

geopolitics

DEFENCE ■ DIPLOMACY ■ SECURITY

■ ARMY-AIR FORCE
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COVER STORY

(P40)

VULNERABLE COASTS

Although the Coast Guard's funding has been ramped up dramatically, the force is still not ready to thwart another 26/11-type attack from the seas.



PANORAMA (P10)



OREN ROZEN DARGOT

PREEMPTIVE ATTACK

Israel might finally exercise the option of taking out Iranian nuclear facilities to snuff out any threat to its existence.

Form IV (See Rule 8)

GEOPOLITICS

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PERSPECTIVE (P19) CYBER WARFARE

Cyberspace is the latest battlefield in which the wars of supremacy will be fought in the new millennium.

DEF BIZ (P34) SPECIAL MISSION EXPERT

Beechcraft is offering India its top-of-the-line special mission aircraft for a range of uses across the spectrum.

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The Centre and State have been alarmed as candidates with Naxal links have won seats in the recent state elections.



HEMANT RAWAT

ROTOR WARS (P30)

The Air Force is trying its best to thwart the Army's efforts to acquire armed choppers to protect its turf.



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HARMONY IN ASSAM (P56)

As militant groups surrender in droves across Assam, questions are being asked about their true motivation.



NEPALTIMES.COM

TURBULENT NEPAL (P64)

New Delhi's cartwheels in strategies in Kathmandu in the recent past have not served Indian interests.



NPCL

ASSERTIVE NEW DELHI (P73)

India is all set to protect its national interests at the forthcoming Nuclear Security Summit in Seoul.

SPOTLIGHT (P22)



PB

ENSURING DETERRENCE

The new breed of Agni missiles gives India a credible second-strike option with the ability to hit targets deep inside China.

DIPLOMACY (67)

PROMISE OF THE EAST

ASEAN COUNTRIES ARE NOT ONLY VIEWING INDIA AS A REGIONAL FORCE BUT ALSO FETTERING IT AS A GLOBAL ASSET.



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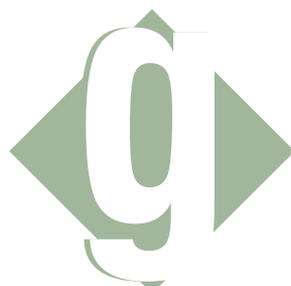
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GEOPOLITICS LETTERS



LETTERS TO EDITOR



Panorama (Feb 2012) on Guantanamo Bay was an excellent read and was well laid out. It had all the relevant information for any inter-

ested reader. The pictures tell the human story of the prison complex and the story was an eye opener to say the least. Another good piece was the interview of AS Rao, CCR&D, Defence Research Development Organisation (DRDO).

I personally feel the DRDO-Snecma engine deal is a complete nonsense. The interview clearly states that the Snecma is going to deliver everything. The contribution of DRDO, as per what Rao said, is very miniscule. DRDO has hit a wall and has not been able to solve the issue and is therefore buying proven technology of the shelf. It is a sorry state-of-affairs for the nation.

The cover story (*Flying into the ground*, Feb 2012) was a very balanced piece. Although a large number of stories have been written on the subject, the intricate details mentioned in this article are one of a kind. The situation will improve is still not clear it will all depend upon the procurement of future trainers is a horrifying thing. I hope the better planned and synergised procurement will come to Air Force's rescue. I enjoyed your this issue and is waiting for the next.

Regards

Surjit Singh
Karnal



The cover story (*Flying into the ground*, Feb 2012) was a very educative piece. The focus of the article was not on the accident rates but the whole

process of training and the role that trainers play in creating an air warrior.

The complex process of training pilots which is the backbone of any air force should have been the focus of the Indian Air Force and it seems that due importance was not given to trainers during previous decades.

The importance which was given to building the fighter squadron was not shown towards expanding the trainer fleet. The Hindustan Aeronautics Limited (HAL) has played a significant role in depletion of trainers and their inability to produce trainers of quality on time is simply unforgivable. Alas, they always escape the scrutiny!



The article on the Chinese economic data, (Global watch, Feb 2012) proved very well the truth hidden behind the shining Chinese façade. The Chi-

nese are growing but not as good as they are suggesting. But the skeptics are probing into the Chinese economic growth. This a good sign. I am looking forward to more such insightful articles in the future.

Regards

Dev Dutt
Sambhalpur



Tackling Insurgency (Feb 2012) by Uddipan Mukherjee was a novel attempt at drawing inspiration from the international anti-terror/anti-insurgency operation for Indi-

an Army. But the article has fallen short on the analysis part. Russia should be the last nation to draw parallels for counter-terrorism, counter-insurgency (CI/CT) operations. The ground realities of Russia are not very similar to that of India. Dagestan and Chechnya were far-flung regions of Russia. These regions do not have large belligerent nations on their borders to lend moral support to the insurgency.

The cartoon of Chidambaram is so very apt in your February 2012 issue. (Golden Eye column), Our esteemed minister does not consider other people's time worth respecting. This is irresponsible behaviour and shows either his inability at managing time or sheer lethargy across the system.

This a privilege India does not enjoy when it comes to Kashmir or the North-East. The involvement of neighbours and nuclear enemies like China and Pakistan in the insurgencies is India's main obstacle. The political reality of India is also very different from that of Russia which has a history of brutal repression.

Regards

Rohan Misra
Hyderabad

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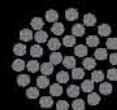
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AT CLOSE QUARTERS

▶ The Indian Army was recently in the news for its succession plans. One of the big obstacles was the Army chief's age row that saw the disruption of the set succession plan. If the ministry was so particular about the succession plan, it should have cleared the pending board results of Major Generals. In fact, in October 2011, the Indian Army cleared the board of the Major Generals and sent it to the ministry for approval. Since then, the ministry has been sitting on the file and the Brigadiers have been awaiting their commands. The biggest irony is that there is a possibility that some of the Brigadiers who are on the wrong side — age-wise — are afraid that they might retire before the approvals come in.

This Army generally sits for a day and clears all the appointments for every board. But it is the MoD that takes time to clear the appointments. In addition, it creates a lot of anomalies and confusion. Last year, for example, two officers retired as Major Generals in spite of clearing the board. The man behind all this and more is the Raksha Mantri's confidant and our very own Defence Secretary Shashi Kant Sharma. It's a matter of surprise how easily and quickly he has gained control over the ministry and evaded media coverage even during the Army chief's age row. So fast has Sharma been to gain the ear of the minister that even the veteran journo's covering South Block are fuddled!



SLUMBERING MHA

▶ The internal security situation in the country is acquiring new shapes every day. The Indian security establishment is huffing and puffing to come to a solution but very few know that the Ministry of Home Affairs (MHA) has been sleeping over a proposal for the establishment of a research centre in the defence studies department of one of the top universities. The proposal has been with the MHA for well over a year now. In fact, the head of the department of the defence department is fed up and has stopped shooting off letters to the MHA and is reportedly waiting for the ministry to take action on its own.

For the uninitiated in security matters, the armed forces have three research institutes that do their research work. The same is the case with the Ministry of Defence and the Ministry of External Affairs — both have their own think tanks. The Home Secretary and the Secretary, Internal Security, Ajay Chadha has a long list of unfinished tasks in his hand and the research centre seems to be the last priority. Perhaps, Chadha *Sahab* is more occupied with the psychological warfare against the Maoists that has been going on for the last few months. We have witnessed the latest in this line from him: the FAQ on Maoists that he can claim as his first achievement. Let's see where the story goes from here.

NO MOUSTACHE, NO MARTIAL LAW

▶ A joke that is doing the rounds in Pakistan is that General Kiyani is afraid of imposing martial law in his country. The joke goes that the chances of the General taking such an action is virtually unthinkable since every army chief who has imposed Martial Law had a moustache. Poor General Kiyani! He is a clean-shaven guy with a clean image.

However, short of growing a moustache — and that could take quite some time — he can arm-twist Chief Justice Iftikhar Muhammad Choudhary. The CJ, any way, has been working at the behest of the army to bring down the government using the legal route and to top it all, has a moustache. If the Zardari government does fall, till a new government is formed, the army will rule, courtesy the moustachioed Chief Justice.



TRANSPARENCY MATTERS

▶ Today, when everyone is demanding transparency, the Union Government committed a mistake by keeping the states unaware about the details of the National Counter Terrorism Centre (NCTC). The move backfired in a big way with friendly and opposition Chief Ministers declining to toe the Centre's line. The buzz is that the NCTC is supposed to be the expansion of the Multi-Agency Centre (MAC), a nodal organisation of India's intelligence agencies. Only time will tell whether the NCTC will end up as an efficient or an inefficient body like the MAC, that has lost all its credibility.



GEOPOLITICS
PANORAMA

It's complicated, dangerous and doable with no margin for error. At least Israel in its present avatar cannot do this Osirak-type surgical strike on Iranian nuclear facilities.

DEFIANT LEADER



Iranian attempts to acquire nuclear devices have accelerated under the leadership of Ahmadinejad

COMPLEX AND DANGEROUS

A The route over Iraq would be the most direct (and, perhaps, the most likely in case of an attack) for the simple reason that Iraq has virtually no air defence and the US — after its December withdrawal has no liability of defending Iraqi airspace. The only issue is that Jordan has to turn a blind eye and digest this air-space incursion.

B Assuming that Jordan tolerates the Israeli overflight, the next problem is distance. The Israeli fleet consists of American-built F-15I and F-16I fighter jets that can carry the requisite arsenal. However, in terms of range, they come a-cropper. Either way — altitude, speed and payload — they fall way short of the over-2000 mile back-and-forth roundtrip that the operation requires. And, mind you “loiter time” — the time spent over a target and getting your coordinates in order and scoring a bull’s eye — isn’t included in all this.

C To make sure that the return trip goes off without a glitch, Israel would have to use airborne refuelling planes or tankers. They have 8 KC-707 American-made tankers. But it's complex. Tankers would need protection, meaning more fighter aircraft. Another option: Fly the tankers at 50,000 feet, swoop down, refuel and fly high again.



INEFFECTIVE EMBARGO



ANTIDICTATORSHIP.WORDPRESS.COM

Over the years, the UN has slapped widening sanctions on Iran

ARAK

Arak research reactor, located in the central Iranian city of Arak is likely to be used, say Iranian officials, for research projects as well as producing radiopharmaceuticals in its Tehran reactor. The 40-MegaWatt Arak research reactor is expected to be launched in 2014.



PANORAMA



Aerial refueling would be essential to any attempts by Israel to hit Iranian nuclear facilities that have been distributed across the length and breadth of the nation.

FORDOW

According to *Wikipedia*, Fordow near the holy city of Qom is the site of a previously undeclared underground uranium enrichment facility at a former Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps base. After the existence of Fordow was publicly revealed by Western powers in 2009, Iran informed the Atomic Energy Agency that it was constructing the Fordow Fuel Enrichment Plant (FFEP).

NATANZ

Iran is building a high-security uranium enrichment facility using gas centrifuges near Natanz. This site is about 150 kilometres north of Isfahan. The IAEA has characterised the centrifuges at this site as sophisticated and the culmination of a large, expensive effort.

ISFAHAN

The Nuclear Technology Centre of Isfahan is a nuclear research facility that currently operates four small nuclear research reactors, all supplied by China.



Isfahan's conversion facility converts yellowcake into uranium hexafluoride

SAUDI ARABIA

KUWAIT

BUSHEHR

NORTHERN ROUTE

B

C

Map not to scale

GRAPHIC: RUCHI SINHA

March 2012



GEOPOLITICS
GROUNDREPORT

AT THE LINE OF CONTROL — ACROSS THE HAJIPIR PASS!

The Pakistani occupation of Hajipur Pass is a logistical nightmare for people travelling to different parts of Jammu and Kashmir. **ROHIT SRIVASTAVA** travelled from Bannihal Pass to the Line of Control to find out the state of affairs

STANDING NEXT to the famous Hajipur Pass on the Indian side of the Line of Control (LoC), one realises the complexities that confront us in Kashmir. At the serpentine ridgeline that divides India and Pakistan, it would be impossible to understand which part is with India and which is with Pakistan. The Hajipur bulge is one of the two bulges in Kashmir where each side enjoys a 'vantage' advantage: Pakistan at Hajipur and India in Jammu at the Akhnoor Dagger.

It's ironic that the distance between Uri and Punch is around 45 km through the Hajipur Pass, which is in Pakistani control, but to actually travel between the two regions one has to traverse through Jammu, covering a distance of around 500 km! Hajipur has been won thrice by our soldiers, only to be given away every time to Pakistan in exchange of territory that Pakistan won somewhere down the PirPanjal in Jammu — an area difficult to defend.

On our way to Army post Rustum, we came across a small base at the rear of the ridge near the trench line and the bunkers that were once used for defence against Pakistan shells. On enquiring about the use of the base, the 40-something Subedar told us: "As the crow flies, the distance between Hajipur Pass and this place is five km, and it is under direct range of medium mortars." He showed us trenches that were once used by even the local population for shelter against the shelling. History is full of ifs and buts of war and how India handed over Hajipur back to Pakistan, but we will reserve that story for some other time.

On the morning of my stay at 38 RR, the Company Commander explained the whole geography of the region with a sand model and it was amazing to know two parts of the state which are so close but far apart because Hajipur is in Pakistani hands.

The Mughal rulers of old were lucky to be able to enter the Kashmir Valley from Punch Rajouri through the Thanamandi area of Chandimarh in Pir Panjal. They

did not have to construct any roads. Ironically, the Mughal Road now under construction would be of great relief to people living around the mighty Pir Panjal, who will get connectivity across the mountains to both the Jammu and Kashmir Valley. The military significance of the project cannot be underestimated. This road will provide better connectivity to forces deployed on both sides of Pir Panjal. The force mobilisation and

FACELESS ENEMY: In the picture the Pakistani post and communication tower can be clearly seen



HEMANT RAWAT

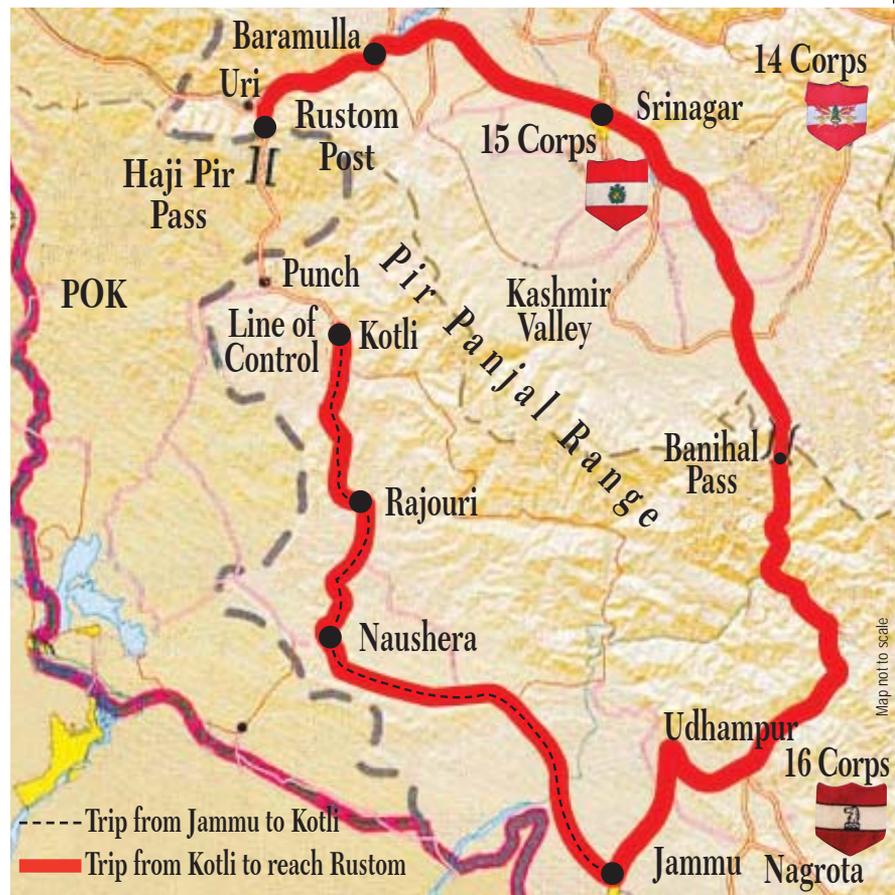


reinforcement to the Punch Rajouri LoC from the Valley would become a reality and it will make military deployment seamless.

For a layman, understanding force deployment is a very difficult thing, especially when higher formations (from a battalion to a command — in between are Brigade-Division Corps) are involved but in Jammu & Kashmir this is not so. There are three corps in the Northern Command which is in charge of Jammu & Kashmir state, i.e. the 14th, 15th and 16th deployed in the Himalaya, Kashmir Valley and Jammu, respectively. These areas are well divided by mountain ranges, which are natural barriers between the regions and obstacles towards the uniform deployment of the Northern Command.

That is why the Hajipir Pass becomes significant. This pass can provide the connection between the Kashmir Valley and Jammu. The Mughal Road would go through the Pir Panjal Range, which is almost at the same height as that of Banihal in Qazikund, the gateway to the Valley from Jammu. This road will also help achieve the same objective but Hajipir is more significant as it is very close to Muzafarabad, the capital of PoK, which is a significant military objective both in political and in strategic terms.

The geography of the Valley is very different from that of Jammu and so is the political reality. The Valley has been the



CIRCUMNAVIGATING KASHMIR: A 500 kilometer round-trip is required to reach Kotli from Rustom while the actual distance between the two is barely 50 kilometres

epicentre of the militancy, which spilt over into Jammu as well. Local support for militancy never existed in Jammu and it is no wonder that peace arrived in Jammu much before the Valley. Once militancy lost active support in the Valley, the Jammu region saw a sharp decline in militancy. The border management in the 15 Corp (Kashmir) area is very different from that of 16 Corps (Jammu). The latter is marked by low mountains and the riverine terrain with forests. The weather, the major factor in the region, is much milder in Jammu, the 16 Corp region, than that in Kashmir, a region where the 15 Corps is deployed.

The positions occupied at the end of the Indo-Pak war in 1947 have been largely retained. No one is ready to move even an inch and the Kargil War was testimony to this reality. The essential feature of border management remains the same across the J&K. The three-tier Anti-Infiltration Obstruction System, i.e. the fence, forces deployed on the border and Rashtriya Rifles at the rear remain the same, the only difference is that of intensity of operation. The fence in the 15 Corp region has been effective like that of 16 Corps but the snow takes a toll on it. Around 40-50 per cent of the fence is

destroyed by snow every year.

A very senior officer observed: "It's a race against time to erect it. It is vulnerable to infiltration at the time of construction. Mountains are very high and constructing the fence is a difficult challenge for engineers. Around 300 vehicle loads of material are required to construct every kilometre of the fence." There are two major objectives of border management on the LoC, first to stem infiltration of militants, second to ensure that the sanctity of the LoC is not violated and status quo is maintained. The day-to-day efforts go towards checking infiltration. The chances of any successful Pakistani effort to change the LoC are very little because of the internal structure of Pakistan. A very senior commander told *Geopolitics*, "The LoC doesn't run on a prominent feature. Pakistani positions are at a higher altitude and they are at a distance from the LoC because there is no threat from us. Pakistan can vacate and move out."

The area around the Rampur sector comes under the counter-infiltration grid. The grid is supposed to check infiltration in its area of responsibility. The counter-infiltration grid works through surveillance and ambushes. During the day, it's the surveillance which works better and at



ROHIT SRIVASTAVA



GROUNDREPORT



ROHIT SRIVASTAVA

GLIMPSES FROM THE VALLEY: The coat of arms of the Pir Panjal Brigade, which is responsible for the Uri region and (inset) a Shia hamlet on the way from Srinagar to Baramulla with a poster of Ayatollah Khomeini

night it's the large number of ambushes which work. The biggest challenge for security personnel is patrolling at night. The combination of the chill at night and the pine forests is not an easy obstacle to overcome. The terrain is so uneven that a complete lockdown is simply not possible. A Captain at the border explained, "There are so many areas from where they can come. We keep changing strategy so that there are always some surprises for the terrorists. Our strategy changes with weather, snow and day and night."

In the heights of the Pir Panjal range the snow is the biggest factor. On mountain tops, the snow can vary from 3 to 15 feet. In certain areas, it could go up to 20 feet. The posts are generally not vacated though some are cut off for six months. To keep the posts going during the time that they are isolated is a Herculean effort. The only way to do this is through winter stocking, which begins well ahead of the onset of the cold and involves intense micro-management. It takes 1320 tonnes of stock to keep a company post going for six months. A huge amount of material has to be transported to the heights, which are usually only accessible by ponies although there are roads under construction. Perishable items like flour are the last to go to the post.

The snow is the biggest enemy of the fence. There are places where the snowfall covers the whole of the fence and one can easily walk over it. But the snowfall is not without disadvantages. Brigadier

informed us, "The chance of infiltration exists even in the peak of winter. Certain areas are very difficult to move, almost impossible, but people trained in snowmobile can easily move around." He added: "At the height of winter, anybody moving in the snow will leave tracks and trails. Choppers are employed for tracking the infiltrators. We call it air surveillance. In clear weather, anyone who has moved can be tracked very easily. But choppers are scarce resources and cannot be used extensively."

The latest in the surveillance are unmanned aerial vehicles. We were informed that night surveillance with UAVs were in the offing. The efficacy of night vision, thermal imaging — both active and passive — is very high in the cold. The Army feels that its surveillance capability at night is as good as it is during the day. We were informed that there hadn't been any infiltration this year in the Uri sector. The officers at the forward posts pointed out that there had been incidents when any infiltrator has come very close to the fence and had then gone back. In one such incident, 14 infiltrators came up to the fence and then retreated. The terrorist launch pads are always under surveillance and the intelligence keeps the Army informed about the movement of the militants. There are around 12 terrorist launch pads across the LoC in the Haji Pir area.

But, this is just one aspect of the reality of infiltration in Kashmir. The Gurez sector, part of the 15 Corp, saw a massive

infiltration by a large number of terrorists just before the onset of the winter. The riverine terrain makes that sector very difficult to patrol. There are enough riverine patches across the mountains, which cannot be totally secured. Fencing the areas along with the thick vegetation is difficult. The only way left to the Army is patrolling and ambushes. This is where the real encounters take place. Securing the border with the help of the AIOS is the easy job. Any breach of the AIOS can be checked and infiltrators can be stopped by direct firing but when the surveillance is simply not possible intelligence comes handy.

Throughout our journey we saw the seamless nature of the complete dominance of the armed forces in Kashmir. The Border Security Force is deployed all along the LoC at the rear, filling in the gaps. One can easily see the tinshed company bases of the BSF at the road heads. The lack of space on the high hill makes every inch worth saving. The river valleys are the only place where one could see enough space for a base. Every inch matters. But all the efforts of the deployed forces would not be even half as effective if the infrastructure and telecommunication had not come up in the last ten years. One can see that the military strategy is working well behind the development, especially the frantic pace at which infrastructure, especially the roads and bridges, are being created. The Army is preparing for two-front wars and it needs infrastructure to add muscle to its efforts.

Shaping Opinions Pioneer in 3rd Year

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SPECIAL REPORT

SUBMARINE PROLIFERATION IN ASIAN WATERS

At a time when South-East Asian nations are augmenting their arsenals of submarines to strengthen their “sea-denial” capabilities to counter the Chinese Navy’s “sea-control” scheme, India’s underwater combat capability appears lopsided, writes **ABHIJIT BHATTACHARYYA**

THIRTY-FOUR years ago, the 829-page *Jane’s Fighting Ships* (1977-1978) covered the navies of both China and India in 10 pages each, as those were the halcyon days of the four Western navies which mainly were represented by the maritime might of the USA (taking away 138 pages of the voluminous naval bible with the erstwhile USSR (70 pages), the UK (50 pages), and France (35 pages) following suit.

It was still the post-Second World War era of the established economic powers of the Anglo-US-French fleet. The rising flotilla of Moscow’s Red Navy in the sea, under virtually a single-window command of the longest-serving Admiral Sergey Georgiyevich Gorshkov, however, was running fast and trying hard to close the gap thereby making it one of the most

spectacular success stories in the history of modern navy, especially in the submarine warfare and the submarine manufacturing programme.

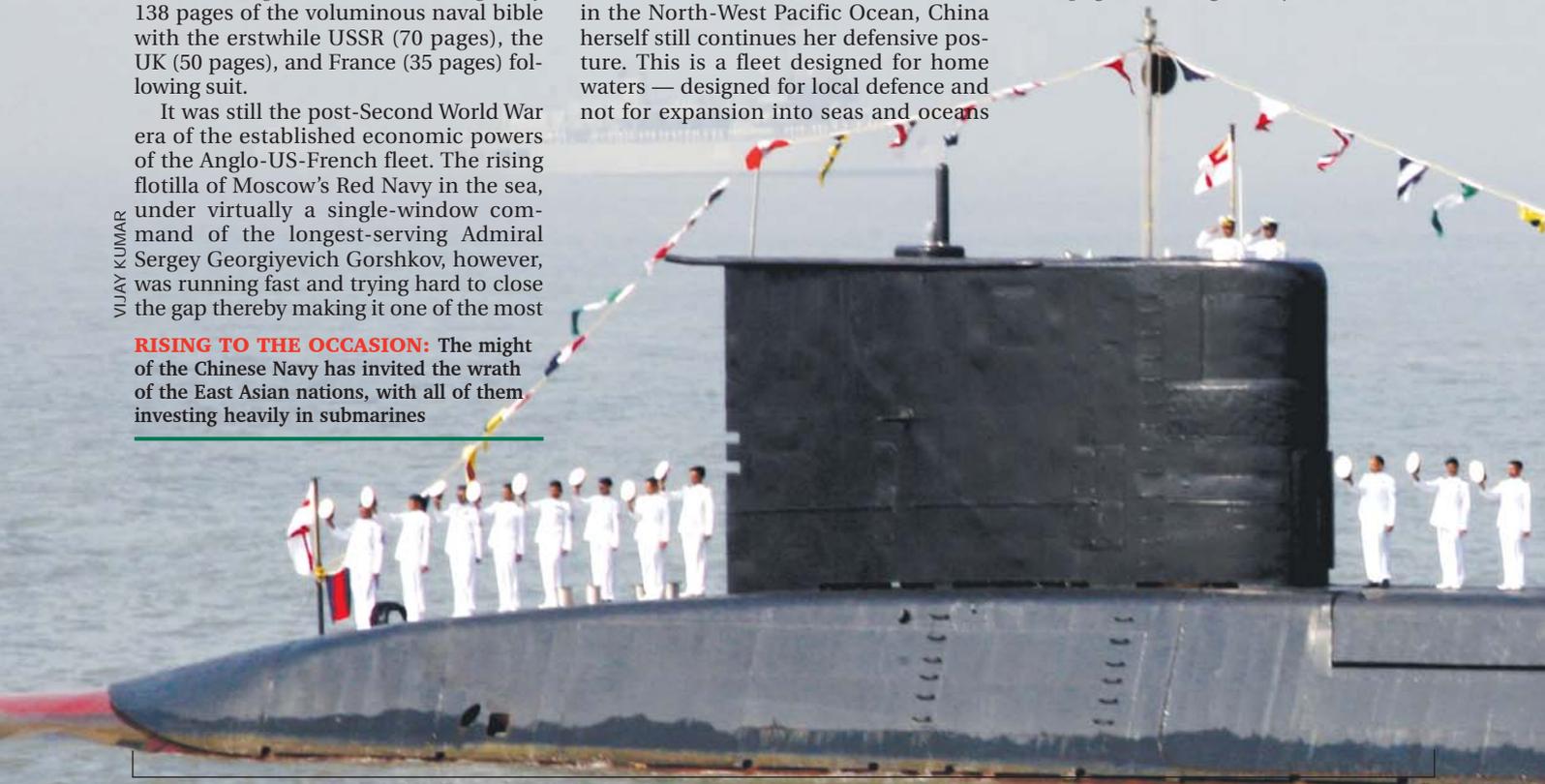
Amidst all this, the Chinese Navy also got a few favourable, yet contradictory, words scripted in the despatches thus: “As the counter-balance to Soviet influence in the North-West Pacific Ocean, China herself still continues her defensive posture. This is a fleet designed for home waters — designed for local defence and not for expansion into seas and oceans

where others are already fishing. All the information available suggests that the Chinese Navy is well-found, well-trained, efficient and well-organised.”

