

INDIA FOUNDATION JOURNAL



Opinion

- UN Human Rights Commission Discredits Itself

Reports

- India Economic Summit 2018
- National Scholars Confluence on Geo-Politics of the Himalayan Region

Book Review

- Husain Haqqani's "Reimagining Pakistan"

Focus: INTERNAL SECURITY

- Maoist Movement in India - Himanshu Roy
- The Kashmir Valley: Quelling the Disquiet - Vivek Sinha
- North East India: Prospects for Peace - K. Raka Sudhakar Rao
- Cross Border Terrorism and Response Options - Narender Kumar
- Why Do Terror Groups Choose Coastal Routes To Strike? - Pushpita Das
- Linkages Between Crime and Terrorism: Need to Look Beyond the Surface - Vivek Chadha
- Technological Solutions to Reinforcing Security - P.K. Mallick



Enjoy world class ground handling services at seven major Indian airports

Chennai | Kolkata | Trivandrum | Calicut | Coimbatore | Trichy | Mangalore



Bhadra International India Pvt. Ltd.
42, Rani Jhansi Road, New Delhi
+91 11 4253 4600 | www.bhadra.in

Your partner on ground

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Editor's Note	2
---------------------	---

FOCUS: INTERNAL SECURITY

Maoist Movement in India	Himanshu Roy	3
The Kashmir Valley: Quelling the Disquiet	Vivek Sinha	7
North East India: Prospects for Peace	K. Raka Sudhakar Rao	14
Cross Border Terrorism and Response Options	Narender Kumar	20
Why Do Terror Groups Choose Coastal Routes To Strike?	Pushpita Das	29
Linkages Between Crime and Terrorism: Need to Look Beyond the Surface	Vivek Chadha	37

OPINION

UN Human Rights Commission Discredits Itself	K.N. Pandita	45
--	---------------------	----

REPORTS

India Economic Summit 2018	Shreya, Apurv & Thomas	48
National Scholars Confluence on Geo-Politics of the Himalayan Region	Shreya Challagalla & Thomas Jackson	56

BOOK REVIEW

Husain Haqqani's "Reimagining Pakistan"	Alok Bansal	62
---	--------------------	----

**India
Foundation
Journal**

Vol. VI
Issue No.4

July-August 2018

Editor
Maj Gen (Dr) Dhruv C Katoch

Assistant Editors
Srihari Avuthu
Shreya Challagalla

Publisher
India Foundation
New Delhi

E-mail
journal@indiafoundation.in

Website
www.indiafoundation.in

for private circulation only

A Fresh Resolve

Dear Readers,

On the afternoon of 19 June, in a press conference held in Delhi, Shri Ram Madhav, the National General Secretary of the BJP announced that the BJP was exiting the coalition government it had formed in the state of J&K in 2015, with the People's Democratic Party (PDP). This cleared the way for President's rule in the state, which came into effect the next day, after Presidential assent was accorded. It was, in the words of Shri Madhav, a difficult decision, but it was taken in the "larger interest" of people of the state and India.

The suspension of operations (SOO) announced by the government for the month of Ramzan was a goodwill measure, designed to send a message that the government was willing to take all necessary steps in its pursuit for a lasting peace. But this was not reciprocated by the separatists and the terrorist groups, as peace would make them irrelevant actors in the state. The Security Forces had shown remarkable restraint during this period despite great provocation by the separatist elements and the terrorist groups, but continuing incidents of violence brought home the message to one and all, that firm action was the need of the hour. This indeed is a welcome development, as the local population needs to be freed from the clutches of terrorist groups who wield the gun and who have reduced the masses to submission through fear.

What is required during Governor's rule in J&K is action on multiple fronts to bring a lasting peace to the state. This must inter alia, include security measures to eliminate the terrorists, action against the separatist elements who incite the youth, as also effective curbs on the funding received by the terrorists groups and their sympathisers. It must also include monitoring the activities of those maulvis who spew forth hate speeches from the mosques. Alongside the above, the state administration must be geared up to deliver on development goals, which would, over time, reduce the support base of the terrorists. At the political level, all parties need to get on board in a non-partisan manner, and stand behind the government in a national resolve to bring peace. And finally, Pakistan must be given a clear message, that interference in India's internal affairs will invite a very firm response.

The prognosis for peace is bright, but the moment needs to be seized. And this time, the opportunity must not be frittered away

Katoch

Maoist Movement in India

Himanshu Roy*

Contemporary Maoist movement in India, also addressed as Left Wing Extremism (LWE) in the official vocabulary¹ and in a section of academia is a continuation of the Naxal movement which, in turn, was similar to the Telangana (1946-1951) and Tebhaga movements, in form and contents with one pertinent difference. While the Tebhaga, Telangana and Naxal movements were open to the mediation of liberal democratic process, at least, theoretically, the contemporary Maoist movement considers it (the liberal democratic process) regressive, and detrimental to the development of revolutionary transformative social-political process which, therefore, is shunned. In other words, it does not contest the elections in bourgeois democracy.

Organisationally, ideologically and programmatically, the Maoist movement represented by the Communist Party of India (Maoist) carries the legacy of CPI (Marxist-Leninist), CPI (Marxist) and the CPI² in the reverse historical trajectory which, in turn, inherited the distorted versions of Marx's, Lenin's and Mao's praxis. It was a mechanical application of their praxis, not contextualized politically and socially which also commands a section of urban support, of intelligentsia and academia in different forms prominently reflected in public discourse. Programmatically, it carries forward the application of land to the tiller policy, support to

the minority rights, and opposition to the uniform civil code or to the globalisation process.

The failure of the Naxal movement propelled the Maoist to learn a lesson which was, subsequently, to create a Peoples' Liberation Guerrilla Army (hence forth PLGA) and guerilla zones to sustain and expand the revolution in different regions. And to actuate it, the Party needed committed cadres which, in turn, could be fostered through application of land to the tiller policy on permanent basis. The Party had learnt it hard way through its experiences in Bastar, Telangana and Naxalbari. The experiences of the other regions such as Bihar were equally factored into. Both these process was successfully applied in the Dandakaranaya regions, spread over one lakh square km of area comprising of parts of Jharkhand, Andhra Pradesh, Telangana, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Odisha and Chhatisgarh. This region is hilly and forested, and is periphery, far away from Delhi and state capitals. By the time the administration realised the gravity of their existence and expansion, the Maoist had spread in vast areas, and had begun to control the revenue of the locality. Then, Raipur was not the Capital, neither was Chhatisgarh a State. Till 7-8 years ago, one third of the Party cadre was armed. 40 % of them were women. 5% of the arms were purchased, 15 % were looted and 80% were manufactured by the Party. 3,500 cadres were in military uniforms. The Party spent, in one year,

**Dr. Himanshu Roy is an Associate Professor of Political Science at Deen Dayal Upadhyaya College of Delhi University.*

Rs. 4 lakhs on each company, and Rs 450 was spent in a month on each armed cadre for their basic necessities. The annual budget of the Party is approximately Rs. 12 crore³. But this is the estimate of the Party. The official estimate is Rs. 1,000 crore.

The process of arming the Party had begun in 1981, when there were armed cadre from five dalams (squads). Today, in each company, there are 75 members and in each platoon there are 25. Majority of them are of Koya tribe. The government estimate is different : the armed cadres are approximately 9100 in number divided into basic, secondary and main groups. The existence of Central Military Commission and its five sub-units viz State Military Commission, Special Area Military Commission, etc., reflect the degree of its military strength and militarisation of Party. The next intended stage is to create Peoples' Liberation Army, the base areas (the liberated zones) and the Janatana Sarkar. The idea, as it is claimed, is to create a system, even in embryonic form, in which people directly participate in determining their own destiny. And it claims to begin with three major works, from agricultural production to education: it actuated modernisation of agriculture, facilitated stoppage of Penda (shifting) cultivation, improve health care, and brought in social political awareness. It also brought in inter-villages and inter-tribal interactions through Party mobilisation. The different villages, isolated and spread over, have now better coordination, and are working jointly on different projects.

The Maoist had simultaneously embarked on a new work. It began to recruit women in the armed

wing, who constitute 40% of their combat force and 60% of their regular cadres. In turn, it has enhanced their social status, has empowered them to fight for their rights, and has raised their political awareness. Also, their fight to preserve their habitat against the expanding business has consequently saved the forest in the Dandakaranya region despite depletion.

The function of the Party, both organisationally and programmatically, however, has enraged a large population of the tribal. Its daily intervention in the cultural life of the villages, the application of the land reforms agenda in the social context of average poor land holdings (2.34 acre) per family and the anti-development stance have generated rebellions against the Party which has been used by the police in its fight against the Maoist leading to its success. The Maoist did all that they could do to suppress this movement at the initial stage. It might have succeeded, as in the past, but the timely intervention of the administration obstructed its design. It, therefore, adopted other tactics to scuttle the police's role; it sought judicial intervention through public interest litigation and citizens intervention through civil society groups. Within Dandakaranaya, it was not forth coming. So it sought "outside" help using the inner contradiction of liberal democracy to deflect the inner rebellion against the Party and the pressure of the administration from outside. The English media of the metropolitan towns, the Public Interest Litigation (PIL) in the higher courts, the public intellectuals and the English speaking civil society groups with national-international profile were used against the government on the pretext that the Bhartiya Janata

Party (BJP) with a Hindutva agenda was evicting the tribal from their habitat for the interest of the business⁴. And in their relief camps, they are being converted to Hinduism. Or, the other argument was that their human rights were being violated. Thus, the use of the judiciary, media and the civil society, which are to the Maoist part of bourgeois structure with limited autonomy, were successfully used to slowdown the administrative acts. And the battle against the Maoist was successfully converted into the battle against the administration. It was such a master stroke that the spontaneity of the tribal rebellion against the Maoist was relegated to the background and their protest against the Party was labeled as government sponsored acts which became the point of social discourse in the national media. The relief camps established by the administration for the tribal rebels, the victims of the Maoist, were deliberately termed as the organisation of the Salwa Judum funded and protected by the government. The condemnation of the Maoist for their acts was no longer on the agenda of public discourse. Rather, it was felt as an occasional aberration. Opposite of it, the fight of the state against the Maoist was presented as the violation of tribal rights.

It may be stated here that the Maoist intend to overthrow the contemporary liberal democracy which it thinks is possible through an armed revolutionary upsurge. It does not believe in this Constitution, which it treats as an ideal bourgeois text, and which can never be applied in its spirit due to the structural dominance of capital. What exists in praxis, therefore, is the caricature of the ideals of the Constitution. Opposite of it, the Maoist claims to fight for socialism; where the

bourgeoisie duality won't exist. From the failure and learning from the past experiences of Russia, China and other countries, it intends to improve it further. It does not believe in the surrender of arms and argues that by monopolising over the arms and denying the citizens the right to own it at their will, the state attempts to control any opposition against its rule. The parliamentary method is corrupt, creates cretinism and devoids its citizens of direct control over their representatives; Or, the system does not foster direct citizens' rule as at the base is the capital-labor relation which has an in-built contradiction and it cannot be reconciled to.

However, the Party, which posits itself as an alternative to it, itself reflects the hierarchical structure of the existing society in its organisational functioning and ideology. The chain of command flows from top to bottom, instead of from bottom to top; Or, the very idea of vanguardism, the party functioning as vanguard on behalf of people, instead of letting the labor fight for itself in self-emancipatory mode, is problematic. And lastly, its ideology is non-Marxism, more Leninistic and closer to Mao's Thought. It is distorted, unprincipled, and a compromise with the bourgeois ideology. To explain this point, let me illustrate an example. Maoist's support peasants' demands, and they are the bulwark of the organisation. But a reading of Marx tells us that he was antithetical to peasant agenda, always opposed the inclusion of their programs in the manifestoes of the Communist Parties and considered their social economic existence as an unfinished agenda of Capitalism. The second example can be of Maoist's support

to minority rights which again is unMarxism. Marx himself was a Jew which was persecuted in entire medieval European history. Yet, despite it, he never asked for minority right, never supported it. The third example can be of Maoist opposition to globalisation process which is contrary to Marx's support for it. Marx had repeatedly asserted for a globalised economy and open trade where free movements of capital, commodity, technology and labor are not artificially restricted by national governments. The point here, anyway, is to state that Maoist praxis, programs and ideology do not conform to Marx's praxis. The inner contradiction between the CPI, CPI(M), CPI(M-L) and the CPI(Maoist) are self-revealing about their Marxism and praxis⁵.

To conclude, the CPI (Maoist), which is the fusion of three Naxal parties namely the Peoples War (PW), Maoist Communist Centre (MCC) and the Party Unity (PU) is the most armed and

deadliest party of the communist in India hitherto formed. Its areas of operation and its base areas have been the largest in terms of territory sustained for over two decades. Of late, however, the determined intervention of the administration has led its police to penetrate into its base area, has shortened its area of operation, has squeezed its revenue and has killed its cadres and leaders⁶. Yet, it remains a formidable armed force, trying to expand into urban labor unions. Its support base in the metropolitan academia and in the civil society groups remains intact. Only it has become muted for the time being due to the government of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) at the centre.

It's emergence, however, teaches a lesson; it reflects the failure of the governance. A connect with the people, an efficient, sensitive administration, and development of the regions are the prerequisites to check the further growth of the moemnt, and for the success of the liberal democracy.

References:

1. https://mha.gov.in/division_of_mha/left-wing-extremism-division#
2. For detail, see Giridhari Nayak, Neo-Naxal challenges, *Pentagon Security International*, 211, chap 1.
3. For detail, see Himanshu Roy, Salwa Judum : Another View, *Occasional paper, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library*, 214, p.10
4. *Ibid.* , p.4
5. For detail, see Himanshu Roy, 'All the Phony Marxism', *Frontier*, Volume 40: Nos. 12-15 October 7- November 3, 2007; Also 'Peasantry against Socialism', *Science and People*, Volume 3, No.2 March 1992.
6. <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india> ; *Times Of India*, New Delhi, 28.5.2018



The Kashmir Valley: Quelling the Disquiet

Vivek Sinha*

Photographs tell a story. They have an uncanny ability to get etched into our memories along with all their details and then refuse to fade away. And if this photograph emanates from Kashmir, especially from the picturesque Kashmir Valley, then it has the potential to tell a thousand stories, most of which are fictitious though.

It was just last year when the image of a stone pelted, Farooq Ahmed Dar, tied on the bonnet of an army jeep flashed as “breaking news” across news channels and on front pages of news dailies. Within hours stories started pouring in about the excesses of security forces, human rights violations, atrocities being committed on hapless Kashmiris that all the while alluded about stone pelted’s innocence. Detailed accounts have since been presented about Farooq Dar’s vocation¹, his family and that he was on his way to cast his vote when an Indian Army Major “captured” him and went on to commit the gravest human rights atrocity². Barring a few honourable exceptions, none of the fiction writers masquerading as journalists wrote that this “innocent” Farooq Dar was part of a blood thirsty mob of stone pelters who were hurling stones on security personnel with an intent to kill. Tying him on the jeep’s bonnet to create a human shield was done only to help the security personnel wriggle out safely.

Fast forward to May 2018 when a photograph of another Kashmiri youth being crushed under the wheels of a CRPF jeep was in circulation. However, the difference this time is that along with

pictures the videos of violent stone pelters kicking and hurling stones at the jeep were also shot and released. After watching the video it can be clearly understood how the mob of violent stone pelters had attacked the lone CRPF jeep and the jeep’s driver had to manoeuvre the vehicle to save his own life. It was under these circumstances that this stone pelted was crushed under its wheels and later died³.

Unfortunately, in the coming weeks this fact will quickly be brushed aside and a perception will be created that it was CRPF’s fault to crush and kill yet another Kashmiri youth in cold blood. Already a section of spin doctors aka journalists have begun to write on these lines to build upon the narrative about oppressor and occupying Indian security apparatus in Kashmir. Sadly this video that has been shared across social media platforms will soon be forgotten but the photograph of a Kashmiri under the wheels of CRPF jeep will remain and fictitious stories will continue to be written for years to come, both in the national and international media.

In fact, this is the crux of the riddle that Kashmir has become in present times. A perception has been assiduously created over the years. Oftentimes perceptions are contrary to the truths. This happens when systematic efforts are made to create a smokescreen to hide the real picture and then dole out camouflage as reality. Nowhere is this more visible than in the Kashmir Valley. The perception is that Kashmiris in the Valley, especially the youth, are alienated with

*Vivek Sinha is a Journalist and Author of novel “Chip in the Madrasa”.
His twitter handle is @VivekSinha28

India and that Indian security forces—the CRPF and the Army are inflicting numerous atrocities on the local Kashmiris. This needs to change.

Understanding the Kashmiri psyche

At an individual level Kashmiris come across as soft spoken. But this soft-spoken Kashmiri transforms into a completely different entity when part of a large crowd. Individually, a Kashmiri may be a dove but in a mob they are definitely hawks. As part of a mob even the most rational Kashmiri flows with the tide and rarely speaks up against the *Azadi* chants, feeling too overwhelmed to think beyond the collective mentality of the mob. For several individuals, this transformation is forced upon them.

Several Kashmiri youths confide in hushed tones that oftentimes they are forced to come out of their homes to be a part of the crowd. This could be either a call to attend the funeral of a slain terrorist, to pelt stones or to be part of a procession chanting *Azadi* slogans. “The window panes of our homes are smashed and doors damaged if none of the male members come out when a clarion call is made by these brokers of Kashmir’s *Azadi*,” a young entrepreneur at Srinagar’s Lal Chowk confided in me during my visit to the Valley. His friend, who was preparing for the administrative service entrance exams, added that these *Azadi* brokers shout provocative slogans that clearly imply action against their family if one refuses to back them.

Slogans such as “*jo Bharat kaa yaar hai, woh kaum kaa gaddar hai*” (whoever is a friend of India is the enemy of Islam) are repeatedly yelled to force everyone to come out. If someone stays back the family is earmarked, their women harassed and men roughed up. For years Kashmiris

have willy-nilly been forced to be mute spectators in such staged events. The net result is that a large section of Kashmiris now behave like zombies. The *Azadi* brokers understand all of this and exploit the same by making the local population cannon fodder for stone pelting or as passive bystanders at the funeral processions of terrorists or any such unlawful activity. “As part of the crowd and on our leader’s command we can and we will do anything. For instance, we all may go ahead and pull down an electric pole for no rhyme or reason and after a few days when better sense prevails, we will write to the municipality for its re-installation,” the young entrepreneur said with a tinge of sadness in his eyes.

This youngster had a point. Around ten percent Kashmiris, who most likely are also *Azadi* brokers, dominate every aspect of ordinary life in the Kashmir Valley. They are present in plum postings at government jobs and in businesses⁴. An average Kashmiri just cannot bypass this broker class and act on his free will. A dearth of quality jobs or income avenues other than tourism has affected the behaviour of Kashmiris. Rationality, critical thinking and analytical abilities have gone for a toss and most of the Kashmiris are willing to be a part of any activity if it guarantees a few extra bucks⁵. This behavioural flaw is shrewdly exploited by Pakistan and its network of *Azadi* brokers. In one of the audios⁶ slain terrorist Burhan Wani can be clearly heard begging the LeT terrorist Hafiz Muhammad Saeed for funds. In return for the cash Wani promises to step up terrorist activities in the Valley.

