state.

General SK Sinha, who as in charge of logistics and Airlift had played a major role in throwing out Pakistani raiders from Kashmir in 1947, recounted his personal experience of fighting militancy in the Valley from the start. He gave a detailed exposition of the prevailing politico-military environment leading to accession of J&K with the rest of India and subsequent adoption of Article 370. He thought it unfortunate that Kashmir should remain the only state whose accession to India is not complete. Recalling the unanimously passed resolution of the Indian Parliament asking Pakistan to vacate its illegal occupation of parts of the state's territories, General Sinha rued the fact that we never made efforts to

reclaim those territories. Part of the blame for the messy state of affairs in J&K rests with Nehru, soft-pedaling the communal and divisive politics of Sheikh Abdullah. After the Tibetan uprising in 1959, a large number of Tibetan Muslims were settled in Kashmir and granted voting rights by Sheikh Abdullah while he denied the same rights to Hindu refugees from West Pakistan. Worse, India did not even provide moral support to the people of Gilgit Baltistan during their uprising against Pakistan's illegal occupation in 1947.

General Sinha said the strong Modi wave currently sweeping across India is unprecedented in history. He also expected BJP to fare better in the upcoming Assembly elections in J&K, boding well for an amenable political solution to the issue. A lasting peaceful solution to the vexed Kashmir problem can be found only through dialogue and consensus. The session concluded with an interesting question and answer session.

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## Interaction on US-Pakistan Relations

**D**aniel S. Markey, a Senior Fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations (C.F.R.) and the author of *No Exit from Pakistan: America's Tortured Relationship with Islamabad* held an intense and wide ranging interaction with the VIF faculty on 19 Nov 2014. While the interaction intended to focus on the future trajectory of US-Pakistan relations, Asia's broader strategic contours, defined increasingly by the growing expanse of terrorist networks, the US rebalancing in Asia-Pacific, and the counter measures by China attempting to expand its own sphere of influence across the region with slew of sea and land-based economic corridors, comprising New Maritime Silk Route and Silk Road Economic Belt, among others, crisscrossing large parts of Asia, formed the bulk of interaction.

General (Retd) N C Vij, Director VIF, while introducing the subject to the panel, expressed his enthusiasm about the upswing in the bilateral ties between India and the United States. Daniel Markey's in-depth analysis covered the broad spectrum of US-Pakistan relations from a

historical perspective, underpinning inherent inconsistencies as well as underlying irritants in the relationship. He commented that while in the past, the US policies towards Pakistan were largely dictated by cold war considerations, particularly the need to counter balance the Soviet Union, the changing regional dynamics will determine the future trajectory of US-Pakistan relations. To a large extent, the rise of China will be instrumental in shaping US foreign policies in this region in future. The cold war policies pursued by the US in this region resulted in countervailing effects for the bilateral relationship between India and the United States. Post Cold War, the US however is pursuing more independently its policies towards India. It has not only de-hyphenated India and Pakistan but also tried to insulate its policy with a civil nuclear deal.

In so far as the US rebalancing in Asia-Pacific is concerned, the strategy need not necessarily be viewed through the prism of China containment policy. On the contrary, the strategy per se is directed towards structuring rule-

based international system, a further imperative to improve ties with India. To that extent, the US welcomes India's growing ties with major US allies in the region, especially Japan with whom China has a running maritime dispute in the East China Sea.

From India's standpoint, the US wanting India to play an active role in East Asia while itself remaining apathetic to India's concerns in the West is somewhat disconcerting. It was also highlighted during the session that US policies towards the region have considerably reduced India's strategic options, particularly in places like Afghanistan, Iran and the Middle East, while leaving her even more vulnerable to face the threats of terrorism from across the borders. It is imperative for the US to accommodate India's concerns for the strategic partnership to really succeed. In this context, the growing Jihadist challenge in Pakistan, especially the country's potential of turning in to a radical Sunni Islamic state and posing even greater threat to the world also came up for pointed discussion during the session.

The futility of continued US economic and military assistance to Pakistan was highlighted, especially in light of the fact that a fragile economy on the cusp of becoming a failed state was squandering away its meager economic resources by supporting terrorist networks in the region and building military capabilities against an imagined enemy, India. Beside, Pakistan has effectively leveraged terrorism as a state policy to extract more and more economic and military aid from the United States. The US feels extremely frustrated for not being able to change Pakistan's strategic behavior despite all the assistance it has given to that country.

Pakistan's post-2014 strategy in Afghanistan, growing China-Pakistan collaboration in Pakistan Occupied Kashmir (POK) as also in nuclear and other strategic affairs were amongst issues discussed prominently during the session which lasted a little over two hours. The Director concluded the session saying India wants to improve ties with the US, but remains skeptical about Pakistan-US relations.

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## VIF Visit to Vietnam

A VIF delegation led by its Director, Gen (Retd) N C Vij, visited Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh city from 02 to 05 Nov 2014. The delegation included Vice Admiral (Retd) KK Nayyar, Chairman, Board of Trustees, VIF, Lt Gen (Retd) R K Sawhney, Ambassador TCA Rangachari and Vice Admiral (Retd) Anup Singh.