The Indian Navy, on the other hand, got a short shrift, and was contemptuously brushed aside in less than two lines of the 829-page naval *magnum opus* thus: “India

RIISING TO THE OCCASION: The might of the Chinese Navy has invited the wrath of the East Asian nations, with all of them investing heavily in submarines

VIJAY KUMAR





SPECIALREPORT

The East Asian Submarine Race

	Thailand — Plans to buy 6 ex-German Navy Type 206		Indonesia — 2 Cakra-Class/U209 (at present,) plans to buy 3-6 more
	Philippines — Ordered a submarine to be inducted by 2020		Malaysia — Operates two Scorpene Class
	Vietnam — Operates two Yugo-class ordered 6 Kilo-class		Singapore — Operates four Swedish Kockum submarines

builds for her own navy, army and air force. Her armed forces contain over three times the manpower of those of Great Britain. The 47,000 naval personnel, despite the comparatively low budget, man 12 submarines, 2 aircraft carriers 5 destroyers, 23 frigates, four corvettes, 14 missile craft and 11 landing ships. All these figures are due to increase....This is, by any standards short of the super-powers, a formidable force and the main query for an outside observer is 'Why'? There has long been a tradition that India's future lay on the sea but this very considerable fleet must cause apprehension amongst the other littoral countries of the Indian Ocean."

Paradoxically, the phenomenal decline of the US Navy's dominant position today clearly reveals the fast-changing world naval order which is gravitating to Asia, owing to the growing monetary muscle of the Hans (the Chinese) and the equally insecure environment in the east of Suez. The Navy of People's China wants to showcase its military capability through "flag" visits to all corners such as Australia, France, Japan, Pakistan, Russia, Singapore, Spain and the UK. And to cap its endeavour higher, China's amazing enterprise on submarine-building is an eye-opener to the world.

Thus, the latest report on the Beijing Navy reveals an astounding array of under-water assets consisting of three nuclear-powered ballistic missiles, a ballistic missile and 53 conventional submarines. While deploying, Beijing has seven submarine flotillas among its three fleets (North, East and South Sea fleet). And the latest report indicates that the Navy of China is going to build three new submarine bases one of which will be an underground base on Hainan islands for nuclear submarines.

In comparison with China, New Delhi's underwater combat capability appears lopsided at present as block-obsolence has caught up with the decommissioning of the last of the remaining Moscow-ori-

is receiving Nanuchkas from the USSR while completing British 'Leanders' at Bombay" with no mention of the nascent submarine squadron thereof. Significantly, even the Sri Lankan Navy got the same space of two lines like India: "Sri Lanka is reported to be seeking British craft to add to her Chinese and Soviet acquisitions" total non-existence of Colombo underwater assets notwithstanding.

The world, however, was reminded and forewarned that not only did the Chinese have a steady shipbuilding programme of all classes in the modernised vessel-building yards but they also have an advanced nuclear and missile capability. "This combination will make the Chinese Navy, already more than twice as strong in manpower as the Royal Navy, an important element in the future balance of power East of Suez." Along with it was also given the list of the submarine enterprise of Beijing's shipyards.

Almost a decade later, however, the *Encyclopaedia of the World's Fighting Ships of 1986-1987 and 1987-1988* perceived a

much more elaborate scenario of the world submarine enterprise while being bitterly critical of, and castigating, the naval build-up of New Delhi thus: "India's neighbours, Pakistan and Bangladesh, have similar maritime problems — a short coastline with a single major mercantile port and seaboard which invite clandestine or covert landings. Neither country has the financial resources to provide fully adequate security for their vital sea routes or defence against well planned incursions", thereby implying the possibility of aggressive posture and planning of someone bigger, better and stronger nation. The reference, though oblique, was towards India as the Jane' of yesteryears found it "hardly surprising that the rapid and varied growth of the Indian Navy is of concern". The Indian "naval enigma has been increasing over the years and this fleet now has the capability of disrupting the trade and the affairs of any of the Indian Ocean region's littoral countries were the government at New Delhi so disposed".

The "grave concern" of the bookmakers about the boats virtually spread venom at the prospect of Indian flotilla's expansion. "India has built up an arms industry of notable capabilities and





SPECIAL REPORT



NAVY.MIL/DAVID C DUNCAN

ON THE PROWL: The phenomenal decline of the US Navy's dominant position reveals the fast-changing world naval order

gin Foxtrot-class submarine in December 2010. This “force-deficiency” was pointed out by the office of the Comptroller and Auditor General (CAG) of India as early as October 2008 thus: “In what could seriously impact on the operational preparedness of the Indian Navy, more than 50 per cent of its submarines have completed 75 per cent of their operational life and some have already outlived their maximum service life. If the construction plan for new submarines is not expedited, 63 per cent of the existing fleet would complete their prescribed life by 2012 when the first new submarine will be inducted as per the present schedule.” Regretfully, no new submarine (as on date) has joined the Indian Navy, the October 2008 prediction/assessment of the CAG notwithstanding.

The only silver lining amidst this under-water uncertainty is the Indian attempt to indigenise the submarine industry. Thus, the development of a new nuclear-powered submarine (Advanced Technology Vessel) — INS Arihant — is a 6000-tonne vessel, possibly a development of a Russian design, Victor/Akula class boat which could be commissioned any time during the latter part of 2012. The imminent induction of the Russian Akula class (Type 971) nuclear-powered submarine into the Indian fleet too augurs well for the emaciated underwater force at present.

The most significant of all recent developments in the east of Suez, however, is the serial purchase of submarines in Southeast Asia which empowers the navies of the area a sea-denial capability instead of trying to compete with the superior surface ship domination of the likes of the Chinese armada, in the nar-

row and shallow water front infested with islands, atolls, straits and gulfs. It also signifies and ignites continuing tensions of the navies in and around the disputed Spratly and Paracel islands.

The threat and tension to Asia, therefore, principally arise out of “Sinophobia” of Southeast Asia. Thus in 2003, Malaysia set the ball rolling with its submarine acquisition programme with an order for two French Scorpene-class boats. Singapore's current submarine squadron consists of four Swedish Kockum underwater boats. Vietnam operates a pair of vintage Yugo-class midget submarines with six new Russian-built Kilo-class boats on order. Further south, Indonesia has stepped up its sub-surface capability with a choice between a South Korean Type-209 built by Daewoo and Russian Kilo-class submarine from Moscow. The navy which does not have submarine today is that of Thailand, the reported decade-old Bangkok enterprise notwithstanding.

Clearly, these rapid and hectic scrambles to purchase submarines by South-east Asian nations have changed the maritime scenario emanated from a common-cause of a possible uniform and united resistance to the mighty Chinese at the South China Sea and the various water heads of Asian soil. An additional incentive, apart from China factor, could be, “to-be-seen and show the relevance” of the sea power of the state in the water.

Today, of the 160-odd navies in the world, only a few (less than 12) could be counted upon as flotilla with blue water capability, but the point indicates towards a cheaper option to counter the “sea-control” blue water navies through “sea-denial” by the submarine

squadrons. Hence, this tendency to proliferate and profligate even by nations with smaller coastlines and lesser access to the open sea.

The rise of China's sea-control surface vessels along with the sea-denial submarines, form the core incentives to scramble for submarines by the Asians. In fact, at a rare news conference in Beijing on December 23, 2008, Rear Admiral Xiao Xinnian announced the deployment of anti-piracy Chinese flotilla to Gulf of Aden and the real possibility to add — showcasing and operating its submarine force to deploy to the out-of-area operations and readiness — and engage the traditional naval players with blue water capability should the need arise.

China's recent brush with the US submarine in South China Sea and the alleged spooking of an Indian Navy submarine off the Gulf of Aden, however, have rung the alarm bell in some quarters. A “top American strategist Rick Fisher gave a shocking detailed presentation on China's threat to the world and countries around it, particularly India”. True or not, there is no denying the rise and rise of the Chinese Navy's submarine arm. It requires time, patience, research and development to acquire blue water capability. The British ruled the waves till the mid-20th century. Washington DC took up the mantle from London. The Kremlin competed fiercely for close to half a century before the currency and finance thereof failed along with the demise of the erstwhile Soviet Union. It is now the turn of Beijing which in turn has turned Asia into an arena and area of submarine race.

(The author is an alumnus of the National Defence College of India)



OMNIPRESENT THREAT: Information technology infrastructure remains vulnerable to penetration across domains

CONTROL AND COMMAND CYBERSPACE

In the 21st century, there cannot be a sense of total security without managing cyberspace, argues **MONIKA CHANSORIA**

IN TODAY'S age where information reigns supreme, the increasing usage and reliance on cyber space has rendered issues pertaining to national security ever more vulnerable. With the power equilibrium of Asia oscillating briskly, the China factor seems to be making its presence felt in every single sub-regional domain. This includes the critical realm of cyber warfare in which the primary idea is to strike in unexpected ways against specified targets. The recent past has witnessed virulent cyber attacks being

launched against India and many other nations including Japan and the United States with a purported aim of extracting information pertaining specifically to foreign and defence planning and policies. The debate surrounding China's cyber offensive has gained momentum given that a sizeable number of these cyber attacks are being mounted and spear-headed from server computers based within the People's Republic of China. The turmoil caused by mounting Chinese cyber attacks shall only intensify the

confrontation over global digital warfare as time goes by.

The canvas on which any/all future conflicts of the 21st century shall be painted will not simply be restricted to the traditional military sphere. Proficiency in employing asymmetric techniques shall define the trajectory of conflicts in the future and foremost among them comes usage of cyber-war techniques. With nations progressively depending more on information technology, cyber attacks against directed data networks shall



PERSPECTIVE

predominate. In the current context, this is being carried out by means of inflicting computer virus and hacker detachment to disrupt and consequently paralysing the networks of civilian electricity, traffic dispatch, financial transactions, telephone communications, as well as mass media. With New Delhi becoming increasingly dependent on automated data processing and widely spread computer networks, it has surely rendered itself at risk and needs to press harder on issues relating to cyber security.

In the course of the present decade, China in all probability, is likely to develop greater depth and sophistication in its understanding and handling of information warfare (IW) techniques as well as information operations. As computer technology increasingly integrates itself into modern military organisations, including China's People's Liberation Army (PLA), military planners shall assign it the twin role of being both a target and a weapon.

Although the intrusions in question primarily focus on exfiltrating sensitive and classified information, the access and skill required for these intrusions are similar to those necessary to conduct computer network attacks. However, the starting point could be the low cost of entry, for example, a laptop connected to the Internet, and the ability to operate anonymously.

As India plans a \$9-billion package for its information technology roadmap, the cyber threat emanating primarily out of China, indubitably looms large. The primary objectives for New Delhi to secure its cyber space significantly should include prevention of cyber attacks against critical infrastructures, lessening vulnerability to such attacks and minimising damage and recovery time from the said attack.

In May 2008, Chinese hackers allegedly broke into the Indian Ministry of External Affairs' internal communication network. A year later in March 2009, the then Foreign Secretary and present National Security Advisor, Shivshankar Menon admitted that there had been hacking attempts on computers of Indian embassies including those of the Indian Embassy in Washington. Incidentally, in that same month, Canadian researchers uncovered an electronic spy network, apparently based in China, which had reportedly infiltrated Indian and other nations' government offices around the world. The revelation was more than an eye-opener with as many as 1,300 computers in 103 countries being identified.



VIRTUAL FORTRESS: While being a major proponent of cyber warfare, the United States itself has been the target of a number of cyber attacks

As for Chinese involvement in this series, a US cyber security firm focussing on a centralised group of activity based from China stated, "... the attacks [from China] have almost tripled." *The New York Times* reported in December 2007 that a series of "sophisticated attempts" against the US nuclear weapons lab at Oak Ridge, Tennessee, highlighted an alarming fact: China's cyber spies were now a part of America's computer networks, along with other countries, crucially including India.

Besides, in December 2009, there were reports in leading regional newspapers in India regarding attempts to gain access to sensitive documents from the Corps Headquarters of the Indian Army's Eastern Sector formations. The computer networks in these areas have often been subjected to Chinese Trojan attacks.

Uncovering what, perhaps, could be termed as the 'biggest ever' series of cyber attacks to date, security company McAfee is said to have discovered the extent of the hacking campaign in March 2011 while reviewing the contents of a command and control server. Although McAfee declined to name the "state actor" behind the entire plan, evidence increasingly pointed towards China. Infiltration of the networks of 72 organisations including the United Nations, governments and companies in

the five-year campaign around the world significantly included India as well. The attacks were dubbed 'Operation Shady RAT' (remote access tool) which is a type of software used by hackers and security experts to access computer networks from a distance. According to McAfee's Vice President, Dmitri Alperovitch, "Companies and government agencies are getting pillaged every day by losing economic advantage and national secrets to unscrupulous competitors... This is the biggest transfer of wealth in terms of intellectual property in history." The ominous question remains: Is Operation Shady RAT just the tip of the iceberg?

As India gets heavily conditioned to the median of information technology, especially in the decades since post-liberalisation, its economic and security theatre has become more susceptible to external attacks. The use of electromagnetic pulse and radio-frequency weapons to destabilise electronic components comes in at the foremost among these. Thereafter, follows *syntactic attack* in which the computer infrastructure stands a chance of getting damaged by modifying the logic of the system in order to introduce a deliberate delay or make the system unpredictable. Computer viruses and Trojans are predominantly used in this sort of an attack.



AE/ILL

On the other hand, *semantic attack* is more underhanded in that, information keyed in while entering and exiting the system is modified without the knowledge of the user aimed at injecting errors.

Indian Computer Emergency Response Team (CERT-In) under the Department of Information Technology, Ministry of Communications and Information Technology, is the primary referral agency and focal point of India's cyber response options. CERT-In has been operational since January 2004 and caters to critical information infrastructure. However, it needs to be underscored here that in line with the growing anticipation by the user-community and various stake-holders, the facilities at CERT-In in terms of manpower and communication systems are not state-of-the-art and need to be augmented further. This will be beneficial in terms of vulnerability prediction, analysis, mitigation, cyber forensics, monitoring of cyber space and interception capabilities. Therefore, creation of a sectoral CERT for an effective National Cyber Security Alert System, which would then cater to specified domain needs in different sectors, is the call of the hour. In the sphere of defence, sectoral CERTs have already been established by the Indian Army, Air Force and Navy. Nevertheless, the facilities provided by these sectoral CERTs continue to remain primitive; in turn, impacting upon their performance levels with a pressing



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need for improvement.

A prime inadequacy is India's deficient focus towards disaster preparedness and recovery vis-à-vis regulatory frameworks. Specifically, there is no single operator which controls IT. Besides, lack of trained and qualified manpower to implement counter-measures adds as another impediment. With too many nodal information security organisations/centres, the prospect of them getting caught in turf wars heightens. Additionally, India lacks comprehensive and specific laws pertaining to privacy and data protection.

In the wake of the rising cyber onslaught, India urgently needs to put in effect a full-fledged cyber command that is designed to prevent hacking of computer networks and siphoning of strategic data stored in information systems. In this regard, India's premier governmental agency responsible for the development of technology for use by the military, Defence Research and Development Organisation (DRDO), has commenced a project on cyber security aiming to put in place an infallible Computer Operating System (COS). While acknowledging setting-up of COS-related centres at Hyderabad, Bengaluru and New Delhi, VK Saraswat,

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Director General, DRDO, has stressed upon the need for R&D specific to cyber security based on robust platforms, which can be trusted and more importantly, monitor the flow of cyber traffic and decipher means to encrypt and disrupt them.

International cooperation and information sharing is a critical area by means of which nations that are confronting the ills of cyber war attacks could well find convergence and deal with it. Enhanced global cooperation among law enforcement and security agencies, with response teams to computer emergencies can effectively mitigate threats emanating from cyber space. In this reference, the Indian Department of Information Technology under the

Ministry of Communications and Information Technology has prioritised the following for future collaboration purposes:

- Cyber Security and Information Assurance Technology to prevent, protect against, detecting, responding, and recovering from cyber attacks in critical information infrastructure that may have large-scale consequences;
- Joint Research and Development (R&D) projects in the area of steganography, water marking of documents, security of next-generation networks and cyber forensics; Coordination in early warning, threat and vulnerability analysis and incident-tracking; and
- Cyber security drills/exercises to test the vulnerability and preparedness of critical sectors.

A case in point here could be potential Indo-Japanese collaboration in jointly undertaking R&D and other corrective technologies to counter the mounting cyber threat that both nations have been subjected to. Joint exploration to counter-cyber offensives will further cement the strategic and global partnership between India and Japan signed in December 2006. Incidentally, the most recent cyber attack on the lower house of the Japanese Parliament (Diet) in October 2011 was spear-headed from a server computer in China. Leading Japanese daily, *Yomiuri Shimbun* reported in January 2012 that the Japanese Defence Ministry's Technical Research and Development Institute has delegated a three-year project to technology maker Fujitsu Ltd., worth approximately 179-million-yen (\$2.27 million). The eventual objective is to design a kind of software weapon programme that could trace the source of a cyber attack and consequently neutralise it.

In order to notch up their capacity of putting forth a formidable layer which would insulate them from a cyber offensive, both India and Japan ought to stress upon the importance of a coherent approach, by improving comprehension and capabilities to secure their respective cyberspace and counter the overarching reality of China developing its offensive cyber war capabilities. The battlefield was secured through the seas in the 19th century, through the air in the 20th century and in the 21st century would surely come through cyberspace.

(The author is a Visiting Senior Fellow at the Slavic Research Centre, Hokkaido University, Japan)



**GEOPOLITICS
SPOTLIGHT**

Heralding a major technological leap for the DRDO, the Agni-IV and Agni-V missiles will usher in a new age for India's deterrent capacity by consolidating a credible second-strike option, writes **SAURAV JHA**

THE SUCCESSFUL Agni-IV test in November last could be regarded as the coming out party for DRDO's next-generation strategic missile technology. While the Agni-I and II have served the Strategic Forces Command (SFC) well in the first decade of the 21st century, and the Agni-III has only recently gone into production, the mainstays of India's deterrence posture are likely to be the Agni-IV and Agni-V heading into the 2020s. Representing in some ways a new breed, these missiles are optimised for mobility, survivability and lethality in an era where space-based infrared-tracking systems are coming into their own alongside Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) systems.

As a nation overtly committed to a no-first-use policy, India consciously sought to develop a quick reaction mobile ballistic missile capability that would be able to escape a first strike while remaining capable of inflicting unacceptable damage on any potential aggressor. In keeping with this doctrine India's Agni missile family developed by DRDO's Advanced System Laboratories (ASL) are all solid fueled and capable of being fired from mobile launchers. However, if we keep aside the Agni-I whose 700-900-km range basically serves to stare down Pakistan, it

STRATEGIC WEAPON: The Agni-IV and Agni-V missiles are likely to be the mainstays of India's deterrence posture heading into the 2020s

CALLING DOWN THE WRATH OF INDIA

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SPOTLIGHT

Specifications of Agni missiles



Name	Type	Range
Agni-I	MRBM	700 – 1,200 km
Agni-II	IRBM	2,000 – 2,500 km
Agni-III	IRBM	3,000 – 5,000 km
Agni-IV	IRBM	3,200 – 3,700 km
Agni-V	CBM	5,000 – 6,000 km (under development)
Agni-VI	ICBM	6,000 – 10,000 km (speculated to be under development)

Missile	Weight	Length	Diameter
Agni-I	12,000 kg	15 m	1.0 m
Agni-II	16,000 kg	21 m	1.0 m
Agni-III	48,000 kg	17 m	2.0 m
Agni-IV	-	20 m	-
Agni-V	49,000 kg	17.5 m	-

(IRBMs) and inter-continental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) indicated that the road mobile versus rail mobile debate isn't as cut and dry as the above.

Nevertheless, the Agni-IVs road mobility stems from the fact that at 17 tonnes, it weighs less than half of what the Agni-III does for comparable length (20 metres for the Agni-IV vis-a-vis 17 metres for the Agni-III). And yet the Agni-IV actually travels further while carrying a one-tonne payload than an Agni-III configured for a throw weight of 1.5 tonnes. The Agni III manages to travel 3,500 km, whereas the Agni-IV can apparently traverse up to 3,700 km for a one-tonne payload. Of course, the Agni-IV absolutely outclasses the Agni-II which is limited to a range of around 2000 km although it has essentially the same dimensions as the Agni-IV. This

ultrahigh-strength coupled with high-fracture toughness but comes with a weight penalty when compared with an all-composite frame. The Agni-III's range capability instead comes from the fact that it has a 2.0-metre diameter thereby being able to accommodate a significant amount of fuel given the greater volume. Maraging steel is also rather expensive compared to carbon composites and is naturally subject to the vagaries of nature via corrosion that carbon composites are not.

Indeed, it is precisely for these reasons that the 5000-km-plus Agni-V, which shares the first stage with the Agni-III, is slated to have carbon composite motor casings for its second and third stages. The Agni-V will, in a sense, see the unveiling of 2.0 m diameter composite casings — a global marker of sorts. Ultimately, ASL intends to move towards an all-composite missile while taking care of the issue of corrosion altogether and enhancing overall structural integrity. The Agni-IV and the Agni-V also rely on digitally connected multi-channel communications within their bodies for the control system, thereby eliminating the miles of cabling that would have otherwise gone into these missiles. This serves to reduce the risk of failure in the missile system and increases dependability.

The use of corrosion resistant composites and the use of digital connectivity within the missile also make it easy to turn the Agni-V into the classic "wooden round" i.e a canisterised missile system ready for launch on demand. Indeed, the Agni-V will be India's first canisterised long-range strike system and put the country well into the league of Russia and China which operate similar road-mobile missiles.

Now, while the Agni-IV and the Agni-V clearly have enhanced mobility and dependability, they also boast state-of-the-art guidance packages. The Agni-IV has seen the arrival of an indigenous state-of-the-art Ring-Laser Gyroscope Inertial Navigation System (RLG-INS) which is complemented by a Micro Inertial Navigation System or MINGS. Both the RLG-INS and MINGS may be capable of receiving multi-constellation updates from GPS, GLONASS and indeed GAGAN to remove accumulated errors in their measurements. However, in the Indian scenario, foreign Global Positioning Systems cannot really be relied upon for targeting purposes and this feature of the new navigation system will come into its

is only with the Agni-IV as compared to the Agni-II and III, that true road mobility seems to have been achieved. While Walchandnagar Industries did fabricate a semi-trailer transporter-erector-cum-launcher (TEL) for the Agni-II which is often seen on Republic Day parades, the missile is chiefly operated in rail-mobile mode (as will be the Agni-III) being carried by modified goods trains. The 'stealth' in such a rail-mobile system comes from its ability to 'hide' in India's dense railway network disguised as an ordinary goods train.

The Agni-IV, however, is very much a truck-launched system which can apparently clock speeds of up to 60 km per hour on country roads. A road-mobile system of this kind instead relies on its ability to change position quickly. Moreover, a road mobile system is naturally more flexible than a rail mobile system given that a truck theoretically can hide anywhere in India's 3-million-km-plus road network vis-a-vis the maximum 80,000 kms or so available to a missile train. However, it must be said that studies in the former Soviet Union which was a pioneer in both road and rail mobile intermediate range ballistic missiles

happy combination of lower weight and similar range has been achieved on account of the extensive use of carbon composite materials in the structure of the Agni-IV missile which has reduced weight for a given volume thereby allowing the missile to carry higher amounts of

A ROAD-MOBILE SYSTEM RELIES ON ITS ABILITY TO CHANGE POSITION QUICKLY AND IS MORE FLEXIBLE

propellant. Almost two-third of the Agni-IV is made up of carbon composites including the second-stage motor casing which is made of fibre-reinforced plastic.

In comparison, the Agni-III (and the Agni-II) during developmental trials used 250 grade maraging steel for both its stages and motor casings which provides



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PRIDE OF THE ARMOURY: The flex nozzles of the new generation of Agni missiles allow them to evade mid-course interception

own once India establishes its own satellite navigation system. In the interim it seems that some quarters in DRDO are confident that a combination of RLG-INS and MINGS which is probably a MEMS-based miniaturised magnetometer is capable of providing sub-300-metre Circular Error Probable (CEP) at max range for the new crop of Agni missiles.

In any case, this guidance package represents a generational jump over the previous Agni missile types which essentially use 1970s vintage INS coupled with a star sighting system for navigation. There has even been speculation that the Agni-II is capable of receiving updates from an earth station to remove accumulated errors. However, such a set-up is naturally less accurate and prone to failures compared to the new navigation systems being used.

The lethality of the new players in the Agni stable is also enhanced by the fact that the upper stage of missiles like the Agni-IV have flex nozzles thereby allowing them to evade mid-course interception. The increased penetrative capability of the Agni-IV and V will also arise from their re-entry speeds being much greater than that of the previous types in the series. This, on account of the fact, that the Agni-IV and V both have an apogee much greater than that of the Agni-I, II or III. The Agni-IV, for instance, reaches an apogee of almost 900 km before re-entry as compared to the Agni-II and III which do so at around 350 km. The Agni-V will probably reach even higher and its re-entry speed is likely to be in ICBM-class of over five km. Of course, the higher re-entry speeds also mean that far higher

thermal stress has to be withstood by the Agni-IV and V's missile nose cones on re-entry. The Agni-IV's tip reaches 3000 degrees during re-entry and the corresponding figure for the Agni-V is 4000 degrees.

The superior performance of the new breed of Agni missiles is ultimately managed by the incorporation of a much more powerful onboard computer. But, till recently, running such processors came with weight and space penalties

A RAIL-MOBILE
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CAN 'HIDE' IN
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NETWORK OF
INDIA

given that the PCB-based hardware enabling such processors consisted of myriad integrated circuits which resulted in the total weight of the onboard computer to reach almost five kilos. However, Indian missiles will now incorporate System on Chip (SoC) based computers that weigh just 200 grams and boast six-seven times greater processor capability. The embedded SoC concept requires very little power and gives far greater leeway in warhead configuration, besides enhancing efficiency.

As all the different elements get

proofed through iterative tests, ASL it seems has set its eyes on making the Agni-V Multiple Independently Targetable Re-Entry Vehicles (MIRV) capable. This MIRV-capable Agni-V may well be termed as an Agni-VI and could carry between 3 and 10 warheads. A MIRVED all-composite canisterised Agni-VI is certainly not what India's challengers would want to see in their dreams at night.

However, beyond the system integration there is the question of production and it seems that progress has been made in this respect as well. For one, DRDO via its government-owned company-operated format has set up facilities that will now directly produce various components for the Indian missile programme that may not be available for import or beyond the capabilities of the private sector. Although the new Agni missile types actually show that the Indian private sector may now be coming into its own as evidenced by the fact that premier explosives based in Andhra Pradesh actually fabricated the composite casing for the second stage of the Agni-IV.

Technological progress in materials is also expected to lower costs thereby ensuring that even Agni-II and Agni-III production can be ramped up. Beyond composites, DRDO has also developed a new grade of low-alloy steel-designated DMR 1700 which can effectively substitute 250-grade maraging steel in missile application ranging from the skeleton to the 2.0 m diameter motor casing used in the Agni-III. DMR 170 is significantly cheaper than maraging steel and may ensure that the production of strategic missiles advances quickly.

geopolitics

DEF BIZ



BOEING

ROTARY POWER

The procurement and operations of armed helicopters has been the sole preserve of the Air Force so far. But the Indian Army wants a change.