Lack of entertainment options and other avenues to creatively engage the young and restive crowd complicates issues further. The absence of creative entertainment options has led Kashmiri

teenagers and young adults into substance abuse. Psychotropic substances, injectable drugs, syrups that induce drowsiness are slowly creeping into Kashmiri homes and gnawing away whatever was left of the analytical faculties of the youth, leading them further into a bottomless abyss. Yet these issues are rarely reported and talked about.

Concocted stories, falsehoods and canards spread by Pakistan-based news outfits that are readily lapped up by Left-leaning media institutions in India have also resulted in utterly false stories being fed to the teens and youth to flare up their passions. One of these is the unfortunate but infamous rape of Neelofer Jan and Asia Jan. Despite all evidence to the contrary the average Kashmiri still talks about involvement of Indian security forces especially the Army personnel, in the rapes of two sisters-in-law⁷ in 2009. The impressionable mind of a teenager is easy prey to this propaganda who then talk of seeking revenge for the wrongdoing to their sisters.

On the contrary, one of the darkest kept secrets of Kashmir's society is the systematic rape of thousands of Kashmiri women during nineties, when terrorism first came to the Valley. It was a time when foreign-funded radical Islamic mercenaries from across the world were exported into Kashmir Valley to wage jihad against infidel India. These mercenaries sought refuge in the homes of Kashmiris and raped their girls and women at will. Scores of Kashmiri girls and women became pregnant due to these daily rapes. It was concerted efforts by Indian Army and their doctors who secretly conducted thousands of abortions for these hapless women in order to save their honour and societal stigma. Most often these abortions and clinic visits happened during night or wee hours of the day. The Valley's elders know

about this ugly truth of "freedom struggle in Kashmir". Perhaps for this reason they remain passive onlookers to the current era of unrest that is being led by teenagers and youth in their early twenties. This uncomfortable truth has remained hidden for too long. The Kashmiri teenagers pelting stones at Army convoys need to know that the same *Azadi* broker who nowadays directs them to pelt stones or wield a gun were instrumental in getting mass rapes of Kashmiri women. It were these Separatists who had facilitated the entry of mercenaries who raped the sisters, mothers and aunts of their village and now they are eating up the youth's adolescence.

Terrorist versus Militant debate

It is an opportune time we officially start calling the gun toting men in Kashmir as terrorists. It should be India's overt stance to call these trigger-happy Kashmiri youth as terrorists. Designating them as militants only gives a legal and moral credibility to mindless violence in Kashmir Valley. The shrewd Pakistanis are able to brand this violence as an ongoing 'freedom struggle' in Kashmir.

We need not fall into the United Nations trap of coming to a universally agreed "definition of terrorism" because these definitions are often changed at will. The recent United Nations Human Rights Council report on gross human rights violations in Kashmir is a case in point. The report appears to have been written by compromised UN executives who camouflage themselves as human rights activists and continue to dole out fictitious but blatantly lopsided accounts of human rights violations in the Kashmir Valley. How else can the UN human rights body fail to acknowledge the cold blooded killings that continue week after

week? Shujaat Bukhari, Editor of *Rising Kashmir* was shot dead in Sringar along with his security guards just days after the release of this report. What was Bukhari's crime? He advocated peace and wanted normalcy to return in Kashmir within the framework of Indian Constitution.

It's time India puts its foot down and brands all killing of unarmed people by mercenaries in Kashmir as terrorist acts. We need to tell the world in unequivocal terms that nothing can justify the killing of unarmed Lt. Umar Fayaz in cold blood. Fayaz's killing was indeed a blatant act of terrorism as was the indiscriminate firing on the bus ferrying Amarnath *Yatris* in 2017. How can the abduction and killing of unarmed Rifleman Aurangzeb be justified? Aurangzeb was on his way to celebrate Eid when a group of terrorists abducted him from Pulwama and shot him in cold blood. This is indeed an act of terror. We need to tell the world in no uncertain terms.

This list of people killed in cold blood is quite long and should be the justification for calling gun wielders in Kashmir as terrorists. In fact, BJP did right by calling off the unnatural alliance with PDP and imposing Governor's rule in Jammu & Kashmir. The agenda of alliance had forced nationalist government led by Prime Minister Narendra Modi from talking tough to the hooligans and irritants in the Valley. The first thing that the government can now do, is to officially call these mercenaries as terrorists.

A mere change in the taxonomy would mean a sea change at how the world looks at 'Kashmir issue'. Calling them militants means that the international media, human rights groups and think tanks across the world consider the state of Jammu and Kashmir as the flashpoint of dispute between India and Pakistan. They regard Kashmir as some

kind of unfinished agenda of India's partition. In other words it justifies the killings as Kashmir's ongoing freedom struggle, thus playing into the hands of Pakistan.

The terrorism angle in Kashmir will also let the world know that the Kashmir struggle is a part of a global conspiracy to establish an Islamic Caliphate. This was being done discreetly but it's time to pull down the masks and decisively so. Let the world know that the "Kashmir struggle" has nothing to do with Kashmir and is a subset of global Islamic terrorism that was always talked about and discussed, albeit in hushed tones, for lack of evidence. As radical Islamic extremism spreads its tentacles across the globe, there is a growing realisation of the dangers of the thoughts of establishing an Islamic Caliphate. The concept of Islamic Caliphate dates back to seventh century wherein the newly formed Islamic kingdom in Middle East (West Asia) was ruled by a Caliph according to Sharia laws and enjoyed absolute power. This Caliphate persisted in various forms across the Middle East (West Asia) and frittered by the 19th Century. Radical Muslims have always dreamt of re-establishing the Caliphate and bringing new lands under Caliphate rule and consider this as Jihad. The set of laws under Caliphate include severe restrictions on a woman's freedom and dissent to the Caliph is almost always punishable by death.

Even in Kashmir the façade has fallen thanks to a flurry of audio and video messages by the zealots of Islamic Caliphate. In 2017, Hizbul's erstwhile India commander Zakir Musa openly advocated for Ghazwa-e-Hind and exhorted Indian Muslims to rise up in revolt against the Indian state⁸. Terrorist organisations such as al-Qaeda, the Islamic State, Lashkar-e-Taiba and Hizbul

Mujahideen, among several others have for decades recruited youth into their ranks for the Islamic holy war and to fight for establishment of Caliphate. Politically they put up the mask of fighting against oppression and injustice and hence try to turn the international opinion in their favour. This mask has slipped and should now be ripped off completely to let the world know about the danger that Kashmir's terrorists pose to India and to the world.

It is in our interest that the global audience now realise that the Kashmir struggle is no freedom struggle and all talks of plebiscite is farce. Pakistan has been drumming up plebiscite issue for the last seven decades, it's time for us to do the course correction. As the world recognises that Kashmir's struggle is all about establishing the Islamic Caliphate, all support to them would eventually end. The international media will look at the Kashmir issue with a different prism.

And this is not wishful thinking. Outlawed terror outfits such as Hizbul Mujahideen understand this. It is for this reason that they quickly distance themselves from all such suggestions, at least publicly. They brushed aside Musa's comments and forced Musa to quit as its India chief. Musa, on his part, remained defiant. He stood by his comments and reiterated that Mujahids like him are fighting only for greater Islamic Caliphate and Kashmir struggle is a cog in this grandiose plan.

There are several other Mujahids who are coming out of their closets and are saying that all the killings is only to establish Islamic Caliphate. India needs to present these facts before the world and establish that the unrest in Kashmir is terrorism.

Fighting the scourge of Wahhabism

It is a fact that only five districts of South Kashmir Valley in the entire state of Jammu and Kashmir are affected with a separatist sentiment. It is also a fact that there is widespread support for stone pelters and terrorists in these districts.

Of late, a thinking has evolved that isolating the population of these districts while carrying out development works in the rest of Jammu and Kashmir will to an extent restrict the separatism sentiment. With time the teenage stone pelters and terrorists will be quelled, neutralised or will simply run out of steam.

This reasoning is fundamentally flawed, simply because the ongoing unrest in South Kashmir is driven by radical Wahhabi Islamists. There is a need to understand and recognise that a very large section of Kashmiri population is under the influence of radical Wahhabi thoughts of Islam. The youngsters who are picking up guns have been indoctrinated into fighting for the larger cause of establishing the Islamic Caliphate. The inherent ideology of Wahhabis is to increase their sphere of influence through any means. Wahhabi literature and poisonous propaganda material can be readily found in prisons of Kashmir.

Wahhabism is akin to cancer that spreads much faster than one can imagine. Already there are reports that Kashmir Valley's relatively peaceful districts are being infiltrated by these radicals who are using the most lethal and erroneous interpretations of Islam to indoctrinate Kashmiri youth. Reports of disturbance have begun pouring in from the hitherto quaint Northern parts of Kashmir Valley.

There is an urgent need to tackle the menace of Wahhabism anywhere in Kashmir Valley. Interlocutors sent from New Delhi must talk to

the state administrative machinery to keep a close watch on Friday sermons in the mosques. It's here that most of the radicalisation takes place. Any secessionist preaching and incitement against India must be taken note of and the mullah must be immediately booked. Recording of the sermons should be done through discreet cameras to build a fool-proof case against them. Several of the madrasa teachers and maulvis at the Wahhabi mosques in Kashmir Valley have travelled from Uttar Pradesh, Bihar or other parts of India. There should be a proper background check of these maulvis and mullahs and all those with dubious linkages should be immediately deported from the Valley and booked under appropriate charges.

Human Rights as a tool

Perhaps nowhere else has the phrase "human rights" been more abused than in the context of Kashmir Valley. Pakistan-trained foreign mercenaries and Kashmiri terror groups commit all kinds of atrocities on unsuspecting but patriotic Kashmiris. They forcefully enter the homes, demand food and seek refuge for days at length. Almost always the women and young girls in these houses are sexually assaulted by these terrorists. These blatant rapes are never discussed and debated by the human rights watch groups and think tanks. But when our security forces conduct a cordon and search operation and neutralise terrorists hiding in village homes, these think tanks, journalists and human rights watch groups come out of their burrows and shout their lungs out about human rights abuses in Kashmir.

The need of the hour is to conduct a thorough audit of funds received by these self-proclaimed champions of human rights. Their international appearances, hypothesis driven studies on various

facets of Kashmir and speeches at international forums should all come under the scanner and must be audited. When income tax and enforcement directorate raids can happen all across India then why spare a few rich and powerful traders of information in the Kashmir Valley? Several such people have amassed wealth in a short time. It's time to make them accountable.

Issues of PoJK (Pakistan-occupied Jammu Kashmir)

Coverage of Pakistan-occupied Jammu Kashmir (PoJK) is almost negligent in Indian media. This needs to change. Social media is flooded by instances of high handedness by the Pakistan military and repeated incarceration of PoJK activists demanding basic facilities. The more the world knows about atrocities in Gilgit-Baltistan, Mirpur and Muzaffarabad, the more easier it will be to deal with trouble mongers on this side of the LoC. Active efforts need to be made to make news from PoJK available in Kashmir Valley. The people in Valley need to see for themselves the stark contrast in the quality of life on both sides of the LoC.

It will be overly ambitious if we believe that all these issues can be resolved within a fortnight or so. The issue has been brewing for decades that has been compounded by historical wrongs and requires deep thinking. Also, when all strategies to stop stone pelting are not yielding desired results then the need is to sit back and introspect. There is an urgent need to audit the funds sent to various district headquarters of Kashmir Valley to stop stone pelting. Cash is spent by local administration in the Valley, as per their discretion, in the name of maintaining law and order and under several other heads. This needs to be properly accounted for¹⁰.

Even at the peak of terrorism in the nineties there were scores of Indian supporters within the Kashmiri society who were often at the receiving end. There is still a sizeable chunk within Kashmir who are fed up with this mindless violence and want to live peacefully. The least that the Indian government can do for them is to provide them security and build a perception of empathy towards them. At present there is a perception in the Valley that whoever sides with the Indian government gets a raw deal. Villagers often cite the example of ex-terrorist Kukka Parray⁹ who was killed by his former comrades and the Indian government remained a mute spectator. This perception needs to change and the government needs to do much more for people whose family members are killed by terrorists.

A rethink on constitutional provisions is required. The nation cannot wait endlessly for the abrogation of Article 370 or of Article 35 (A). We need to make changes in byelaws to allow people from other parts of the country to settle across the

state of Jammu and Kashmir. Any delay on this issue means playing into the hands of Pakistani establishment that says Kashmir is partition's unfinished agenda.

Yet another peculiar phenomenon of the Kashmir Valley is directing all kinds of dissent and dissatisfaction with the administration and the government into demands for *Azadi*. Dissent and dissatisfaction are the bedrock of any democracy. Protests and demonstrations happen in other parts of India as well, without any secessionist feelings. The Kashmiris should be led to believe that their grievances can be solved within the constitutional and democratic paradigm. This can easily happen if people from other parts of India settle in Kashmir who will bring a fresh whiff of thinking into the society. Over the years Left-leaning media organisations and human rights groups have branded *Azadi* chants amidst cocktail of money and Pakistani guns as *Kashmiriyat*. The time is ripe for a re-definition of *Kashmiriyat* that is correct and reflects the ethos of Kashmir.

References:

1. <http://www.thehindu.com/news/national/one-year-on-life-in-shreds-for-human-shield-who-once-was-embroidery-artisan/article23474081.ece>
2. <https://www.firstpost.com/india/jammu-and-kashmir-human-shield-farooq-ahmad-dar-is-a-broken-man-year-after-stone-pelting-incident-4422851.html>
3. <https://scroll.in/latest/881153/youth-dies-after-crpf-vehicle-runs-over-3-in-srinagar-while-trying-to-escape-protestors-reports>
4. <https://www.sundayguardianlive.com/news/8956-isi-s-budget-kashmir-stone-pelting-rs-1000cr>
5. <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/1261-stone-pelting-incidents-in-jk-in-2017-pulwama-records-maximum-firs-govt/articleshow/63233962.cms>
6. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QpxJtVdIHtM>
7. <http://pristinekashmir.com/topics/stories/story-of-asiya-nilofar>
8. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C2GdIUytK40>
9. <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/Kukka-Parray-A-profile/articleshow/180505.cms>
10. <http://www.catchnews.com/india-news/can-t-buy-peace-centre-has-spent-rs-4-735-crore-on-kashmir-policing-since-89-1468604171.html>



North East India: Prospects for Peace

K Raka Sudhakar Rao*

Intricate inter-play of conflict dynamics, trans-border linkages, geo-political complications, geographical incongruities, ethnic diversity and plethora of demands ranging from autonomy to self-determination to complete secession from India have always been the force multipliers for extremism in the North East. 5,300 km of highly volatile and extremely porous borders that the 2,63,000 sq km North East shares with four enigmatic, if not entirely inimical neighbours only add to the complexity of the situation.

Fertile ground for militancy

North East, which accounts for nearly 7.7 percent of India's land mass and 3.1 percent of India's population, was the first region where eruption took place against the Indian state soon after Independence and it is the longest lasting insurgency till date. Militancy in Kashmir and Left Wing Extremism (LWE) came much later. In North East, it began with Nagas in 1952 and the Mizos joined the militancy bandwagon in 1965. Manipur too, saw the sprouting of a plethora of extremist organizations – some espousing the Meitei or Kanglei cause, some pitting Sanamahi Dhama against Vaishnavism introduced from the land of Bengal, yet others pitting Meiteis against the Naga-Kuki-Chin tribal block. Then, the restive tribals of Tripura too took to arms with the likes of Binod Jamatia and Bijoy Hrankhawl leading the insurgency.

Assam, the most populous of the seven sisters, too had its separatist tendencies long before India's Independence. Foremost intellectual of the 1930s, Jnannath Bora, had questioned the inclusion of Assam in the British India. Before that Kamalakantha Bhattacharya, editor of *Asom Hitoishi*, espoused the same cause.¹ In fact, there has always been a strand of intellectual class that questioned the treaty of Yandaboo of 1826 signed between the British represented by Gen. Sir Archibald Campbell and Governor of Legaing Maha Min Hla Kyaw Htin of Burma (now Myanmar). It was this Treaty that enabled the British to annex Assam. This strand of separatism, if not secessionism, waxed and waned alternatively over the decades. Fear of being swamped by outsiders added fuel to fire². Nothing has scarred the psyche of the North Easterners than what they perceived as Jawaharlal Nehru's 'hasty' willingness to bid good bye to Assam in the face of Chinese onslaught in NEFA (now Arunachal Pradesh) in 1962. Sense of alienation was also exacerbated by the inanities of the Mahalanobis economic paradigm that left geographically inaccessible and infrastructurally weak North East way too behind in terms of development. Thus these economic laggards with a plethora of grouses and grievances became the fertile ground for secessionism and extremism. Ineffective and corrupt governance and sclerotic administration

**Shri K Raka Sudhakar Rao is a journalist and was a social activist in India's North East between 1984 and 1995.*

that failed to ensure a trickle down of developmental benefits spawned cycles of disaffection and insurgency in the region.

Exclusion and alienation

By far, the biggest problem in North East is the exclusion and alienation among the tribes, between the tribals and indigenous non-tribals and between the indigenous people and the outsiders from the rest of the country. This is an offshoot of the Inner Line Permit System, which is a vestige of the Bengal Eastern Frontier Regulations 1873. The British wanted to perpetuate their interests in the region and insulate the tribals from the independence movement sweeping through the rest of the country. This caused alienation, distrust and disaffection among the North Eastern ethnic communities and those in the rest of the country.³ Every integrating and homogenising effort was seen as an inimical construct by the ethnic groups. There was stiff opposition to the process of national integration, democratic consolidation. Unfortunately, successive governments post-Independence continued with these provisions. Even the Governments had in the past felt that any homogenising effort would have its own set of implications for policy formulation and implementation and preferred to play a defensive game.

Ameliorative measures

It is pertinent to note that internal conflicts have been a significant as well as long-term feature of Asian political landscape since the end of the World War II and India too is no exception. Post-

Independence, nascent India had to grapple with Naga, Mizo, Manipuri and Tripuri insurgencies till 1980s. Then the NSCN factions – Khaplang and T Muivah in Nagaland-Manipur-Arunachal's Tirap-Changlang tract -Myanmar border continuum, Remnants of ULFA under Paresh Baruah, Bodo militancy emerged as very strong faces of North Eastern militancy and dominated the discourse for over two decades. A series of measures by the Government of India have helped bring most extremist groups to sub-threshold and manageable levels. Nagaland, till then a district in Assam, became a state in 1973. Mizoram, another district at the time of Independence, and NEFA became union territories in 1972 and later full-fledged states in 1987. NEFA was renamed Arunachal Pradesh. Meghalaya was carved out of Assam in 1972. Tripura and Manipur, both C States or Union Territories in 1948, became full-fledged states during the massive reorganisation of the North East in 1972. This thorough reorganisation has put an end to several conflicts as they assuaged the administrative and territorial aspirations of the ethnic groups to a large extent. The Sixth Schedule of the Constitution has also tried to address the sub-regional tribal aspirations for limited administrative autonomy through special institutional arrangements such as territorial councils and district councils.