In Hanoi, the delegation interacted with several academic institutions and think tanks including Diplomatic Academy of Vietnam, Institute of Indian and South West Asian Studies, Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences, Institute for Defence International Relations (IDIR) and Vietnam Centre for Economic and Policy Research.

At Ho Chi Minh City, they exchanged ideas on India-Vietnam Strategic Partnership with Fulbright Economics Teaching Program and the Department of External Relations, Ho Chi Minh City.

During interaction with the Diplomatic Academy of Vietnam on 03 Nov, reciprocal presentations, giving respective points of view, were made by the

two sides on the following subjects:-

- (a) Emerging Strategic Environment in the Asia Pacific Region and its Implications
- (b) Politico-Strategic and Economic Cooperation between India and Vietnam: Issues and Prospects
- (c) Indo-Vietnam Defence and Security Cooperation and the Way Forward
- (d) Security and stability in the South China Sea

Discussions with all other organisations flowed from the above interaction, and some interesting new perspectives emerged from their side.

### On Strategic Partnership

It was agreed that India and Vietnam have centuries of friendship and mutual respect, and have embarked upon a strategic partnership for taking forward avenues of cooperation, and to neutralize common security challenges. India's shift from "Look East" to "Act East" is being complimented by Vietnam's initiative in its "Look West" policy towards India.



The commonality of our interests, demand a closer relationship. India stands for freedom of navigation, and Vietnam looks forward to support in all spheres – including defence cooperation, maritime security, and maintenance of tranquility in the South China Sea.

While defence and security cooperation is proceeding as planned, the pace of cooperation in fields of education and training of Vietnamese Armed Forces needs to be expanded, and expedited further.

### **Economy**

- **Tourism.** There was consensus that much more needed to be done in terms of people-to-people contact through promotion of tourism – including religious tourism (the Indian connection with the Cham civilization/My Son sanctuary; and Vietnamese interest in Bodh Gaya, were cited as examples). Vietnam receives 8 Million footfalls annually, of which Indians account for an insignificant number. The same holds true of Vietnamese visiting India. It was also felt that unlike

the rest of ASEAN, Bollywood had neglected Vietnam. Introduction of Indian cinema in Vietnam will spread greater awareness amongst Vietnamese, who will automatically get enthused in visiting, and doing business with India.

- **Business.** The Fulbright Economics Centre gave an interesting insight on why Vietnam does not diversify its import of inputs/raw materials away from China, and shift to India. The dynamics of business in this respect are left to the principal MNCs who themselves decide where to source material for the supply chain. Therefore, there may be a case for a dialogue with all MNCs, and instilling confidence in them about the ease of doing ‘profitable’ business with India. The Vietnam Centre for Economic and Policy Research pointed towards the strength of Indian Economy, and the impressive fundamentals of India’s soft power which it must utilize at a time that many Western business houses are moving out of China; and India could

fill the void as an alternate supplier to those companies. (Many businesses are already relocating from China to Vietnam).

- **Connectivity.**

Commencement of direct flights between Delhi and Ho Chi Minh City by Jet Airways/Vietnam Airlines this month was the best thing that should have actually happened a long time ago. The next steps to include Hanoi, and the proposed road connectivity from Kolkata to Hanoi via Myanmar, Cambodia, and Laos will make people focus more and more towards India, and should be expedited to earn benefits for both sides.

- **Preferential Trade Agreement.** Removing trade barriers and eliminating tariffs by both sides will encourage and expand bilateral trade. There was consensus that the current level of 8 Bn \$ worth of trade is too low, and the target of 15 Bn \$ by 2020, was far too conservative for the two rising economies who are strategic partners since 2007. Therefore, much more needs to be done to diversify

the basket of trade between the two. Similarly, more joint projects, and FDI from India is a possibility that should be encouraged.

- **Energy Sector.** Satisfaction was expressed on the joint exploration projects in progress between OVL and Petro Vietnam. There are avenues for greater participation, without worrying about protests by third parties in the South China Sea.

### **Education and Training**

There was a desire expressed by the two sides on expanding cooperation between academic institutions, and inviting much larger number of students in universities of both sides. Apart from promoting people to people contact, this initiative will also infuse awareness of the two peoples and institutions about each other's strengths and avenues for cooperation in all fields.

### **South China Sea Imbrolio**

It was agreed that the security situation in the South China Sea is not conducive for peace and tranquility in the region. China has expanded its repertoire of

claims from territorial disputes with land neighbours to islands and a large maritime zone in the South China Sea. This scenario has been compounded by military posturing, and positioning of oil rigs in the Exclusive Economic Zone of others – notably of Vietnam. It was felt that the US Rebalancing is a welcome sign, and will help ease tensions in the semi enclosed sea. India's support to Vietnam, in its pursuit of justice and legitimate claims, was assured.

The Indo-Vietnam strategic partnership is a result of the

shared spirit of nationalism in the two countries, ancient civilizational contacts, and common goals in today's economic and security environment. It was agreed that the world is moving too fast and that there is an urgent need to take our relationship to higher levels of economic and security cooperation through increased interaction. There is much expectation and we must seize on the opportunities available.

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