Lockheed Martin unveils F-16V



HEMANT RAWAT

LOCKHEED MARTIN unveiled a new version of the F-16, the F-16V, at the Singapore Air Show. The "V" in the name is derived from Viper, the name fighter pilots have been calling the F-16 for years. Feature enhancements in the new version include Active Electronically Scanned Array (AESA) radar, an upgraded mission computer and architecture, and improvements to the cockpit — all capabilities identified by the US Air Force and several international customers for future improvements.

"We believe this F-16V will satisfy our customers' emerging requirements and prepare them to better interoperate with the fifth-generation fighters, the F-35 and F-22," said George Standridge, Lockheed Martin Aeronautics' Vice President, Business Development. AESA radars offer significant operational capability improvements. Lockheed Martin has developed an innovative solution to affordably retrofit this key technology into existing F-16s. The F-16V configuration is an option for new production jets and elements of the upgrade are available to most earlier-model F-16s. With nearly 4,500 F-16s delivered, this is a natural step in the evolution of the world's most successful fourth-generation fighter. The Fighting Falcon programme has continually evolved as it began with the F-16 A/B as the lightweight fighter then transitioned to F-16 C/D and Block 60 versions as customers' requirements changed. The F-16 is in service with 26 nations.

New Osprey for US Marine Corps



ARMYBASE.US

THE US Marine Corps has taken delivery of the first MV-22 Osprey produced with the new Block C suite of design upgrades. The latest Osprey variant features new weather radar, improvements to electronic warfare systems, situational awareness and aircrew comfort.

"The on-time, on-budget delivery of our first Block C aircraft is the latest milestone in our ongoing quest to make the world's most revolutionary aircraft even more advanced," said John Rader, Executive Director of the Bell Boeing V-22 Program. "Block C Ospreys will meet our current

customers' enduring need for the latest mission capabilities, while presenting an even more compelling value proposition to future domestic and international customers."

The V-22 Block C design upgrade includes a new weather radar system that improves navigation in poor weather conditions, and a redesigned Environmental Conditioning System to enhance aircrew and troop comfort. Expanded capacity and effectiveness built into the Electronic Warfare system — including additional chaff/flare dispensers — increases the Osprey's ability to defeat air-to-air and ground-to-air threats. The Block C also provides greater situational awareness with enhanced cockpit and cabin displays.

"We continue to increase the capabilities of this first-of-type tiltrotor, and Block C is the latest, evolutionary step," said Marine Corps Colonel Greg Masiello, Joint V-22 Program Manager, Naval Air Systems Command. "Whether it's the addition of weather radar, upgrades to the environmental control system, or improvements for situational awareness, Block C brings enhanced capability to V-22 pilots, maintainers, and crew members throughout the aircraft's life cycle."

First re-winged A-10 delivered



DANIEL J.MCLAIN@NAVY.MIL

BOEING AND the US Air Force celebrated the rollout of the first re-winged A-10 Thunderbolt II. Boeing is under contract with the Air Force to deliver 233 wingsets through 2018. "This enhanced wing assembly will give the A-10 new strength and a new foundation for its continued service into 2040," said Mark Bass, Maintenance, Modifications & Upgrades Vice President and General Manager for Boeing Defense, Space & Security. Boeing delivered the first A-10 wing set to the US Air Force in March 2011. After mating it to the aircraft and validation and verification of the wing, US Air Force pilots flew the aircraft on its first flight in November, 2011.

RIL, Dassault working towards JV



RELIANCE INDUSTRIES Ltd (RIL) has signed a memorandum of understanding (MoU) preliminary agreement with French Dassault Aviation SA to explore defence business opportunities jointly. "The objective of the MoU is to identify areas where both the companies can work together in the defence sector," a RIL spokesperson said. Dassault has won the bid to supply 126 fighter jets to the Indian Air Force, defeating Eurofighter in the last leg of the bid competition. The RIL spokesperson said that there had been no commitment on any kind of investment or joint venture. The two firms will chalk out details of the joint venture after the finalisation of the contract between government and Dassault. Reliance is the latest entrant into the defence business, following the other big business houses.



HAL making 159 Dhruvs for Army



HEMANT RAWAT

INDIA'S LEADING defence aeronautical company, Hindustan Aeronautics Limited's (HAL) helicopter division will be manufacturing 159 Advanced Light Helicopters (ALHs) for the Indian Army. The company is working towards delivering the Weapon System Integrated (WSI) ALH for delivery to commence from March this year. HAL is also working on the different versions of the ALH simultaneously. HAL has also sold seven ALHs to the Border Security Force (BSF). Till now the HAL has produced 100 ALHs, also known as Dhruvs. Indian armed forces have received around 600 Cheetah and Chetak helicopters produced at HAL. The ALH has also been exported to Ecuador, Mauritius and Maldives.

IAF to get more C-17 transports?

THE INDIAN Air Force (IAF) has expressed interest in acquiring six more C-17 heavy-lift transport aircraft, in addition to a contract for 10, according to US defence giant Boeing.

"Indian Air Force has expressed interest for six more C-17s," Paul Lewis, Director of International Communications for Defence, Space and Security said. Five of the 10 aircraft would be delivered by next year and the other five in 2014, he said. The deal for supplying ten C-17 aircraft is worth \$4.1 billion.

Boeing is also set to deliver first of the



HEMANT RAWAT

maritime patrol airplane, Poseidon P8-I, early next year to the Indian Navy. The P8-1 contract is worth \$ 2.1 billion. The Navy also has an option to order four more of the P8-1 in addition to the 8-unit contract.

Boeing is also negotiating to supply 22 AH64 Apache helicopters and 15 CH 47 Chinook helicopters. Elaborating on Boeing's interest in the Indian defence hardware investment, Kronenberg said his group was exploring all potential opportunities in the Indian market. This includes Sabre Warfare System and maritime surveillance systems.

JV guidelines for defence PSUs approved



UNION CABINET has approved the guidelines for joint venture between defence public sector units (DPSUs) and private companies. The government has prepared the guidelines to ensure there is "fairness and transparency" in partner selection. The offset obligation in defence deals has created a huge market of around \$30 billion considering the defence procurement, which might touch \$100 billion in a decade or so. In the recent past many of the proposals for joint ventures were kept on hold till the guidelines were finalised. The new guidelines have retained the DPSUs "affirmative rights" to choose its partners. One of the first to benefit from the new rules will be Bharat Electronic Limited (BEL), which has a pending proposal for a joint venture with French defence major Thales. The guidelines also have option for exit and the JV will report regularly to the ministry on its functioning. Mazagon Dock Limited and Pipavav joint venture were the biggest JV, which was stalled on the objection of L&T, another shipyard major.

Raytheon delivers first radar for Indian P-8I

THE FIRST of APY-10 Radars from Raytheon has been delivered to Boeing to be integrated on the Indian Navy's first P-8I maritime reconnaissance aircraft, which is expected to be delivered in January 2013. India has ordered 12 P8I from Boeing for its maritime security and anti-submarine requirements. Tim Carey, Raytheon's Vice President for Intelligence, Surveillance and Reconnaissance Systems at the company's Space and Airborne Systems Business has informed, "Our APY-10 Radar will provide the Indian Navy with proven, low-risk technology built on generations of successful Raytheon maritime radar systems." The radar is undergoing test flights with the Boeing 737 platform. APY-10,



BOEING

which is fitted at the nose of the aircraft, will provide 240-degree surveillance. "There is no separate type designation for India. It is the same product which is sold to other governments. With reduced weight and power consumption, the APY-10 radar has improved the average mean time between failures by six times over earlier generation radars. The design offers significant growth possibilities. The radar has tremendous multi-mission capabilities. It can be used for border security, disaster relief, maritime surveillance, medical-evacuation and environmental monitoring. The region would be expected to place orders for 100 new maritime patrol aircraft within the next three to five years.



Indian lighthouses are now first line of defence



SAAB HAS received an order from the Directorate General of Lighthouses and Lightships (DGLL) for the supply of Automatic Information System (AIS) for coastal surveillance of the entire Indian coast. Automatic Information System (AIS) is the most important and well-spread identification system for ships today. The system comprises sensors and equipment that were installed along the Indian coast for regional and national control centers. Apart from DGLL this system will be used by the Indian Navy, Coast Guard and DG Shipping. Saab will execute this programme along with its Indian partner, Elcome Marine Services. The project would include installation, commissioning, training and support.

The coastal surveillance system being created for India encompasses 74 sensor locations, six regional control centres and three national control centres, most of which will be connected by broadband satellite links.

The contract includes options to add another 12 sensor sites in the future. "This is one of the largest national AIS-based coastal surveillance systems ever to be deployed," says Gunnar Mangs, Vice-President, Sales and Marketing, Saab Transponder Tech. He adds further, "Winning this contract, which was competitively bid, is an important validation of Saab's position as the technology leader in AIS base stations and networks worldwide."

The sensor sites shall be

The AIS system includes:

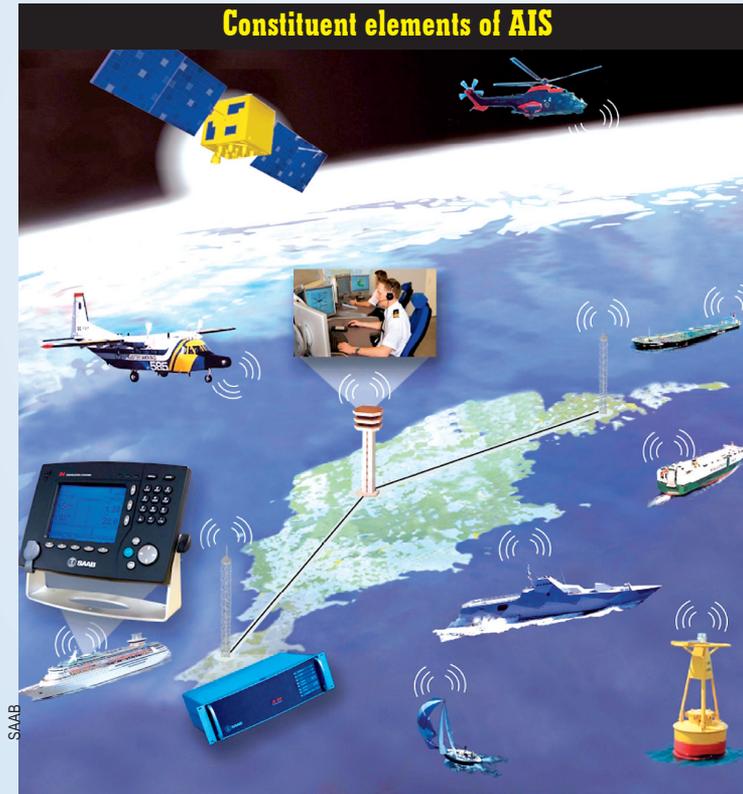
- AIS base stations for communication with AIS-equipped vessels.
- AIS Network solution to handle all data processing in the system make all data available to clients.
- Display solution, i.e. Electronic Chart Display functionality to present the AIS data on charts to operators of the system.

the network servers and Coast Watch operator software for the control centres. The system will integrate radars being supplied by another contractor. Saab is the prime contractor for the project, which includes supply, installation, integration and commissioning, training and technical support.

In November 2011, a Factory Acceptance Test was held for a Pilot System at Jamnagar, which is on the prioritised north-west coast. The system passed all system functionality tests, including integration of radar information. The

system will be up and running in March-April 2012 and it will be handed over to the DGLL in May, in accordance with the set time table.

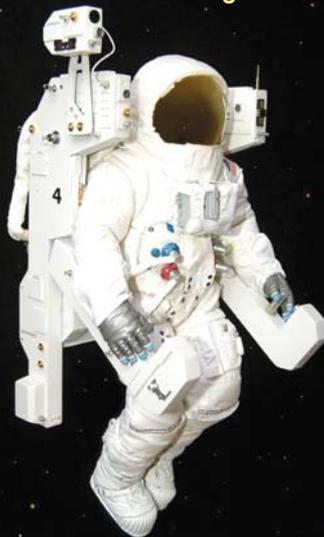
Constituent elements of AIS



equipped with Saab AIS base stations that will identify and track the movements of ships sailing in India's coastal waters. Saab will also deliver



Desi astronauts in B'lore-made gear



BOBSBITS.TV

THE COUNTRY'S first human space mission will use food and clothing designed by two life science laboratories of the Defence Research Development Organisation (DRDO). It is estimated to be a ₹10,000-crore mission and is awaiting the green signal from the Centre. The Vyomanauts, as the Indian astronauts will be called, will eat ready-to-eat food in space prepared by the Mysore-based Defence Food Research Laboratory (DFRL). The space suits will be designed by the Defence Bioengineering and Electromedical Laboratory (Debel). DFRL also provided food for the first Indian in space cosmonaut Wg Cdr Rakesh Sharma during his Indo-Soviet manned space flight in 1984. Projected to be launched in 2015-16, India's first human space mission envisions the development of a fully-autonomous orbital vehicle carrying two members to about 300-km low earth orbit.

DRDO pushes for indigenous AWACS

ENCOURAGED BY the successful test flight of its advanced Airborne Warning & Control System (AWACS) in December, the Defence Research & Development Organisation (DRDO) has sought the nod for the "design and development of the AWACS for the IAF". The DRDO has sought ₹850



DRDO

crore from the Defence Ministry for the project and kept open the option of taking on consultants for the project as and when required. The aim of the project is to develop long-range radars with onboard command, control and communications for both tactical and air defence forces from higher altitudes. India has acquired three Phalcon AWACS from Israel's Elta, the last of which was delivered in mid-2011.

Hybrid vehicles by DRDO



DRDO

INDIA'S DEFENCE scientists are contemplating the development of hybrid vehicles that can use electricity as a source of fuel, according to an announcement from P Sivakumar, director of the Combat Vehicles Research and Development Establishment (CVRDE). Sivakumar also said that CVRDE would launch a prototype 'unmanned ground vehicle' with mine detection capabilities by next year. The use of hybrid technologies can also be used to mask the heat signatures of armoured vehicles. On the warfront, battle tanks idle most of the time and the fuel engines emit a lot of noise and heat, which can be used to detect their position. The secondary 'twin engine' can be switched on whenever required as a source of backup power.

Movie UAV to nab rebels



ARMYRECOGNITION.COM

PUNE-BASED Research and Development Establishment (Engineers) laboratory of the Defence Research and Development Organisation (DRDO) and Ideaforge Technology Pvt Ltd have developed an Unmanned Aerial Vehicle (UAV) for use by the paramilitary forces of the country. Ideaforge Technology Pvt Ltd was started by the alumni of Indian Institute of Technology (IIT)-Mumbai. The Netra is the same UAV which was part of the Bollywood hit *3 Idiots*. The autonomous UAV can be used for surveillance and reconnaissance in Maoist-infested terrain in remote regions. It can be used in hostage situations, border infiltration monitoring, local law-enforcement operations, search and rescue operations, disaster management and aerial photography.

Interceptor missile test-fired



PIB

INDIA ACCOMPLISHED another landmark in its national security shield with the successful test flight of an interceptor missile from Wheeler Island in Odisha's Bhadrak district. Advanced Air Defence (AAD) interceptor obliterated an incoming-target missile during the test. AAD interceptor is a single-stage missile, powered by solid propellants. A modified Prithvi missile mimicking as the target missile was launched from

Chandipur while the Advanced Air Defence was shot from Wheeler Island. According to a defence release, it was fourth successful trial of AAD interceptor missile against incoming-ballistic missile in endo-atmospheric regime at 15km altitude. The guidance computers continuously computed the trajectory of the incoming-ballistic missile and launched AAD-05 interceptor missile at a precisely calculated time.



GEOPOLITICS

DEFBIZ

Chopper wars are brewing between the Air Force and the Army. The bone of contention: who will command and fly attack helicopters? This is because the Army is well on its way to setting up aviation brigades in each of its corps with the Air Force butting in to say that skies are its exclusive domain, reports **ROHIT SRIVASTAVA**

BEHOLD, THE DESTROYER: The Rudra, which will give the Army Aviation Corps considerable firepower, is an armed version of the ALH Dhruv



BATTLE ROYALE FOR THE SKIES

INDIAN ARMY

THIS MARCH will see the Indian Army taking a decisive step towards gaining supremacy in the air in a theatre of war when it inducts the first of its 60 Dhruv Advanced Light Helicopters (ALH). Christened the Rudra, the weaponised Dhruvs will become the Army's own close air

support element during war. This is a precursor to the acquisition of 114 Light Combat Helicopters (LCH) under development at the Hindustan Aeronautical Limited (HAL), ordered by the Army. These inductions are a part of the rapid transformation that the Army is undergoing to achieve superior contact battle fire capability.

The trials for the 22 heavy attack helicopters for Indian Air Force have been done and the final nod from the government is still awaited. Attack choppers are employed by the Army in close-support mode against the enemy's armour formations. These choppers provide range, lethality, speed, accuracy and



DEFBIZ

Head-to-head for the whirlybirds

The Army's Charge	The Air Force's Rebuttal
Army Aviators are better suited to deal with contact battles as it is their domain.	Air Force trains its pilots by simulating all possible battle scenarios.
The Army Aviators supplement operations with additional battlefield information.	We are equally committed to the battlefield and will never ignore other responsibilities.
Plans to set up one aviation brigade in each Corps.	Aerial attack is a specialised job and it is the Air Force's domain.

fire superiority at the forefront of the Army's own attacking formations, providing an edge in a contact battle. In *Sudarshan Shakti*, the Indian Army's recently-concluded military exercise, the Army Aviation Corps played a key role in implementing the new mobilisation and assault concepts successfully.

Sources in the Army have suggested that with the ALH Dhruv, a 5.5 tonne-class helicopter, Army Aviation now has the capability to launch men and vehicles inside enemy territory for strategic or tactical assaults. Therefore, the Army can now function independently of the Indian Air Force's airlift support. This would also let Army commanders look forward in a battlefield for any tactical airlift.

With the advent of the Rudra, Army commanders would also become self-sufficient in aerial assault capability, therefore improving the quality of strike and also saving much-needed time.

At present, the Army Aviation Corps, which was raised on November 1, 1986, with a mandate of providing reconnaissance and surveillance to the troops, has a fleet of over 250 helicopters, which includes Cheetah, Chetak, Dhruv helicopters and their variants.

The Army Aviation Corps can trace its origins back to the Air Observation Post (AOP) of World War II. The main responsibility of the AOP was to observe and direct artillery fire onto the enemy. Along with this, they also conducted reconnaissance for the formations beyond visual range.

Like other modern armies of the world, the Indian Army has three dimensional 'Combined Arms Team' concepts, where the Army directly commands all its assets in its forward formations that can be employed in any battle.

Army Aviation has mooted a plan to the Ministry of Defence (MoD) to have

an Army Aviation brigade in each corps. This will create a formation that will be integral to each of the Army Corps. According to reports, the Indian Air Force (IAF) is not happy with the proposal and has opposed it.

The IAF is not in favour of the Army inducting attack helicopters as it feels that the Army is interfering in its exclusive domain. Speaking to *Geopolitics*, sources in the Air Force said, "Air warfare is our domain and we are the experts in it. The Air Force does not have attack choppers under its command; it is directly under the command of the Army, therefore, unlike transport aircraft, the time gap in employability does not exist. The Army is not trained in air warfare and its tactics are different."

The Army has an altogether different take on the issue. Our sources pointed out: "The attack chopper will be employed in the anti-armour role or to break the enemy defence line. This is a close-combat situation which is the Army's domain. It is very different from the air warfare and the rules of the game are that of a conventional land battle."

It is important to mention that Army aviators are drawn from different combat arms of the Army viz Infantry, Mechanised Infantry, Armoured Corps, Regiment of Artillery, Army Air Defence, etc. These aviators, then, are soldiers first. The pilots are selected after a few years of experience. The Army aviator goes through basic flying training with Air Force pilots and thereafter moves towards advanced training which is different from the Air Force pilots.

The Army and the Air Force both operate the surveillance helicopters like the Cheetah and the Chetak. The observation and surveillance is done by both the Services and at many places they work in tandem, like Siachen where both Army

aviators and IAF fly for all operational needs.

Army aviation has gradually evolved from operating observation choppers to maintaining armed helicopters. The last step in this evolution is maintaining its own attack helicopters. Sources have informed *Geopolitics* that at present the Army is not interested in acquiring medium and heavy helicopters.

There is, however, a section in the Army that feels that Army Aviation units should be completely independent of the Air Force in terms of helicopters. According to them, since all the helicopters flown by the IAF are only for the Army, the land force should fly them directly. A senior MoD officer informed us on condition of anonymity that "giving up assets means giving a part of the organisation and losing a chunk of the budget which no organisation would want. The formation of Army Aviation Corps was also not a cake walk".

The Army feels that today the Navy is totally independent of the Air Force for its aviation requirements. It even has fighters which by the Air Force's argument should have been with the IAF. Air Force sources have a different argument. "The sea war is totally different. In an aircraft what a pilot sees is only the sea and he gets disoriented. He doesn't know what is where. It is very difficult to adjust to the situation. Therefore, navies across the world operate their own aircraft. This is not the case with close ground attack, which IAF does for the Army." But the Army believes that the attack choppers, when employed in the close attack role, become an extension of the ground battle and, therefore, follow all the characteristics of land warfare. The IAF doesn't train itself for this role. For them it's just another target.

During a war, helicopters are not supposed to fly above 100 metres. The airspace for all helicopter flights is restricted to this level, whether for attack or communication.

The battle zone is a very chaotic air space to operate in — full of missiles, air defence assets, fighter aircraft, artillery fires, mortars etc. Chances of getting hit both by the enemy or by one's own troops are very high.

Army sources informed *Geopolitics* that the Air Force hardly trained with them to gain experience about land warfare, and even during the operational exercises they sent a small contingent to



BOEING



Implementation Instruction (JAII) 1986, which is the principle document for the division of assets between the Army and the Air Force. As per the JAII, the attack chopper pilots were supposed to undergo junior command and senior command and were to have at least one tenure with the tank unit. But as per Army sources, the Air Force has not stuck to the JAII and the pilots do not arrive for the command courses or for the tenures with tank unit. Sources informed *Geopolitics* that these lapses by the IAF could lead to serious inefficiency in the battlefield.

Highly-placed Army Aviators commented, "Army Aviators compliment the operation as they are integral to the Army. The Air Force pilots do a supplementary job. They perform what is asked of them and there is no extra effort. An army officer can guide the commanders about the conditions in the battlefield and they can also deduce how the battle will unfold. They are in a position to have a bird's-eye-view of the whole battlefield and with their training of artillery, armour or infantry, they are in a position to understand the intricacies of battle, which Air Force pilots will not be able to do."

Air Force sources rebut this: "This is an old-school argument. In today's battle, anything can happen at any time. The Air Force has combat leaders and we simulate all possible scenarios during the operation squadron training. The attack chopper is also used in air warfare and requires tactics of aerial combat."

It is in the midst of this ongoing tussle between the two services, the Army will receive the first of its Rudra choppers in March. The weapons onboard the Rudra are the same that will arm the Light Combat Helicopter (LCH). The final trial of the anti-tank missile is going on. The Rudra will be armed with Mistral missiles for air-to-air target acquisition along with rockets and machine guns.

At present, the Indian and Israeli armies are the only ones which do not operate attack helicopters. It is worth mentioning that the Cabinet Committee on Parliamentary Affairs (CCPA) paper of 1992 signed by the Defence Secretary and sent to both the Finance and Defence ministries, talks about inducting attack choppers to the Indian Army. It is time the Defence Ministry made a clear decision and solved the issue or this tussle for rotary assets would turn into a wasteful expenditure and operational blunders.

TANK BUSTER: The AH-64 Apache gunship has devastating anti-armour capabilities

train, far less than invited. This doesn't go well with the Army.

The Army also alleges that during operations Air Force pilots require Army officers to guide them in identifying targets. The problem with this arrangement is that the chances of an Army man getting disoriented in the air are very high. If the officer is not an aviator he is as good as anyone in the air. Air Force pilots are generally unable to differentiate between friendly positions and enemy targets.

Sources revealed that even during the Kargil War, Army aviators were on board the armed Mi-17 helicopters guiding them to engage the enemy location on the high ridges.

The Indian Army began using armed choppers during the Sri Lanka campaign in 1987. It was at that time that the Army pushed the newly-named Ranjit and Lancer choppers into the fray. While the

Ranjit, in fact, is a Cheetah armed with a medium machine gun (MMG), the Lancer is a Cheetah armed with SS11B1 rockets and MMG. The Ranjits performed exceptionally in Sri Lanka and were instrumental in many operations.

The Army argues that it has experience with armed choppers since the 1980s and can employ attack choppers better than the Air Force because Army officers are better equipped to exploit the windows of opportunity in any battle. Army sources have informed us that Lancers are now flown effectively and are part of divisional and corps operational plans. Lancers also performed during Operation Sarp Vinash in Hill Kaka, in exactly the same role which the Air Force claims is its operational domain.

The Air Force has objected to the Army's demand for attack choppers based on the Joint Army Air Force

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GEOPOLITICS
INTERVIEW

"WE ARE THE FRONTRUNNERS IN MOST SPECIAL-MISSION AIRCRAFT"

One of the first aircraft makers to enter the Indian market, Hawker Beechcraft has a range of products to serve the internal security and maritime reconnaissance needs of India. **ROHIT SRIVASTAVA** spoke to **TODD HATTAWAY**, Regional Director, Sales, Hawker Beechcraft, to find out the company's plans in India.



HC TIWARI

What has your company to offer India for internal security?

TH: Beechcraft basically has three aircraft to offer for this mission, namely our King Air 350, King Air 250 and the Hawker 900XP. We do have other aircraft depending on the mission that could fit these roles such as our C90 and Baron models but typically the requirements will push the mission into the aircraft mentioned above. For now the focus is on the King Air 350 platform with the extended range capability (350ER). These aircraft are in numerous countries performing special mission activities with the requisite range, time on station, integration flexibility to most missions and features a ceiling of 35,000 feet.

In the Extended Range (ER) configuration our aircraft can stay airborne for seven-and-a-half hours with six passengers plus the required two crewmembers in India. It has an incredible range and can cover the entire coast of India. At over 300 kts (648Kmph), it is one of the most productive turbo-prop aircraft in terms of mission capability when speed is combined with useful

payloads

The King Air 350i can do more than one thing and it can do it well. It can be configured in a variety of ways so it can carry stretchers in the air-ambulance mission while in another mission it can be used for rescuing people with a rescue package. It is a modular aircraft which can switch from a special mission to a VIP aircraft in minutes. You can pull the medevac out in fifteen to twenty minutes and put the VIP seats in. It is operated in 125 countries and over 1600 special mission King Air are out there, ranging from models B200 to B300. Over forty years over 6000 units have been made. It's a proven product and a very safe bet.

Do you manufacture the complete special mission aircraft?

TH: We can build the platform to meet the special mission and generally we work with third parties to integrate the mission systems with the aircraft. We have a close relationship with third-party companies that do the actual integration or take on the role of prime for the contracts. Beechcraft facility in the US and our facility in the UK is also capable of such integration in most cases. We

THE SKY'S THE LIMIT: Beechcraft's Todd Hattaway is optimistic about the company's prospects in India



AERIAL RECONNAISSANCE: Beechcraft is offering the King Air 350i to India for its special mission needs

have decades of experience working with the vendors and we can integrate the specific components for a special mission aircraft at very short notice. Examples of companies that could be a prime contractor in India would be Punj Lloyd, Tata, M&M, etc. These companies have the ability to coordinate the integration using their own resources or sub-contracting to their extensive vendor network. We can integrate the aircraft both ways—through a prime contractor or at our own facilities.

Our prospects look good in India as we have the right platform, which is a proven platform and numerous Beechcraft products are flying with the various Indian government agencies and State governments today and therefore are familiar with the product. India has one of the longest coastlines in the world and we can help monitor and protect it.

Tell us about your business in India.

TH: Our relationship with the Indian government goes back over sixty years. We have partnerships with some of the pioneers of Indian aviation such as Air Works. Our product line has more qualified aircraft maintenance engineers and pilots available in country than any of our other competitors.