Pro-active policy yielding results

The Central Government over the years had adopted a multi-pronged approach towards conflict resolution that showed mature appreciation of the ethnic sensibilities and tribal

aspirations. Effective cutting off of transborder movements of militants, money and arms, massive area domination exercises, containment of terror operatives, local autonomies and tribal accords, special economic packages and intense negotiations with insurgents. Many insurgent outfits have realised the need to subsume under the rubric of Indian Union and the futility of fighting the might of the Indian state. Greater interaction between the rest of the country and the North East also has contributed in a great measure to the growth in mutual understanding. Large scale recruitment into Government services and the Army has yielded fruits in building bonds of commonness. Today the Assam Regiment, predominantly comprising Nagas, is the biggest bulwark in North East.

Initiatives over the past four years have led to a huge improvement in the security scenario in the North East. In what could be seen as an overall de-escalation of security threat perception, the Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA) has been lifted from Meghalaya and Arunachal Pradesh, except Naga NSCN-dominated Tirap, Changlang and Longdeng districts. The AFSPA was also lifted from eight police stations in Assam that border Arunachal. Similarly, Protected Area Permits have been relaxed for foreigners, except Chinese, Pakistanis and Afghans, for visiting Manipur, Mizoram and Nagaland.

Union Home Minister Rajnath Singh has claimed a 75 percent reduction in North East militancy.⁴ An MHA official claimed that 2017 has recorded the lowest number of insurgency related incidents and casualties among the citizens

and security forces during the last two decades since 1997. He claimed that insurgency has been wiped out from Tripura and Mizoram. He also claimed marked improvement in the security situation in Meghalaya, Nagaland and Manipur.

Several key decisions such as sanctioning ten reserve battalions – two each for Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya, Manipur and Tripura – Cabinet Committee on Security (CCS) approval to the proposal aimed at enhancing the overall cost from Rs 138.95 crore to Rs 212.85 crore to strengthen the police establishments, setting up of 11 new police stations and upgradation of nine police station in Tirap, Changlang and Longding of Arunachal Pradesh.⁵ The ground situation across the North East too corroborates these claims. A South Asia Terror Portal (SATP) assessment shows that 2017 saw a dip in the level of violence and this dip is a continuance of the gains made in 2016. By 2016, the districts reporting fatalities stood at 31 out of a total of 108 districts as against 41 in 2015. There were no militancy-related deaths in Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram and Tripura during 2016. Other parameters like security forces to militant ratio, which stood at 1:4.76, have also shown improvement over 2015.⁶

Thanks to the proactive measures, militancy is now staring at a downturn. Of the 139 terrorist organisations listed in the SATP database, only 32 terrorist organisations, including 13 proscribed outfits, are active now. As many as 97 have now become inactive. As many as 23 outfits are in various stages of negotiations with the Government.⁷

Emerging threats

However despite the gains, challenges still remain in North East. Joint operations and common united fronts of lethal terrorist groups is still a potential threat. United Liberation Front of Assam, Manipur's PLA, & NSCN factions can still make a common cause.

Similarly, six Manipuri militant groups, including Kangleipak Communist Party and Kanglai Yawol Kalla Lup, have made common cause only two years ago. Some of these factions have joined hands with ULFA and carried out attacks within Assam. This is said to be part of Operation Barak. There was an earlier conglomerate titled United National Liberation Front of West South East Asia. This has Khaplang faction of the NSCN, ULFA, National Democratic Front of Bodoland (NDFB-IKS faction), Kamatapur Liberation Organisation, National Liberation Front of Tripura and Democratic Council of Karbi-Langri in Karbi Anglong district of Assam.

Factionalism and splits within the militant groups have implications for the negotiations with the disaffected elements. If one group is placated, the rival group ups the ante. The rivalry of NSCN Muivah faction and the Khaplang factions has been complicating the Naga negotiations. With Government entering into an agreement with Muivah faction, the Khaplang faction is restive. Even the Muivah faction is unhappy at the delay in implementation of the Naga Accord that the Government of India signed in August 2015. As per some reports, the contents of the Naga Accord do not envisage any change in the boundaries of

the states, but the accord needs to be placed in the public domain.

The updation of the National Register of Citizens in Assam and the Bodo-Bangladeshi conflict in the Bodoland Territorial Council Area can also explode into violence and militant movements could spiral out of hand. The Citizenship (Amendment) Bill 2016 could unleash violence in both Assam and Tripura. Repatriation of the Reangs (Bru) and Chakma refugees, who have been living in camps for over three decades due to the violent attacks in Mizoram, could also escalate into violence and armed militancy. The threat of Jihadi terrorism is looming large in North East, especially in the Lower Assam and the Barak Valley. Jamatul Mujahideen Bangladesh terrorists sneaking in and out of Assam is common place and there have been reports of Jihadi violence in several parts of Assam. A nexus between NE militant groups and the Jihadi elements could be a potentially explosive possibility.

Small arm smuggling has serious security implications for North East India. There are reports of Chinese intelligence agencies providing arms to various militant groups. ULFA I honcho Paresh Baruah has bases in both Myanmar and Ruili town in China's Yunnan province. Effective curbs are needed to prevent the illicit arms trade.

Though militancy is in sub-threshold level, extortion by militant groups is rampant. In Nagaland, the militants run parallel governments and levy taxes on every household. Siphoning off of money from the public distribution system and rural development departments to help militants

are common. Even PSU top honchos are known to pay monthly *mamools* to the militants. Curbing these financial sources is the biggest challenge for the government in North East. A coordinated and concerted effort is needed to ensure that the financial supplies to the terror organisations dry up.

Emotional integration with the rest of the country and discovering latent commonalities among what externally appear to be differences and divergences of the North East are imperatives. This is where non-Government and non-formal systems have a key role to play. Student exchange programmes, job opportunities for the North Eastern populace in the rest of the country and exploration of North East's tourist potential can make a difference. They can lead to better appreciation of the underlying universality amid the variegated diversity of North East. The tourism potential of places like Unakoti in Tripura, archaeological remains of Dimapur, Mura Puk caves in Mizoram, Loktak lake and Moirang, associated Subhash Chandra Bose's INA, Tawang monastery, orchid nurseries and Jaswantgarh in Arunachal, besides scenic and verdant Khasi and Jaintia Hills needs to be fully exploited to build a commercial connection between the North East and the rest of the India. The pilgrimage potential of the places where Guru Nanak in Arunachal, the picturesque Parasuram Kund in Arunachal Pradesh, Gurdwara Dhubri Sahab founded by Guru Teg Bahadur, the venerable ninth master of the Sikhs, Kamakhya, places associated with the redoubtable Mahapurush Srimant Sankar Deo and Madhav Deb and the Gobindji Mandir of

Manipur needs to be realised so that the emotional umbilical connection that links India with North East is refurbished.

Act East – Act North East

Thanks to the Act East Policy of the Government of India, the geographical isolation of North East could soon be a thing of past. From a remote, inaccessible region beset with challenges like the narrow Chicken's Neck, North East has suddenly emerged as India's gateway to South East Asia. This opens up immense growth possibilities. This could see a spurt in connectivity improvement, infrastructure building activity, development of dry ports and bustling commercial activity. This could have a deeply transformative impact on the whole of North East and put it back on the path of development. Look East Policy could be the game-changer that could compensate for the lopsided post-independence economic policies that stymied North East's economic integration with India's growth story.

It should be remembered that development and emotional integration can play a vital role in ending militancy in North East. Lebanese social scientist Edward Azar has famously summed up on the basis of extensive studies of protracted violence of 1990s thus: Reducing overt conflict requires reduction in levels of underdevelopments. Groups which seek to satisfy their identity and security needs through conflict are in effect seeking change in the structure in their society. Conflict resolution can truly occur and last if satisfactory amelioration of underdevelopment occurs as well.”⁸

References:

- 1 Bimal.J. Deb (Ed) *Extremism in North East India*, Concept Pub, New Delhi, 2015, pp 8
- 2 Across North East India, the outsiders are looked upon with distrust and suspicion. In Assamese, the outsiders or immigrants are called Bongal (a corrupted form of Bengali), while in Khasi they are called Mayang. In Manipuri, the Muslim immigrants are called 'Pangals,' again a corrupted form of Bengali. The immigrant is called Dhkar in Garo language. There are several songs in Assamese folklore that talk about immigrants. For instance,
Kaniya Ahila... Kani Paan Korila
Ghorot Ba Hoiche Ki
Maa raak loi gol Ranua Bongale
Kandhote Bondook to Thoi (The opiate addict is unaware of what's happening at home. Armed foreigner came with a gun in his arms and took away the mother).
- 3 For a brief account on the Innerline Permit, refer to P Chakraborty, *Inner Line Regulation of North East India*, Linkman Publications, Titagarh, 1995, pp 1-3.
- 4 <https://indianexpress.com/article/india/extremism-in-northeast-down-by-75-per-cent-over-past-3-years-rajnath-singh-4805965/>
- 5 <https://www.theweek.in/news/india/2018/04/23/home-ministry-successful-in-counteracting-naxalism-northeast-insurgency.html>
- 6 http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/india/Assessment_NE2017.htm
- 7 http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/india/Assessment_NE2017.htm
- 8 Bimal.J. Deb (Ed) *Extremism in North East India*, Concept Pub, New Delhi, 2015, pp



Cross Border Terrorism and Response Options

Narender Kumar*

Introduction

Conventional wars are not the norms or strategic choice for state on state conflicts due to huge cost and collateral damages. As a result grey zone conflicts, which fall in duality of neither war nor peace, are becoming new arena of strategic competition between states. Cross border terrorism is a conflict that falls in the category of grey zone conflict. It is an undeclared war and considered to be highest form of strategy to bleed a nation for prolonged period by small efforts. It is an asymmetric war strategy employed by an adversary at a point in time when it cannot compete on a traditional battlefield, and adversary looks to where you are vulnerable.¹ In this war the principle followed by an adversary is to avoid to go at the enemy blow by blow, strength against strength since it is considered un-strategic.² India has unresolved borders with two of its nuclear neighbours and surrounded by politically, economically and militarily unstable nations. The state and non-state actors have taken advantage of such a scenario to cause military and economic friction to weaken India internally.

India has land borders with six countries, and except for Bhutan, the threat of terrorists, insurgents and criminals illegally crossing over always remain a possibility. Out of the total 29 states of India except for five states, rest all states have either maritime boundary or land border with

other nations. 17 Indian States have border with other countries and 9 states have maritime boundary (Gujarat & West Bengal have both international border and maritime boundary as well). There are only five states that have no access to international border by land or by ocean/ sea. Of these five states, four of them are facing Left Wing Extremism. Such a geographical disposition is an advantage but also becomes a vulnerability especially when certain nations are not favourably disposed towards India. Major General Afsir Karim writes that, terrorism in India takes two forms: one is of domestic origin, the other is terrorism that is sponsored by external agencies. The domestic terrorist threats in India basically arise from separatist tendencies, ethnic and linguistic demands, religious radicalism, socioeconomic deprivation, and, at times, bad governance.³ Insurgency in the North East is surviving since 1950s primarily due to its external linkages. Terrorism in Punjab had its root in Pakistan when Khalistan terrorists were armed, trained and supported by ISI. The objective was to strike at the food bowl of India and to create secessionist movement across the northern states of India. Similarly, Pakistan sponsored cross border terrorism in Jammu & Kashmir has become one of the major internal security threats. The Problem with such a prolonged conflict is that it has the potential to spill over to other states on

**Brig. Narender Kumar (Retd) is a former Infantry officer and currently a Distinguished Fellow at The United Service Institution of India.*

the basis of religion, community and perception of just cause to pick up arms for unresolved grievances of the people. Another dimension of cross border terrorism through maritime boundary was added during 26/11 terror attack when Pakistan sponsored terrorists struck at Mumbai, the financial capital of India. Thus not only contiguous Border States with land borders with other countries are vulnerable today to the cross border terrorism but even the coastal areas are equally vulnerable that has critical infrastructure of vital importance. Asia Economic Institute study which calculated that the overall damage to India's economy in the wake of the Mumbai attacks was about \$100 billion arising from crucial institutions, such as the stock exchanges, commodities, money markets, and business and commercial establishments which remained closed.⁴ Such attacks also impact future investment potential and the insecure environment that gets created have enduring psychological impact on the citizenry of the state. It is assessed that Foreign Direct Investment was hit by an estimated \$20 billion⁵ post Mumbai terror attacks. Prof Daniel L. Byman of Georgetown University wrote that, "Terror itself is often a tool of war, used to sow an atmosphere of fear and undermine governments".⁶ Cross border terrorism has become a part of new wars because conventional wars have become unaffordable due to lethality and cost. In a nutshell North East, Jammu & Kashmir and Punjab have emerged as the main threat to cross border terrorism. All the three are concentrated at the outer limits of India adjoining a neighbouring country that has the desire and the ability to create

problems in India's internal security.⁷ Threat to maritime boundary of India is now more than ever because that gives deniability to inimical states for sponsoring terrorism.

Factors Giving Impetus to Cross Border Terrorism

Terrorist groups and insurgents do not emerge from nowhere, they emerge out of social, cultural, political, economic, communal and religious fault lines. Al-Qaeda and ISIS are products of regional wars that now aspire for political space and a Caliphate on religious grounds. These organisations got political, religious and logistic support from the nations that wanted them to be used as strategic assets to pursue their perceived vital national interests. However, some of these organisations grew in strength and became autonomous and spiraled out of control of their sponsors. The factors that give impetus to the cross border terrorism are as under:-

- Geography assists in border transgression and infiltration of terrorists. Proximity of vulnerable areas to a rogue nation ensures continuous flow of terrorists and war like support to sustain momentum of conflict.
- Identical ethnic demography gives support and sustenance to the terrorists during and post infiltration.
- Political patronage to terror movement is provided by network of unarmed terrorists, over ground workers and separatists so that they can establish linkages and identity with the larger population of a community.
- Poor and corrupt governance gives space for

non-state actors to create a conducive environment on ground for making it a popular mass movement.

- Subverted government institutions give impetus by their inactions and inability to protect vital public space.
- Unsettled borders, competing strategic interests, unstable or ungoverned territories in the neighbouring countries and spillover effect of communal or religious conflict in these countries also adds to the vulnerability from cross border terrorism.
- Illegal and mass displacement of population due to communal and economic reasons also adds to the vulnerability.
- Children of war or conflict are easy cannon fodder and can be motivated to pursue the agenda of state and non-state actors.
- Lack of stability and contiguous land border with hostile nations is one of the major causes of cross border terrorism.
- Most important is the factor of availability of willing terror recruits. Ideal situation is when the terror recruits are available on both sides of the international borders. The case of J&K is an apt example where you have terror factories on both sides and they operate in tandem with each other.
- The motivation for terrorists on both sides is different, foreign terrorists join the conflict due to religion, economic reasons, identical ethnic affiliation and a perceived notion of just cause for Jihad. The domestic terrorists in addition to the factors attracting foreign terrorists is also due to political

alienation, personal failure and an escape route for redemption in society and to fight for self-determination/ homeland.

- Nexus between drug cartels, gun runners and terror organisations give a source of funding and sustenance.

The motivation for involvement of a foreign power to continue with the cross border terrorism or proxy war comes from the fact that fighting wars is uneconomical, but it is always a wise course of option to make the opponent waste as much of the resources as possible.⁸ Cross border terrorism does give an adversary deniability and no collateral damage as a blow back impact. Thus, it is a cheap war to achieve high dividends at low risk. Cross border terrorism is considered to be part of grey zone conflict; with the passage of time these conflicts are becoming sophisticated and complex. There is a possibility that cross border terrorism if not handled with efficiency and precision could go on to become a hybrid war.

Nature of Threat from Cross Border Terrorism

Monopoly of the state over wars is reducing and non-state actors with or without support of the states are now taking control of proxy wars, or grey zone conflicts making new wars ambiguous and difficult to fight. Terror is not only state sponsored but it also manifests due to political aspirations of terror organisations based on religious or communal ideology. Islamic state and al-Qaeda are terror organisation that have long-term political objectives to create Islamic State. Cross border terrorism features

unconventional tactics, from cyberattacks to propaganda and political warfare, to economic coercion and sabotage, to sponsorship of armed proxy fighters, to creeping military expansionism.⁹ The tactics adopted by the non-state actors or terror organisations is shrouded in misinformation and deception,¹⁰ thus making it extremely difficult for the conventional forces to defeat or eliminate it. Their objective is to create a sense of invincibility and perception of just war by prolonged engagement.

The threat of cross border terrorism is military and nonmilitary in nature. Threat is against the infrastructure, democratic institutions, economic institutions, law enforcing agencies, coercion of masses by threat to life, threat to cultural heritage, disruption of communication, threat to international community and multinational agencies. In fact the target is cognitive, physical, public and private space. The threat is not only restricted from land, it now can manifest from air (swarm drone attack), from the sea (26/11), on the high sea, cyber and psychological space. It can be composite threat consisting of cyber, perception and physical attack simultaneously or it can be sequential. Surprise is the biggest weapon for terrorists.

Today even perception and cyber war should also be categorised as cross border terrorism because cyber and perception war can cause greater damage than the physical attack. The strategy adopted by Pakistan in Kashmir is to destroy culture, history, cohesion among various communities, the enshrined values of Kashmiriyat and the moderate Islam by imposing a hardline Salafi- Wahhabi Islam that is not indigenous to

the Kashmir valley. Now cross border terrorism is attacking the established order and grass root democracy. It is detrimental to the basic tenant of existence of a state. The objective is to create anarchy and uncontrolled chaos thereby demonstrating to the world that people of Kashmir or conflict area have rejected the democratic institutions or have no faith in the established order.