We work to earn the confidence of the companies, individuals and agencies that our product line has been placed in. We still support state these customers on products that have been purchased over 50 years ago. Business with us is not 'buy and forget' and we make sure our clients know they are part of the Hawker Beechcraft family

and I think this above all else is what differentiates us from the rest within India.

A number of foreign governments fly our products, for example, Japan had in excess of 75 Beechcraft aircraft which some are used for coastal protection. There are lots of examples around the world where Beechcraft products are successfully employed in a variety of roles. Recently a colleague of mine came out of his hotel in Bhubaneswar and saw an antique Beechcraft model 18 aircraft in the display. It dated back to the 40's and people mentioned that this aircraft has been there for the last seventy years. People know our brand and it is respected as a product that delivers.

How do you see the Indian market for special mission aircraft?

TH: It is very difficult to project the state of the special-mission aircraft industry for India in the next five years. We have to be very cautious. We are currently the frontrunners in most mission requirements due to our success in these current roles around the world.

As stated in the earlier Home Land Security briefing, India will require a minimum of 16 aircraft for the security of its coastline in what is called "brownwater" or typically a coast guard mission. The RFI for such a mission could easily change and drive in requirements that we would not be able to support such as a "bluewater" or typical Navy mission where even our long range aircraft would be tasked to meet this mission. If the Coast Guard goes with the typical "Brownwater" mission, then we are well positioned and while there is always competition, we feel our product

stacks up well in the primary categories that are measured thru-out the bid process.

There are numerous items that the Indian Coast Guard would need to work thru as with other countries that have similar coastal areas and I would imagine these items are security sensitive and would be known only to those with a need to know. The basics of any coastal surveillance plan would include a number of bases strategically placed to lighten the load of the flight crews who are performing the mission. I would imagine that in order to meet this mission there would be a minimum of three bases required and of course the resources on the ground to support a 24/7 mission such as this.

Are you working on the offset partner for future bids?

TH: The offset program requirements are changing but we would obviously need a partner if things firm up. The government has a bigger aircraft requirement for its Medium Range Maritime Reconnaissance Aircraft (MRMR) then our aircrafts fits the bill. Right now it's too big for our platform. We would like to say that they are asking for more than they require but there are parts of the mission that this may make sense for that we are not privy to nor should we be. We feel strong in our position that the Hawker Beechcraft aircraft can do what India needs. If there is not a true requirement for the larger aircraft which have higher operating costs for the same mission we perform with a smaller aircraft, then let's hope the system catches it and we move toward getting this program in the air.

150

Km-distance covered by record-breaking cop



TIMESOFASSAM.COM

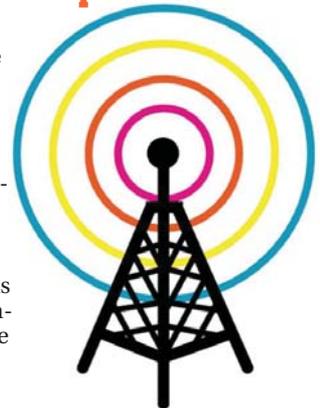
➔ ASSAM COP Abhijeet Baruah set a place for himself in the *Guinness Book of Records* by running more than 150 km barefeet in 24 hours. After he achieved the feat in the city of Jorhat, the 22-year-old constable ran up to a nearby temple and offered his prayers before being taken to a hospital. A vehicle escorting Baruah played music to encourage the cop and motivate him during the record-breaking run.

5,000

Crore to defence for spectrum

➔ THE GOVERNMENT is expected to sanction ₹5,000 crore for the Army to vacate nearly 45 Mhz of wireless spectrum currently used by the armed forces, according to a proposal mooted by the Bharat Sanchar Nigam Ltd (BSNL). In return, the armed forces will get an exclusive secure optical fibre network. The public sale of just 50 per cent of the airwaves that the Defence

Ministry is expected to give up will bring in nearly ₹85,850 crore to the coffers of the government, according to the estimates of the Department of Telecommunications (DoT). The proposal is still awaiting the approval of the Telecom Commission although it has the consent of an inter-ministerial group (IMG) and the ministries of defence and finance.



WHITEKRAKSL.COM

20,000

Soldiers denied right to vote



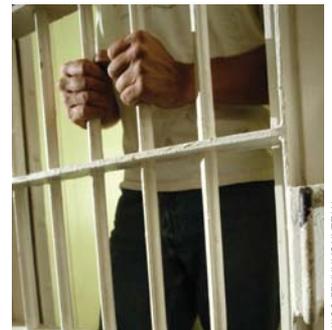
MILITARYPHOTOS.NET

highlighted on the eve of the civic elections in the city by the organisations such as the Indian Ex-Servicemen Movement (IESM) and Justice For Jawan that have been fighting for the army men's right to vote. The 1995 order allows the members of the armed forces to vote with the help of a specific document signed by the local defence authority.

➔ THE JAWANS, serving in the city of Pune, were denied the right to vote in spite of a 1995 Army order backed by both the Election Commission and the Supreme Court. The matter was

8,911

Undertrials at Tihar



THEHANGARHALL.COM

➔ ACCORDING TO REPORTS, 73.5 PER CENT INMATES OF TIHAR JAIL ARE UNDERGOING TRIALS. THIS IS WELL ABOVE THE NATIONAL AVERAGE OF 66.4 PER CENT UNDERTRIALS IN INDIAN JAILS. THERE ARE 410 WOMEN IN ASIA'S LARGEST JAIL OUT OF A TOTAL OF 12,124 PRISONERS. THE JAIL IS ALL SET TO GATHER THE DETAILS OF UNDERTRIALS GRANTED BAIL ON WEEKLY CRITERIA SO PRISONERS CAN BE RELEASED ON PERSONAL BONDS PENDING COURT APPROVAL.



56

Indian websites hacked

➔ BANGLADESHI HACKERS defaced the websites to protest the reported killing of Bangladeshi citizens on the border with India by the members of the Border Security Force (BSF). The group that called itself the "Bangladesh

Black Hat Hackers" changed the contents of the homepage of the sites by bypassing their security systems. They put up anti-Indian slogans and pictures of Bangladeshis apparently killed by the Border Security Force.



NUMBERSGAME

5 Kilos of RDX recovered



ISPR

➔ SECURITY FORCES discovered the explosives in a cave in the midst of the hilly Doda district in Jammu and Kashmir. Also recovered were five weapons, 1,500 rounds of ammunition and 110 explosive devices. The weapons included a rifle, a carbine, a self loading rifle (SLR), two revolvers besides, one Under-Barrel Grenade Launcher (UBGL). Eight RPGs, 23 detonators and 40 gelatin sticks besides one battery of IED mechanism, one binocular and four radio sets were also recovered from the hideout. Conducted on information provided by the Rashtriya Rifles, the operation was one of the biggest recoveries of arms and ammunition caches in recent times.

3,000 DOGS FOR ANTI-NAXAL OPS



NSG

➔ THE Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) plans to train imported Belgian shepherd dogs to help anti-Maoist operations.

A dog training centre would be established in Bengaluru to assist with the jungle war against the Naxals. The CRPF troops who take on the left-wing extremists have to be taught the tactics of jungle warfare to beat the rebels and so plans are afoot to instruct 70,000 personnel in the latest methods of jungle warfare.

12 Pakistanis arrested



PIB

➔ THE PAKISTANIS were arrested and two of their boats seized from Kutch Creek area in Gujarat's Kutch district. The BSF commando team called the Crocodiles apprehended the Pakistanis from the west coast of the district. The intruders were taken for questioning by intelligence agencies in Bhuj, the district headquarters.

313 PEOPLE AIRLIFTED BY IAF

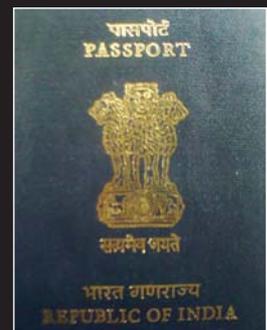


HEMANT RAWAT

➔ TRAPPED PASSENGERS were evacuated in an Indian Air Force IL-76 cargo aircraft. The passengers were stuck in Kargil due to heavy snowfall. While 171 were flown to Srinagar from Leh, 142 were sent from Srinagar to Leh. The authorities had approved special IAF sorties linking Jammu and Srinagar for people stranded in either cities owing to closure of the Srinagar-Jammu highway because of heavy snowfall.

50

Million Indian Passports Issued



➔ THE MINISTRY of External Affairs expects the number of Indian passport holders to go up to 100 million in the next ten years. In 2011, 58.69 lakh passports were issued by 37 Passport Offices, Headquarters and the Office of the Chief Secretary of Andaman and Nicobar Islands. Another 10.27 lakh passports were issued last year by the 178 Indian Missions/ Posts and the MEA in total issued 73.65 lakh passports. District Passport Cells and Speed Post Centres, online receipt of application, centralised printing of passport for non-computerised Missions abroad, and Passport Adalats to address grievances have all contributed to the large number of passports issued in 2012.

War games galore for Indian Army

D THIS YEAR, the Indian Army is all set to hold between 15 and 20 bilateral war games with friendly nations like the US, Australia, Russia, France and Britain, apart from neighbours Bangladesh, Myanmar and Nepal and central Asian nations such as Mongolia.

It is said that these exercises will mostly focus on counter-insurgency and anti-terrorism manoeuvres, develop the skills of Indian and other friendly troops in different scenarios, and improve their interoperability, as required under United Nation's multinational joint military efforts for world peace.

Among the first exercises this year will be one with Singapore at Babina in Uttar Pradesh, close to Jhansi. The exercise is likely to be called "Bold Kurukshetra", in which both sides will pit their mechanised forces and tanks in battle against terrorists in an urban scenario.



ARMY.MIL

India signs anti-piracy pacts with Seychelles



MEA.GOV.IN

D INDIA HAS signed several pacts with Seychelles to counter-piracy in the Indian Ocean during the recent visit of External Affairs Minister S M Krishna to the islands.

"During the talks, the Indian side reiterated its commitment to continue its support to Seychelles for its security, development, and in its capacity-building efforts," the External Affairs Ministry said after the talks, adding, "Both sides emphasised the need to continue joint surveillance of the Exclusive Economic Zone of Seychelles and anti-piracy surveillance to ensure safety of the Indian Ocean region." The three agreements that were signed included the supply of a coastal surveillance radar system

worth \$10 million and Dornier surveillance aircraft. It may be noted that India has already donated a fast-attack vessel to the Seychelles and in February last year deployed a Dornier 228 maritime patrol aircraft to Victoria, the nation's capital.

India and Saudi Arabia come closer



PIB

D INDIA AND Saudi Arabia strengthened military ties and developed understanding on areas of mutual interest during Defence Minister AK Antony's two-day visit to kingdom last month. This was the first time an Indian defence minister visited Saudi Arabia. The two countries have decided to set up a Joint Committee on Defence Cooperation to work out the contours of the relationship. The proposed joint committee will evolve plans for cooperation in numerous areas, including defence cooperation, high-level reciprocal visits at all levels — political, official and the three armed forces, ship visits and conducting passage exercises during such visits. The committee will also explore the possibility of signing a memorandum of understanding on cooperation in hydrography, increased participation of both sides in training programmes, and examine the possibility of cooperation in defence industries. India suggested that the navies of the two countries could explore practical cooperation in the fight against piracy and that the Royal Saudi Navy should play an active role in the Indian Ocean Naval Symposium (IONS) construct.

Vigil in Uttarakhand

D WITH THE CHINA-FACTOR GETTING INCREASED ATTENTION IN THE MILITARY CIRCLES, THE INDIAN ARMY IS STRENGTHENING ITS POSITION IN THE STRATEGICALLY-LOCATED NORTHERN STATE OF UTTARAKHAND. IT HAS PUT UP A ROADMAP THAT INCLUDES CONSTRUCTING 13 NEW HELIPADS AND ACQUIRING ABOUT 24,000 ACRES OF LAND FROM THE STATE GOVERNMENT FOR MILITARY PURPOSES. IT HAS BEEN PROPOSED TO TAKE UP NEW PROJECTS IN AREAS SUCH AS ALMORA, BANBASA, DHARCHULA, DEHRADUN, DHARASU, CHARMAGAURD, CHHIYALEKH, GUNJI, GHATOLI, GHANSALI, AULI, HALDWANI, PANTNAGAR AND PITHORAGARH.

Army HQ restructuring underway



HEMANT RAWAT

D IN WHAT is said to be a restructuring process at Army Headquarters, a new transformation plan has quietly begun to roll out under which the two Deputy Chiefs of Army Staff (DCOAS) have been given new and specific responsibilities to lessen the burden of the Vice Chief of the Army Staff (VCOAS), the General who virtually runs the 1.3 million-strong Indian Army on a day-to-day basis. To implement the first phase of this transformation, Lieutenant General Ramesh Halgali took over as the new Deputy Chief of the Army Staff (Information Systems & Training) last month. The other Deputy Chief of Army Staff (Policy and Services), Lieutenant General Narinder Singh had taken over late last year. Although Army HQ has had two deputy chiefs looking after various functions for some years, this is the first time that a new and clear demarcation of responsibilities has been entrusted to them so as to streamline the functioning and speed up decision-making processes at the apex level.

Accordingly, Lieutenant General Halgali will be responsible for Military Training, Signals (communication), Information Systems (automation), Staff duties (UN Missions etc), Rashtriya Rifles, Territorial Army and Defence Service Corps (the security guards at select military installations and campuses). And Lieutenant General Narinder Singh will look after Procurement, Financial Planning, Perspective Planning and various 'line' directorates such as Armoured Corps, Artillery, Mechanised Infantry etc.

DNA data bank for Army personnel



DA PROFILING centre for defence personnel has finally been operationalised at Armed Forces Medical College (AFMC), Pune. Manned by trained experts from forensic science department, the centre will help in creating a DNA data bank of soldiers and help in establishing identity of mutilated bodies of jawans and officers who go missing in action. It is expected to cover about 1.13 million Army personnel, besides Navy and Air Force officers. According to Lt Gen H Kakaria, Director General, AFMC, "At present, identity of dead Army personnel is established by examining personal

belongings, studying identification marks or comparing photographs. But in certain situations, bodies of jawans are mutilated beyond recognition or just a few body parts are found. Identifying the dead becomes a problem in such situations which is not just important for armed forces but brings solace to families as well."

IAF plans separate UAV cadre



DRDO

DTHE IAF is said to be planning a separate cadre to manage the increased use of unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs), which it prefers to describe as remotely piloted vehicles (RPVs). A draft proposal in this regards is being sent to the Ministry of Defence for approval.

"Just like the fighter pilots, transport pilots and so on, this will be a role-specific cadre, so that the officers are trained for a specific role from the word go," according to Air Marshal Dhiraj Kukreja, Air Officer Commanding-in-Chief, Headquarters Training Command, Bengaluru. He told the *Deccan Herald* newspaper that this new cadre would have its own squadrons, though their numbers might not be in the range of 12 to 15 that a general squadron consists of. Here, there will be a balance between the manpower and the role of such vehicles.

IAF's wargame deferred



PIB

DTHE INDIAN Air Force (IAF) has deferred what was believed to be its biggest-ever war-game codenamed 'Operation Livewire', which was scheduled to be held between March 24 and April 15. It is understood that the reason for the postponement is the realisation that the IAF needs to integrate its new acquisitions into the service before holding the exercise. Though fresh dates and schedules for holding the exercise have not been decided yet, as per IAF's plans, the exercise would have involved the assets of IAF's main operational formations including the Delhi-based Western Command and Gandhinagar-based South Western Command.

IAF gets Mi-17 V5 choppers



HEMANT RAWAT

DINDIA HAS formally inducted its latest Mi-17 V5 armed helicopters procured from Russia to enhance its operational capabilities that would include carrying troops and cargo to high-altitude areas. The Mi-17 V5 is a medium-lift armed helicopter with substantial and effective firepower. It has the latest and more powerful engines that will enhance its payload-carrying capability at higher altitudes. It is equipped with state-of-the-art avionics and on-board navigation systems. It has on-board weather radar, state-of-the-art autopilot and is compatible with the latest generation night-vision goggles. India has placed orders for 80 such choppers from Russia..

Emergency response centre at Panipat

DWITH TERROR threats from unconventional warfare agents on the rise, the Central government is setting up an emergency response centre at Panipat within the next two years to serve as the hub for all activities dealing with nuclear, biological and chemical (NBC) warfare, according to *Deccan Herald* newspaper.

The ₹100 crore centre will also be used to train the military, para-military and police forces on how to tackle NBC attacks and handle the emergency situation.

"The defence research and development organisation has acquired 15 acres of land in Panipat where the centre would come up. The government has approved the budget. It would be ready by 2014 end," William Selvamurthy, DRDO chief

controller-in-charge of life sciences, told the newspaper.

India, like many leading countries in the world, has been preparing itself to deal with the use of chemical, biological, radiological or nuclear weapons in future wars. In this endeavour, it is going for joint collaborations with friendly countries. It is believed that India would join hands with the United Kingdom for joint development and collaborative research on NBC technology as the UK has an impressive suite of such technologies.

Rapid detection of disease outbreaks and development of effective medicines and vaccines is one of the potential areas of collaboration. Recently, a UK technical team visited various DRDO laboratories to identify the gap areas where both sides can work together.





GEOPOLITICS
COVERSTORY

India's much-hyped maritime defence plan remains hurdled by procurement delays and turf wars, four years after 10 Pakistani terrorists sailed into Mumbai undetected, exposing the holes in the country's coastal security, writes AJIT KUMAR SINGH

COST GUARD



A COASTAL WELCOME TO TERRORISTS



COVERSTORY

FOR A long time, India's focus had been towards securing only its land borders. India's 7,516-kilometre-long coast, comprising 13 major and 185 minor ports, and a huge 2.01 million-square kilometre exclusive economic zone (EEZ), across nine states — Gujarat, Maharashtra, Goa, Karnataka, Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Odisha and West Bengal — and four coastal Union Territories — Daman & Diu, Lakshadweep, Pondicherry and Andaman & Nicobar Islands — is widely acknowledged to have remained vulnerable to

PAPER TIGER: According to a CAG audit newly-inducted Coast Guard vessels lack critical equipment, including guns and identification radar



terrorist penetration as it has been left inadequately attended. Attention was paid towards securing the coasts for the first time in the aftermath of the 1993 Mumbai attack that used the sea route. However, the lackadaisical approach of the government of India failed to minimise the threat.

The government was once again forced to reorient its strategy to strengthen the security of its coasts soon after the mayhem in the 2008 Mumbai attacks. Despite bringing some changes since 2008, New Delhi has failed to neutralise the vulnerability of the coasts. There is, evidently, reason to suspect the grand projects and financial allocations that are often shown by the authorities as evidence of the measure to 'improve security'. More than three years after the 26/11 attacks, there is little reason to believe that India now has the capacity to detect and prevent another comparable terrorist strike along its extended coastline.

There are reasons behind such failures. Sufficient attention has not been paid to provide the coastal police stations with essential requirements such as proper training to their personnel for sea operations, adequate fuel and funds for the running and maintenance of the boats, buildings for police stations, etc. Further, the respective jurisdictions of the coastal police stations and normal police stations located near the shores have not been communicated clearly to the personnel on the ground, leading to widespread confusion. Even information sharing and coordination between the Marine Police, Coast Guard and Navy remains a problem. At present, whatever coordination or information sharing takes place between the three agencies is largely based on personal rapport between the officers concerned. But this rapport has to be institutionalised. Most importantly, if India's coastal security has to become strong, it is essential for the police forces in the coastal states to shed their land-centric outlook and turn their attention to coastal security duties as well.

The issue of coastal security has become more urgent now. In 2011, three large vessels drifted into Mumbai, altogether undetected by the numerous sea patrols, Coastal Police Stations, check-posts, outposts and land patrols.

On June 12, 2011, a Singapore-flagged cargo ship MV Wisdom, which was en route to Alang in Gujarat, drifted towards the Mumbai coast after breaking its tug, to eventually run aground on the busy Juhu Beach. Later, on July 30, 2011, a Panama-flagged ship, MV Pavit, after having been abandoned by its crew a month earlier near Oman, drifted onto the same Juhu Beach in Mumbai. Again, an oil tanker, MV Rak, again from Panama, with 60,000 metric tonnes of coal and 340 tonnes of fuel oil on board, sank just 20 nautical miles off the Mumbai coast, causing a major oil spill on August 4, 2011.

Meanwhile, amidst rising international concerns of an organic link between the activities of the Somali pirates and the global terrorist jihad, the Intelligence Bureau (IB) suspects that the pirates are collecting logistical data and funds for Islamist terrorists in their various operations. Revelations made during the interrogation of captured pirates indicate that al-Qaeda-associated and Somalia-based Al Shabaab was developing close ties with the Pakistan-based Islamist terrorist Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT). Significantly, the Director of the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), David H Petraeus, in a statement to Congress on the 'Terrorist Threat Ten Years After 9/11', noted on September 15, 2011, that the Al Shabaab suicide bombings in Uganda in 2010 had demonstrated the group's ability to operate beyond Somalia. According to the global maritime watchdog, the International Maritime Bureau (IMB), at least 200 pirate attacks have occurred in and around Indian waters since March 6, 2010.

Nevertheless, over time, numerous initiatives have been launched to further strengthen coastal security. In the aftermath of the 1993 blasts, the Government of India had initiated Operation Swan, which was launched in August 1993 to prevent clandestine landings along the



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COVERSTORY

COAST GUARD

CRITICAL INFRASTRUCTURE: A Coast Guard vessel patrols the seas near an offshore oil platform

Maharashtra and Gujarat coasts. This was a three-layer security arrangement involving the Navy, the Coast Guard and a joint patrolling team drawn from personnel belonging to the Navy, Coast Guard, State Police and Customs. Prior to this, the coastal security had been the sole preserve of the Coast Guard, which was established in 1978 to protect the maritime interests of the country as well as to assist in anti-smuggling operations.

Later, the government decided to initiate a Coastal Security Scheme (CCS) under the Ministry of Home Affairs. The CCS works towards strengthening infrastructure for coastal patrolling and surveillance of country's coastal areas, particularly the shallow areas close to coast to check and counter illegal cross-border activities and criminal activities using the coast or the sea.

Phase-I of the scheme, with an approved outlay of approximately ₹4.95 billion for non-recurring expenditure and ₹1.51 billion for recurring expenditure, was launched by the government in January 2005. It was to be implemented over a five-year period, commencing in 2005-06. The scheme included the setting-up of 73 Coastal Police Stations, 97 Coastal Police check-posts, 58 outposts and 30 operational barracks. It included provisions for 204 boats, 153 four wheelers and 312 motorcycles. In June 2010, the scheme was extended by a year, up to March 31, 2011, with an additional non-recurring outlay of about ₹950 million.

On the implementation of CCS Phase-I,

the MHA claims 71 of 73 proposed Coastal Police Stations have been operationalised, and that 48 of these are functioning from new buildings. The construction of 75 check-posts, 54 outposts and 22 barracks has also been completed. Of the approved 204 boats, 200 have been delivered to the coastal states/UTs. 10 Rigid Inflatable Boats (RIBs) for Goa have also been procured. 178 interceptor boats were supplied to the coastal states and UTs by December 2010. All the approved vehicles

EVEN AFTER
26/11, INDIA STILL
CAN'T PREVENT
ANOTHER
TERRORIST
STRIKE ALONG
ITS COAST

(153 jeeps and 312 motorcycles) have been procured by states and UTs. Some 2,000 personnel have been trained by the Coast Guard. A lump-sum assistance of ₹1 million per police station is also given for equipment, computers and furniture. A 'National Committee for Strengthening Maritime and Coastal Security against threats from the sea' was constituted in August 2009 under the chairmanship of the Cabinet Secretary. The committee

comprises representatives of all the Ministries/Departments/ Organisations in the Government of India as well as Chief Secretaries/ Administrators of the coastal states/UTs.

The implementation of this scheme is being done by the concerned state governments/UT Administrations. A statement of physical and financial progress under the scheme, as on November 30, 2010, is in the table on the facing page.

In 2009, the CCS proposed the establishment of the Control Communication and Intelligence (C3I) systems as part of an overall National Maritime Domain Awareness Project. 51 nodes in the Navy and the Coast Guard were to be linked in this network, under a project to be completed by 2012. As part of the project, India's security agencies are now working to set up a network of 46 radar stations along the country's coast, which will include installation of 36 radars on the mainland, six radars in Lakshadweep and Minicoy and four radars on the A&N Islands. Later, on September 2, 2011, it was reported that in view of the threat along the shores the Border Security Force (BSF) would deploy a newly raised Marine Battalion in the Arabian Sea, a proposal that has now been approved by the CCS.

However, proposals such as installing coastal radar surveillance network, a chain of automatic identification system (AIS) stations, setting up a special security force Sagar Prahari Bal (SPB), issuing fishermen identity cards and creating the C3I are nowhere near becoming



SECURING THE COASTS

State/ UT	Coastal Police Stations					
	Sanctioned Nos.	Made Operational	Construction complete	Construction in progress	Construction not yet started	
Gujarat	Coastal PS	10	10	10	-	-
	Check-posts	25	25	25	-	-
	Out-posts	46	44	44	2	-
Maharashtra	Coastal PS	12	12	2	2	8
	Check-posts	32	32	19		13
	Barracks	24	24	18		
Goa	3	3	-	2	1	
Karnataka	5	5	5	-	-	
Kerala	8	6	6	2	-	
Tamil Nadu	Coastal PS	12	12	12	-	-
	Check-posts	4	35	31	9	-
	Out-posts	12	10	10	-	2
Andhra Pradesh	6	6	6	-	-	
Odisha	5	5	2	1	2	
West Bengal	Coastal PS	6	6	3	1	2
	Barracks	6	4	4	-	2
Puducherry	1	1	-	1	-	
Lakshadweep	4	4	1	2	1	
Daman & Diu	1	1	1	-	-	
A&N Islands	-	-	-	-	-	
Total	Coastal PS	73	78	48	11	14
	Check-posts	97	92	75	9	13
	Out-posts	58	54	54	2	2
	Barracks	30	28	22	-	8

Source: Ministry of Home Affairs outcome budget 2011-2012

operational. The joint operation centres (JOC) of the Navy and the Coast Guard at Mumbai, Visakhapatnam, Kochi and Port Blair are also under-staffed. An unnamed official pointed out that inordinate delays in execution was the reason why there were incidents like “abandoned vessels or ghost ships” breaching the three-tier security ring of the Indian Navy and almost reaching India’s shores. “Till everything is set in place, adequate manpower, force-levels, equipment, we cannot claim to have a fully secure coastline,” a senior Coast Guard official said.

Meanwhile, phase-II of the CCS was to

commence from April 2011 with a financial outlay of ₹11.54 billion for non-recurring component and ₹4.25 billion for recurring expenditure. This phase is, however, yet to be operationalised. Its salient features include the setting-up of another 131 Coastal Police Stations, equipped with 180 boats, 60 jetties, 35 rigid inflatable boats (12 for Lakshadweep and 23 for A&N Islands), 10 large vessels (for the A&N Islands), 131 four wheelers and 242 motorcycles.

Far from detecting and interdicting terrorist infiltration on small fishing vessels or dinghies, the Coastal Security System

does not appear to have the capabilities even for the timely detection of major transport vessels in distress till it actually runs aground. India’s coastal vulnerabilities are underlined further by a Comptroller and Auditor General of India (CAG) report submitted to the Parliament on August 5, 2011. According to the report, nearly 50 per cent of offshore patrol vessels were already too old and needed to be decommissioned. In the case of fast patrol craft, this figure rose as high as 72 per cent. The report noted, further, that even newly-inducted vessels lacked critical equipment, including guns and identification radar. Further, of the 14 new Coastal Police Stations sanctioned after the 26/11 attacks, only five were operational. Some of these stations were operating on temporarily leased land without adequate equipment or facilities. “Flawed planning and deficient execution of plans has resulted in Coast Guard operating at virtually half its required strength,” CAG said. The force has only 65 per cent of the required force levels of ships and vessels, and 48 per cent in terms of aircraft and helicopters. To top it, the Government has failed to establish the one federal apex body — the Maritime Security Advisory Board (MSAB) headed by a Maritime Security Advisor (MSA) — which could have made a difference. The government “needs to urgently put in place an effective mechanism for coordination among different ministries, departments and states” to ensure the security of Indian coasts from the “threat of maritime terrorism, illegal arms trafficking and illegal inflow of both migrants and refugees from the neighbourhood”, CAG said.

The CAG report noted further that even the 1999-2001 Group of Ministers (GoM) report had strongly recommended the creation of “an apex body for management of maritime affairs for institutionalised linkages among the Navy, Coast Guard and ministries of central and state governments” but to no avail. Existing coordination on the ground between Coast Guard and other agencies “leaves much to be desired”, the CAG report said. Coast Guard, for instance, “does not share data online” with Navy for the latter’s “maritime domain awareness” project to get a comprehensive picture of the maritime situation. The two forces often do not share patrolling details, “resulting in duplication of efforts” and sub-optimal utilization of

(continued on page 48)



COVERSTORY



WHAT AILS THE INDIAN COAST GUARD ?

PRAKASH NANADA spells out the glaring inadequacies of the Coast Guard pointed out by the Comptroller and Auditor General

LAST DECEMBER, the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Defence took “serious” note of “huge gaps” between existing and required force-levels in the Indian Coast Guard (ICG) and rapped the government for ad hoc planning, poor execution and tardy progress in strengthening the country’s coastal security even three years after the 26/11 terror strikes.

Noting that just two ships and six boats had been added to Coast Guard in the last four years, the Standing Committee on Defence said the “upgradation” of force-levels in the crucial maritime force was “very slow” despite the government giving the “impression that a lot of efforts” were underway.

Coast Guard is making do with only 45 ships and 27 boats, while the requirement is for at least 154 ships and 93 boats. Similarly, the force only has 28 Dornier surveillance aircraft and 20 Chetak helicopters, out of which at least one-fourth of the fleet is grounded for repair and servicing at any given time. Besides, it has 1,714 officers, 9,196 enrolled personnel and 1,553 civilians in its manpower.

Why is it that ICG, which has been in existence for over three decades, continues to suffer from shortages in the force levels and equipments? *Geopolitics* has been trying over one year to talk to the senior bosses of the ICG, but none of them has responded positively. Our numerous requests for an interview to the newly-appointed ICG chief, and before that to his immediate predecessor, have been turned down. Even other senior officials have been instructed not to talk to the press. Why? After all, the readers of this magazine are as concerned as ICG officials about India’s coastal security and they have every right

to know what is happening.

That India’s coastal vulnerabilities are a matter of serious concern has been underlined further by a Comptroller and Auditor General of India (CAG) report submitted to the Parliament on August 5, 2011, and nothing much has changed since then. We are producing below some of CAG’s key findings and recommendations:

KEY FINDINGS

1. Planning

The Indian Coast Guard is still operating with the 15-year Perspective Plan for 1985-2000 prepared in 1987 as subsequent Perspective Plans, i.e. 2002-17 and 2007-22, have not been approved by the government and a Perspective Plan for the period 2012-2027 is under formulation (as of December 2010). Finalisation of the Five-Year Coast Guard Development Plans (ICGDP) took an inordinate amount of time with the Plans being approved much after their expected commencement with the IXth and Xth Plans being approved 19 and 33 months after they were supposed to begin.

In general, the Five-Year Plans proposed by the ICG have been unrealistic

and unachievable. Despite the fact that the Ministry of Finance/Ministry of Defence has curtailed the financial outlays of these plans, the Indian Coast Guard has been unable to spend the amounts approved. On the operational side, the failure to utilise capital allocations has resulted in the non-achievement of procurement plans in terms of ships and aircrafts. ICG was able to achieve only about 50 per cent of the targeted acquisitions in the IXth Plan (1997 - 2002) and only 43 per cent of the planned acquisitions could be finalised in the Xth Plan (2002-07). More importantly not a single acquisition fructified in the Xth plan period, against the planned targets.

2. Infrastructure and Assets

The Indian Coast Guard has been establishing shore stations and aviation units as per its Perspective Plan and Development Plans. Additionally, Ministry of Home Affairs has also sanctioned, in January 2005, three Coast Guard Stations for strengthening coastal security. However, only 30 out of 42 stations sanctioned have been activated till date. Post-26/11 incident, the government has sanctioned 14 new stations, of which five have been activated till December 2010. However, even now, sanctioned/activated stations continue to function with infrastructural/fleet deficiencies. A test check with reference to availability of Interceptor Boats (IB)/Interceptor Crafts (IC) at six stations revealed that in three stations as of December 2010, the stations did not have the vessels in adequate strength. At least 16 Coast Guard stations did not have basic facilities like jetties for berthing ships, fueling facilities etc. In other cases, ICG stations do not have their own assets and are using hired vessels. Also, some ICG stations were forced

REPLACEMENT FOR VESSELS SHOULD BE TIMELY TO ENSURE THE AVAILABILITY OF A RELIABLE FLEET



KEEPING A VIGIL: The Coast Guard has considerable aviation assets in its armoury for surveillance of the coastline

to operate out of temporary structures as the land was not owned by them.

Further, the ICG is functioning with ships, which have outlived their prescribed life and were meant to be decommissioned but which have not been phased out as replacements, have not materialised. Almost half of the Advanced Offshore Patrol Vessels (AOPVs) and 72 per cent of the Fast Patrol Vessels (FPVs) are on extended life or are already due for decommissioning. Besides, newly-inducted ships like the AOPVs are operating with constraints or without required role equipment such as Super Rapid Gun Mount, CRN 91 guns, Helo Traversing Gear, Identification of Friend/Foe, Gyro Stabilised Horizontal Role Bar etc.

Flawed planning and deficient execution of plans has resulted in the Indian Coast Guard operating at virtually half its required strength. Compared to the force levels envisaged in the Perspective Plan for the period 1985-2000, the Indian Coast Guard, as on date (December 2010) possesses only 65 per cent of the required force level in terms of ships and vessels. With respect to the aviation arm, the corresponding figure is 48 per cent.

Indian Coast Guard acquisitions have been dogged by time and cost over-runs. While the shortages have translated into corresponding gaps in the operational capabilities of individual Indian Coast Guard stations, the abnormal delays in the commissioning of new vessels have severely impacted the decommissioning schedule of the ICG.

3. Patrolling of Coastal/Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ)

Since the inception of the ICG in 1978,

various new threats have emerged on the Indian coasts making coastal security a critical responsibility in addition to the mandated role of the ICG such as Search and Rescue (SAR), pollution control etc. The Indian Coast Guard is limited in its capabilities to effectively discharge its duties in the entire EEZ waters (up to 200 NM) on account of the deficiencies in ICG assets and infrastructure and shortages in manpower. Its operational effectiveness is also restricted on account of gaps in role equipment, for instance, even after ten years a chain of static sensors in the form of shore radar stations in areas of high sensitivity and high traffic density to provide continuous, gap-free, automatic detection and tracking of targets has not been set up. Besides, the multiple agencies with their varied responsibilities with respect to coastal issues reduce the efficiency of the ICG's security-related operations.

The ICG fulfils its responsibilities towards coastal and EEZ security primarily by patrolling on-board investigations and aerial surveillance. Operation SWAN, a joint operation of the Indian Navy and ICG and International Maritime Boundary Line (IMBL)/EEZ patrolling by ships are two vital activities for ensuring the safety of the coasts. Audit found that Operation Swan operations by the ICG suffered from insufficient/inadequate assets and absence of vital communication equipment.

Besides, night-patrolling capabilities were limited in view of non-availability of dedicated and navigational equipment. Patrolling of the IMBL/EEZ increased drastically (73 per cent) only after 26/11 terrorist attacks. Indian

Coast Guard vessels on patrol duty did not undertake the prescribed boarding operations per quarter for identification and investigation of fishing boats/ships. During the period January 2004 to December 2010, the shortfall in respect of some vessels ranged from nine to 100 per cent. With respect to Maharashtra and Gujarat for the period leading up to 26/11, not a single boarding operation was conducted in 96 cases, i.e 64 per cent of LOPs were checked. Poor internal controls also lead audit to conclude that the actual number of boarding operations carried out by these ships was less than the figures furnished by ICGHQ. Finally, it was observed that the night flying task was never achieved by any of the aircraft squadrons during the last six years. The average shortfall was 32 per cent despite the fact that the night-flying task was reduced.

Coordination on the ground level between Indian Coast Guard and other agencies leaves much to be desired, for instance, ICG has not shared data online with the Indian Navy for the Maritime Domain Awareness (MDA) software, which is meant to collate information from all available sources to present a comprehensive picture of the maritime situation. Also, ICG did not share its annual planning for deployment of ships with the IN to enable optimal utilisation of available resources.

4. Post-26/11 security mechanism

Although coastal maritime security is a major concern, the government failed to issue clear-cut directions or enunciate a policy for coastal security till recently. Post-26/11, the Indian Coast Guard was



COAST GUARD



COVERSTORY

SECURING SEA LANES: The Coast Guard has been instrumental in securing trade routes in the seas surrounding India

initially designated as the agency for guarding the coastline with support of Navy and then Navy was designated as the overall authority responsible for maritime security including coastal security with the support of Indian Coast Guard.

5. Empowerment of Coast Guard

The maritime zones of India are governed under the Umbrella Act of Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ), Other Maritime Zones Act 1976 (80 of 1976) and the Maritime Zones of India (Regulation of Fishing by Foreign Fishing Vessels) Act 1981.

However, there are legal and operational constraints in ICG activities. For instance, prosecution of offenders can be launched only after obtaining the MEA approval under the MZI Act, 1976. Also, there is much work to be done in terms of providing the Indian Coast Guard with enabling provisions to effectively perform its role of monitoring deep-sea fishing vessels, environmental protection, pollution control, crossing International Maritime Boundary Line by fishing vessels and impounding vessels with invalid security clearances.

6. Operations

Audit noted that the Indian Coast Guard did not maintain a complete and comprehensive database of its operations. In all the Search and Rescue (SAR), pollution control, anti-poaching operations etc., ICG could not furnish information about the number of cases where the missions were not successful or could not be carried out due to inadequacy of

resources or other constraints. Further, ICGHQ has not fixed any parameters or performance indicators for assessing the performance of the ICG in respect of its charter of duties.

7. Repair and Maintenance

There was shortfall to the tune of 62 per cent in carrying out Short Refit, Normal Refit and Medium Refit of various classes of ships against the number of refit due. There has been undue delay in completion of refits also. Of a total number of 31 refits undertaken for AOPV/OPVs between 2003 and 2010, the time taken was 27 per cent more than the contract. In case of FPV/IPV/SDB, a total number of 74 refits, the actual time taken was 51 per cent more.

8. Manpower

There was shortage of manpower to the extent of 57 and 43 per cent in the cadre of officers and enrolled personnel respectively against the manpower envisaged in CGPP 1985-2000. In the aviation wing,

CAG NOTED THAT COAST GUARD DOES NOT MAINTAIN A COMPREHENSIVE DATABASE OF OPERATIONS

there was shortage of 50 and 58 per cent in the cadre of pilots and observers against the sanctioned strength respectively. For imparting training to officers/EPs, the Indian Coast Guard is still dependent on the Navy.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- The 15-year Perspective Plans need to be formulated by ICG and approved by the government in time so as to give clear direction towards achieving the desired force levels.
- Indian Coast Guard should submit realistic and achievable projections in Annual and Five Year plans. Periodical review of the progress in achievement of Plans must be undertaken jointly by the Ministry of Defence and ICG to ensure time-bound acquisitions.
- Planning, sanction and establishment of ICG stations and aviation units should be viewed in a professional manner based on project mode. It should be ensured that stations are activated with a full complement of envisaged manpower, land and other infrastructure, simultaneously, to ensure that activated stations do not suffer from limitations.
- Replacement procurements for ageing vessels should be timely to ensure that a reliable fleet is available to ICG.
- Planned coastal security measures such as coastal security operations, as approved by the government, should not be allowed to be diluted. An institutionalised system needs to be put in place within the Ministry of Defence to monitor periodically the efficacy and continuity of coastal security measures.
- There is an immediate need for ICG to evolve norms for patrolling in maritime/coastal zones, based on available resources. The norms so evolved should be adhered to strictly. Annual/periodic achievements against the norms should be reported to the Ministry of Defence. Such norms should be periodically reviewed.
- Government should address the concerns impacting coastal security, viz. need to remove legal constraints faced by ICG, the required empowerment of ICG, penal provisions for non-compliance to Pre-Arrival Notification of Security (PANS) and Automatic Identification System (AIS), crossing of IMBL by Indian fishermen, in a time-bound manner.



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Map of Indian Coast Guard installations



(continued from page 43)

resources, apart from “command and control issues” between them. “In an era of heightened coastal security concerns, Coast Guard remains ill-equipped to discharge its enhanced role and meet the challenges of today,” the CAG noted. The report observed that the Coast Guard’s 15-year Perspective Plans, extending to 2017 and 2022, remained unapproved by the government. It also described these plans as unrealistic and unachievable.

Anecdotal evidence suggests even greater disarray. For instance, in the aftermath of the 26/11 attacks in Mumbai, seven high-speed craft vehicles were procured by the Maharashtra government to

protect the coastline along Thane district. These are still lying mostly unused; there is not enough fuel to run them, nor a sufficient number of trained personnel to operate them. Each of the vessels, which race at 35 nautical miles an hour, consumes about 100 litres of petrol per hour. The sanctioned quota of petrol for all seven boats together is just 600 litres a week. An unnamed police official disclosed, “We have to ration the petrol, so we operate just one boat for an hour a day. For the remaining 23 hours, the entire coastline is left unpatrolled.” Corroborating the fact, former Director General of Maharashtra Police A N Roy admitted that coastal polic-

IB SUSPECTS THAT PIRATES ARE COLLECTING LOGISTICAL DATA AND FUNDS FOR ISLAMIST TERRORISTS

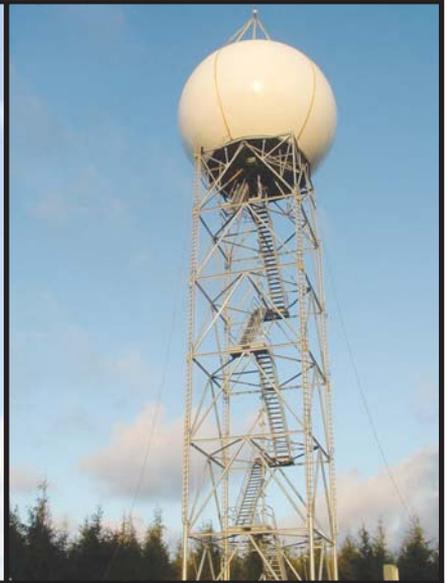
ing had remained somewhat neglected.

Though it has been assessed that while the 1993 serial blasts in Mumbai were because of the existence of a single-coast securing force, the coast guard, that too inadequately manned and ill-equipped, it was argued that the 2008 attack had resulted because of the lack of synergy between the forces involved in coastal security. It has been widely believed that many of coastal security proposals were hampered because of “bureaucratic hurdles, procurement delays and turf wars between security agencies”, including the Navy and the Coast Guard.

Regrettably, the policy-makers have failed to realise that the sea environment is difficult to adjust to. An unnamed naval official noted, “It is very difficult to enforce the rule of law over the sea. The law-breakers are a tough and desperate lot; they adjust to the sea environment better than most security personnel. Fishermen have aspirations too — they go well beyond the licensed areas in the hope of a good catch and mingle with foreign fishermen, thus complicating the scenario for Coast Guard personnel. The biggest problem at sea is to distinguish between the friend and the foe. The beat policeman is key to the security of the neighbourhood. Feet on the ground are essential and the same is true for the sea as well. Ships have to spend more time at sea and planes have to spend more time over the sea.”

Conspicuously, a ground-level research needs to be carried out by the DRDO and other agencies concerned as the sea environment is difficult to be assessed. Once the research is done, a well-thought-out-plan should be chalked out and effort should be made to implement it in a time-bound frame as long delays make the plan futile.

(The author is a Research Fellow, Institute for Conflict Management, New Delhi)



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COAST GUARD

COAST GUARD

ALL-ROUND SURVEILLANCE: All information pertaining to vessel movements, details about crew and cargo will be gleaned from the new National Maritime Domain Awareness programme

SAFEGUARDING THE SEAS

The National Maritime Domain Awareness programme seeks to provide a comprehensive network to protect the Indian coastline and its maritime assets. **ROHIT SRIVASTAVA** reports

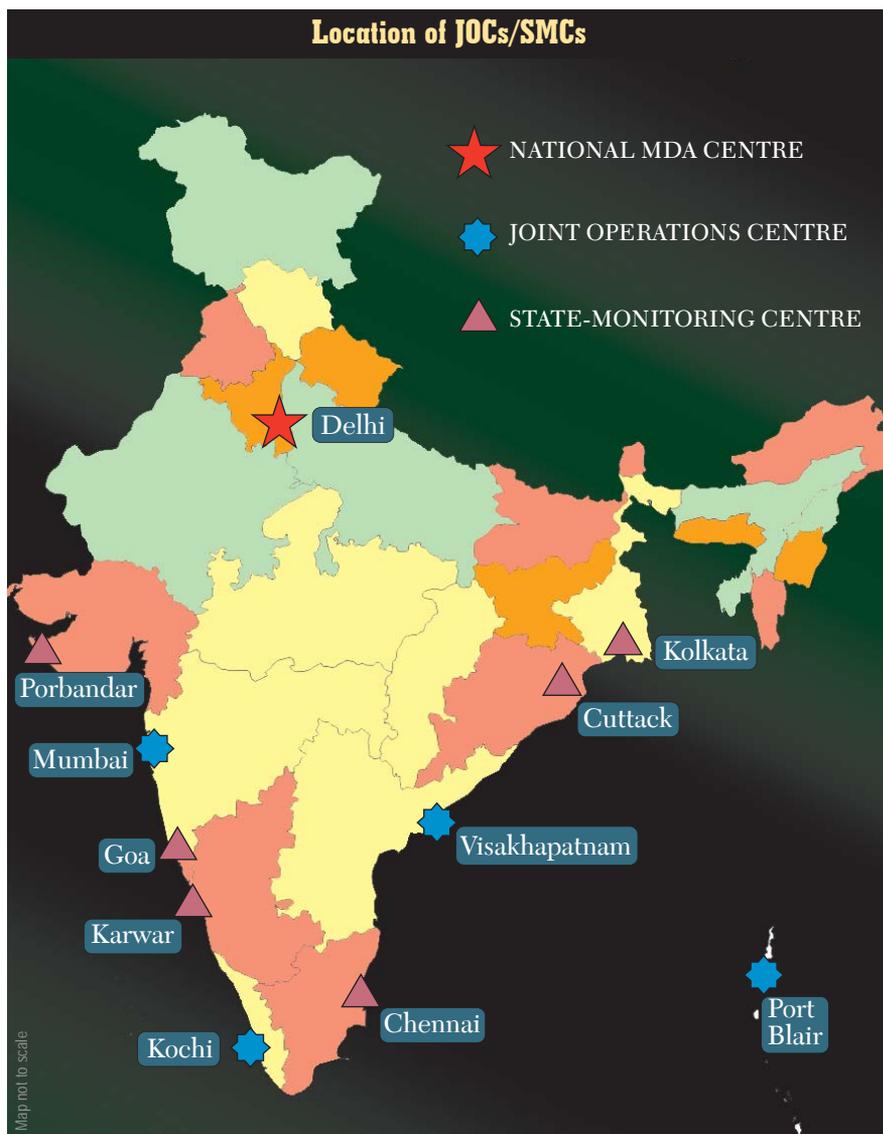
AFTER THE 26/11 Mumbai attacks, India's understanding of its maritime domain changed forever. This was a watershed event in the history of Indian maritime security. Like the 1962 war with China when the mighty

Himalayas were violated, 2008 saw the violation of the maritime frontiers of India. The outrageous terror attack exposed the vulnerability of our coastline.

The existing maritime security apparatus

consisting of the Navy and Indian Coast Guard, both of which are short of assets for their operational requirements, were not in a position to provide absolute security.

The review of the maritime security apparatus highlighted that what was missing



was not the operational or attack capability of the Indian Navy (IN) or the Indian Coast Guard (ICG) but the Maritime Domain Awareness (MDA) capability. This prompted India to prepare an extensive plan for improving MDA by bringing together all the agencies operating in the maritime domain.

MDA is the mechanism for obtaining and integrating information related to all activities in the seas around the country to strengthen the country's maritime and coastal security. To create a unified MDA, all information pertaining to vessel movements, details about crew and cargo as well as the infrastructure on the coasts and the

MDA INVOLVES OBTAINING AND INTEGRATING INFORMATION ABOUT ACTIVITIES IN INDIAN SEAS

seas, is required to find irregularities and to launch immediate counter-measures to

neutralise any threats. To achieve this objective in February 2010, the Ministry of Defence (MoD) in an "approach paper" expressed its vision for National Maritime Domain Awareness. A detailed report was made after consultations with the coastal states and Union Territories and the agencies that operate in the maritime domain for various economic ventures.

The paper was circulated to all the central/state government ministries, agencies and Union Territories in February 2010 for their comments and suggestions. Thereafter, the Chief of Naval Staff presented the concept paper to the National Committee on Strengthening Maritime and Coastal Security (NCSMCS). The committee gave an in-principle approval to the concept and directed that a detailed project report be prepared by the Indian Navy by July 2010.

In its preamble, the report says: "The events of November 2008 at Mumbai, have demonstrated the risk to national security by even small fishing craft. Similarly, infrastructure in the coastal and off-shore zones, such as critical installations and oil exploration platforms, could also be targeted".

Indian economic security is predominantly dependent upon its sea lanes of connectivity. Therefore, complete knowledge about this domain is essential. To achieve this, collating the information about all the activities on sea is essential. The information from both human and technical sources has to be analysed and interpreted. The fusion of information and analysis of this information provide a common operational picture which is then disseminated through a network for successful exploitation.

The report defines the threats into primary and secondary objects of interest. The vessels at sea are the primary objects. What (identity), where (location), whither (intention), and when (time of report) are the main aspects of a vessel about which the information is required. The additional information about the crew and owner when correlated with intelligence inputs helps develop early warnings. The information about secondary objects such as ports, harbours and off-shore platforms helps in the analysis of information about vessels.

According to the project report: "MDA must also provide linkages for sharing data and information between domestic information providers, decision-makers and end-users. Some maritime stakeholders have already placed information collection

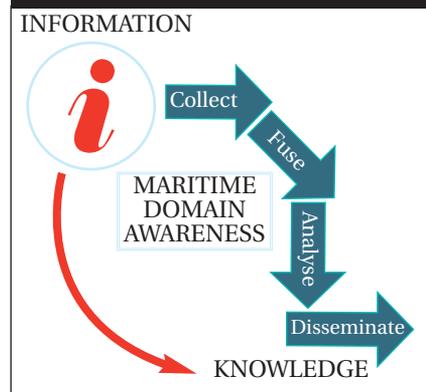


SALIENT FEATURES OF MDA

- NC3IC will be under the Ministry of Defence (MoD) and the request for proposal for equipment was issued to Bharat Electronics Limited (BEL) in July 2010. Maritime ship information system will be integral to NMDAC under the MoD with a budget of ₹32 lakh.
- The upgradation of the existing four JOCs will be done with a budget of ₹128 crore under the MoD.
- Six new SMCs will be established with ₹171 crore at Porbadar, Karwar, Chennai, Cuttack, Kolkata and Goa.
- Coastal surveillance network operated by ICG will integrate with the NMDAC, JOCs, SMCs of coastal states. The RFP for this has been issued to the BEL. LRIT will be integrated into NMDAC under the Ministry of Shipping with a budget of ₹3.2 crore.
- VTMS for major ports will be integrated with JOCs and SMC through a software in twelve major ports of India. The software development will cost ₹36 crore. For the 37 non-major ports VTMS will be set up under Ministry of Shipping with expense of ₹592 crore.
- For identification of fishermen and fishing vessels a Fishing Vessel Registration System and Fisherman's ID database will be created, which will be integrated with NMDAC and will cost ₹64 crore.
- The total cost of the project will be ₹900 crore in capital expense and ₹5.01 crore in revenue expenses.
- The financial implication for the project ministry-wise for the Indian Navy, Ministry of Agriculture, state governments, Ministry of Shipping, and Ministry of Home Affairs is going to be ₹299 crore, ₹5 crore, ₹592 crore, ₹64 lakh, ₹3.5 crore, respectively.

be upgraded. At present, these JOCs are manned by the IN and ICG and are required to coordinate with other maritime agencies such as port authority, state marine police, fisheries agency, etc. During a higher threat levels in any area, the Commander-in-Chief of Coastal Defence concerned orders enhanced measures through JOCs. The operational responsibility of the JOC West (Mumbai) is Gujarat, Maharashtra, Goa,

The MDA Process



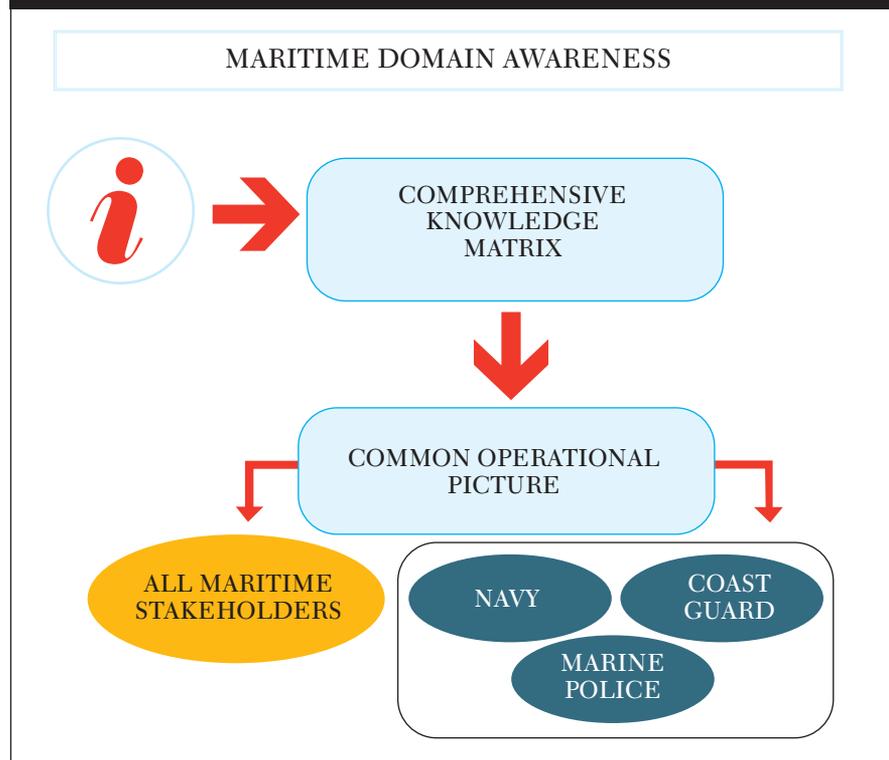
and management mechanism specific to their respective requirements. These individual mechanisms will function as information source of the national MDA.”

All these information-generating centres will be linked to a nationwide network. All nodes will have access to the larger as well as an immediate network. The network will also have the flexibility to absorb future networks. As per the report, “The National Command Control Communication Intelligence Network (NC3IN) being set up by Indian Navy in consultation with the ICG is designed around a tree topology and will be for the network — a backbone for national MDA.”

The national MDA centre would be the core data and analysis centre for the whole network which will be situated in Gurgaon. The aim of the centre is to establish a Maritime Domain Awareness Common Integration Framework (MDA-CIF). All technical information will be processed to give a real-time maritime situational awareness for “quick, responsive action”. It can also share information with national and international organisations. The whole system is so designed that it can deliver timely and actionable information to the agency concerned.