Military and Non Military Response Options

There is no moral taint in fighting against the adversary in a similar manner the way adversary has chosen to fight. Gijs de Vries, an expert on cross border terrorism said, “We are familiar with terrorism. But indiscriminate, cross-border, religiously motivated terrorism is new.” We need to first understand that, national security in the contemporary era is not cheap, it requires long term investment. When we talk about response it need not be military in nature, it requires a whole of nation approach. It requires theoretical understanding of the new wars that are fought in grey zones and below the threshold of conventional wars. The problem of cross border terrorism is when it is deemed to be a military problem without developing capabilities of the military to fight this new war that is highly sophisticated. This war cannot be fought with conventional capabilities and without infusion of technology and well researched perception warfare. The focus is primarily on elimination of terrorists and rarely on elimination of terrorism. If we examine it empirically, India has done very

little to end the cross border terrorism because it can be eliminated when the root of terrorism is eliminated or threatened by making state and non-state actors pay the price for their culpability. Pakistan is aware that India will not retaliate and take actions against the rogue agencies or against the ideologues, as a result the fear of retribution is not there. Unless the source of energy of terrorism is attacked elimination of terrorists in Kashmir will yield little result. One surgical strike is not enough. The strike has to be through multiple channels to make the ideologues and rogue agencies unsafe and dry up their source of funding. There are following fundamental structural flaws in handling cross border terrorism in India;

- As on date the cross border terrorism is being handled by multiple agencies operating under different ministries, as a result the entire efforts of fighting cross border terrorism lacks synergy. Intelligence agencies and Central Armed Police Forces are operating under Ministry of Home Affairs, Army under Ministry of Defence and police under state government. All operations of critical nature must be handled under single operational command who has the resources and capability to influence the outcome of operations.
- The intelligence must function under the operational commander and it cannot be operating under bureaucracy or National Security Advisor through remote control. It must be first accountable to commanders on the ground and then to the rest because it is the field commander who is going to act on

that intelligence. The consequences of delayed intelligence will be faced by men on the ground.

- Lack of military and strategic culture among the political leadership is leading to our lackluster approach in dealing with cross border terrorism. There is little indication that Indian leaders have even thought through the question of how they want to apply military force and to what purpose or that they have given any direction to the Indian military¹¹ in J&K or North East. The cross border terrorism cannot be classified as simple terrorism shooting with the AK 47. It is today convergence of technology, perception, cyber and raw military power. Thus a deeper understanding of conceptual aspect for fighting this war is must. The leadership must understand that it is non-military and military in character and creates a crisis on many fronts.¹²
- In the last 30 years not even one Pakistani terrorist has been given life or death penalty for waging war against India. In 2010 there were more than 100 Pakistani terrorists arrested over a period of time during encounters or injured in encounter. Some of them have either been repatriated back to Pakistan or are still in jails. There is no deterrence of law and as a result the recruitment continues uninterrupted.
- Former Defense Secretary of US, Leon E. Panetta warned that state and non-state actors are capable of creating “cyber-Pearl Harbor”.¹³ The loss and destruction can be

unimaginable. Therefore, cross border terrorism through cyber threat has huge potential. Exploitation of cyber, perception and social media space by and large has remained uncontested. Pakistan and its proxies have been able to completely dominate this space and have used it to create anti India sentiment among the people. More cyber and social media platforms have been exploited by proxies of Pakistan to radicalise youth woman and children. There is no political direction or long term policy for dealing with cross border terrorism and as a consequence the Indian approach can at best be called fragmented.

Military Options

- **Doctrine for Cross Border Terrorism (Grey Zone Conflict):** All complex operations are required to have doctrines and concept of operations. Our approach more often is adhoc and without getting into theoretical understanding of the conflict. Doctrines act as guiding principle and assist a nation in forecasting and working out future course of actions so that a nation is not surprised by the adversary and there is no capability gap that may arise due to inability to visualise. Doctrine of punitive deterrence or proactive defence for waging undeclared war must be formalised.
- **Border Surveillance:** It is not possible to monitor and keep entire borders under surveillance through human intelligence. It

is time for India to keep vulnerable areas on land, sea and air under electronic and digital surveillance. It would require military grade satellite, aerial drones, radars and even hand held devices such as Long-Range Observation Systems (LOROS) or Hand Held Thermal Imagers (HHTIs).

- **Counter Infiltration Grid:** Counter infiltration grid in J&K and North East must have accountability and unity of command. With non-state actors becoming more and more sophisticated in their operations, the response mechanism has become complex and require sophistication in intelligence gathering and speedy response. Reactive and smart fence concept must be brought in phases. Sooner or later we will have to bring in the concept of air cavalry to improve reaction time along the borders and in depth areas. The current night fighting capabilities of troops engaged in cross border terrorism are inadequate and thus it needs improvement.
- **Capability Development to Fight Cross Border Terrorism:** Cross border terrorism is an act of war and fall in the category of military operational domain. Future wars will be willy-nilly in the domain of grey zone conflict that could get upgraded to hybrid threat. India must move in the direction of specialisation of military to fight this new emerging threat. So far we have been fighting irregulars with regular and conventional capabilities which is a flawed and fatigued strategy. Such

capabilities require long term vision and investment. Endeavour should be to prevent cross border terrorism becoming a hybrid war.

● **Precision Engagement Capabilities:**

Precision engagement can only come when the ground forces have the wherewithal to identify and then engage the target with accuracy. With increase in intensity of trans-border terrorism, precision engagement is an ideal tool to strike, because surgical strikes can be used only as an exception and not as routine. Military should also look at alternative means to strike at the terror camps across the Line of Control.

● **Niche technology Infusion Is Imperative:**

The level of threat will increase with terrorists getting access to the technology such as drones, and radiation or dirty bombs. It would require surveillance, detection and neutralisation. Artificial Intelligence modules for intelligence, logistics, perception war and counter radicalisation is becoming a must now.

● **Cyber and Information War is here to Stay:**

Leon E. Panetta had said that there is a threat of hacking of vital systems including critical switches, which could derail trains, disorient air traffic, paralyse banking systems, interference in air defence, radars and marine navigation system. Thus this field require urgent attention so that adequate offensive and defensive capabilities can be developed. It will require military and nonmilitary efforts to develop a robust system.

Non Military Options.

● **Enunciation of Clear Foreign Policy:** The foreign policy doctrine with respect to cross-border terrorism must be enunciated by the Prime Minister as the executive head of the state.¹⁴ Mere criticism is not enough. There is a need to define and declare fall outs of continuation of cross border terrorism. It must be made clear that it will be deemed an undeclared war by inimical forces. Though we may be late in doing so but there should be no hesitation in declaring it.

● **War of Perception - A Highly Specialised Field:**

War of perception is a potent tool and terrorists and ideologues have been able to exploit it in Kashmir. It has been one of the main source of radicalisation and mobilisation of civil population for Intifada. The government policy to deal with war of perception has been incoherent and inconsistent as a result, ISI and separatist have been able to take advantage of this vacuum. To plan and execute perception war there are certain fundamental principles such as credible information, continuous and sustained flow of perception management contents, mass engagement and creation of positive narrative. It would require research, confidentiality and credible agencies for wider acceptability.

● **Security of Human Resource Assets:** The State has to ensure that the own constituency is protected and not allowed to be targeted by the terrorists. One of the main mission of the cross border terrorism is to disrupt

and erode the established order and eliminate those who are seen to be working to undermine the efforts of proxies and terrorists. Killing of prominent citizens and grass-root politicians is detrimental to strengthen the established order. Terrorists cannot be allowed to force rejection of democratic process by violence and coercion.

- **Legal Provisions:** Cross border terrorism is a war being waged against the nation. The government must create separate court for war crimes and take all such cases out of the state for speedy trial. If need be, government could bring appropriate Ordinance or Act to try all foreigners by special courts, especially when they are engaged in waging war against India. Terrorism is not an adventure game. The deterrence has to be imposed or else it cements the perception that you can attack India without any exemplary punishment for the crime.
- **Fighting through Global Institutions & Co-operations:** The history of counter-terrorism suggests that all states, regardless of public pronouncements to the contrary, will strike deals with foreign terrorists in order to keep their own citizens safe from attack.¹⁵Notwithstanding, inimical state and rogue agencies should be kept under pressure diplomatically. The diplomatic initiative and cooperation with Bangladesh and Myanmar has yielded results and large

number of terrorists were handed over to the Government of India and the safe havens have been denied to the prominent secessionist and insurgent leaders. This can be considered a huge success and pressure on Pakistan must be maintained.

Conclusion

The unique nature of India's terrorist problem, which is both of a cross-border and state-sponsored variety and its closest fellow-victim is Israel.¹⁶There is no alternative to building capabilities of the armed forces to fight sophisticated cross border terrorism and grey zone conflict. It will be a cardinal mistake if the government keeps military out of the loop of decision making. They must respect and value military advice in a structured manner.

The biggest failure in Kashmir to manage conflict has been political because they failed to take advantage of negative peace (a period immediately after the conflict where violence may have ended but the conflict resolution is yet to take place) between 2006 to 2010. Management of negative peace is vital since it is fragile and has the potential of reversal. India has been a reluctant power and New Delhi is still concerned of escalation. As long as India continues to fear escalation, it has little chance of deterring Pakistan's support for cross-border terrorism.¹⁷ India needs to evolve an integrated approach to deal with this complex problem. The conflict should be dealt with through an integrated approach and debated academically.

References:

- 1 Anja Kaspersen, Espen Barth Eide & Philip Shetler-Jones, *10 trends for the future of warfare*, *World Economic Forum*, Nov 03, 2016.
- 2 Robert Greene, *The 33 Strategies of War*, Viva Books, 2006, p 103.
- 3 Major General (Retired) Afsir Karim, *Terrorist Threats in India, Science and Technology to Counter Terrorism: Proceedings of an Indo-U.S. Workshop*, Published by The National Academies Press, 2007.
- 4 Dilip Bobb, *The fast lane: Economic cost of terror*, *Financial Express*, January 25, 2015.
- 5 *Ibid*
- 6 Daniel L. Byman, *How war drives terrorism*, *Brookings*, June 23, 2016.
- 7 Harshit Singh Jadoun, *Cross Border Terrorism And Home Grown Militancy*, Published on November 14, 2015, Accessed from <https://www.lawctopus.com/academike/cross-border-terrorism-home-grown-militancy/> on June 17, 2018.
- 8 Greene N 2
- 9 Hal Brands, *Paradoxes of the Grey Zone*, *Foreign Policy Research Institute*, Feb 05, 2016.
- 10 *Ibid*.
- 11 Rajesh Rajagopalan, *India's clueless deterrence "strategy"*, *Observer Research Foundation*, Mar 09 2018.
- 12 Colonel Qiao Liang and Colonel Wang Xiangsui, *Unrestricted War*, Beijing, 1998.
- 13 Elisabeth Bumiller and Thom Shanker, *Panetta Warns of Dire Threat of Cyberattack on US*, *New York Times*, Oct 11, 2012
- 14 Dhruv C Katoch, *Combatting Cross-Border Terrorism: Need for a Doctrinal Approach*, *CLAWS Journal Winter 2013*, p 9.
- 15 Prem Mahadevan, *India and the global discourse on state-sponsored terrorism*, *Observer Research Foundation*, Dec 20, 2017.
- 16 *Ibid*.
- 17 Rajgopalan, N 11.



Why Do Terror Groups Choose Coastal Routes To Strike?

Pushpita Das*

November 26, 2018 will mark the 10th anniversary of the Mumbai attack when ten terrorists from Pakistan landed on the shores of Mumbai and carried out a coordinated attack killing 166 persons and injuring scores. The attack had not only made India aware of the enormity of threats from the sea but also propelled the Government to undertake a series of measures to overhaul the coastal security of the country. While implementation of these security measures over the years has improved the security of the country's coasts, but possibility of an attack from the sea continues to remain a clear and present danger. Presently, India's coasts face threats that are primarily sub-conventional in nature. Terrorist attacks causing extensive damage to life and property is one of the most potent of these threats. These terror attacks can take place in various forms. For example, like in Mumbai terrorists can sneak into the Indian waters in the guise of fishermen and carry out attacks on coastal cities and also on strategic installations located along the coast.

The episode of failed hijacking of the Pakistani naval ships by terrorists indicates that radicalised elements of the state forces can be commandeered by terrorist groups to launch attacks on ports and ships.¹ On September 6, 2014 the operatives of the al-Qaeda in the Subcontinent (AQIS), an outfit of the al-Qaeda tried to capture two Pakistani naval ships, PNS Zulfiqar and PNS Aslat, from the naval dockyard with an intention

to attack the US oil tanker, USS Supply, as well as the frigates which were guarding it. In a communiqué, the group claimed that the attack was carried out by Pakistani serving naval officers and not by intruders as projected by the Pakistani authorities.² Other scenarios could involve terrorists ramming an explosive laden boat against an oil tanker or a port thereby causing extensive oil spills and blocking navigational channels as it happened with an oil tanker, M V Limburg, off the Yemeni coast in 2002.³ Terrorists can also target vital installation using rockets and missiles from sea based platforms. Any such attack would not only cause enormous loss of men and material but can also potentially cripple the country's economy.

While the world since long has been witnessing various forms of maritime terrorism perpetrated by various rebel and terrorist groups such as the Palestinian, Sri Lankan Tamil, Filipino and Irish insurgents as well as al-Qaeda and Lashkar-e-Toiba (LeT), the RAND terrorism database reveal that sea borne attacks have constituted only two per cent of all international terrorist related incidents over the last 30 years.⁴ Experts believe that terrorist groups have not been able to fully exploit the maritime domain primarily because - a) operating at sea requires specialised training, skills and assets, b) the high cost and unpredictable nature of the domain constrain cash strapped terrorist groups from undertaking maritime operations, and c) the mobile and

*Dr. Pushpita Das is a Research Fellow at Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA), New Delhi.

relatively 'out of sight' nature of the maritime targets, which fail to elicit the kind of publicity usually desired by terrorist groups.⁵

Despite these considerations, concerns about sea borne terrorist attacks have heightened the world over in the past two decades, given a modest yet evident increase in high-profile terrorist attacks and plots at sea. These incidents have galvanised fears that terrorists, especially militants connected with the international jihadist network, are moving to decisively extend operational mandates beyond purely territorially bounded theatres.⁶

Reasons behind choosing sea route for terror attacks: A combination of factors have contributed to the decision of the terrorist groups and networks to shift to the sea. Some of them are detailed below:

Secure land borders: Unlike the sea, every inch of the land is under the jurisdiction of a sovereign state. Also in recent years, particularly after the September 11, 2001 terror attacks, many governments have invested heavily in the land based homeland security systems. The Indian government has also implemented widespread security measures, including maintaining strict vigil along the borders, erecting border fences and floodlighting them, installing detection and scanning devices at the various land customs stations and immigration check points, and thoroughly checking goods and people at the entry and exit points along the borders.⁷ These kinds of elaborate security arrangements serve as a major deterrence for criminals and terrorist groups alike to travel and operate over land. For example, if one has to send a consignment from Pakistan to Thailand over land, the consignment has to pass

through several well-guarded international borders. On the other hand, if the consignment is sent through the sea route then it will be subjected to checks only at two places - port of exit and port of entry. But if the consignment is a contraband, then it can be put on a craft, launched clandestinely, sail and land at a suitable landing point in Thailand without being interdicted throughout.

Ungoverned seas: The maritime domain, most of which takes the form of high seas, lie beyond the jurisdiction of any one state. Consequently, policing is lax and difficult in the sea. The *Freedom of Navigation*⁸ codified in the United Nations Convention on Laws of Seas (UNCLOS) provides that every sovereign state, whether coastal or landlocked, has the right to sail ships carrying its flag in the high seas and shall not suffer interference from other states. No ship can be intercepted, boarded or searched unless and until it is firmly grounded on the suspicion that it is involved in piracy or transferring slaves or engaging in unauthorised broadcasting and the consent of the flag state is acquired. If seizure of a ship is carried out without adequate grounds, then the State which has seized the vessel has to pay heavy compensation to the state whose flag the seized ship was flying. Thus, international conventions put constraints on policing the high seas.⁹

Unpatrolled coastal waters: While the high seas remain unregulated, the territorial sea and the contiguous zone are subjected to the sovereignty of the coastal states and therefore are governed by their laws, rules and regulations. However, here also international conventions and practices restrict the authority of the coastal state. The *right*

*of innocent passage*¹⁰ to foreign ships through territorial waters obliges the states to allow ships to sail too close to the shores as well as prohibits them from boarding and searching ships without prior permission. In addition, the trend to employ large numbers of Privately Contracted Armed Security Personnel (PCASP) by shipping companies and their functioning has resulted in insecurity and threats because most often than not the PCASP do not adhere to specified guidelines.¹¹ Absence of well-defined international regulations regarding the employment and operation of PCASP jeopardises security in the coastal waters. The *MV Enrica Lexie* incident of February 2012 where two fishermen from Kerala were killed by Italian marines off the coast of Kerala is a case in point.¹²

Most coastal countries, including India are also struggling to secure their coastal waters because of technological constraints, shortage of manpower and resource crunch. In recent years, there has been an increase in the maritime activities as a result of which the coastal waters are dotted with numerous big and small vessels. Boarding and searching each and every vessel for suspected persons or contraband is next to impossible. To address this problem, the Government of India has made it mandatory for every vessel which is more than 20 meters in length to be fitted with Automatic Identification System (AIS). It is also made mandatory for the ships entering Indian territorial waters to furnish pre-arrival notice (PAN) to concerned authorities. But the authorities are finding it hard to monitor them as ships fitted with AIS manipulate data. In recent years, there has been 30 per cent increase

in ships reporting false identities world over.¹³ There is also a growing tendency among merchant ships to shut down AIS, and 'go dark' and spoofing i.e. generate false transmissions. These practices seriously undermine the capabilities of the authorities to track and monitor potentially dangerous vessels. This problem is further compounded by the fact that small boats, do not have any identification and tracking devices making it impossible for the authorities to monitor them.¹⁴ This constraint allows criminals and terrorists to hide their crafts and blend effortlessly among the fishermen.

Furthermore, all organisations involved in coastal security are coping with the problem of manpower and assets shortages, but it is more acute in the case of marine police which is at the cutting edge. The Coastal Security Scheme (CSS), which resulted in the establishment of Marine Police Force, mandates that the coastal states and union territories should sanction adequate executive and technical manpower to man the coastal police stations and carry out coastal patrolling. Unfortunately, many states do not sanction the stipulated numbers of posts for the coastal police stations. In places where posts are announced, the state administrations find it difficult to recruit personnel as there are either few takers for the job owing to high risk involved or persons with required qualifications are not found. Consequently, these posts remain vacant. The issue is more severe in the case of technical posts as it is difficult to find people with the technical expertise to operate and maintain boats. Although fishermen proficient in handling boats are preferred, but because of lack of awareness

and required educational qualifications they do not get selected. In order to address this problem, a scheme to recruit retired navy and coast guard personnel in the technical posts was launched, but it has not proved to be a complete success. While recruitment of coast guard and navy personnel has taken place in all coastal states, in most cases the state governments have not been able to retain them. Absence of suitable rank and remuneration given to the retired personnel is one of the main reasons for large scale attrition in the technical work force.¹⁵

Besides manpower shortage, lack of infrastructure such as patrolling boats also hampers patrolling of the coastal waters. Under the CSS, fast interceptor boats along jeeps and motorcycles have been sanctioned to the Marine Police. In reality, many coastal police stations are yet to receive them. In places, where boats have been delivered, absence of technical manpower to operate and maintain the boats have made them ineffective. Most boats also do not operate because of lack of fuel. The amount sanctioned by the Union government is not adequate to operate the boats on a daily basis and the state governments are either unable or unwilling to provide additional fuel citing financial crunch. Improper repair and maintenance of the boats in case of severe wear and tear is also an issue. Faulty repair of engines and other functional parts by the agency has rendered a number of boats unusable.¹⁶ As a result coastal waters of the country remain unpatrolled. In fact, CAG reports have highlighted that there is 85 to 95 per cent shortfall in daily patrolling of coastal waters by the marine police in the coastal states.¹⁷

Conduits for smuggling arms and terrorists:

The quest for an accessible and flexible maritime trade has discouraged enactment of stringent maritime security regime, thereby providing terrorists with a viable conduit for covert movement of weapons and personnel. This is quite apparent in the practice of flag of convenience or open registry. Presently, more than half of the world's merchant ships operate under flag of convenience, in which a merchant ship is registered in a country other than the ship owner's. The purpose for this practice is to reduce overhead charges or to evade regulations of the owner's country. Panama, Liberia, and Marshall Islands offer open registry and their flags account for almost 40% of the entire world fleet.¹⁸ Flag of convenience is considered detrimental for security and is criticised on the ground that a) most of the states offering open registry are not signatories to important international maritime conventions and have low levels of maritime regulations and, b) most of them do not have the ability or the inclination to enforce rules and regulations, c) open registry makes it difficult to establish genuine links between the real ship owner and the flag of the ship.¹⁹ These gaps allows ship owners to be legally anonymous and evade prosecution in civil and criminal actions. Taking advantage of these loopholes, some ships with flags of convenience have been found engaging in crime such as arms smuggling, trafficking of narcotics and people, and other illegal activities. The most recent case being the one in which the Indian coast guard intercepted a Ship *MV Prince II* or *MV Henry* which was flying the flag of Panama and was found to be trafficking about 1500 kg of narcotics.²⁰

The innovation of the container shipping has added to the speed and efficiency of the maritime trade.²¹ However, only a fraction of the containers entering any port is subject to checks. Added to this problem is the fact that many littoral states including India have poor port security systems. India has 207 non-major ports. Of these 64 ports handle EXIM cargo, but only 55 of them are International Ship and Port Security (ISPS) code compliant.²² The security of rest of the non-major ports is a major cause of concern because it is observed that in most of the non-major ports, physical protection arrangements such as deployment of security personnel, fencing of the perimeter, monitoring the access points, installation of screening and detecting machines, etc. do not exist. These ports also fail to routinely vet dock workers, do not insist that “truck drivers present valid identification before entering an offloading facility, and frequently over-look the need to ensure that all cargo is accompanied by an accurate manifest”²³. The absence of uniform and concerted dockside safeguards works to the direct advantage of the terrorists, because it is virtually impossible to inspect containers once they are on the high seas and secondly only a tiny fraction of boxed freight is actually checked on arrival at its destination.

High value maritime targets: The age-old hunt for publicity remains the primary objective of any terrorist group to attack. Sea based terrorism provides the terrorists an additional means to inflict coercive punishment with maximum publicity. While huge tankers and ships in high seas away from population centres and news cameras are not preferred targets, cruise ships and

passenger ferries plying in coastal waters are relevant because they cater to large numbers of people who are confined in a single physical space and are inherently vulnerable. Targeting these high prestige iconic targets not only cause massive loss of life but elicit considerable media attention as desired by the terrorist groups. The bombing of the SuperFerry 14 in the Philippines graphically underscores how easily mass casualties could result from a concerted attack against passenger shipping.²⁴ Similarly, there are many cities, industrial and commercial centres as well as strategic installations such as naval bases, atomic power plants and rocket launching centres along the coast, which are potential high value targets for terrorists.

Economic disruptions: Terrorist groups like al-Qaeda recognise the economic impact of an attack which would shut down a port or choke important sea lanes of communication. Such an attack would disrupt the “just in time” mechanics of global maritime trade complex and could cause massive economic slump. The attack on MV Limburg in 2002 off the coast of Yemen is a case in point. The image of the burning oil tanker not only provided spectacular visuals but also directly contributed to a short-term collapse of international shipping business in the Gulf. The Yemeni economy lost an estimated \$3.8 million a month in port revenues as war risks premiums levied on ships calling in Aden was tripled.²⁵

In sum, the international laws advocating freedom of navigation and right to innocent passage in territorial sea have inadvertently facilitated the abuse of the maritime domain by terrorist groups to move their operatives and

dangerous weaponry with ease, while at the same time putting constraints on coastal states in vigorously pursuing security measures. To further aggravate the precarious situation, inability of the coastal states to maintain law and order and security in their territorial waters because of inadequate resource and manpower as well as technological limitations have added to their vulnerability to terrorist strikes.

Ensuring Coastal Security

Given that India has been a victim of sea borne terrorism which resulted in massive loss of life and property and given that terrorist attacks from the sea remain a potential threat, the country has to remain ever vigilant against threats from the sea. As mentioned above, following the Mumbai attack of 2008, the Government of India has implemented a slew of measures to reduce, counter and eliminate threats of attack from sea. Some of these measures include strengthening the system of multi-layer patrolling and surveillance involving the navy, the coast guard, the marine police, the customs and an informal layer of fishermen; ensuring gapless electronic surveillance of the shores and coastal waters by establishing the Coastal Surveillance Network (CSN) and National Automatic Identification System (NAIS); installing ISPS code and vessel traffic management system in various ports and shipping channels for regulating maritime traffic and preventing potentially dangerous cargoes from entering the ports; installing navigation and communication devices on vessels more than 20 meters, their online registration, and issuance of biometric cards to fishermen and coastal villagers

for the safety and security of the fishing vessels and their crew; and establishing the Information Management and Analysis Centre (IMAC) for enhancing maritime domain awareness.

Furthermore, the Government, in recent years, has reviewed and revised the Indian maritime laws to provide enabling legal framework for mercantile trade and maritime practices for maritime and coastal security. To begin, in April 2012, the Regulation of Entry Ships into (Ports, Anchorages and Offshore facilities) Rules, 2012²⁶ was notified to check and prevent entry of ships without valid documents into Indian ports and territorial waters. In 2015, the Merchant Shipping (Amendment) Act, 2014 was passed to revise Maritime Labour Standards along with various other sections of Merchant Shipping Act of 1958. In July 2017, the Admiralty (Jurisdiction and Settlement of Maritime Claims) Bill was passed which “provides for prioritisation of maritime claims and maritime liens while providing protection to owners, charterers, operators, crew members and seafarers at the same time”.²⁷ The Act replaced five obsolete British statutes on admiralty jurisdiction in civil matters²⁸ and conferred admiralty jurisdiction on all High Courts of the coastal states of the country.

All these measures have been, to a large extent, effective in making various stakeholders aware of the threats coming from the sea as well as their respective mandates during coastal security operations thereby strengthening coastal security of the country. However, a number of shortcomings have prevented the coastal security mechanism to function optimally. Top down approach and application of some of these

measures without proper understanding of the ground realities have created a number of hindrances such as shortage of manpower and resources, inadequate coordination among concerned agencies, lack of proper training,

technological constraints, lackadaisical attitude of state governments, etc. The next step for the Government, therefore, is to urgently address these ground situations so that the country's coast and coastal waters are secured.

References:

- 1 Syed Raza Hassan and Katharine Houreld, "In attack by al Qaeda, lines blur between Pakistan's military, militants", Reuters, October 1, 2014, at <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-pakistan-militants-attacks-insight/in-attack-by-al-qaeda-lines-blur-between-pakistans-military-militants-idUSKCN0HP2MM20141001> (Accessed on May 18, 2018)
- 2 "AQIS claims plot to strike US warships was executed by Pakistani Navy officers", The Long War Journal, September 18, 2014, at <https://csc.asu.edu/2014/09/18/aqis-claims-plot-to-strike-us-warships-was-executed-by-pakistani-navy-officers/> (Accessed on May 18, 2018)
- 3 "Guantanamo prisoner al-Darbi admits MV Limburg attack", BBC News, February 20, 2014, at <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-26277556> (Accessed on May 18, 2018)
- 4 Michael D. Greenberg, et al., "Maritime Terrorism: Risk and Liability", RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, 2006, p. 9, at http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monographs/2006/RAND_MG520.pdf. (Accessed on May 18, 2018).
- 5 *ibid*, p. 10-11.
- 6 Peter Chalk, "The Maritime Dimension of International Security, Terrorism, Piracy, and Challenges for the United States", RAND Project Airforce, Santa Monica, 2008, p. xiii, at https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monographs/2008/RAND_MG697.pdf (Accessed on May 18, 2018)
- 7 "Infiltration along borders", Unstarred Question No. 2667, Lok Sabha, August 1, 2017, at <http://164.100.47.190/loksabhaquestions/annex/12/AU2667.pdf> (Accessed on May 18, 2018).
- 8 "Article 87- Freedom of the high seas", Part VII- HIGH SEAS, Section 1-GENERAL PROVISIONS, United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, p. 57. At http://www.un.org/depts/los/convention_agreements/texts/unclos/unclos_e.pdf (Accessed on May 18, 2018)
- 9 *Ibid*.
- 10 "Article 17- Right to Innocent Passage", Section 3- INNOCENT PASSAGE IN THE TERRITORIAL SEA, SUBSECTION A. RULES APPLICABLE TO ALL SHIPS, United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, p. 57, at http://www.un.org/depts/los/convention_agreements/texts/unclos/unclos_e.pdf (Accessed on May 18, 2018)
- 11 "Chapter 2- Maritime Security Imperatives and Influences", Ensuring Secure Seas: Indian Maritime Security Strategy, (New Delhi; Naval strategic Publication, 2015), p. 41.
- 12 "Italian Marines case: Two killings at sea, an international legal battle", The Indian Express, January 20, 2016, at <http://indianexpress.com/article/explained/simply-put-2-killings-at-sea-an-international-legal-battle/> (Accessed May 20, 2018)
- 13 Vijay Sakhujia, "India Reinforces Maritime Domain Awareness", The Maritime Executive, December 2, 2014,

-
- at <https://www.maritime-executive.com/article/India-Reinforces-Maritime-Domain-Awareness-2014-12-02#gs.3CGgD1k> (Accessed on May 20, 2018)
- 14 Annual Report 2017-18, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi, 2018, p. 41.
- 15 Pushpita Das, “Coastal Security: The Indian Experience”, IDSA Monograph Series No. 22, September 2013, pp. 72-73.
- 16 *Ibid.*
- 17 “Odisha achieves 3 per cent patrolling target in 11 years of coastal security scheme: CAG”, The Indian Express, Bhubaneswar, September 26, 2016, at <http://indianexpress.com/article/india/india-news-india/odisha-achieves-3-per-cent-patrolling-target-in-11-years-of-coastal-security-scheme-cag-3051552/> (Accessed on May 20, 2018); “CAG: Coastal security plan running behind schedule”, The Times of India, New Delhi, April 9, 2018, at <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/cag-coastal-security-plan-running-behind-schedule/articleshow/63673501.cms> (Accessed in May 20, 2018); “CAG report exposes holes in coastal security”, DNA, Mumbai, April 11, 2015, at <http://www.dnaindia.com/mumbai/report-cag-report-exposes-holes-in-coastal-security-2076479> (Accessed on May 2018).
- 18 “Flags of Convenience – Advantages, Disadvantages & Impact on Seafarers”, Sea News, October 27, 2017, at <http://seanews.co.uk/flags-of-convenience-advantages-disadvantages-impact-on-seafarers/> (Accessed on May 28, 2018).
- 19 Michael A. Becker, “The Shifting Public Order of the Oceans: Freedom of Navigation and the Interdiction of Ships at Sea”, Harvard International Law Journal, Volume 46, Number 1, Winter, 2005, pp. 141-142.
- 20 “Coast guard catches Panamanian ship with 1500 kg heroin worth Rs 3,500 crore off Gujarat coast”, The Indian Express, Mumbai, July 30, 2017, at <http://www.newindianexpress.com/nation/2017/jul/30/coast-guard-catches-panamanian-ship-with-1500-kg-heroin-worth-rs-3500-crore-off-gujarat-coast-1635759-1.html> (Accessed on May 28, 2018).
- 21 Michael A. Becker, “The Shifting Public Order of the Oceans: Freedom of Navigation and the Interdiction of Ships at Sea”, n. 18, pp. 141.
- 22 Annual Report 2016-17, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi, 2018, p. 52.
- 23 Rupert Herbert-Burns, Sam Bateman and Peter Lehr, (eds.), Lloyd’s MIU Handbook of Maritime Security, (Boca Raton; CRC Press, 2009), P. 119.
- 24 “Bomb caused Philippine ferry fire” BBC NEWS, October 11, 2004, at <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/3732356.stm> (Accessed on May 28, 2018).
- 25 Michael D. Greenberg, et. Al., Maritime Terrorism: Risk and Liability, n. 4, p. 16.
- 26 Merchant Shipping (Regulation of Entry of Ships into Ports, Anchorages and Offshore facilities) Rules, 2012, at <http://www.chennaiport.gov.in/downloads/mer.pdf> (Accessed on May 28, 2018).
- 27 “The Admiralty (Jurisdiction and Settlement of Maritime Claims) Bill, 2017 Passed Unanimously by Rajya Sabha”, Press Information of India, July 24, 2017, at <http://pib.nic.in/newsite/PrintRelease.aspx?relid=168943> (Accessed on May 28, 2018).
- 28 Abhay Kumar Singh, “The Admiralty (Jurisdiction and Settlement of Maritime Claims) Bill 2016 – The Long Journey of an Important Maritime Legislation”, IDSA Comment, October 3, 2016, https://idsa.in/idsacomments/admiralty-maritime-claims-bill-2016_aksingh_031016 (Accessed on May 28, 2018).



Linkages Between Crime and Terrorism: Need to Look Beyond the Surface

Vivek Chadha*

The challenge of drug trafficking, fake currency, illegal migration, human trafficking and civic unrest amongst others are common law and order issues that are faced by most countries. With time, these crimes have witnessed growing sophistication, given the dramatic improvement in communications. This has brought the benefits of a globalised marketplace to criminal activities.¹ Criminal groups have often been the pioneers in innovating new methods and exploring ingenious efficiencies, well before intelligence and law enforcement agencies incorporate the benefits of similar advancement. This globalised outlook of criminal groups has been facilitated by technological innovations. As an illustration, the need to physically move money through couriers is being overtaken by options to pay in cryptocurrencies like Bitcoin, even though it is still a small percentage presently.² While these issues are common and afflict countries in varying degrees, it is the threat of these criminal activities either indirectly or directly feeding into terrorist networks that poses a much more serious challenge to countries like India. “Transnational organised crime and international terrorism increasingly share both organisational and operational characteristics, and at times even partner with one

another.”³ This emanates from symbiotic interests, even if these are not shared, as would be the case in most instances. Often, the core interest of a criminal group is profitability. On the other hand, the primary interest of a terrorist organisation is driven by political or ideological motivations. However, the nexus between crime and terrorism finds active collaboration between the two. As a result, the criminal group gets business opportunities, while a terrorist organisation can employ the existing channels of crime for supporting their activities and generating the requisite funds.

It is critical to make this linkage as crime and terrorism often tend to be treated and addressed in water tight compartments by organisations that tend to function in stove-piped channels, despite being a part of the same state apparatus. This is not only true for their functioning at the tactical level, but also in terms of drafting and implementing legal provisions and collation of intelligence. As a result, agencies often tend to remain satisfied with superficial criminal proceedings resulting in light sentences, given the pursuit of peripheral offences, rather than terrorism. This results in the failure of the enforcement system to act as a deterrent and give a sense of impunity to criminal gangs, which gain

*Col. Vivek Chadha (Retd) is a Research Fellow at the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA), New Delhi. He has written extensively on the financing of terrorism in India and is the author of the book ‘Lifeblood of Terrorism: Countering Terrorism Finance.’

the confidence to weather any legal storm that may come their way.

This article will analyse some of these threats in the context of not merely law and order, but more importantly how these crimes support terrorism. In doing so, the channels that are employed by criminal groups and terrorist networks will be examined and related with the actions initiated against them. This will indicate the adequacy, or otherwise, of the steps that have been initiated in the past and measures required to enhance focus and capacity in the context of the relation between crime and terrorism. The case studies will also link global patterns to establish evolving trends and the specific relation to India.

Drug Trafficking

Drug trafficking is a well-established criminal activity and has lucrative economies of scale. This lends it the requisite incentive for profitability and resultantly gain political influence. The economic potential of drugs arises from its production, extraction and trading. The lucrative business opportunity provided by drugs has witnessed a sharp increase in its usage, trade and production over the years. One of the foremost examples of the same is the growth trend witnessed in Afghanistan. Afghanistan survey report of United Nations Office on Drugs and Crimes (UNODC) estimates indicate that in 2017, opium poppy cultivation increased sharply to an unprecedented record high of 3,28,000 hectares from an estimated 2,01,000 hectares in 2016. This led to a raise in the potential opium production from 4,800 tons in 2016 to 9,000 tons in 2017. The value of this

opiate economy was further estimated at 20-32 percent of Afghanistan's USD 4.1-6.6 billion economy.⁴ It is also evident from the report that the markets in Europe and the US, which are the most important consumption source for high quality drugs, have also become the indirect facilitators of terrorism. Drug trafficking and its illegal sale in these regions, might be seen merely as a law and order challenge locally, however, the profits that drug sales help generate for criminal and terrorist groups, allow organisations like the Taliban to emerge as amongst the best funded and richest terror groups in the world.

An analysis of criminal groups involved in drug related trafficking suggests that most groups which are involved in this illegal activity, are also similarly linked with other crimes like human trafficking, smuggling of weapons and other goods. A UNODC report indicates that, "Drug trafficking groups in Europe are frequently also involved in the counterfeiting of goods, trafficking in human beings, smuggling of migrants and trafficking in weapons."⁵

This reinforces the trend of mutual benefit between criminal groups in Europe and the Taliban, even if there is no direct linkage between the two. Criminal groups increase their profits in Europe and this provides the incentive for the Taliban, to increase production of drugs and its trafficking from the areas under its control in Afghanistan. The Afghan example further suggests that a criminal activity like extortion, becomes a major source of funding. The 2017 UNODC survey indicates that approximately 62 percent of the farmers in Afghanistan paid some sort of a

tax, ranging from 2 and 20 percent of the sale value and half of them between 4 and 10 percent. This brings the taxed amount to approximately USD 74 million. If a similar percentage is added to trafficking of opiates, it increases Taliban revenues to USD 220-350 million.⁶

In contrast, India does not figure as a major drug producing country. There have been limited incidents of the same, restricted to some areas in the Naxal affected areas and Northeast India. Instead, India is referred to as one of the vital links between the Golden Crescent in the west and the Drug Triangle in the east. In 2017, this saw seizure of 1,991 kg of opium, 2,189 kg heroin, 1,96,792 kg ganja, 2,657 kg hashish and 67 kg cocaine.⁷ The trafficking, of drugs through India allows large sums of money to be raised in the process. Since several drug routes pass through areas either under the influence of or in some cases controlled by terrorist organisations, they levy a charge on its movement.⁸ Border areas along Western India are also prone to smuggling of drugs, often in the form of composite loads. These take place in the form of packages that include not only drugs but also fake currency and weapons.⁹ The market for these criminal proceeds in India, not only supports the criminal network, but also allows terrorist groups to exploit the same.