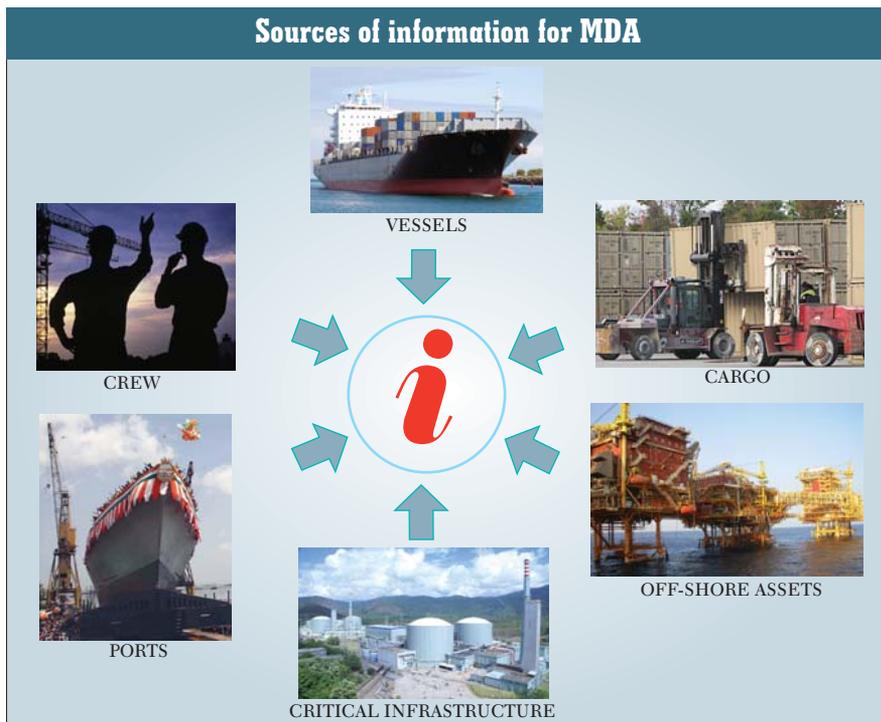
The additional components of MDA are the Joint Operation Centres (JOC) which will

The concept of National MDA





Sources of information for MDA



Karnataka, Daman and Diu while the JOC (South) at Kochi covers Kerala, Mahe and Lakshadweep. In the east, Vishakhapatnam covers the whole of the east coast. The Andaman and Nicobar Islands come under the JOC at Port Blair. In order to discharge this role, the JOC would require real-time integrated common operating pictures of all maritime activities at sea. The information will be gleaned from all major and non-major ports, fishing harbours, fishing vessel-monitoring systems, along with the technical information from radars of Vessels and Air Traffic Management Systems (VATMS) and space-based Automatic Identification System (AIS).

The four JOCs will not be capable enough in developing a comprehensive MDA of the entire coast. To have state-specific MDA, each coastal state will have one State Monitoring Centre (SMC) and Fisheries Monitoring Centre (FMC) and a Joint Operating Centre (JOC). There will be two VATMS, one each for the east and west coasts.

The project report on the development of a comprehensive national MDA points out: "The Detailed Project Reports have provided technical specification for integrating existing components of MDA over the NC3IN. These existing components include the Coastal Surveillance Network (CSN) being set up by the Indian Coast

Guard, the national AIS network, Long Range Identification and Training (LRIT), Vessel Traffic Management System (VTMS) in major ports, the VATMS setup for surveillance around the western Offshore Development Areas (ODAs), the fishing vessel registration database and the fishermen biometric ID database."

COLLATING THE INFORMATION ABOUT ALL THE ACTIVITIES IN THE SEA IS ESSENTIAL

The NC3IN system will be the communicational backbone for the whole system. The existing communication systems of the agencies operating in the maritime domain and the proposed system will be integrated into the NC3IN. The system will have its central hub at the Information Management and Analysis Centre (IMAC) at Gurgaon. IMAC will also function as National Maritime Domain Awareness

Centre (NMDAC). The paper proposes setting up of State Monitoring Centres in all states and Union Territories for comprehensive state-specific MDA. SMCs will also upgrade the JOC — there are four — and all coastal security operations are conducted through them.

SMC will be the main MDA node for the coastal states and the Union Territories. The SMCs will be connected to the NMDAC through the NC3IN. SMCs will have a Naval officer-in-charge as its chief. All the four JOCs will have additional manpower and will undergo technical upgradation.

All the major ports are either equipped or being equipped with the VTMS system. This system provides information on the presence of all type of vessels including minor crafts within the port limits. The information is generated through integrated radar and AIS systems. The information from the major ports will be integrated with the shipping hubs situated at SC/JOCs. The report suggests: "India's 200 non-major ports are not equipped with any identification/surveillance system. Of these 200 ports, only 56 ports handle international traffic." The upcoming AIS system will provide a certain degree of surveillance in most of the non-major ports. Many of these are required to be equipped with VTMS to enable improved identification and surveillance and traffic management.

Further up the ladder in the system, each SMC will have one shipping hub to collate and put together all information from major and non-major ports. Similarly, each state will have one Fisheries Monitoring Centre (FMC), which will collate all information regarding vessels, fishermen, and vessel movement. The fishermen are being given biometric ID cards and each fishing vessel is being registered. The report says, "Selection of a suitable vessel movement and position-monitoring system for sub-20 metre fishing vessels is being undertaken by the ICG. This monitoring system, once operationalised, would need to be integrated with the vessel registration and fisherman ID database at the state fisheries monitoring centres."

As the report says, when fully implemented this would provide a common operational picture of all activities at the sea in real time. This project would not only provide national MDA but would also create state-specific MDA at their JOC and SMC. When implemented, this project will strengthen multi-agency integration and coordination, thereby reducing risks and threats from the sea.

geopolitics

INTERNAL SECURITY

FAREWELL TO ARMS

Extremists are surrendering in Assam. But have they really changed their thoughts?

Steps to stall terror finance



▶ On the advice of intelligence agencies, government is on the way to making the identification of recipients of funds from abroad mandatory. This is because 'small money' transmission agents are using this route to fund terror activities. The Reserve Bank of India (RBI) has advised that the demand of Aadhar unique ID numbers, once made available, for recipient of sums less than ₹50,000 through Money Transfer Service Scheme (MTSS) be made mandatory.

The MTSS has seen a sharp rise in the filling of "suspicious transaction reports (STRs)" by banks and financial institutions from over 10,000 in 2009-10 to over 29,000 in 2010-11. The MTSS system allows a money changer, non-banking financial companies or even an authorised travel operator to work as an agent. The annual report of the intelligence unit of the Finance Ministry has listed thousands of doubtful remittances. The government authorities, including intelligence agencies, tax authorities and regulators are investigating the end users of the transactions. Many of these dubious transactions have been invested in stock markets, real estate deals, insurance premiums or terrorist financing.

Site hunt for nuclear graveyard

▶ India is planning to build an Under-ground Research Laboratory (URL) inside a uranium mine for its nuclear waste. This is because the deep geological repository isolates high-level radioactive waste from the biosphere, for several hundreds of years.

Presently, radioactive waste is stored in a toughened glass matrix at Solid Storage and Surveillance Facility in Tarapur, Maharashtra, which is one quarter the size of a football field in a deep, underground vault. The amount of nuclear waste in India is so small that shifting out to a new location will not be required for another 20 years.

Srikumar Banerjee, Chairman of the



Atomic Energy Commission, was quoted as saying: "We still have time — less than one-sixth of the holes in the (Tarapur) facility are filled up." Another such storage facility will be established at Kalpakkam in Tamil Nadu.

The proposed URL will accelerate India's geological repository which started in 1980s at Kolar Gold Mines in Karnataka. The laboratory studied the thermal and mechanical properties of rocks. Rattan Sinha, Director of the Bhabha Atomic Research Centre, Mumbai informed, "We've begun efforts to develop the components of a technology called Accelerator Driven Systems (ADS) which will incinerate nuclear waste."

Gap in 13/7 probe



PIB

▶ Home Minister (HM) P Chidambaram has acknowledged that the exchange between the Maharashtra ATS and Delhi Police's Special Cell should have been much better. The two forces were in a see-saw battle over the arrest of Naqee Ahmed. The Maharashtra Anti-Terrorism Squad (ATS) wanted him in connection with the 13/7 blasts, while he was wanted by the cops in connection with various blasts across the country. The Home Minister described the case as "difficult". Chidambaram said the two agencies were working in their jurisdictions and were looking for the same person who had been on the run for a while. The HM was quoted as saying: "These are difficult cases which are being investigated under very difficult circumstances. I wish nabbing a person on the run is as easy as someone makes it out to be. It is not so easy. These are difficult cases and, therefore, there may have been inadequate exchange of information."

CRPF women contingent leaves for Liberia



CRPF

▶ Under the leadership of Commander Karuna Rai, a contingent of Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF), made up of women, left for the UN Peace-Keeping mission in Liberia. The contingent, which will spend one year in Liberia, comprises 124 women officers of the force. The CRPF Director General K Vijay Kumar complimented them and wished them luck at a send-off ceremony. The members of the contingent went through specialised training for seven weeks and will guard the premises of the President of Liberia and other VIPs, along with helping local police maintain law and order.

NSG better geared for counter-terror ops



▶ Time is critical and essential and in order to reduce the strike time of commandos during count-

er-terror operations, the National Security Guard (NSG) is looking at a variety of options to ensure speed. This includes state-of-the-art digital communication and lightning-quick logistics for the 'Black Cats'.

Learning from the fiasco of 2008 Mumbai terror attack, the NSG has now got a state-of-the-art "radio gateway"— a gadget that can bring both mobile phones and wireless sets of police forces and the NSG on one frequency — making for continuous information flow between them. "You will see a vast change in the way NSG works in the coming years. We have cut down all the extraneous procedures (during operations) and the whole idea is to have a lean and mean fighting commando," NSG chief Rajan K Medhekar told the agency PTI at the forces' garrison in Manesar, Haryana.

"NSG is quite capable of looking after itself for the first 48 hours at least, if not more. But there has to be replenishment if engagement extends. We have worked out the modalities with regard to food, water, medical aid (to commandos)," he said. Talking about quick mobility for the commandos, Medhekar said that they had got in place similar arrangements for vehicles. "Although we carry some vehicles in the aircraft we travel in, we do not have every type of vehicle. We can now immediately get any kind of vehicle according to our requirement," he said.

CISF gets new Director General



▶ Rajiv — a 1975-batch Uttar Pradesh cadre Indian Police Service (IPS) officer serving as the Director General of National Disaster Response Force and Civil Defence — has taken over as the Director General of

the Central Industrial Security Force (CISF). Rajiv took over from outgoing Director General N R Das at the CISF Headquarters in Delhi. Rajiv served as SP and SSP in various UP districts from 1983 to 1991. In 1997, Rajiv was appointed as DIG/Intelligence, UP. From 1997 to 2004, he was IG at Gorakhpur, Bareilly Zones, PTC Moradabad and IG/Vigilance, Uttar Pradesh. He later came on central deputation as the Central Vigilance Officer at the Food Corporation of India and he was appointed as DG, NDRF, on May 14, 2010.

Recruitment drive by CISF soon



CISF.NIC.IN

▶ Director General Rajiv has taken over at a time when the force is facing a scarcity of jawans. According to the CISF Director General, "CISF is facing shortage of 10,000 personnel across the country, of which about 10 per cent are in officer rank. To overcome dearth of manpower in the force, it will soon start recruitment drive." According to the DG, industrial units like Bokaro Steel Limited (BSL) are dealing with a severe manpower crisis and demanding an increase in its strength to 1,800 personnel from a sanctioned strength of 1,419 security men at present. Of the 16000 CISF personnel in the eastern sector (Bihar, Jharkhand and Odisha), 9000 are in Jharkhand.

Marry, but no kids!



21STCENTURYSOCIALISM

▶ Naxalites in Chhattisgarh can get married but no kids please!

Apparently the elders in the movement force the younger lot to undergo vasectomy to make sure there are no pregnancies! Surrendering Naxals have told the police that the leadership gets rude and punishes them for the simple folly of falling in love! One of them went to the extent of telling the interrogators that he was picked up from his village at the age of 17 and forced to join the movement. He is now over 30 and after falling in love and getting married, he is one of the 'nasbandi' victims who are now gradually moving into mainstream society.

According to these reforming Naxals, doctors were ferried to the jungle to conduct these operations. The idea was that childless couples would continue to be committed to the movement and their resolve would not weaken. According to one of the women who surrendered, women Naxals are often subjected to harassment and abuse by seniors in the movement. Most of those who are now keen to get back with their lives want the government to give them full protection.



GEOPOLITICS
INTERNAL SECURITY

THE SURRENDER SAGA

Despite their recent laying-down of arms, the *Adivasi*-extremists in Assam are a divided lot with conflicting and often violent demands, writes GIRIRAJ BHATTACHARJEE

ON JANUARY 29, 2012, a violent clash took place between the Kuki outfits namely, United Kukigram Defence Army (UKDA) and Kuki Revolutionary Army (KRA) at Bagmari locality of Diphu town in Karbi Anglong District. In the clash, out of six KRA cadres camping in the village, four KRA militants including 'General Secretary', Zed Boy Kuki and three other cadres identified as Changmuthing Chongloi (24), Lengmoi Chongloi (22), and Lalmalon Kuki (32) were injured. According to Diphu police, a group of UKDA cadres entered the village and attacked the KRA militants. Injured cadres told the local media: "Around 40 UKDA cadres entered the village and badly thrashed the KRA cadres" who also warned the KRA cadres to leave the village immediately. "They tried to shoot us but their gun did not work. Our general secretary along with few of his companions managed to escape," the cadres added.

Notably, both KRA and UKDA were among the 676 militants, belonging to seven militant formations who surrendered at a function held at the indoor stadium, Sarusajai Sports Complex, in Guwahati on January 24, 2012. The surrendered militants were drawn from five other groups, namely the *Adivasi* People's Army (APA), All *Adivasi* National Liberation Army (AANLA), Santhal Tiger Force (STF), Kuki Liberation Army (KLA) and Hmar Peoples Convention-Democratic (HPC-D), apart from the two feuding Kuki outfits. The militants deposited 202 weapons during the ceremony.

Union Home Minister P Chidambaram, in whose presence the surrender ceremony took place, said, "Not often do we see so many groups return to

SOME QUARTERS
HAVE DESCRIBED
THE LATEST MASS
SURRENDER IN
ASSAM AS
MERELY
SYMBOLIC

the path of peace, development and brotherhood and join the process of reconciliation. This development means that the other groups will follow suit." Both Home Minister Chidambaram and Chief Minister (CM) Tarun Gogoi have termed the surrender as historic.

Further, another two *Adivasi* (tribal groups; however, in the Indian North-east, the term refers to tribal groups that were brought into the region, principally as indentured labourers, from other parts of the country) formations, the Birsa Commando Force (BCF) and the *Adivasi* Cobra Military of Assam (ACMA), instead of surrendering, submitted their charter of demands to Tarun Gogoi and Chidambaram. Birsingh Munda, 'Commander-in-Chief' of BCF, explained, "We decided to attend this event in our civvies since there is no question of laying down arms in a ceremony until final settlement is reached. Mere surrendering of arms doesn't bring peace; Government also has to respond by starting meaningful dialogue."

A 16-page booklet, *Farewell to Arms, Welcome to the Mainstream*, circulated

during the ceremony, provided a brief profile of the nine groups. It gave the cadre strength of these nine groups as: BCF — 557; ACMA — 453; KRA — 138; STF — 134; UKDA — 120; AANLA — 90; KLA — 83; APA (about) 70; and HPC(D) — 50. All but nine of the total of 685 cadres surrendered. Worryingly, however, the two most prominent groups in terms of cadre strength, BCF and ACMA, failed to lay down arms.

Significantly, four of the surrendering outfits, APA, AANLA, KLA and HPC-D, had declared a ceasefire in 2011; APA, on July 16; AANLA, on September 1; KLA, on November 5; and HPC-D, on December 2. The UKDA's declaration of ceasefire came





INTERNAL SECURITY

on January 8, 2012, while the KRA leadership stated that they would be adhering to a ceasefire with effect from January 24, 2012, the day of the surrender. ACMA and BCF, on the other hand, had signed a Suspension of Operations (SoOs) agreement in 2001 and 2004, respectively.

Buoyed by the development as it compounded the growing successes of the past years, Additional Director General of Police — Special Branch Khagen Sarma claimed that with the surrender of seven militant groups and two others [BCF and ACMA] actively participating in the January 24 function, there were “no militant groups left in Assam” and that, “what is left are splinter groups, deserters and breakaway factions of groups in ceasefire. They have nothing but nuisance value. Our government will, therefore, try to reach a settlement with the ceasefire groups as soon as possible by starting talks in February. Today’s ceremony is the first of its kind. Never before have so many militants and so many groups returned to the mainstream in one go.”

Significantly, led by its ‘Chairman’ Longsoder Senar, 568 United People’s Democratic Solidarity (UPDS) militants, including 22 women cadres, had laid down arms at a function organised at Diphu stadium in Karbi Anglong District on December 14, 2011.

HOPE FOR HARMONY: Home Minister P Chidambaram with Assam Chief Minister Tarun Gogoi at the surrender ceremony of militant groups in Guwahati on January 24, 2012

It is noteworthy that the surrender of the *Adivasi* groups — APA, AANLA and STF — took place despite the fact that neither of the two core demands of all the five *Adivasi* militant groups, including BCF and ACMA, has been met. These core demands include the demand for Scheduled Tribe (ST) status for the *Adivasi* and grant of ex-gratia payment to riot victims. Reports suggest that the government might offer ST status to select *Adivasi* groups, including the Oraon, Munda, Santhals and Birsas. These groups already enjoy ST status in other states. Besides, the government is also considering an economic package for the community.

The *Adivasi* militancy started in the state following the Bodo-Santhal riots in 1996, and their recurrence in 1998. About 80 persons were killed in the 1996 conflagration and 50 in 1998. *Adivasi* groups have projected an estimated 250,000 *Adivasis* living in camps in the Kokrajhar and Dhubri Districts.

Media reports, meanwhile, claim that the latest surrender of *Adivasi* groups is the result of widening of Communist Party of Maoist (CPI-Maoist) operations in Assam, and the consequent apprehensions regarding the *Adivasis* joining this Left-Wing Extremist (LWE) formation. Reports suggest that AANLA, with logistical support from some other unidentified

groups, has already started a training camp for Maoists in the foothills between Chandalashung ‘B’ and New Chandalashung, in Ralan under the Wokha District in Nagaland, along the interstate border with Assam. The training commenced in October 2011, with an estimated 300 trainees attending the camp. The camp was dismantled by Nagaland Armed Police on January 30, 2012. Indeed, Assam’s Chah Mazdoor Sangha [Assam Tea Labourers Association] delegation led by its general secretary B Tanti, on December 21, 2011, informed Chief Minister Tarun Gogoi that many instances of CPI-Maoist cadres luring youth belonging to the ‘tea tribes’ (the *Adivasis*) to join them had come to light. He warned that if this trend continued, it would spell doom, not just for the tea tribes, but also for entire Assam. On January 28, 2012, security forces (SFs) launched the first operation against CPI-Maoist in several parts of the Dhemaji district in Upper Assam. The drive came after the police had a shootout with a suspected Maoist insurgent in the district a few days back. The person who fired at the police, however, managed to escape. Elaborating on the incident, the police said that the shootout had taken place when a police party, acting on a tip-off, had cordoned off the residence of a suspected CPI-Maoist, Gajen Borpatragohain, in Silapathar area in the district.

Crucially, however, at least some militant indigenous groups continue to hold out against the state, and Kuki or Hmar militants see little reason to surrender. Indeed, the government’s response to the demands of Kuki and Hmar militants is still awaited. The primary demand of the Kuki groups — [United Kukigram Defence Army, Kuki Revolutionary Army and Kuki Liberation Army] UKDA, KRA and KLA — is the formation of a regional council for the Kuki tribes living in the Karbi Anglong District. Hmar militants demand a separate district for their own tribe. While KRA was involved in the Karbi-Kuki clashes in 2005, HPC-D was involved in Hmar-Dimasa clashes in 2003. Over 100 people were killed in the Karbi-Kuki clashes and another 50 in the Hmar-Dimasa violence. Both Kuki and Hmar are minor tribes, living in the two hill districts of Karbi Anglong and Dima Hasao [formerly North Cachar (NC) Hills], respectively. The January 24 surrender, consequently, leaves many unanswered questions. Further, the state government is also facing difficulties

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SOPHISTICATED ARSENAL: The surrender ceremony bears testament to the increasing sophistication of rebel arms

regarding location of the designated camps for the surrendered militants. STF and AANLA have demanded camps in Bodo Territorial Council (BTC) areas. While, AANLA has asked for locations within Tinsukia, Udalguri and either Karbi Anglong or Golaghat Districts, STF wants two of its camps to be set up in Kokrajhar district. Notably, both Kokrajhar and Udalguri fall under BTC and pro-talks faction of National Democratic Front of Bodoland (NDFB-PTF) is opposed to any moves of setting designated camps in BTC area.

Crucially, there are several ethnic groups in Assam who oppose both the demand of ST status for *Adivasi* groups and for a regional council for the Kuki tribes. Led by the All Assam Tribal Sangha (AATS), which comprises various 'local' tribal organisations, including Bodo, Karbi, Dimasa and Tiwa, student organisations, oppose further 'scheduling' in Assam. In addition to the *Adivasis*, another five ethnic groups — the Morans, Muttocks, Tai Ahoms, Chutia and Koch Rajbongshis — are also demanding ST status. Indeed, the Moran and Muttocks have threatened armed rebellion in case they are not included in the list. Recently, Biswajit Ray, president of All Koch-Rajbanshi Students Union (AKRSU), has also threatened with a similar course of action regarding their demand of ST status and Kamatapur State for Koch-Rajbangshis. In the case of Kuki outfits, another vital issue could be the management of their internal rivalry, especially between UKDA and KRA.

Moreover, while the two most prominent *Adivasi* groups, BCF and ACMA have failed to surrender, surrendered groups like AANLA have already started talking tough. AANLA 'deputy commander-in-chief' Peter Dang, following the surrender declared, "Our main demand is granting ST status to *Adivasis* and it should be fulfilled soon as it is a genuine demand. The government's apathy towards *Adivasis* in Assam had led to AANLA's birth. We have not laid down all our arms. If talks with the government are not successful, we may go back to the jungle. Hence, the Indian government should fulfil our demands at the earliest." APA and ACMA have also expressed similar sentiments.

ADIVASIS CLAIM THAT OFFICIAL INDIFFERENCE TOWARDS THEM IN ASSAM HAD LED THEM TO MILITANCY

Moreover, none of the surrendered groups have been involved in major violent incidents, barring some stray activities, since the announcement of their respective ceasefires and SoO agreements. Only one incident of firing has

since been reported, involving these groups, when APA militants shot at and injured All Assam Muslim Student Union (AAMSU, Kamandanga unit) assistant secretary Zakir Hussain, at Grahampur Bazar under Gossaigaon Police Station in Kokrajhar district on November 16, 2011. Another group, ACMA was behind two reported cases of abduction in 2011. The BCF was allegedly involved in one extortion case in 2010, besides setting ablaze a bus in 2008. No activities of Kuki or Hmar militants have been recorded since the time they declared a cease fire.

Nevertheless, taking into account the stalemate in peace talks with other prominent groups such as the Nunisa faction of Dima Halim Daogah (DHD-N), NDFB-PTF and Karbi Longri North Cachar Hills Liberation Front (KLNLF), and the residual potential of the remaining active groups such as the Karbi People's Liberation Tigers (KPLT), Hill Tigers Force (HTF), United Democratic Liberation Army (UDLA) and Anti-Talks Faction of United Liberation Front of Asom (ULFA-ATF) to create trouble in the Assam, some quarters have described the latest mass surrender merely symbolic. It is, however, premature to pronounce final judgment on this, and the continuous consolidation of the state against a multiplicity of armed factions certainly opens out tremendous opportunities for a lasting peace in Assam.

(The author is a Researcher at the Institute for Conflict Management, Delhi)

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GEOPOLITICS
INTERNAL SECURITY

The recent local elections in Odisha have turned out to be a nightmare for both the Central government and the state government since candidates with clear Maoist links have won around 30 blocks in eight districts. Now they will legitimately use government funds under various social schemes to further expand their base, writes DEEPAK KUMAR NAYAK



ODISHA: POTENT THREAT

THE KILLING of the four officers of the Border Security Force (BSF) — Commandant Jeevan Ram Khaswan, Deputy Commandant Rajesh Saran, Assistant Sub-Inspector Jitendra Sahu and Subedar Ashok Yadav — in an ambush by Communist Party of India-Maoist (CPI-Maoist) cadres near Balimela in Malkangiri district on February 10, 2012, was seen as the first major assault on the BSF in Odisha. The BSF officers were going to Chitrakonda from their camp at Balimela to assess security arrangements for the first phase of local bodies' elections the next day (February 11) when the SUV in which they were travelling was hit by a landmine. The Maoists who are believed to have meticulously planned the attack and were hiding nearby then opened fire indiscriminately, shooting the BSF men and injuring two troopers accompanying them. Two civilians were also injured, who were caught in the crossfire.

Earlier, on January 5, 2012, two police constables and a home guard, identified as Sunasir Mohanty, Umakant Jani and Sangram Lenka, who were part of a team from the Kotgarh Police Station, were on their way to investigate a landmine blast that had taken place on January 4, on the Kotgarh-Srirampur road, fell to a Maoist trap near Badarpanga village in Kotagarh area in Kandhamal district. In addition, three other identified Padmanav Dehuri, Basant Behera and Noha Pradhan were injured in the blast. It is alleged that the Security Force (SF) personnel are falling prey to booby traps set by Naxalites (Left Wing Extremists-LWE) due to non-adherence to Standard Operation Procedure (SOP) during anti-Maoist operations. This was a major point of discussion at an emergency meeting convened by Chief Minister Naveen Patnaik in Bhubaneswar on January 6, 2012, to review the incident.

LWEs have targeted Odisha since

1951, and, for much of the initial period, their activities were confined to the undivided Koraput District. In 1962, LWE cadres from this area — prominent among them being Bhuban Mohan Patnaik, Nagabhusan Patnaik, Purna Chandra Gomang, Purshottam Pali, and Jaganath Mishra — with the cooperation of their counterparts in Srikakulam (Andhra Pradesh), managed to start a movement called "food Liberation", from the Gunpur area of the then undivided Koraput (now in the Rayagada District).

During the 1990s the Andhra Pradesh government declared the Naxalite movement illegal, and this had far-reaching impact on Odisha. Initially, the Andhra Naxalites began to use Odisha's dense forests as their hideouts. It was during this phase that a base for the then People's War Group (PWG) was created in the rural areas of Koraput. The Naxalites attacked corrupt bureaucrats and exploitative contractors and money



ACTIVE MAOIST FACTIONS

- The AOBSSZC headed by Akkiraju Hargopal *alias* Ramakrishna *alias* RK.
- Odisha Special Organising Committee, headed by Sabyasachi Panda.
- Bansadhara Divisional Committee, headed by Nikhil *alias* Niranjana Rout *alias* Nigama Rout.
- Kalinga Nagar Divisional Committee headed by Putpaka Kumaraswamy *alias* Ranjith *alias* Santosh.
- South Chhotanagpur Zonal Committee, headed by Kundan Pahan *alias* Bikash Da.
- Dandakaranya Special Zonal Committee, headed by Kadari Satya Narayan *alias* Gopanna.
- Malkangiri Division headed by Damodar *alias* Azad *alias* Bille Narayan Swamy.
- Srikakulam-Koraput Divisional Committee, headed by Daya *alias* Chamala Krishnamurthy.

ORISSA GOV.N

COUNCIL OF WAR: Chief Minister Naveen Patnaik discusses a critical issue with his team

lenders to win over the local tribals. Violence intensified in Odisha after the PWG formed the Andhra-Odisha Border Special Zonal Committee (AOBSZC), controlling the four north coastal Districts of Andhra Pradesh — East Godavari, Visakhapatnam, Vijayanagaram and Srikakulam — and the five southern Odisha Districts — Malkangiri, Rayagada, Gajapati, Koraput and Nabarangpur. Gradually the Maoists have made their presence felt in the state, and 18 districts out of 30 are affected.