Human Trafficking

Human trafficking, despite advances in policing and border management, continues to impact the security situation in India. The figures for 2016 indicate that a total of 8,132 cases were reported. This was despite 23,000 victims being

rescued including 182 foreigners. The maximum cases were reported in West Bengal at 3,579. In 2015, Assam had reported more cases than West Bengal, however these came down to 91, suggesting that a concerted effort to curb the same can yield requisite results. In 2016, West Bengal was followed by Rajasthan, Gujarat, Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu as states that witnessed the highest trafficking numbers.

Security concerns related to terrorism get linked with human trafficking, as inputs suggest the possibility of terrorist groups exploiting these channels for recruitment. The second meeting hosted by the Office of the Special Representative and Co-ordinator for Combating Trafficking in Human Beings (OSR/CTHB), underlined the instances and future possibility of “increasingly widespread phenomenon of deceptive and forced recruitment of adults and children across the OSCE region for terrorism-related exploitative practices.”¹⁰ This could be a sign of similar instances in other areas to include South Asia as well.

Fake Currency

The threat of fake currency has remained a constant source of concern for security agencies. In 2011, 98 of the 100 countries surveyed reported to the INTERPOL of the incidence of fake currencies.¹¹ The instance of fake currency is prevalent in most major economies of the world to include the US dollar, Euro, Chinese Yuan, Swiss Franc, British Pound Sterling and the Indian Rupee. Amongst these, the Indian currency is one of the most counterfeited with 5,75,747 notes

reported as counterfeited by India.¹² This has since 2011 increased substantially. Financial Action Task Force research indicates that counterfeiting of currency has several adverse effects. This includes loss of trust in the currency, adverse impact on the integrity of the financial sector, linkage with drugs and other offences, linkage with finance of terrorism and as proceeds of crime. All these factors are relevant to India, especially given the motivation for introducing FICN into the Indian economy. Fake currency trade is undertaken by individuals in need of money, semi-professional and professionals. Over time, the advancement in technology has led to improved techniques and equipment availability to even amateurs, which was not the case in the past.¹³ However, it is the challenge posed by institutional involvement of foreign countries that poses the greatest threat. This brings together, as is the case of India, the financial and technological capability of a country like Pakistan and its intelligence services, with the criminal networks that they exploit to transfer and distribute FICN. The involvement of Pakistan has been confirmed by India in a court of law, where a judgement indicted the involvement of the Pakistani state in 2014.¹⁴ In addition, the FATF, in its report also confirms the detection of FICN in containers moved from Pakistan via Hong Kong, to Nepal, a fact confirmed by Hong Kong to the FATF.¹⁵ The involvement of the Pakistani state in producing and distributing FICN, is a trend that is reinforced through other terror groups elsewhere in the world. Chechen terrorists have been involved with the distribution of US dollars and the Russian ruble.

The Indian example brings together the crime-

terrorism nexus in case of fake currency. While a state terrorist establishment in Pakistan prints and controls the supply chain, criminal groups are involved in the induction and distribution network inside India. This not only funds terrorist activities inside the country, but also creates a profit venture for criminal groups.

One of the measures that was undertaken to disrupt the currency in circulation was the decision to demonetise the 500 and 1,000 rupee notes in 2016. This decision did have an immediate impact on the financing of terrorism. The hawala dealers, who were the biggest conduit for cash into India, were suddenly left with large sums, which were difficult to exchange. Terrorist group war chests were affected, as indicated by the sudden reduction in stone throwing in J&K and the decision of terrorist groups to resort to criminal activities like looting cash vans.¹⁶ Similarly, groups in Northeast India and Naxal zones with large amounts of stacked currency were placed in a challenging situation.¹⁷ The success of the initiative hinged on two elements. First, a stringent control on the receipt of currency in banks and second, scrutiny of fake currency while doing so. Initial indicators suggest that a subsidiary element, which is critical for success of enforcement actions constrained the success of the initiative. This was the adverse impact of corruption and weak enforcement at the functional level.¹⁸ A recent report suggests that the instance of fake currency reports increased by 3.22 lakhs in 2016-2017, the year demonetisation was undertaken. The report claimed, "A noteworthy growth was also seen in the number of counterfeit currency reports (CCRs), which increased from more than 4.10 lakh in 2015-16 to over 7.33 lakh

in 2016-17, which may also be attributed to the demonetisation exercise.”¹⁹

Civic Unrest

The linkage of civic unrest as an instrument of creating an internal security challenge must be related to not only stoking mob violence in a state like J&K, but also to fomenting unrest in other areas of the country to create or further discord and dissension.

It has been documented with a degree of accuracy and in reasonable detail, how violent mobs have been employed to mislead the youth and create a situation that fuels a cycle of violence in J&K. The conditions that have emerged in the state, clearly indicate how law and order situations like street protests, facilitates, encourages and provides a fillip to terrorism. Under normal conditions, a 14-year-old throwing stones and protesting might be seen as the pent-up anger of youth and may not even enter police records. However, the very same activity, when employed as an instrument of direct and indirect abetment to terror acts, becomes a serious concern. There have been instances in J&K, where terrorists have managed to escape cordons laid by security forces. In other cases, security force personnel have received grave injuries as well.²⁰

In yet another instance of crime and terrorism acting in concert, several schools were burnt in J&K.²¹ The intent of the action became clear by the location of these institutions, which coincided with an increase in terror related violence in South Kashmir. Further, the targeting of primarily government schools instead of both government and private institutions, indicated an intent to

destroy state infrastructure, even as private local investment remained safe.²² The instances also ensured that children who would have otherwise remained engaged with academics, were now forced to become an instrumentality for stone throwing on the streets of the state.

The instances of civic unrest are not only peculiar to disturbed areas like J&K, but also other areas where social cleavages can be created and widened. These instances like the Kudankulam protests against the nuclear plant, clearly highlighted how interested groups could exploit local sentiments through misinformation and misrepresentation of facts for furthering their parochial interests.²³ The possibility of generating and exploiting similar social conditions, fuelled by caste divides, as was the case with *dalit* protests in Maharashtra, Patel protests in Gujarat, river water disputes between Karnataka and Tamil Nadu, communal situations in Uttar Pradesh cannot be ruled out in the future. These are all examples of situations that can move beyond law and order challenges driven by criminals, to internal security threats if not scrutinised for the possibility in time.

Concluding Observations

Internal security was and shall remain a challenge in the years to come. However, it is the growing complexity and sophistication of the means adopted by adversaries, criminals and terrorists alike, that has changed the character of the threat. Much like war, wherein, its nature remains the same, even as its character changes, internal security challenges too have evolved with increasing regularity. The inflection point for this

change is brought about by the same factors as was the case in the past. This article highlights two of these: corruption and technology, since the growing impact of these factors has made emerging challenges more pervasive and difficult to discern.

Crime, money laundering and terrorism need an ideal breeding ground, which creates the requisite conditions that can facilitate exploitation of structures and systems in place. This is not peculiar for India or South Asia and is a universal condition. It only varies in the degree and extent of its contributory impact. As an illustration, a UNODC report indicates that successful movement of drugs through its supply chain is made possible by *corruption* at every level. “At the production level, farmers may bribe eradication teams, producers may bribe judges and police officers, and manufacturers may exploit workers in chemical companies in order to get hold of precursor chemicals. Further down the chain, traffickers bribe custom officials and take advantage of weaknesses in transport firms. At the consumer level, users can get drugs through corrupt doctors and pharmacists.”²⁴

An example of corruption in the banking system adversely affecting the success of demonetisation was earlier highlighted in the article. This instance demonstrated the result of complicity of a few officials within the system, willing to subvert it, thereby limiting the intended effect of the decision.

The second constituent that deserves emphasis is technology. This is a double-edged sword. It can both deny an opportunity to criminals by making the systems transparent and accountable.

Simultaneously, if the criminals and terrorists remain ahead of the curve, which is often the case, then technology becomes the biggest threat since it creates a sophisticated adversary, with the ability to successfully subvert existing instruments of intelligence and enforcement.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to enunciate a detailed roadmap to address the challenges highlighted. However, five areas of emphasis emerge from the threats and challenges that deserve attention. *First*, there is a thin line between crime and terrorism. It is imperative for intelligence and enforcement agencies to constantly remain vigilant for this possibility. The state must empower them to deal with the threat accordingly through the necessary legal framework. *Second*, even as major wars recede in their probability, the possibility of lesser constituents like terrorism, subversion and civic unrest could gain further in significance. Rather than seeing these as isolated incidents, the threats must be recognised as part of a larger pattern, which has the footprint of known adversaries. *Third*, given the integration of various constituents of hybrid war by the adversary requires that all elements of the state must function with equal if not more cohesiveness as part of an all of government approach. *Fourth*, electronic trails will become the most important linkage for tracing crime and terrorism. This is especially related to financial linkages, which can be established better through the digitisation initiative that is underway. *Fifth*, capacity building which remains a perpetual constraint, must not only be addressed in terms of numbers, but more importantly by increasing capabilities that focussed threat-based training can provide.

References:

- 1 “Organised Crime”, UNODC, <http://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/organized-crime/intro.html>, accessed on May 22, 2018.
- 2 “The Drug Problem and Organized Crime, Illicit Financial Flows, Corruption and Terrorism”, World Drug Report 2017, UNODC, May 2017, http://www.unodc.org/wdr2017/field/Booklet_5_NEXUS.pdf, accessed on May 23, 2018, p 9.
- 3 Thomas M. Sanderson, “Transnational and Organized Crime: Blurring the Lines”, SAIS Review Vol. XXIV no. 1 (Winter – Spring 2004), http://www.shirleymohr.com/JHU/Sample_Articles_JHUP/SAI_2004_24_1.pdf, accessed on May 22, 2018, p. 49.
- 4 “Afghanistan Opium Survey 2017: Challenges to Sustainable Development, Peace and Security” United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, May 2018, <https://www.unodc.org/documents/crop-monitoring/Afghanistan/Opium-survey-peace-security-web.pdf>, accessed on May 23, 2018, p. 4.
- 5 “The Drug Problem and Organized Crime, Illicit Financial Flows, Corruption and Terrorism”, World Drug Report 2017, n. 2, p 9.
- 6 “Afghanistan Opium Survey 2017: Challenges to Sustainable Development, Peace and Security” n. 4, p. 9.
- 7 “India’s location makes it vulnerable to narcotic drug trafficking: Rajnath Singh”, The New Indian Express, March 24, 2018, <http://www.newindianexpress.com/nation/2018/mar/24/indias-location-makes-it-vulnerable-to-narcotic-drug-trafficking-rajnath-singh-1791976.html>, accessed on June 3, 2018.
- 8 Bikash Singh, “Intelligence inputs say militant outfits in North East trading opium”, The Economic Times, January 26, 2016, <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/politics-and-nation/intelligence-inputs-say-militant-outfits-in-north-east-trading-opium/articleshow/50727295.cms>, accessed on June 03, 2018.
- 9 Vivek Chadha, “Terrorism Finance: Sources and Trends in India”, Journal of Defence Studies, Vol. 8, No. 3, July-September 2014, p 70.
- 10 “Second expert meeting on trafficking in human beings for terrorist activities concludes in London”, Office for Security and Cooperation in Europe, February 20, 2018, <https://www.osce.org/secretariat/373001>, accessed on May 25, 2018.
- 11 “Money Laundering and Terrorist Financing Related to Counterfeit Currency”, FATF, June 2013, <http://www.fatf-gafi.org/media/fatf/documents/reports/money-laundering-terrorist-financing-related-to-counterfeit-currency.pdf>, accessed on May 24, 2018, p. 13.
- 12 *Ibid*, p. 14.
- 13 *Ibid*, p. 15.
- 14 Vivek Chadha, Lifeblood of Terrorism: Countering Terrorism Finance, Bloomsbury, New Delhi, 2015, p. 71.
- 15 “Money Laundering and Terrorist Financing Related to Counterfeit Currency”, FATF, June 2013, <http://www.fatf-gafi.org/media/fatf/documents/reports/money-laundering-terrorist-financing-related-to-counterfeit-currency.pdf>, accessed on May 24, 2018, p. 18.
- 16 J&K: Militants kill 5 cops, 2 bank officials while looting cash van in Kulgam district”, The Indian Express, May 01, 2017, <http://indianexpress.com/article/india/j-k-terrorists-kill-4-cops-2-bank-officials-while-looting-cash-van-in-kulgam-district-4635740/>, accessed on June 04, 2018. A number of similar incidents came to light in J&K in the aftermath of demonetisation.

-
- 17 Vivek Chadha, “Demonetisation and Beyond: Addressing the Finance of Terrorism”, November 18, 2016, IDSA, https://idsa.in/policybrief/demonetisation-and-beyond-addressing-the-finance-of-terrorism_vchadha_181116, accessed on June 04, 2018.
- 18 Deepak Patel and Sunny Verma, “Demonetisation: 208 bank employees under scrutiny”, The Indian Express, February 7, 2017, <http://indianexpress.com/article/business/banking-and-finance/demonetisation-208-bank-employees-under-scrutiny-rbi-4511202/>, accessed on June 04, 2018.
- 19 “Banks received alarming amounts of fake currency post demonetisation; detected 480% jump in suspicious transactions”, Firstpost, April 20, 2018, <https://www.firstpost.com/business/banks-received-alarming-amount-of-fake-currency-post-demonetisation-detected-over-480-jump-in-suspicious-transactions-4440067.html>, accessed on May 24, 2018.
- 20 M. Saleem Pandit, “1 soldier, 4 civilians killed in anti-terror operation in Kashmir”, The Times of India, April 22, 2018, <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/1-soldier-4-civilians-killed-in-anti-terror-operation-in-kashmir/articleshow/63721509.cms>, accessed on May 25, 2018 and “Army Chief warns of tough action against stone-throwers”, The Tribune, February 16, 2017, <http://www.tribuneindia.com/news/jammu-kashmir/community/army-chief-warns-of-tough-action-against-stone-throwers/364643.html>, accessed on May 25, 2018.
- 21 “Burning of schools: J&K government sees separatist hand”, Indian Express, October 31, 2016, <http://indianexpress.com/article/india/india-news-india/burning-of-schools-jk-govt-sees-separatist-hand-3731406/>, accessed on May 25, 2018.
- 22 Kashmir unrest: Nearly 20 schools burnt down as education becomes biggest casualty of protests”, Firstpost, October 27, 2016, <https://www.firstpost.com/india/kashmir-unrest-19-schools-burnt-down-in-kashmir-in-three-months-students-languish-as-studies-suffer-3075590.html>, accessed on May 25, 2018.
- 23 Kaipullai, “Kudankulam protests: Hijacked by the church and the foreign hand?”, Firstpost, March 26, 2012, <https://www.firstpost.com/india/kudankulam-protests-hijacked-by-the-church-and-the-foreign-hand-255466.html>, accessed on May 26, 2018.
- 24 “The Drug Problem and Organized Crime, Illicit Financial Flows, Corruption and Terrorism”, World Drug Report 2017, n. 2, p 10.



UN Human Rights Commission Discredits Itself

K.N. Pandita*

For the first time in the history of Kashmir question at the United Nation, the Chairman of Human Rights Commission Mr. Zeid Ra'd Al Hussein of Jordan has issued a 49-page tutored report spread over 20 paragraphs on “abuse and violation of human rights” in the State of Jammu and Kashmir mainly by India and peripherally by Pakistan. The report is a forceful indictment of India, particularly her security forces operating in Kashmir.

Why has the report come today after twenty-eight years of externally sponsored Theo-fascist activities in Kashmir that consumed so many innocent lives besides the ethnic cleansing of the valley of its religious minority of the Pandits? Obviously, the report is meticulously timed to serve a specific purpose of the Chairman. This report is not to be seen in isolation. It came out at the same time when the Jordanian Chairman put the Israel resolution in the UNGA for a vote. There was no mention of Hamas in that resolution and it was approved overwhelmingly. In all probability the Chairman, who is handling sensitive matters like Israel and Kashmir almost at par and without consulting his aids intends to take a Kashmir resolution to the UNGA in the future whether or not the UNSC debates on the matter. Much is to be read between the lines.

The report picks up the thread of alleged human rights abuse from the incident of the killing of a hardcore *Jaish* terrorist named Burhan in July 2016 in an encounter with the security forces. He was in regular communication with Hafiz Saeed, the international terrorist designated by the UN

and the US. While the report meticulously recounts civilian fatalities happened from July 2016 to March 2018, it carefully avoids the large number of attacks undertaken by the jihadists in Kashmir most of whom originated from Pakistan. Confining the report to post-2016 incident reflects two things; first is the advertent or inadvertent ignorance of the Chairman of the roots of Kashmir conflict, and the second is his clean chit to Theo-fascists unleashing spate of violence against the civil society on the behest and support of external handlers.

This is a blatant politically motivated report aiming at raising a heap of “human rights violations” and carrying the bagful all the way to the doorsteps of India and her security forces. In doing so, the Chairman has not only shown his partisan approach to the issue but has also crossed the jurisdiction and limits of the terms of reference of his office. By directly addressing the Indian security forces operating in strife-torn Kashmir and not the government of India the Chairman has tried to undermine the sovereignty of the Indian government, something incompatible with the powers, jurisdiction and authority of his office. By castigating AFSPA, the Chairman has challenged the authority of the elected government of the State of Jammu and Kashmir in taking steps for maintenance of law and order. The Chairman is ignorant of the fact that the army has been called to restore law and order in the State on the request of the State government meaning that the elected government in the State has sanctioned imposition of AFSPA owing to disturbed conditions. And who

*Prof. K.N. Pandita is a former Director of the Centre of Central Asian Studies, University of Kashmir.

is the source of disturbance, the Chairman fails to understand or mention.

The report keeps clear of the armed attack on J&K State in October 1947, abetted and sponsored by Pakistan army; it is silent about the horrendous killings, kidnapping and rapes in Muzaffarabad and Baramulla districts in October 1947 by the invading tribesmen and their Pakistani handlers in civilian uniform.

The Commission wants an international inquiry committee to probe into the alleged abuse of human rights in Kashmir. It forgets that the first and the most glaring violator of human rights in Kashmir is the UN Security Council which deliberately politicised the Kashmir issue by bringing the aggressor and the aggressed at par to serve the interests of particular lobbies. The practice continues till date.

The report suppresses the destructive role of the Theo-fascist organisations raised by Pakistan army on its soil and purported to act clandestinely in Indian part of Kashmir and Afghanistan in line with Pakistan's strategy of depth eastward and westward. Pakistan army never made a secret of its full involvement in Kashmir incursion of 1947 and its aftermath. The report does not say a word about the ethnic cleansing of Kashmir as early as 1990 or of five massacres of non-Muslims in Kashmir tantamount to genocide committed by the Theo-fascists coming from across the border. But it has specifically mentioned the killing of a terrorist called Burhan Wani but it has no word for large scale destruction of public property and the civilian structures in Kashmir like burning of schools, laboratories, libraries, court complexes, bridges and other infrastructure by the terrorists. The report is totally silent about the numerous terrorist training camps set up by Pakistan in PoK and elsewhere on its territory and manned by

Pakistan army retired officers. It is silent about the wide scale anti-India campaign launched by Pakistan jihad organisations by whipping up religious sentiments of the people and raising huge funds for Kashmir jihad. The report rakes up the 24-year old Kunan Poshpur rape charade and states that Indian security forces raped 23 women but does not make a mention of the inquiry conducted by the Indian army and the State government into the incident that absolved the security forces of all accusations. Kunan Poshpura incident is its concern but the rape and abduction of nearly five thousand Hindu and Sikh women and girls on the night of 22 October 1947 in Muzaffarabad during the tribal attack on Kashmir is not its concern. In the eyes of the Chairman those thousands of women raped and kidnapped did not have the human rights which it thinks the alleged 23 women of Kunan Poshpora had.

In particular, the Chairman directly admonishes the Indian security forces operating in Kashmir. It is blatant abuse and misuse of its powers because he is trying to bypass the Indian government and raise an accusing finger towards the army. Who is he to tell the Indian security forces what they should do or not do? He cautions the Indian security forces of possible violence during the "following week". Obviously, he is referring to the Eid-ul-Fitr festival. Does not the Chairman know that India is home to almost all major religions in the world and yet he has the cheek to talk selectively and in hyperbole?

It is a highly prejudicial report, based on motivated and mutilated information. The Chairman has stepped out of constitutional and administrative jurisdiction by issuing such a partisan report. This is gross violation of fundamental norms of impartiality of the UN in dealing with international issues of sensitive

nature. Who is he to ask for an international inquiry committee to probe into Kashmir situation? Did he ever ask for an inquiry into the Baluchistan atrocities or repression in Gilgit and Baltistan? Did he ever ask for an inquiry into the massacre of Kurds by Turkish government? Did he ever ask for an inquiry into the aggressive designs of Saudi Arabia in Yemen? Did he ever ask for rape, abduction and killing of Yizidi girls in the Middle East? Did he ask for inquiry into the persecution and suppression of Pakistani religious minorities like Ahmadiyya, Christians, Hindus and now Shias for whose decimation jihadi organizations like Lashkar-i-Jhangvi and Jundullah etc. make open statements. Are not these unfortunate minorities part of humanity and don't they enjoy human rights like any other community on the globe? Why does not the violation of their human rights touch the delicate humanitarian sense of the Chairman?

This is a highly motivated, parochial, prejudicial and offensive report of which India should take very serious notice. India should take several steps in this connection. Without a day's delay New Delhi should lodge a very strong protest with the UN Secretary General bringing to his notice the partisan approach of the Chairman of Human Rights Commission. India should bring a motion of no confidence against the Chairman and his team and demand his immediate removal from a very sensitive position of an institution that is required to command trust of international fraternity. Not only that, India should announce a boycott of the session of Human Rights Council and its affiliates unless the Chairman is removed. She should record her protest formally. The Chairman of the Human Rights Commission has embarked on a very dangerous course and his

intentions are deeply suspect of functioning in a partisan manner. It will be a sad day for the UN if such biased and politically motivated persons head its critical subsidiaries. India should forthwith issue a condemnation statement and also threaten to bring a motion of no confidence against the chairman in the UN General Assembly. The pious institution of UN Human Rights Commission cannot be and should not be given in the hands of those who are miserably ignorant of the past and present history of a long standing dispute, and especially of issues that have been hounding international community for decades at a stretch. It has to be made clear that Kashmir issue is the creation of Anglo-American bloc and is the modern avatar of mid-19th century British diplomacy called "The Great Game". New Delhi has to remember that if it does not rise to counter the report today, it will have to face innumerable embarrassments at the United Nations in future. Its image will get tarnished for all times.

It should also be made clear to the Chairman and the entire Human Rights Commission that Kashmir issue is closely and tightly linked to the resurgence of Islamic fundamentalism and jihadist ideology that have gripped the entire globe in one way or the other. It is vital that Jihadism fought tooth and nail to preserve the human rights of the population. The Chairman of the Human Rights Commission should understand that during only one month in the past, Kashmir terrorists have launched 47 attacks and hurled 20 hand-grenades on the camps of security forces. The Chairman should try to understand what role India, as the world's largest secular democracy is playing to democratise a populace that has been brought up in closed and restricted environs of exclusiveness for centuries in the past.



India Economic Summit 2018

Shreya Challagalla, Apurv Kumar Mishra & Thomas Jackson



India Foundation, in collaboration with the Bombay Stock Exchange (BSE) organised the India Economic Summit 2018 on April 27-28, 2018 at the Bombay Stock Exchange Hall, Mumbai, on the theme “A New Economy for a New India.” The summit explored how India can develop its own unique growth model by being a globally competitive and innovation driven economy that creates jobs and raises the standard of living for India’s 1.25 billion citizens.

April 27, 2018 Inaugural Session

Delivering the welcome address, Shri Shaurya Doval, Member of Board of Governors, India Foundation said that this summit was the first big

event organised by India Foundation in Mumbai. Explaining the theme of the Summit, he said that India is being reset in multiple dimensions and architecture is being laid for India to deal with the opportunities and challenges of the 21st century.

Shri Ashishkumar Chauhan, MD and CEO of BSE said that India was a bright spot in the global economy. Its macroeconomic fundamentals were strong and the government had initiated unprecedented reforms in various spheres. He also highlighted India’s demographic opportunity saying that India’s young population would drive the third great wave of Asia’s growth. Further, he spoke about the rapid adoption of technology around the world which were forcing companies

and industries to adapt at a rapid pace. He said that the changes brought about by this 4th industrial revolution were inevitable, not optional. He spoke about changes in India's entrepreneurship system and the role of capital markets as a catalyst for India's growth. He said that the country's economy is changing rapidly and is on the right course to achieve a high level of growth.

Shri Jayant Sinha, Minister of State for Civil Aviation, Government of India, said that the Union Government had done a lot of heavy lifting on the economy in the last four years including introducing Goods and Services Tax (GST), bankruptcy code, Monetary Policy Committee (MPC), undertaking massive investments in infrastructure and Direct Benefit Transfer (DBT). The big challenge in the near future is to transform

India from a low-income country to a middle-income country. There is need to triple India's current per capita income and grow from a 2.5 trillion dollar economy to a 10 trillion dollar economy. This will require a 7 percent long term growth rate, which is within India's capability since it had grown for the last 27 years at a 9 percent rate, he said.

Shri Sinha noted that along with India's growth challenges it also has to confront big issues such as regional disparity and constraint of natural resources. India has 2.5 percent of the world's land mass, 4 percent of its freshwater, 17 percent of global population and interestingly, 17 percent of cattle. With these constraints, the conventional wisdom of Farm to Factory model may not work for India. He said that at forums like the India Economic Summit we have to debate on new ideas



for India's development model. He proposed a Farm to Frontier model for India wherein we compete and win in the cutting-edge industries. By way of illustration, he mentioned that two-wheelers, telecom and the aviation sectors are India's frontier industries where it can compete with the best in the world.

Shri Suresh Prabhu, Minister of Commerce and Industry, Government of India, delivered the keynote address at the inaugural session. He recollected India

Foundation's event on economic issues in February 2014 when the then Prime Ministerial candidate Shri Narendra Modi laid out his economic vision and set the tone for economic policies unveiled in four years of the government. The India Economic Summit 2018 was an opportunity to take stock and discuss new ideas to make India a 5 trillion dollar economy in the next seven years. He said that 20 percent of this 5 trillion dollars should come from manufacturing which will include modernising existing industries and also creating new industries which will drive tomorrow's growth. India will need to partner with countries like Japan to create these new industries. 60 percent of GDP will come from services sector and accordingly, the government focussed on 12 champion sectors for which INR 5000 crore was set aside. On agriculture, the government was committed to doubling farmers income and was exploring ways of doing so besides agricultural activities.

Shri Prabhu explained the scope of the challenge by emphasising that creating a USD 5 trillion dollar economy implies doubling India's current economy and creating one more India within the country. He said that there are several approaches to achieve this target. Firstly, as a result of several startup schemes launched by the government, entrepreneurship which was consigned to few companies has become all-pervasive. In fact there is now innovation in delivery of public goods by government itself. Secondly, tax to GDP ratio in India is going to rise very fast. For example, number of Income Tax payers has doubled in last two years, indirect tax compliance is improving and tax base is widening.



Thirdly, savings rate in India is improving which means that investment and consumption will drive India's growth. Fourthly, huge foreign investment is waiting to happen. Other measures taken by the government include setting up of task forces to manufacture aeroplanes and drones in India, announcement of a new cargo policy, a new EXIM policy and creation of the GeM portal to facilitate all government purchases and make these acquisitions more transparent. Shri Prabhu concluded by saying that for India to grow, integration with global economy is crucial and the government is proactively engaging with all countries in the world.

The Chief Ministers' Panel

The session was addressed by Shri Devendra Fadnavis, Chief Minister of Maharashtra and by Shri Sarbananda Sonowal, Chief Minister of



Assam. Shri Jayant Sinha and Shri Suresh Prabhu were also present on the dais.

Shri Devendra Fadnavis quoted Prime Minister Modi saying that India lives in its states. He said that the Prime Minister had always encouraged sub-national entities to interact more with their foreign counterparts and as a result, in last four years, cooperative federalism has transformed into competitive federalism where the states are becoming engines of India's growth story. Talking about Maharashtra, Shri Fadnavis mentioned that it contributes about 15% of national GDP. In earlier decade, Maharashtra slipped as an investment destination due to lack of good governance. However, in the last few years, due to sustained effort of proper policy and implementation and great synergy with the central

government, it has regained its position as the most competitive state and become a growth engine of India again. Shri Fadnavis quoted a Deutsche Bank report which said that of all big infrastructure projects in India, 50% are in Maharashtra. Maharashtra has also regained the faith of global investors. He said that of all the FDI that came to India, 47% came to Maharashtra.

Shri Fadnavis went on to add that agrarian crisis is a big challenge for Maharashtra and the state government has undertaken several efforts for water conservation to ensure that agriculture is sustainable. As a result, water table in even drought prone regions like Marathawada has gone up. Maharashtra's current GDP is USD 400 billion with an average growth rate of 8-9 percent. Shri Fadnavis asserted that Maharashtra can become a trillion dollar economy by 2025 and the PM's dream of 5 trillion dollar Indian economy would also be achieved. Apart from agriculture, the thin line between industries and services has gone away and under Industry 4.0, Maharashtra can accelerate its growth rate by combining these two sectors. Under this approach, Maharashtra aims to be a leader in fintech industry. At Magnetic Maharashtra Summit earlier this year, the state announced first fintech policy.

Shri Fadnavis said that infrastructure led growth is a new way to make India a developed nation. This is why state government is aggressively working on expanding the metro footprint in Mumbai and aggressively building

highways in the state. He concluded by emphasising that benefits of growth should go to all districts and not just to Mumbai, Nashik and Pune. To ensure this, a 700 km expressway is being built between Mumbai and Nagpur which would provide port connectivity to districts in Maharashtra.

Shri Sarbananda Sonowal, Chief Minister of Assam said that under the visionary leadership of Prime Minister Modi, every state has an opportunity to grow. He was the first PM to refer to North-East as *Ashta Lakshmi* and encourage the region to become a new growth engine for India. Shri Sonowal acknowledged the problem of transparency faced by investors in the region and said that his priority was to provide good, corruption-free governance. In the last 23 months, a non-stop campaign against corruption had been launched to ensure that corrupt officials are put in jail, while citizens and investors are treated with respect. As a result of this campaign, there has been a 22% revenue growth and similar exponential growth in government's expenditure.

Shri Sonowal highlighted that the North-East is rich in natural resources and biodiversity and has the potential to become an organic hub. He asserted that the economic growth must be without compromising the ecology. PM Modi had given a mandate to Union Ministers to visit the North East region regularly and follow-up on the implementation of their respective Ministry projects. Shri Sonowal reiterated the importance of connectivity in economic progress. The Udaan scheme for example has provided cheap connectivity to the region and several infrastructure projects have been launched by the Union Government. The North-East can become

India's gateway to the ASEAN region. Shri Sonowal said that the North-East would not stay behind in India's growth story and his government was working with the right intentions to ensure that the region fulfils its growth potential.

April 28, 2018

Session 1

Jobs for All: Harnessing India's Demographic Dividend

The session saw an engaging panel discussion on harnessing India's demographic dividend with the panellists Shri Rajan Bharti Mittal, vice chairman and managing director of Bharti Enterprises; Shri Abhishek Lodha, managing director and CEO of Lodha Group, and Shri Amitabh Kant, CEO of NITI Aayog. The session was moderated by Ms. Shamika Ravi, a member of the Economic Advisory Council to the Prime Minister of India and director of research at Brookings India. Ms. Ravi dismissed the idea that India has experienced jobless growth. Shri Rajan Mittal highlighted a McKinsey study that found that over the last three years between 20 and 26 million jobs had been created. He focused his talk on the need for the manufacturing sector to become more competitive while simultaneously creating more employment and remaining profitable. Shri Abhishek Lodha pointed to India's peculiar situation of rising growth and rising unhappiness, and asked the panel what India's model of capitalism is. Agreeing with Shri Rajan Mittal, he said that one must understand that profit and job creation go hand in hand. Shri Amitabh Kant said that the biggest opportunity lies in opening up the social sector — health and

education — and pointed that startups working in this sector are already disrupting the industry. The panel, at large, was in agreement that India is in the midst of a job struggle and that entrepreneurs have to be supported to take on more risks.

Session 2

Future of Centre-State Finances

As a prelude to this session, Shri N. K. Singh, Chairman of the 15th Finance Commission, delivered a special address on the future of centre-state finances. He explained the structure and composition of the Finance Commission, addressed the institutional mechanisms that were visualised in creating the Finance Commission and dwelled on the future of centrally sponsored schemes stressing that the Commission has nothing to do with the terms of reference of the Finance Commission, as they are given by the President of India.

The special session was followed by a panel discussion comprising Shri Haseeb Drabu, former Minister of Finance, Government of Jammu and Kashmir, and Shri Himanta Biswa Sarma, Minister of Finance, Government of Assam. The panel was moderated by Ms. Latha Venkatesh, Executive Editor of CNBC TV18 News. Shri Haseeb Drabu emphasised that states are driving the new economy and therefore, in an economic context, India must be looked at as a federation of states and not a union of states. He proposed a new model for India that moves from a tax sharing system to a resource sharing system. He said that a “New India” has to emerge from the states. Shri Himanta Biswa Sarma also highlighted the importance of a federal institution, and said that while the

relationship between the centre and the state is clear on the political front, the relationship is still evolving on the economic front. He highlighted how he believes India will move along the right path in Centre-State relationships, as Shri Narendra Modi had previously served as a Chief Minister.

Session 3

Emerging Technologies: Their Impact and Challenges

The panel on emerging technologies was moderated by Shri Sanjeev Sanyal, Principal Economic Adviser, Ministry of Finance, Government of India and was made up of Shri Mark Lippert, Vice President, Boeing International; Shri Adil Zainulbhai, Chairman, Quality Council of India, and Shri Sudhir Mishra, CEO and Managing Director, BrahMos Aerospace. Shri Adil Zainulbhai highlighted how the world is in a unique point in history of unparalleled technological change, and India in particular, as it can take advantage of technology to promote change. Shri Mark Lippert spoke of the interesting technology that will change the world, but noted that regulation needs to move quickly to take account of the changes disruption technology brings. Shri Adil Zainulbhai noted that while technology changes at a very fast pace, regulation is sometimes a few steps behind, and in many cases, regulation is unnecessary. Shri Sudhir Mishra emphasised India being at the forefront of technology development having developed the world’s fastest missile. He also spoke about how warfare will be different in the future, but cautioned that “soldiers will continue to fight wars”, as artificial intelligence, although being



researched, is still largely only in the research phase.

Session 4 Crafting A Unique Development Model for India

This session was hosted by Shri Jayant Sinha, Minister of State for Civil Aviation and comprised of Shri Rajiv Kumar, Vice Chairman, NITI Aayog; Shri Shashi Shanker, Chairman and Managing Director, ONGC, and Shri Vijay Shekhar Sharma, Chairman and Managing Director, One97 Communications Ltd. Shri Jayant Sinha asked the panellists whether India needs a unique development model, and if so, what it should be. Shri Vijay Shekhar Sharma argued that India needs its own model, as the Western model is suffocating for countries that try to replicate it, and East Asian models are undemocratic. He argued that India needs a model that focuses on low cost and high skill and captures India's diversity, while remaining scalable and affordable. Rajiv Kumar noted that India has greater respect for human

rights and the rule of law than other countries, and this needs to be taken into account for India's development. He further stated that India is the only country in the world to undertake the mammoth task of transitioning (economic, political and social) simultaneously. The implications of a simultaneous transition need to be considered while developing a unique, homegrown model for India. Shri Shashi Shanker suggested that the key to India's continued development are education, energy, equity and most importantly, empowerment of its citizens. Shri A. K. Mishra argued that local institutions and better jobs in villages will be the key to driving India forward.

Session 5 Financing For New Economy

The session was chaired by Shri Rajiv Lall, Founder MD & CEO, IDFC Bank and was made up of Shri Rana Kapoor, Founder and CEO, Yes Bank; Shri Rashesh Shah, Chairman and Chief



Executive Officer, Edelweiss Group; Shri Raamdeo Agrawal, Joint Managing Director, Oswal Group and Shri Sanjay Nayar, Member and CEO, KKR India. Shri Rana Kapoor noted that India becoming a \$10 trillion economy by 2030 is the country's most important goal, and if the population reaches 1.5 billion by then, this would require a GDP per capita of \$ 6,666. Shri Sanjay Nayar argued that India's deficit needs to be shrunk and savings need to be released for investment to happen and for India to grow. Shri Raamdeo Agrawal supported this view and further highlighted how if people can be encouraged to save in fixed income, rather than gold or land, this can encourage India's growth. Shri Rajiv Lall further also supported this by noting that India's saving rate is above 20%, but that a very small part of this is financial saving in banks. Rashesh Shah that the financial sector will be key for India's future growth, and what is important for the

financial sector is a diversification of who holds financial savings. All panellists agreed that it be easier for Indians to save and invest.

Valedictory Session

The valedictory address was delivered by Shri Hardeep Singh Puri, Minister of State (Independent Charge) for Housing and Urban Affairs, Government of India. Shri Puri noted that urban spaces in India had been subject to neglect for years, and that the current government was rectifying this. He highlighted how every Indian should have their own home by 2022, and how between 3,00,000 and 5,00,000 homes are approved every month. Shri Puri pointed how the Modi government has embraced urbanisation and how this is crucial for India, as cities produced 90% of India's tax revenue. He also spoke about the future of cities, and how technology and embracing smart cities can create a brighter future.