According to partial data compiled by the *South Asian Terrorism Portal (SATP)*, 457 persons were killed in Maoist-related violence between January 1, 2006 and February 20, 2012, comprising 178 civilians, 158 SF personnel and 121 LWEs/CPI-Maoists.

The Maoists have also been successful in opening up new fronts in the state. The hitherto unaffected or marginally affected districts of Bolangir, Bargarh, Kalahandi, Nuapada and Nabarangpur have come under the increasing sway of the Maoists, creating a near uninterrupted

Fatalities in LWE/ CPI-Maoist Violence in Odisha: 2006-2012*

Years	Civilians	SF Personnel	LWE/ CPI-Maoist	Total
2006	3	4	16	23
2007	13	2	8	23
2008	24	76	32	132
2009	36	32	13	81
2010	62	21	25	108
2011	36	16	23	75
2012*	4	7	4	18
Total	178	158	121	457

* Data till February 20, 2012 Source: SATP

Maoist 'corridor' from Abujmaadh in Chhattisgarh to the Saranda Forest in Jharkhand. Further, the Maoists in Odisha operated through various divisions of the CPI-Maoist (*see table*).

The state recently witnessed the conclusion of the five-phase local body elections from February 11 to 19, 2012. Prior to the elections, Maoist groups had issued a call to boycott these elections in eight districts including Malkangiri, Koraput, Kandhamal, Nuapada and Nayagarh. This was followed by a more specific threat against candidates who attempted to file nominations without Maoist consent.

The five-phase polling began on February 11, 2012, and was completed on February 19, 2012. In the first phase on February 11, polling was held in 1,454 *gram panchayats* (village-level local self-government institution), under 82 *panchayat samitis* (block-level local self-government institution) and in 194 *zilla parishad* (district-level local self-government institution) zones in 30 districts. 68.13 per cent voters exercised franchise in first phase of *panchayat* polls.

The second phase of polling on February 13 was held for 197 *zilla parishads* and 1,475 *gram panchayats*. An estimated 70 per cent of the 56.54 lakh electorate voted in the second phase of *panchayat* elections held in 83 blocks spread over 30 districts.



WAR PARTY: A BSF patrol on an area domination exercise in a Naxal-affected area

BSF

The third phase of polling on February 15 was held for 188 *zilla parishad* zones and 1,350 *gram panchayats*. An estimated 69 per cent of the 53.88 lakh electorate voted in the third phase of *panchayat* elections.

The fourth phase of polling on February 17 was held for 174 *zilla parishad* zones and 1,151 *gram panchayats*. An estimated 70.66 per cent of the 46.47 lakh electorate voted in the fourth phase of *panchayat* elections.

The fifth phase of polling on February 19 was held for 111 *zilla parishad* zones and 806 *gram panchayats* spread over 48 blocks in 24 districts and an estimated 69.41 per cent of the 311.85 lakh electorate voted in the final phase of *panchayat* elections.

Despite the boycott and attacks on SF personnel in the area, polling passed off by and large peacefully barring stray incidents of violence and attempted booth capturing in districts such as Jajpur, Ganjam, Puri and Cuttack. In an attempt to disrupt the polls, around 20 suspected Maoists snatched away ballot papers and polling boxes from officials at two booths in the Maoist-hit Trilochanpur village in Kalahandi District on February 14 night. The rebels also took away mobile phones from the polling personnel.

Unsurprisingly, the poll result has turned out to be a nightmare for both

the Central government and the state government. The poll verdict — candidates with Maoist links have won around 30 blocks in eight districts, including Malkangiri and Koraput. According to initial estimates of the Ministry for Home Affairs (MHA), at

MAOISTS
HAVE ALSO
BEEN
SUCCESSFUL IN
OPENING UP
NEW FRONTS IN
THE STATE

least 14 or 15 of 33 *sarpanchs* (head of village-level local self-Government institution) who have been elected ,unopposed in Naxal-affected blocks, are the known supporters of Maoist groups. *Sarpanch* and *panchayat samiti* candidates ‘backed’ by the CMAS have won unopposed in Tentulipadar, Balipeta, Podapadar, Talagumandi, Borigi, Langalabeda, Kumbhari and Narayanpatna *gram panchayats*. Media reports further stated that at least 32 *sarpanchs* had known Maoist links. The

Maoist influence has been clear especially in the Narayanpatna Block of Koraput District, where most of the candidates have already won uncontested. Narayanpatna had almost come under siege in 2009 when the rebels propped up the Maoist-backed Chasi Mulia Adivasi Sangh (CMAS) to take on the state.

In a clear indication of a rising Maoist threat, the MHA has advised the state government to explore the possibility of countermanding the election of those who have won unopposed by intimidating other candidates. The main cause of worry is that *panchayats* have access to considerable funds under various social schemes including National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (NREGS) project, besides what accrues from the devolution package. The victory of the Maoist-backed candidates could undermine anti-Naxal efforts by helping them expand their base. The prospect of Maoist groups controlling development funds and dispersing it as per their priorities will be a “very disturbing trend”, hence the state government has to take necessary prevention and immediately steps, for the course of the Maoist in the future seems to be discomfoting, in the absence of an effective state action.

(The author is a research scholar following Maoist activities)

geopolitics

DIPLOMACY

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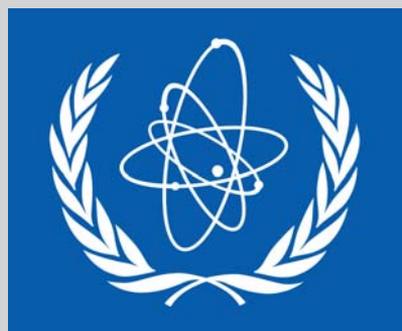


SPECIAL TOUCH

The Indo-French strategic partnership is turning out to be an enduring one



**WILL THE
NEPALESE
PRIME MINISTER
BE ABLE TO
KEEP HIS HOUSE
IN ORDER?**



**HOW INDIA
IS PREPARING
ITSELF FOR THE
NUCLEAR
SUMMIT IN
SEOUL**



GEOPOLITICS
DIPLOMACY

NEPAL'S MAOISTS — RUMBLINGS FROM WITHIN

India's flip-flops in its policies towards Nepal in recent years have not served national interests, writes KV RAJAN

BABURAM BHATTARAI — the pragmatic face of the Maoists in Nepal, albeit being its intellectual and ideological powerhouse — became the Prime Minister last year with the support of a Madhesi faction (representing Tarai people bordering India) which is trusted by India, and more importantly, the full support of his Chairman, Pushpa Kamal Dahal or Prachanda. Although neither of the two political parties next in strength in the Constituent Assembly (CA) to the Maoists — the Nepali Congress (NC) and the Communist United Marxist-Leninist Party (CPN-UML) was part of the new coalition government, there were hopes that Bhattarai would be able to accomplish what his predecessors comprehensively failed to do — the integration/rehabilitation of the 19,000 Maoist ex-fighters; consolidation of the peace process; writing of a new Constitution on the basis of cross-party consensus before the latest extension of deadline (May 2012); and the formation of a national government which would hold elections — heralding a successful end to the painful transition of Nepal from a feudal state to a peaceful, inclusive federal, democratic, republic.

Indeed, there was welcome progress within days of the new government taking office. A cross-party agreement on return of Maoist weapons to the state and exercise of options by the ex-guerrillas (integration with the Army, rehabilitation or golden handshake) was announced, and is in fact in the process of being implemented, although the number of guerril-

las opting for integration is substantially higher than the figure of 6,500 agreed between the Maoists and the parties. However, there has been no progress on other fronts, and in recent weeks, there has been a return of pessimism, largely due to hardening of Maoist positions on a number of issues, such as insistence on a Presidential form of government and higher ranks for its integrated ex-militia, backtracking on commitments (e.g. on federalism, return of Maoist-seized lands to their original owners, setting up a Truth and Reconciliation Commission), and a near-total breakdown of trust between the Maoists and other political parties. All this is compounded by an escalation in intra-Maoist disputes, including currently an open challenge to Bhattarai's leadership. There is a deepening uncertainty about viable political alternatives and prospects for the CA completing its task, if the present government falls.

Factionalism within the Maoist movement has become increasingly strident and visible in recent years. The current manifestation is a concerted move by Prachanda and the other Vice Chairman of the party, Mohan Baidya to force Bhattarai to resign because of his alleged inability to forge a broad-based government of national consensus and for his being a "puppet of India" — a charge being repeatedly made by Baidya as well as Prachanda. Baidya supports Prachanda in calling for Bhattarai's exit, while insisting that Prachanda too must resign. It was the same Baidya, incidentally who some months ago, had backed Bhattarai in a successful bid to embarrass and

weaken Prachanda, attacking him for his authoritarian style and unaccountable management of party finances.

Bhattarai has been urging the need for consolidating the peace process and defending adherence to constitutional means, and this is vigorously opposed by Baidya and the hardline group he leads. Prachanda is widely regarded as an opportunist who can be a moderate or hardliner depending on the situation. His image has been dented within the party as well as outside, but his ability to get the party to follow him seems to be intact. Because of this three-way confrontation among Bhattarai, Baidya and Prachanda,





DIPLOMACY

CHINESE PLANS TO BUILD INFRASTRUCTURE AND OTHER PROJECTS HAVE RAISED HACKLES IN INDIA

the integration/rehabilitation agreement has not been welcomed by all Maoist factions, and this, in turn, has revived old animosities between Maoist leaders while contributing to unrest and uncertainty down the line.

The Maoist agenda until now has been to put the revolutionary proletariat agenda on the backburner, concentrate on seizing and consolidating power, resort to political expediency without foreclosing long-term ideological objectives. Part of this strategy was to postpone difficult issues such as integration and disbanding of their former fighters and disciplining their front organisations like the Youth Communist League (YCL). Now these difficult decisions can no longer be postponed, and as a result the differences between hardliners and pragmatists are deepening. Both factions have to contend with rising discontent and anger at lower levels, resulting from the perception that the party leadership is insensitive to the sacrifices made in the field, that compensations given to exiting fighters (between NRs 5 and 8 lakh depending on seniority) are paltry, and that the party actually expects a slice of even those payments back into its own coffers. Recent reports of YCL cadres attacking Maoist party offices and property point to unprecedented defiance of the party line.

Adding to the Maoist frustration is their eroding popularity particularly in

STRIVING FOR NORMALCY: The number of guerrillas opting for integration is substantially higher than the figure agreed between the Maoists and the parties

urban areas. Their socio-economic credentials are also under stress, with acceptance of capitalism as an important driver for economic growth on the one hand, and much ambiguity on issues like federalism and ethnic empowerment on the other. In the past, high-level dissonance within the Maoist leadership was perceived to be a charade, intended to confuse others and give greater leverage to the Maoists in negotiating key issues with other parties. Ego and personal ambition, rather than ideology, were taken as the real motivation for their frequent mutual recriminations. The contradictions in the professed ideological purity of all the leaders also came under scrutiny. How could Bhattarai be a moderate or pragmatist when he was the source of much of the Maoist ideology and strategy, and had consistently

refused to distance himself from both, for all his opposition to hard-line theorists in party meetings? How could Baidya be considered a rigid hard-line leader if he and his faction had gone along with major compromises by Prachanda as well as Bhattarai, which had in effect locked the Maoists into the system of multiparty democracy, reduced their room for manoeuvre, neutralised their army and ended their ownership of weapons, and forced them to offer a relationship of close cooperation with their declared worst enemy, India?

The confrontation between so-called pragmatists (led by Bhattarai) and hardliners (led by Baidya) is however of such intensity today as to encourage the conclusion that there is already a de facto split in the movement in terms of the road map for Maoists to attain their strategic objectives, and the extent to which ideology should be compromised even for tactical reasons.

Despite their differences, all factions realise that the continued support of the cadres (soon to be ex-cadres) of the Peoples Liberation Army, Young Communist League, Labour Unions in industrial and urban centres, and its active supporters in rural areas is vital for the future survival of the party and its prospects for being in power. The danger is that even if a formal vertical split, whether due to ideological or personal factors, is avoided because of the cementing effect of the need for party domination of the power structure, all leaders will find it easier to appease hard-line and lumpen elements in the hope of forcing through a Constitution that is compatible with the Maoist social-economic agenda, ensure a strong showing in post-May elections whenever they are held, and then focus on attaining long-term ideological objectives on which there appears to be no serious internal differences. It is most unfortunate that at a time when the Maoists are so divided, the other parties are in disarray. Without any coherent strategies of their own, lacking credible leaders, they can at best play the role of spoilers, thereby squandering away valuable opportunities for moderating the Maoists' capacity to push through their agenda. Thus, the already confused and unstable political environment in Nepal has been further complicated by intra-Maoist differences. The prospects for an early safe landing for the oft-postponed exercise of writing the Constitution have become bleak. There are also impli-



21ST CENTURY SOCIALISM



DIPLOMACY

cations for the two giant neighbours, India and China, who are keeping a close watch on the unfolding situation.

Contrary to the conventional view, the prospect of unraveling peace in Nepal might actually seem even more promising from China's point of view than that even of a stable Nepal led by a friendly Maoist government. This is because any government in Kathmandu cannot risk ignoring Indian security sensitivities beyond a point and, because of its heavy dependence on Western aid, has to be attentive to human rights concerns when dealing with Tibetan refugee-related issues under Chinese pressure. The recent Chinese Prime Ministerial visit to Kathmandu exposed China's extreme sense of insecurity and its poor confidence in the Maoist-led government's capacity to ensure that embarrassment to China due to agitations and demonstrations on the Tibetan issue would be avoided. The visit was shrouded in extraordinary secrecy until the last moment, and the Chinese paranoia about Tibet was palpable throughout.

In recent years, China's contacts with Nepal have multiplied and attempts to build special ties with the Maoists have been all too apparent. Chinese plans to build infrastructure and other projects have raised hackles in India and China has gone to the extent of proposing a Friendship Treaty with Nepal similar to the one with India. One can expect Chinese support to its friends in Nepal to expand significantly in view of current political trends, even as it makes contingency plans in the event of the Maoists not getting their act together to prevent Nepal's downhill slide.

In the Nepal-related conferences regularly held in New Delhi, there is a standard division of views. Academic observers feel that positive developments are assured: the Maoists will unite in favour of the Bhattarai strategy, Nepal will have a Constitution in

CRITICAL TIMES: Differences between hardliners and pragmatists are deepening in Nepal

INDIA SHOULD
BE SEEN BY
NEPALESE
PEOPLE AS A
STRONG
SUPPORTER OF
DEMOCRACY

May, and an inclusive democratic order is around the corner. Practitioners with an army, intelligence or diplomatic background argue otherwise: the Maoists are united on their core objective, which is to transform Nepal into a single party totalitarian state through a mix of democratic and non-democratic means, and the rest is tactical accommodation in pursuit of the objective. The truth perhaps lies mid-

way. What is clear is that the spectacular public display of Maoist divisions at the leadership level, combined with rising resentment and indiscipline in the rank and file and front organisations, will seriously exacerbate the paralysis of governance which has been plaguing Nepal for so many years.

What may unfortunately turn out to be India's migraine will not be a new rogue state in the hands of a radical Maoist regime, but an unraveling state in which elements hostile to India, from within and without Nepal, will have a field day. A Nepal where the centre does not hold would be an unfortunate development from India's point of view. India might find it difficult to monitor, much less control, anti-India activities sponsored by Pakistan or China.

In retrospect, India's management of challenges posed by the emergence of the Maoists over the past decade has not served its security interests. It was

a strategic miscalculation to have encouraged the democratic parties and the Maoists together on what was in effect a single point agenda — to end the monarchy, without any road map of processes and structures in place, to ensure an orderly transition which would have disarmed the Maoists before giving them the opportunity of getting into the driver's seat in government. India compounded that error through regular flip-flops in its policies, which ranged from enthusiastic embrace of the Maoists to masterly inactivity and then to self-defeating proactivism. There has been a welcome course correction in recent months after the arrival of Ambassador Jayant Prasad, but it may be too late. India's capacity to influence events in the direction of stability may be limited. A discrete effort may be needed, given the uncertainties of the present situation, to win over leaders of the different Maoist factions so that all of them have good reason to support processes for peaceful and democratic change and have a stake in better relations with India. India is widely perceived to have put all its eggs in the Bhattarai basket. The perception may be exaggerated, but needs to be corrected even in order to bolster Bhattarai's credibility and political longevity.

Finally, India has paid a huge price by taking its friends in the neighbourhood for granted, and occasionally dumping them when their political fortunes are on the decline. The example of India's flip-flops in alternately supporting the democratic forces and Nepal's monarchy, and later vacillations during Nepal's encounters with democracy; the disinterest in Sheikh Hasina of Bangladesh when she was out of power; the U-turns in the recent Maldivian crisis are only a few examples of our exercises in self-destructive diplomatic short-termism. India should be seen by the people of Nepal as a strong supporter of democracy and inclusive development, and they understand that this is possible only when the government of the day has normal relations with India. Relations with Nepal need to be conducted on a non-partisan basis, and those who have always stood for democracy, development and good relations with India should never feel short-changed because of expediency.

(A former secretary in the Ministry of External Affairs, the author was India's Ambassador to Nepal)



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9th ASEAN-INDIA SUMMIT
 GEOPOLITICS
 DIPLOMACY
 INDONESIA

EAST ASIAN AMITY: Prime Minister Manmohan Singh with East Asia Summit Heads of States at the 9th ASEAN-India Summit in 2011

PIB

FROM THE GANGA TO MEKONG AND BEYOND

Indo-ASEAN ties have come of age, thanks to India's Look-East policy. Strategically speaking, the ASEAN countries are finding India not only as a regional but also as a global asset, writes

YAMINI CHOWDHURY

THE THEN Prime Minister of Singapore, Goh Chok Tong, while commenting about the entry of India into the framework of the Association of South East Nations (ASEAN), drew interesting parallels. *"If ASEAN is the fuselage of an aircraft, and North-East Asian economies serve as one wing of the aircraft, then India's engagement of South-east Asia is — and should be viewed as — the other wing which made the aircraft operational and stable."*

Twenty years after the initiation of a sectoral dialogue partnership and 10 years after the first India-ASEAN Summit in Phnom Penh, Cambodia, it becomes imperative to determine whether the ASEAN flight, with India on board, has acquired operational efficiency and stability. Experts from India and the ASEAN states are justifiably exuberant about this wide-ranging partnership. With a

concrete, actionable agenda to deal with several traditional and non-traditional strategic challenges in place, this partnership can emerge as a formidable force in the Asian century.



India's engagement of South-east Asia is — and should be viewed as — the other wing which made the aircraft operational and stable."

GOH CHOK TONG

Former Prime Minister of Singapore

The India-ASEAN relationship has already been institutionalised with the conduct of the first ASEAN-India Summit in Cambodia in 2002. A year later, the second summit in Bali, Indonesia, paved the way for new channels of cooperation in the form of the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia (TAC) and the Joint Declaration for Cooperation in Combating International Terrorism. Both sides signed a Partnership for Peace, Progress and Shared Prosperity at the third ASEAN-India Summit in Vientiane in 2004, which established a roadmap for the future. A Plan of Action (2000-2004) was also worked out in order to implement the partnership. Most recently, the new ASEAN-India Plan of Action for 2010-2015 was developed and adopted by the leaders at the 8th ASEAN-India Summit in Hanoi in October 2010. The conduct of ministerial, senior official and expert-level meetings and regular interactions through



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ASEAN-initiated frameworks such as ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), the Post Ministerial Conference (PMC) 10+1, the East Asia Summit (EAS), Mekong-Ganga Cooperation and the Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multisectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC) have added vim and vigour to India's relations with the region regarded by former Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee as "one of the focal points of India's foreign policy, strategic concerns and economic interests".

Finding strategic synergy

Tan Sri Dato Seri Mohamed Jawhar Hassan, Chairman, Institute of Strategic and International Studies (ISIS), Malaysia, while assessing the present level of strategic cooperation between ASEAN and India, maintains that it has been mainly through the ARF and, to a lesser extent, the EAS. "Bilateral discussions at the government and Track 2 levels have also proved useful in understanding and appreciating each other's strategic perspectives and security issues confronting the region. Track 2 dialogues that also engage government officials in their private capacity are particularly useful because they enable frank and candid exchange of views on sensitive matters that discussions at the official level cannot match. As with all dialogues, the strategic engagement has to be sustained to address developments that occur in a very dynamic situation," he states.

David Wee Hock Koh, Senior Fellow at the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore, suggests that India must strengthen its strategic relationship with ASEAN, including trade, investment and defence diplomacy, to bring it up to a level where it has comparative meanings to its strategic relationship with US and China. Improved physical connectivity can also assist in propelling the strategic objective, particularly since India shares a land boundary with Myanmar, maritime frontiers with Thailand and Indonesia and an exclusive economic zone (EEZ) with Malaysia. "Projects like the India-Myanmar-Thailand Highway, its

extension to Laos and Cambodia and the development of a new highway linking Vietnam would serve both strategic and economic interests for the Mekong region since India and China are both rising stars in the world. The China-India relationship is definitely going to be more significant for regional peace, stability and development," asserts Chheang Vannarith, Executive Director, Cambodian Institute for Cooperation and Peace (CICP).

Securing shipping lifeline

Described by the United States government as the world's second most important potential 'chokepoint' for global energy supplies by sea after the Hormuz Strait, securing the Malacca Strait from the menace of piracy, narcotics and terrorism are an issue that features high on the list of security priorities of not just the ASEAN states, but also India.

According to K Kesavapany, Director, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, "Since 2004 the three littoral states — Singapore, Malaysia and Indonesia — have conducted regular, coordinated naval patrols and combined air patrols (the Malacca Straits patrols) which have led to a considerable

improvement in the security environment of the Straits, including a dramatic reduction in piracy/sea robbery attacks. This stands in marked contrast to the situation off the coast of Somalia. Further, the United States has provided funding and equipment to improve the maritime interdiction and surveillance capabilities of Malaysia and Indonesia. Japan has been an active player in enhancing safety of navigation in the Straits since the 1960s."

India's soaring trade relationship with ASEAN states makes it imperative for it to assist in ensuring the safety of navigation. India's contribution to security and maritime development in the region has been very limited. Believes Kesavapany: "While India has offered capacity-building support to the littoral states, there has been a very little follow-through to date, for reasons which are unclear. As India's maritime interests in Southeast Asia expand, this situation may change."



STRAIT TALK: Prime Minister Manmohan Singh at a bilateral meeting with Singapore Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong

P/B



DIPLOMACY

The situation may already be changing. India has been conducting a multi-national, naval exercise, MILAN, in the Bay of Bengal along with its counterparts from the Asia-Pacific, Southeast Asia and Indian Ocean Region for a while. MILAN 2012 saw participation from 14 countries, including Australia, Bangladesh, Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, Maldives, Myanmar, Thailand, Singapore and Sri Lanka. So would this military exercise be tactically significant in promoting the safety of sea lanes of communication (SLOC'S) from poaching, piracy and terrorist activities? Amar Nath Ram, former Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs, maintains, "Since creating goodwill and understanding among all participants, and not strategic cooperation, is the main purpose of India's naval diplomacy, MILAN is unlikely to institutionalise any sort of strategic alliance. Further, the establishment of a multilateral security order or a military block aimed at a particular country or a strategic issue in the Asia-Pacific has never formed part of India's foreign policy paradigm."

Michael Richardson, Visiting Senior Research Fellow, Institute of South-East Asian Studies, Singapore, offers valuable suggestions with regard to India's cooperation: "India must continue to upgrade its naval and maritime air patrol presence in the Andaman and Nicobar Islands that form the western gateway to the straits. The naval and maritime air patrol components of MILAN could be extended to encompass safety and protection of merchant shipping, including anti-piracy operations, counter-terrorism and search and rescue at sea. This would send a signal to the international shipping community that the nucleus of a regional maritime protection network is in place and could be activated and extended, if needed."

Terrorism and organised crime within Southeast Asia are very serious issues that have no respect for borders. "Tackling them will require cooperation at different levels. Apart from cooperation at the executive level, the presence of mutual legal assistance treaties will ensure the sharing of evidence and interrogation without extradition. Security cooperation and intelligence sharing are also very important instruments of cooperation. But above all, there needs to be a political will — governments must ensure that a terrorist must have no place to hide," observes Leela Ponappa, former Deputy National Security Adviser. India's large strategic



"Projects like the India-Myanmar-Thailand Highway, its extension to Laos and Cambodia and the development of a

new highway linking Vietnam would serve both strategic and economic interests for the Mekong region since India and China are both rising stars in the world."

CHHEANG VANNARITH

Executive Director,
Cambodian Institute for Cooperation and Peace

capabilities, in addition to providing stability and security to the region, are also invaluable while dealing with a host of non-traditional security (NTS) threats and challenges, including food and water security, climate change and disaster relief and management. But will this strategic heft be able to deal with the new, emerging developments in the Asia Pacific?

China is no threat

China has witnessed unbridled progress at an unheralded pace, and the former Philippines President Arroyo's words only reinforce the pragmatism in engaging with this global power. But China's inexorable rise has been accompanied by virulent postures in the South China Sea.

Deepa Ollapally, Associate Director & Research Professor of International Affairs, Sigur Center for Asian Studies, George Washington University, emphasises, "I think the Chinese overplayed their hand in 2010-11, with a more unilateralist foreign policy, especially on the South China Sea issue. This has made ASEAN countries more suspicious and vigilant."

Providing an ASEAN perspective to the issue, Professor Tommy Koh, Ambassador-at-Large, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Singapore, states, "Even though ASEAN countries welcome China's phenomenal rise, the way Beijing deals with the dispute in the South China Sea will serve as a litmus test. Any use of force, or even the threat of force to resolve this dispute, would sour China's relations with Southeast Asia. There is a lot at stake at how China handles this tricky issue."

Rodolfo Severino, former ASEAN

Secretary General and Head, ASEAN Studies Centre ISEAS, Singapore, suggests concrete confidence-building measures that extend beyond rhetorical statements of assurance. "Greater transparency in defence matters and entering into more personal relationships with decision-makers would attenuate lingering suspicions, not just with China, but also between India and China, Japan and China and Japan and Korea," he affirms. "In addition to implementing the COC (Code of Conduct in the South China Sea) with assistance from India, more dialogues would precipitate a fall in tensions", asserts Professor Nguyen Duy Dung, Director, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Hanoi, Vietnam.

However, there is a counterview. Tan Sri Mohamed Jawhar asserts, "The India-ASEAN strategic partnership should be seen from the perspective of the benefits it provides in its own right rather than to situate it in the context of competition and rivalry between India and China, which compromises the integrity and usefulness of this vital relationship. While individual members may tilt towards one country or other, ASEAN itself is not inclined towards any particular country, and is not under the influence or hegemony of any power, least of all China. At the moment, China's presence in Southeast Asia is greater than that of India's only because India began to Look East late. Now that India and ASEAN are forging closer ties, India's deficit in the region will begin to be remedied. If anything, ASEAN, through forums like the ARF, would like to moderate rivalry between China and India as well as other powers, rather than become a party to it."

All told, the ASEAN-India strategic partnership is vital to ensuring lasting peace, security and stability in Southeast Asia. The intrinsic value of this relationship is summarised by ASEAN Secretary-General, Surin Pitsuwan. "India's growing influence is a strategic regional and global asset. Its commitment to peaceful engagement has helped shape and maintain Southeast Asia's security architecture. Through crisis and adversity, India showed us how this great civilization has survived the countless tests that history had thrown in its path." Clearly, the strategic synergy between India and ASEAN is immense and every effort must be made to tap its full potential.