National Scholars Confluence on Geo-Politics of the Himalayan Region

Shreya Challagalla & Thomas Jackson



India Foundation organised a National Scholars Confluence from 16 to 18 May 2018 in Leh to celebrate the birth centenary of the 19th Kushok Bakula. The theme of the conference was ‘The Geo-Politics of the Himalayan Region.’ The inaugural and valedictory sessions of the conference were co-hosted by Jammu Kashmir Study Centre (JKSC).

16 May 2018 Inaugural Session

The inaugural session was presided over by Prof. Arvind P. Jamkhedkar, Chairman, Indian Council of Historical Research (ICHR). Shri Ashutosh Bhatnagar, Director, Jammu Kashmir Study Centre; Shri Chhering Dorje, Minister for Ladakh Affairs, Government of Jammu and Kashmir; Prof. Sunaina Singh, Vice-Chancellor, Nalanda International University; Shri Geshe

Konchok Wangdu, Director, Central Institute of Buddhist Studies (CIBS); Shri Dorjey Muttup, Chief Executive Councillor (CEC), Ladakh Autonomous Hill Development Council (LAHDC) and Prof. Rajneesh Shukla, Member Secretary, Indian Council of Philosophical Research (ICPR) shared the dais and spoke about the personality of Kushok Bakula Rinpoche.

Dr Kuldeep Agnihotri, General Secretary of the Kushok Bakula Birth Centenary Celebrations Committee, in his introductory remarks said that the people of Jammu Kashmir and the rest of India need to know about the life and achievements of the 19th Kushok Bakula Rinpoche.

Prof. Sunaina Singh spoke on the Rinpoche’s soft power and how he bridged ties between India and Mongolia and also spread and revived Buddhism in the region. She said that largely due to his efforts, India and Mongolia continue to share very close ties.

17 May 2018

Session 1 - Kushok Bakula

Rinpoche: Exemplar of India's Soft Power Diplomacy

Prof. Sunaina Singh, the chair of the session, highlighted how India had always been a powerhouse of soft power, but that there was no term to describe the concept until Joseph Nye coined "Soft Power". Anil Trigunayat, Former Ambassador & Distinguished Fellow, Vivekananda International Foundation spoke on how the 19th Kushok Bakula Rinpoche was a perfect example of soft power in action, by helping shape culture and as such affecting people's behaviour in a way that aligns their goals with India's. Ambassador Trigunayat recalled how the 19th Kushok Bakula was the main driving force in reviving Buddhism in Mongolia, and highlighted how he single-handedly drove closer ties between India and Mongolia through soft power. His legacy can be seen through the number of Mongolians studying in India, the tremendous goodwill that India has in Mongolia and also on how Mongolia and India find themselves supportive of similar international causes.

Session 2 - Geostrategic Importance of the Himalayan Region

Prof. Sukh Deo Muni, Professor Emeritus, Jawaharlal Nehru University highlighted three important aspects of the Himalayan region — the mountain ranges' strategic location, its resources and turbulence. Ambassador P. Stobdan, Senior Fellow, Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA) pointed out that the Himalayas are not a

separate entity to India, but are an integral part of it, by highlighting its Sanskrit epistemology. He noted how the Himalayas have acted as a protective shield for India against foreign invasions. He deliberated on how the region used to be an area of competition between the British and Russians, referring to 'The Great Game' and pointed that some parts of the region are now contested between India, China and Pakistan. He noted that Himalayan geopolitics has become very complex and new fault lines can emerge if present concerns are not appropriately addressed. He stressed on the need to disengage and re-cultivate the importance of Himalayan Buddhism.

Session 3 - The Tibetan Conundrum

Ambassador Stobdan, the chair of the session, said that the Tibetan government was the first government to make a claim on Indian land. Dr. Abanti Bhattacharya, Associate Professor, Department of East Asian Studies, University of Delhi spoke on the 'Tibetan Conundrum' by presenting three different perspectives — the Indian, the Chinese and the Tibetan perspective. She said that India has never used the Tibet card; it messed up the card and lost it. She noted that there is insecurity in the Chinese foreign policy thinking, and that the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) was planned to keep the US and Japan out. Since the Quad keeps China out, she said it accepted India's call for a reset in bilateral relations. She said that China views Tibet is an internal issue, a security issue and not an identity issue, and therefore is not open for discussion.

Dr Bhattacharya spoke about the Tibetan



perspective and said that they have diluted their own cause. She highlighted this by giving the example of the year 1919 when Tibet did not understand the need to represent itself as an independent country in the League of Nations. Dr. Bhattacharya concluded that India does have a Tibet Card, but one that has failed to be played throughout Indian-Chinese history, and that unless India uses this card soon, it will be lost.

Session 4 - Xinjiang: Under the Shadow of Islamic Radicalism and Uyghur Nationalism

Ms. Prabha Rao, Senior Fellow, IDSA, chaired the session and highlighted the problem of nationalism in Xinjiang, and how this has morphed into Islamic extremism with time. Ms. Rao also mentioned how Islamic propaganda from Xinjiang has made its way into Jammu and Kashmir. Professor Mahesh Ranjan Debata, Assistant

Professor, Centre for Inner Asian Studies, SIS, JNU said that with the rising number of Han people in Xinjiang, there has been rising ethno-nationalism in the region, and that Islam has become more important. Mr. Debata stated that Islam has turned Xinjiang into a powerful and united nation, and there were calls for jihad against China in the past. Citing an example, he said Zahideen Yusuf, the main leader of the uprising, gave a call saying “we don’t believe in socialism”. Moreover, in 2015 there were instances of Uyghurs joining the ISIS in Syria and being involved in Islamic terrorism. China in turn, he said, has responded with force and development to counteract this threat.

The terrorists within Xinjiang lack domestic support for their agenda, and internationally there has been little sympathy for their movement even with alleged Chinese human rights abuses against them.

18th May 2018

**Session 5 - Nepal & Bhutan:
Changing Dynamics**

Ambassador Ranjit Rae, chair of the session and former ambassador to Nepal, noted that political change in Nepal has come through a series of events such as the struggle for an inclusive society and the Madhesi movement. He highlighted the different forms of government in Nepal and Bhutan, their relationship with China and their close links with India. Ambassador Rae pointed out that India is the biggest partner to both countries, but how we respond to the role that China wants to play, will become increasingly important. Dr Nihar Nayak, Research Fellow, IDSA focused his talk on Nepal and its foreign policy under the current government. He said that as Nepal is a small landlocked state with limited

resources, a small economy and a small army, it is dependent, to an extent, on its neighbours. China he said, views Nepal as a natural buffer while India, emphasises its economic, energy and cultural ties. He pointed out that Nepal is an important partner for India and India in the 1950s recognised that its northern defence starts from Nepal. Mr Nayak said that Nepal's foreign policy revolves around security and stability and that it directly addresses its relationship with India. Dr Medha Bisht, Assistant Professor, Department of International Relations, South Asia University, spoke of the cooperation between Indian and Bhutan, and how existing hydroelectric power projects between the two countries represent a significant amount of Bhutan's GDP. Ms. Bisht noted how Bhutanese media is concerned with India becoming too dominant in the country, and



while the countries are allies, India should pay consideration to Bhutanese concerns to avoid generating hostility.

Session 6 - Gilgit-Baltistan & Aksai Chin: Himalayan Region under Foreign Occupation

Captain Alok Bansal, Director, India Foundation noted that Pakistan-occupied Kashmir (PoK) is not the best term to describe territories of India that are under Pakistani control. Captain Bansal compared the differences between Mirpur-Muzaffarabad and Gilgit-Baltistan, noting that the latter has a greater desire to re-join with India and is far more distinct from Pakistan. He argued that Gilgit-Baltistan has been governed like a colony by Pakistan, with denial of local governance, political rights and self-rule, which combined with economic exploitation, has created greater demands for independence from Pakistan in the region. Captain Bansal also noted that China has been occupying Aksai Chin since 1962, although the region is largely uninhabited and that China's old postage maps considered the territory Indian.

Session 7 - India's Himalayan Frontier through the Ages

Prof. K Warikoo, from Centre for Inner Asian Studies, SIS, JNU said that Indian mythology points to the Himalayas as the centre of the world. He spoke of some of the features of the Himalayan region. He spoke of the importance of locating all available historical documents that show our true

borders especially in the Himalayas as it is a contested and geographically strategic region. The imposing geographical features of India did not stop it from being a contested zone. Moreover, its close proximity to Central Asia and borders with Afghanistan, Pakistan and China make it vulnerable to external influences. The second feature is that Buddhism is a connect in the region. A number of Buddhist inscriptions and figures, for example, are found in the region. The last feature he pointed to was the economic connect in the region. He noted that Tibet for example, was closely linked to Ladakh and Jammu and Kashmir both economically and culturally, and the most important article of trade was wool. Professor Warikoo said that the Himalayas are a fine example of boundary and barrier, and reiterated that there is a need to gather all historical documents on the Himalayan region in one place.

Valedictory Session

In the Valedictory Session, Shri Dattatreya Hosbale, Joint General Secretary, RSS spoke on "Transcending Borders: Culture, Commerce and Connectivity." He paid glowing tributes to the 19th Kushok Bakula Lobzang Thupten Chognor Rinpoche. He said, "Kushok Bakula Rinpoche was a multi-dimensional personality who should be seen as a role model, whose life and achievements can guide us even today. He was a Buddhist monk, a spiritual leader, a statesman and an outstanding diplomat who worked with an all-encompassing vision of human welfare."



12-year-old Nashtan Kushok Bakula, ordained as the 20th Kushok Bakula, also participated in the birth centenary celebrations.

The session was presided over by Prof S.R Bhatt, Chairman, ICPR and Shri Kavinder Gupta, Deputy Chief Minister, Jammu and Kashmir was the chief guest. Others who shared the dais were

Mr. G. Ganbold, Mongolia's Ambassador to India; Shri Chhering Dorje, Minister for Ladakh Affairs; Shri Shakti Sinha, Director, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library (NMML); Prof. Rajaneesh Shukla, Member Secretary, ICPR; Shri Anil Goel, Trustee, JKSC and Capt. Alok Bansal, Director, India Foundation.



Reimagining Pakistan:

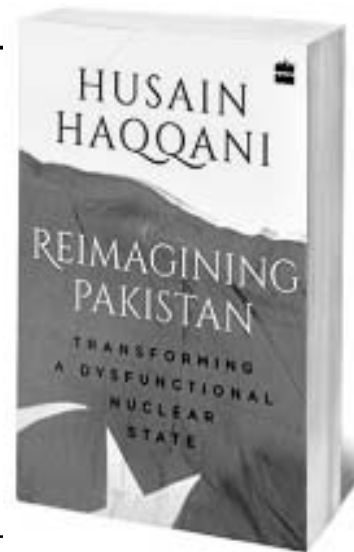
Transforming a Dysfunctional Nuclear State

Author: Husain Haqqani

Publisher: Harper Collins India, 2018, pp. 336

Price: Rs.699/-

Book Review by: Alok Bansal*



Pakistan has emerged as the epicentre of global terror, which is the result of an extremely radicalised society. The process of radicalisation continues unhindered, as Pakistan's successive leaders have chosen to define its nationalism in terms of religion. Many believe that the radicalisation in Pakistan is nothing but the result of General Zia-ul-Haq's rule of more than a decade. They probably tend to forget that Pakistan's leadership right from the beginning delved into religious symbolism. Even Mohammad Ali Jinnah, who is today perceived as a paragon of secularism, made numerous statements with religious connotations. His whole argument for Pakistan was based on the dissonance between Hindus and Muslims. Consequently, Pakistan and Islam became synonymous. Having been created on the basis of religion, Islam automatically assumed salience in the new state and thereafter radicalisation was a natural progression. This process was only accelerated by Zia, however, subsequent attempts at checking the onslaught of radicalisation have floundered, because no subsequent leader has been willing to change the narrative completely.

Husain Haqqani, in his current book analyses Pakistan's problem in light of its identity crisis and recommends reconfiguring Pakistan's identity away from Islamic symbolism of the past. Haqqani, a former journalist and diplomat, who was Pakistan's envoy to Sri Lanka and the United States, has traversed the entire political spectrum of Pakistan. He began his political career from the student wing of Jamaat-e-Islami, thereafter he hitched his band wagon to General Zia and after his death to that of his protégé Nawaz Sharif, who appointed him as Pakistan's High Commissioner to Sri Lanka. He switched allegiance to Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) after Nawaz's fall, which finally appointed him as the Ambassador to the US, where he was accused in 'Memogate' of having conspired against Pakistan's powerful Army, and forced to resign. He was recalled to Pakistan and accused of 'High Treason'. He was permitted to go abroad for medical treatment. A judicial commission appointed by the Supreme Court has subsequently found him guilty of undermining the country's security and reported that he "was not loyal to Pakistan". Haqqani has since refused to return to Pakistan citing threats to his life.

**Capt. Alok Bansal is a Director of India Foundation.*

Considering his chequered history, certain bias against the state is inevitable, at the same time his unique exposure to Jamaat and its youth wing, makes him eminently suitable to analyse the radical mind-set. He therefore is uniquely positioned to analyse the flaws in the path undertaken by Pakistan's leaders. The book clearly highlights that right from inception Pakistan's leaders tried to superimpose an Islamic identity to tide over its ethnic differences, without realising that Islam had never been a monolith ever since prophet's death and it could lead to sectarian and doctrinaire differences.

The book begins with highlighting how Pakistanis suffer from a sense of persecution and believe that the world is conspiring against their country, whereas the global community perceives it as a 'migraine' that is not going away. It then deals with the history and how Islam got intertwined with the demand for a new state for Muslims of India. It provides valuable insights into various theories propounded by the Muslim League and its supporters to justify their demand for a separate homeland and their absurdities. The fact that only about 15 per cent of population was entitled to vote in the 1945-46 elections, debunks the Muslim League's claim to represent the Muslim masses. It also clearly brings that while demanding Pakistan, the Muslim League, clearly had no plan of how to administer it. Jinnah's statement that he was 'going to Pakistan as a citizen of Hindustan' showed complete ambiguity about the future of Pakistan. Author contends that 'Pakistan was "insufficiently imagined", considering the ambiguities inherent in the demand for Pakistan.'

It then goes on to cover 'Ideological Dysfunction' and 'Islamist Rage', which highlight

the growing radicalisation of Pakistani society as well as the state's inaction in dealing with the menace. Numerous incidents of religious violence have been covered and analysed to show that right from the beginning Pakistan's leaders including Jinnah, gave a free hand to clerics in order to mobilise masses for his cause. Anybody opposing the Muslim League was branded as infidel by clerics carrying Quran and this has probably contributed to liberal accusations of blasphemy today. According to the author, most of Pakistan's current problems have their genesis in defining Pakistani nationalism in terms of Islam and Islamic identity.

The author gives out the jihadi narrative in 'Insecurity and Jihad', and explains how Pakistan's rulers tried to use it to further their perceived national interests. He highlights the concept of 'Ghazwa-e-Hind' and analyses the differences between al-Qaeda and ISIS in their understanding of Hind. One of the biggest failures of Pakistan has been its inability to build credible institutions during last seven decades, barring one, the Army. The Army dominates every aspect of Pakistani State, so much so that it is often said that in Pakistan's case it is often an army, which has got a state, unlike the other way around. The army has assigned to itself the role of not only guarding the physical frontiers of the state, but also its ideological frontiers, which gives it right to interfere in any aspect of state's functioning. 'The Institution' and its interference in the political sphere has prevented Pakistan from behaving like any normal nation state and has been forced to act like a security state, where almost every aspect of the state's functioning is controlled by the security agencies. This overemphasis on security has ensured that most Pakistanis want to become

‘Warriors, not Traders’. Consequently, despite liberal international aid, Pakistan’s economy continues to be in doldrums.

Finally, the author gives his recommendations to Pakistan for ‘Avoiding the March of Folly’, which still bases its narrative on the ‘Two Nation Theory’ and believes in irrevocable hostility towards ‘Hindus and other enemies of Islam’. According to the author Pakistan faces five critical faultlines and it’s inability to offer suitable policy responses to them is the genesis of ‘Pakistan’s Predicament’. The author contends that two pillars of Pakistani nationalism, namely, Islam and anti-Indianism are both ambiguous and problematic. The author prophesises that if Pakistan does not sufficiently ‘grow economically, integrate globally

and remains mired in ideological debates’ its future is not going to be different from its past.

The book makes an excellent reading and is a must for anybody wanting to understand Pakistan’s ideological quagmire. Unfortunately, because of his past, his sane advice and wise counsel, is not likely to be given due importance in Pakistan, where people are bound to see it with a jaundiced eye. The book is bound to be appreciated by serious academics across the globe, although there are some minor errors like sectarian affiliation of Khwaja Nazimuddin, the second Governor General and Prime Minister of Pakistan. It offers any student of Pakistan some rare insights; coming from someone, who has been part of the government, these are extremely valuable.



Upcoming Event

7th Young Thinkers Meet

Kasauli, Himachal Pradesh; July 28-29, 2018.

Young Thinkers Meet is an annual two day conclave of young intellectuals who brainstorm over various issues of national significance. It engages emerging young thought leaders who can make meaningful contributions to the national discourse.

There were six such meets in the past. The first Young Thinkers Meet happened in Coorg, Karnataka and subsequent meets happened in Manesar, Haryana; Pune, Maharashtra; Panchmarhi, Madhya Pradesh; Patnitop, Jammu and Kashmir and Vadodara, Gujarat.

In the past there were discussions over themes like ‘Great Indian Dream’, ‘Impacting the National Discourse’ and ‘India-2047’. This year the theme for the Young Thinkers Meet will be ‘New Age Leadership’.

For further details, please write to mail@indiafoundation.in



Building Regional Architectures

27-28 August 2018
Hanoi, Vietnam



MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
DIPLOMATIC ACADEMY OF VIETNAM



S. RAJARATNAM
SCHOOL OF
INTERNATIONAL
STUDIES



BANGLADESH
INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL
AND STRATEGIC STUDIES (BLISS)



Premium Transit and Digital Advertising Experts

Airports | Metro | OOH | Mobile & Internet

When it comes to Out-of-Home Advertising, most media professionals trust only TDI. This trust and impression has been formed over 3 decades, gaining the experience and reach to deliver the full impact of your advertising campaigns across the country.

North | Jatinder Singh : + 91 98115 40202 East | Vandana Sharma : + 91 98302 12552

South | Vinod Kumar : + 91 98840 38320 West | Abhijit Kulkarni : +91 8879004651

TDI MAD | Sanjay Sharma : +91 98184 53031 TDI Media Services | Pankaj Misra : +91 99991 52884

Corporate Office

011-42534300 | info@tdiindia.com | www.tdiindia.com