(The author is a Delhi-based journalist)



GEOPOLITICS

AMBASSADOR'S JOURNAL

INDIA & FRANCE — AN ENDURING RELATIONSHIP

The 'special relationship' between India and France can well reveal the capacity to develop policies based on principles of convergence which will ensure that the 'strategic partnership' is an enduring one, writes
RAKESH SOOD

RELATIONS BETWEEN India and France have grown steadily since 1947, but it was only in 1998 that both sides described it as a 'strategic partnership'. In a post-Cold War world, a re-evaluation and recalibration had been underway in both capitals, revealing a long-standing convergence of principles which could now find expression.

If one were to define a singular attribute common to both countries, it would be 'independence of thought'. Neither India nor France had been comfortable with the bipolar order characterised by the Cold War. India sought to establish its independence through the policy of non-alignment, while France defined its autonomy by stepping outside NATO and building an independent defence capability. In multi-lateral fora, India and France were often

◀ **Ambassador Rakesh Sood**



HEMANT RAWAT

FRENCH SQUALL: The proposed sale of the Rafale fighter would be the latest in defence cooperation between India and France

ready to take up 'alternate' points of view. At a bilateral level, this convergence began to be reflected in three areas — nuclear, space and defence — even though during the Cold War period, India's major arms supplier was the former Soviet Union. In the post-Cold War period, it was during President Chirac's visit that the two countries decided to consciously describe the relationship as a 'strategic partnership' to build upon this foundation. Incidentally, a few months later when India conducted a series of nuclear tests in May 1998 and declared itself a nuclear-weapon-state, France, with its long-standing policy of an 'independent force de frappe' was best placed to understand India's security compulsions. The 'strategic partnership' faced its first test and has grown steadily since.

Co-operation in space technology is not as well-known as it deserves to be; in fact, it began nearly 50 years ago when India set up the Thumba Equatorial Rocket Launching Station for weather studies together and the French provided the technology to start producing the Centaure sounding rockets domestically. The first Indian Satellite Telecommunication Experimental Project (STEP), during the 70s, was undertaken using the French satellite — Symphonie, followed by Ariane launching the first Indian satellite — APPLE.

All these initiatives have prepared the ground for a robust relationship between the space agencies in both countries. Arianespace has emerged as the preferred agency for launching large Indian satellites, particularly the INSAT and GSAT series. At the same time, as India has developed its independent launch capabilities, French organisations like EADS Astrium and the Indian commercial arm

Antrix have found it mutually beneficial to work to market PSLV capabilities together in the West. Last year saw the launch of Megha Tropiques, the first of the Megha Tropiques satellites at Sriharikota. This project involves launching eight satellites for global precipitation measurements in order to develop international capability to study dynamics of tropical climate systems. Another series of experiments involving a new satellite SARAL (Satellite for ARGos and ALtika) will commence in 2012, once again using the Indian PSLV launch vehi-

FRENCH COMPANIES ARE TAKING AN INCREASING INTEREST IN THE INDIAN ECONOMIC GROWTH STORY

cle from Sriharikota. Incidentally, while these studies are being undertaken in a bilateral framework, its results are regularly shared with the wider international community through workshops and seminars that India and France co-host.

As in the space sector, cooperation in the nuclear sector between India and France began during the 1950s under a broad framework of cooperation between the newly-established Department of Atomic Energy and the French CEA. These included cooperation in basic science, breeder reactors, nuclear safety etc. After 1974, when India undertook a PNE

leading to the establishment of export controls in the nuclear sector through the Nuclear Suppliers Group, such activities became more restricted; however, it was France which supplied India with Low-Enriched Uranium (LEU) fuel for Tarapur when the US stated its inability to do so in view of its new laws.

Now that the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) has provided an exemption to India in the civilian nuclear sector, it has opened prospects for accelerating and expanding bilateral cooperation in this area. In fact, the first bilateral agreement signed with a foreign country after the NSG waiver was with France in September 2008, aimed at construction of six Evolutionary Power Reactors (EPRs) of 1600 MW each in India. Though the Fukushima accident last year has slowed down the process, the parties concerned (Areva and Alstom in France and NPCIL in India) are working closely together to bring the negotiations to fruition. Equally important, cooperation between the regulatory agencies in both countries — the French ASN and the Indian Atomic Energy Regulatory Board — has also been stepped up.

Like India, France had long been interested in the idea of a Fast Breeder Reactor but had to close down its project due to domestic financial compulsions. Now both scientists work together at Kalpakkam and share the knowledge in order to work together on the new prototype that India is planning to build. Another area of cooperation has been the international thermo nuclear experimental reactor (ITER) at Cadarache where a team of Indian scientists has been present since 2007.

Nuclear and space sectors are not the



only areas of bilateral cooperation; there is a much wider bilateral agreement between the two sides for cooperation by undertaking joint research projects in fundamental sciences (primarily mathematics, physics, chemistry and life sciences) and now also applied sciences which would have industry applications. The Indo-French Centre for Promotion of Advanced Research, the nodal agency for this activity, set up as an autonomous body is completing 25 years of its existence this year. This collaboration has successfully completed more than 300 projects, organised nearly a 100 seminars and workshops and provided for a large number of scientific exchanges. During President Sarkozy's visit in 2010, the idea of establishing an IIT in Rajasthan together was finalised. Planned to come up at Jodhpur, the French authorities will cooperate by establishing a consortium of their research centres and hi-tech companies in order to develop five Centres of Excellence in priority areas such as renewable energy, systems engineering, heritage conservation etc., sectors in which French expertise is globally acknowledged.

Though the defence relationship between the two countries goes back to 1950s and 60s, the decision to embark on a 'strategic partnership' in 1998 led to the establishment of a High Committee on Defence Cooperation. This forum promotes political dialogue and high-level military consultations between officials, cooperation between armed forces through exchanges and joint exercises, and long-term partnerships between Indian and French entities in the field of the armaments industry. Arising from its deliberations, a comprehensive defence cooperation agreement was signed between the two countries in 2006. Participation in joint exercises — Air Force, Navy and now Army — has become a regular feature. More and more French military officials go for training to Indian establishments and vice versa. Both countries have demonstrated their ability to work together in tackling newly emerging threats of piracy, particularly off the Somali coast. French participation in the DEFEXPO and the Aero India show and Indian participation in Eurosatory and Euronaval have grown along with Indian interest in acquiring French technology and weapons systems. The Navy is currently working on the project for six Scorpene submarines, being built at



ENDURING FRIENDSHIP: The President of France, Nicolas Sarkozy with Prime Minister, Manmohan Singh during the joint press conference, in New Delhi on December 6, 2010

Mazagon Docks with complete transfer of technology.

A project for upgradation of Mirage 2000 aircraft was concluded last year. Once again, the upgradation work will take place in India with the French side providing research know-how for the new avionics, weapons systems, etc. In addition, there are agreements pertaining to purchase of low-level transportable radars, fast interception crafts for use by the Coast Guard, night vision equipment, MICA missiles, etc. Even

NEITHER INDIA
NOR FRANCE
WERE
COMFORTABLE
WITH THE COLD
WAR'S BIPOLAR
ORDER

more important are the projects that are being jointly undertaken relating to Kaveri aircraft engine for the indigenous Light Combat Aircraft (LCA) project, as well as certain short-range missiles. France has developed a diversified defence industry. However, given shrinking defence budgets in the West, including France, the French defence industry will have to rely on exports in order to

sustain itself. India is diversifying its sources of supply and with growing strategic convergence, cooperation in this sector can be expected to grow.

The common thread running through these three areas — space, nuclear and defence — is that these are driven by a strong government-to-government relationship. However, what really connects the two countries together are the people-to-people contacts and the value systems that the two civilisations represent. French companies are taking an increasing interest in the Indian economic growth story. In parallel, Indian corporates are exploring opportunities for acquisitions that will enable them to establish their presence in Europe. Luxury fashion designer Hermes is trying to sell saris in India competing against the Kanjivarams and Chanderies. Indian artists are now exhibiting in France and translated versions of new Indian fictions are quickly available in niche book stores in Paris.

Partnership between India and France has matured. In a post-Cold War period where uncertainties abound, India and France can well demonstrate the ability to develop policies based on principles of convergence which will ensure that the 'strategic partnership' is an enduring one.

(The author is Ambassador of India to France. The views expressed in this article are of the author in his personal capacity and not that of the Government of India)



GEOPOLITICS
DIPLOMACY



TOUGH NEGOTIATIONS: Prime Minister Manmohan Singh with German Chancellor Angela Merkel, on the sidelines of the Nuclear Security Summit, in Washington on April 13, 2010 PIB

A NEW DIRECTION?

As India prepares for the forthcoming nuclear summit in Seoul, it is unlikely that in the name of transparency, the country will compromise on providing information that has grave implications for national security, writes **RAJIV NAYAN**

THE SECOND Nuclear Security Summit (NSS) is going to take place in Seoul from March 26-27, 2012. Several rounds of preparatory meetings have taken place. These preparatory meetings are called Sherpa meetings. There are some meetings which take place before Sherpa meetings. Such meetings are called Sous-Sherpa meetings. It is conducted by relatively junior officials to Sherpas. So far, three Sherpa meetings, one Sous Sherpa meeting, and one eminent person meeting have taken place.

The first Sherpa meeting was held in Buenos Aires on November 2-3, 2010. This was the first meeting after the first summit, which had been held in Washington on April 13, 2010. The November 2010 Sherpa meeting took stock of the April 2010 Washington summit. Some

controversial issues like monitoring appeared ending the summit process. However, the participant countries sank their differences and resolved to move forward to complete the task of 2010 NSS.

The objective of the summit was to secure nuclear materials within four years. Though this objective was shared by all the participants at the summit, a conscious attempt was made to avoid mentioning any country by name. By and large, the summit succeeded in not officially targeting any country, though the communiqué issued during the summit in its opening paragraph noted, "Nuclear terrorism is one of the most challenging threats to international security, and strong nuclear security measures are the most effective means to prevent terrorists, criminals, or other unauthorised actors from acquiring

nuclear materials." It means that all the participating countries agreed that nuclear terrorism was a major international security problem. However, it stated that nuclear security practices should not adversely affect the use of nuclear energy for peaceful activities.

The communiqué stressed the promotion of a nuclear security culture. The idea was to involve all the stakeholders in the task. The involvement of the nuclear industry was, of course, expected. The management of nuclear security means protection of nuclear materials and facilities under national control, and is to be the responsibility of the country possessing materials. The communiqué attached great significance to the security of radioactive substances as well. The communiqué also underlined the importance of international and multilateral



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cooperation in the realm of assistance and capacity building. It emphasised the importance of the UN and measures such as the Global Initiative to Combat Nuclear Terrorism and the G8-led Global Partnership against the Spread of Weapons and Materials of Mass Destruction, but the IAEA was acknowledged as the central multilateral institution for the management of nuclear security. The communiqué highlighted that measures such as development of new technologies for nuclear detection, forensics, law-enforcement and strong nuclear security practices were required for a new global nuclear security regime. It has identified dialogue and voluntarism as the guiding principles.

A work plan that is a voluntary 'political commitment' made by participating countries in support of the communiqué was also issued. The participating countries are expected to address the entire range of nuclear security, including storage, use, transportation and disposal of nuclear materials. The participating countries have accepted the importance of the international conventions for nuclear security, namely, the International Convention for the Suppression of Acts of Nuclear Terrorism and the Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Material and its 2005 amendment. These legally binding instruments are to be universalised in accordance with the work plan released during the summit. The work plan also underscores the importance of effective implementation of these laws by the member countries.

The work plan supports the UN Security Council (SC) Resolution 1540 and its proposed activities, especially for technical assistance and the establishment of a voluntary fund. The same support has been promised for the nuclear security series and the document for 'Physical Protection of Nuclear Material and Nuclear Facilities' (INFCIRC/225) published by the IAEA. The work plan also recommends that the participating states actively participate in the fifth revision of the INFCIRC/225.

The work plan has suggested the completion of the technical guidance document on 'Nuclear Material Accountancy Systems at Facilities', development of nuclear security support plans, promotion of International Physical Protection Advisory Service missions, special precautions for highly-enriched uranium (HEU) and separated plutonium, use of



MEA.GOV/IN

NUCLEAR DIPLOMACY: Foreign Secretary Ranjan Mathai at the Sherpa Meeting for the Seoul Nuclear Security Summit in New Delhi (January 16, 2012)

low enriched uranium (LEU), development and use of proliferation-resistant technology, helping other countries to convert to LEU, development of robust and effective domestic nuclear security, legal, regulatory and enforcement frameworks, human resources development for nuclear security, creation of and networking among nuclear security support centres to spread and share best practices, developing national capabilities for nuclear forensics and supporting the IAEA with funds.

THE FUKUSHIMA INCIDENTS STIMULATED THE WORLD TO PAY ATTENTION TO NUCLEAR SAFETY

On October 4-5, 2011, the second Sherpa meeting took place in Helsinki, Finland. It seems that apart from consolidating the Washington summit's commitments and plans, the Helsinki meeting turned its attention towards the Seoul communiqué. South Korea has proposed five principles to shape the communiqué. The official website of the 2012 NSS enumerates the five principles. These are: "(1) Placing nuclear security at the centre of

the discussion; (2) Ensuring the continuity of the Washington Nuclear Security Summit, while at the same time, making new progress; (3) Ensuring the voluntary nature of national commitments and participation; (4) Opting against the creation of a new regime; and (5) Respecting President Obama's vision to secure all vulnerable nuclear material in a four-year lockdown."

The Helsinki Sherpa meeting apparently discussed the conversion of HEU to LEU and securing it with plutonium. The meeting also deliberated upon enhancing the protection of nuclear facilities and foiling any design for illicit trafficking of nuclear materials as well as appealed to the participating countries to fulfil the international legal treaties agreed upon in the Washington Summit in 2010. However, the Helsinki meeting brought on the agenda two very important issues synergising nuclear safety and nuclear security and improving the management of radioactive materials which may contribute to dirty bomb. The Fukushima incidents shadowed discussions on the nuclear security and safety interface.

The third meeting took place in New Delhi this year from January 16-17. The press briefing after the Sherpas meeting indicated that in New Delhi, too, the same items, which had been discussed in the Helsinki meet, were repeated. In the Delhi Sherpa meeting, two of the three new participants for the Seoul meeting came. Three new participants are Denmark, Lithuania and Azerbaijan. In the



Delhi meet, Denmark and Lithuania participated.

Earlier, South Korean organisers also took the help of Eminent Persons Group Meeting held on November 29, 2012. This group gave “six items of advice” for the summit. These were: “First, the Seoul Summit should demonstrate tangible progress in implementing the commitments made at the Washington Summit; second, the Seoul Summit should propose a practical vision and new concrete measures by setting them out in the ‘Seoul Communiqué’; third, each participating state undertakes to make significant contributions to the objective of strengthening nuclear security regime; fourth, the Seoul Summit should contribute to enhancing the public confidence in nuclear energy, which has been undermined since the Fukushima nuclear accident, and actively seek ways to address the threat of radiological terrorism; fifth, the Seoul Summit should strengthen international and regional cooperation to prevent the illicit transfer of nuclear materials; and sixth, the Seoul Summit should build upon the momentum generated by the Washington Nuclear Security Summit by making efforts to hold a third summit.”

Meanwhile, on January 11, 2012, the Nuclear Threat Initiative released a report on Security Index of Nuclear Materials. The objective of the project may be noble as reshaping ‘international norms’ for nuclear security or ‘facilitating international dialogue on priorities’ for it. But the report has done more harm than good for nuclear security. The project that produced the report has engaged some



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credible scholars from the western universities and elsewhere but the control and leadership of the project by known non-proliferation activists have sent a wrong signal to the non-western world.

Transparency is a point on which many national governments as well as the report find difficulties, especially vis-à-vis nuclear security. The Government of India and a former atomic energy chief have maintained that transparency and nuclear security are mutually contradictory. In fact, the report has found merit in the argument that transparency may be paradoxical. It acknowledges: “This is not a call for states to reveal so much information that they compromise national and global security.” But at the same time, the report expects countries to: (i) publish nuclear security regulations and other ‘framework’ information that provide general descriptions of security arrangements; (ii) declare inventory quantities for both highly enriched uranium (HEU) and plutonium; and (iii) make regular ‘peer reviews’ the norm for sites holding HEU and plutonium.

Basically, the task of the Seoul Summit is going to consolidate the initiatives taken in the 2010 Washington Summit. This will include implementation of the commitments made by the participating countries of the 2010 NSS. Importantly, as the philosophy of the NSS was voluntary and political in nature, so the pressure will be political, not legal in disposition. A

KEY COUNTRIES
LIKE IRAN AND
NORTH KOREA
WILL NOT BE
PARTICIPATING IN
THE SUMMIT
PROCESS

couple of new initiatives may be taken. These initiatives could not be highly contentious in nature because the decision is taken on the basis of a consensus.

The Fukushima incidents stimulated the world to pay more serious attention to nuclear safety in the nuclear business. The global nuclear policy community included it in its agenda. The synergy between nuclear safety and nuclear security may find a somewhat detailed treat-

ment in the Seoul communiqué. This is a point on which the participating countries appear to have found some understanding. For the developing world, it could be a cost-effective mechanism. This theme received support among the non-governmental community as well.

An indication is coming that radiological security may be discussed more seriously for the Seoul communiqué. It did not find place in the Washington Communiqué or work plan. However, a section of the international community kept pressing for the inclusion of radiological security. Its inclusion was opposed on pragmatic grounds by some key countries. The countries from the developing world generally did not have strong reservations on the inclusion, but have apprehensions that the inclusion may affect their setting-up of cancer hospitals and other medical facilities. Once these participants gain confidence that the inclusion will not affect their medical facilities, the inclusion may find support from them.

As for the number of participants, the signals from the official circles put it around 50. Even if countries like Lithuania and Denmark participate in the 2012 Seoul NSS, there are still several key countries such as Iran and North Korea which are relevant for nuclear security but will not be participating in the summit process. South Korea and its friends want North Korea to denuclearise itself and only then join the summit. For Iran, the leading countries find it difficult to share the same table. For these countries, the integration with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) is the best option. Even inside the summit process, the IAEA has emerged as the most preferred institution.

The NSS has to confront the future nuclear agenda. The linkage of nuclear security with other nuclear security issues may start surfacing. So far, the focus has been countering nuclear terrorism. The old non-proliferation divide, which was bridged with the NSS process, is surfacing again. Officials from the participant countries are explicitly mentioning the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and proliferation in their speeches. However, at least in the 2012 meet, the divisive non-proliferation issue is likely to be kept away. The developing world will not like that restrictions for nuclear security, in any way, affect the pursuit of nuclear energy.

DEEPA KANDASWAMY:
Please introduce yourself.

AZAM GILL: I was born in Pakistan, in a Christian family that had been converted from Sikhism. My father was a magistrate, and my mother a High School Principal. Our house was full of English books and magazines, and we were encouraged to read, express our opinions and defend them. Our British and Pakistani teachers in our English medium school with a well-stocked library had the same attitude to learning. At University, I was a keen and popular inter-varsity debater and boxer. I was commissioned in a light infantry battalion of the Punjab Regiment of the Pakistan Army and spent several years on the Kashmir frontier. By Army Order, I was nominated the youngest Regimental Adjutant after having served as Intelligence Officer, Company Officer and Company Commander. My duties included training, operations and field intelligence. That meant I was responsi-

ble for patrolling on the Pakistani and Indian sides, which means raids and ambushes. There were also reconnaissance missions, the daily situation report (SitRep), which coordinated the sitreps of all spotters in towers on the Pakistani side and the debriefings of reconnaissance patrols. Every month I sent the MSIR - Monthly Security and Intelligence Report. When Pakistani Intelligence needed to infiltrate spies through my sector, I was responsible. Most operations were unacknowledged, and I myself took the initiative and made a certain number of unauthorized sorties behind Indian lines, for which I got into trouble with the Pakistan Army High Command. As punishment, I was sent on a Physical Training Course! My life was spent in an earth bunker linked with other bunkers by crawl trenches filled with snakes and slush. Despite the brotherhood of certain officers and the loyalty of my men, I suffered heartbreak at the discrimination practiced against a Christian in Pakistan

The right to citizenship by blood or soil had no de facto recognition. I was a mercenary in the Pakistan Army, driven my circumstances to earn my living in this time honored fashion.

After my departure from the Pakistan Army I wrote a pamphlet in Pakistan called "Jail Reforms" about the draconian state of human rights in prison. That was followed by a book "Army Reforms".

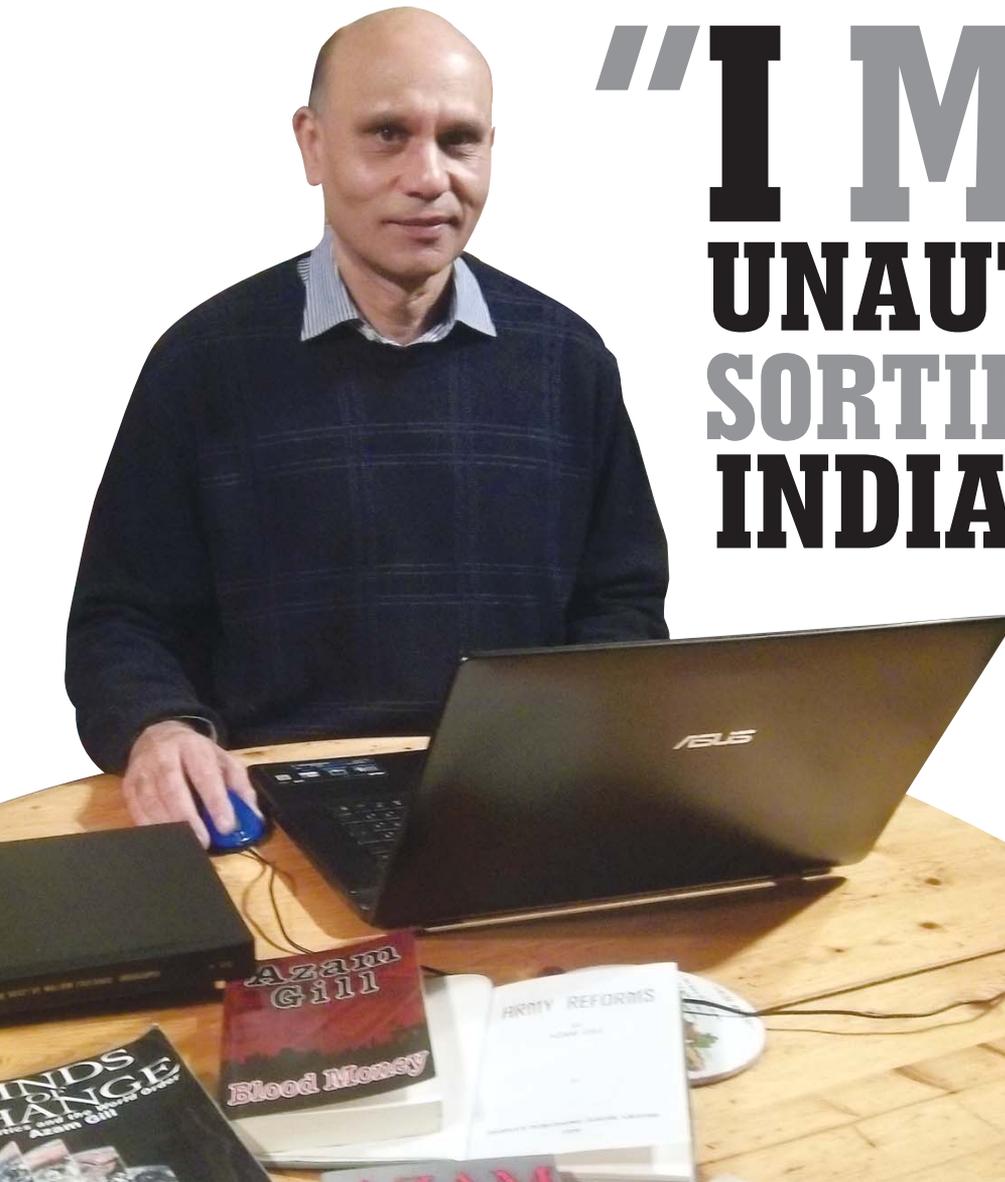


GEOPOLITICS

SPECIAL INTERVIEW

"I MADE UNAUTHORISED SORTIES BEHIND INDIAN LINES"

Meet **AZAM GILL** — a former Pakistani army officer now a French citizen and an author on geopolitics, Pakistan and terrorism — who used to provide cover fire to help spies infiltrate into India.
DEEPA KANDASWAMY interviewed Gill for **GEOPOLITICS**





SPECIAL INTERVIEW

Q: What were the circumstances that made you flee Pakistan and join the Legion?

A: Basically, the entire Christian Community of Pakistan has sufficient grounds for mass political asylum. In my case, "Jail Reforms" and "Army Reforms" made me the target of harassment and threats. I was called to Islamabad by then General Zia-ul-Haq's personal secretary, who'd been one of my instructors at the Pakistan Military Academy. He advised me to leave the country urgently within the forty days it took to circulate the order banning me from leaving the country. When I got back to Lahore, the order was in the post box! I went back to Islamabad, and the French were kind enough to give me a visa for political asylum. France has earned my eternal gratitude by this graceful gesture. My mother gave me a few thousand dollars and the Gospel of Saint John. She told me to spend that money seeing the sights of Paris, and agreed that joining the French Foreign Legion was the right choice. If France opened its doors to me, I should honor the gesture by offering my life for five years. The Legion also offered anonymity, and in my case, my family could tell the government that there was no risk of Azam Gill organizing anti-Pakistan demonstrations in Paris, since he'd be too busy lugging a rucksack in some godforsaken part of Africa! She said, "If God brought you back alive through the Kashmir trenches, fighting your blood brothers in Indian uniform, He'll get you alive out of the Legion too. Don't forget to say your prayers!"

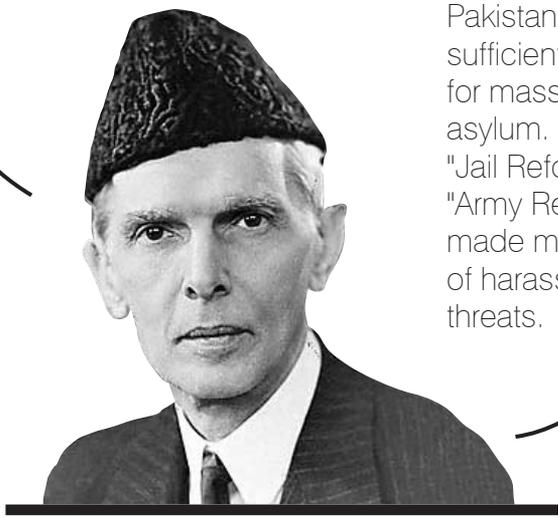
Can you tell us a little about the French Foreign Legion?

The French Foreign Legion consists of eighty to ninety per cent foreign nationals under an initial five year contract. One in ten applicants is selected, and out of those, a large number never make it past basic training. Physically, it's no harder than any other professional army. Psychologically, you're serving under a foreign flag, under an assumed identity, with no family, your past wiped out, an uncertain future, and a tenuous present, singing marching songs encouraging the death wish! And there are no French lessons, you speak pidgin French, and often communicate by grunts and gestures. It works to the advantage of France, since the intense ethnic competition leads to a natural synergy that keeps standards very high and there is a constant search of excellence. Legion recruits bring different talents and experience to the Legion - beggars, doctors, army officers, racing car drivers, princes, bandits, locksmiths

When Pakistani Intelligence needed to infiltrate spies through my sector, I was responsible. Most operations were unacknowledged, and I myself took the initiative and made a certain number of unauthorized sorties behind Indian lines

Pakistan is liable to tragically muddle along like Albania, hoping for the Big Break.

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Muhammad Ali Jinnah

After my departure from the Pakistan Army I wrote a pamphlet in Pakistan called "Jail Reforms" about the draconian state of human rights in prison. That was followed by a book "Army Reforms", about the state of human rights in the Pakistan Army due to the communication gap between officers and troops. The Preface was written by General Bakhtiar Rana. Basically, both were a cry for secularism in a functional theocracy.



SPECIAL INTERVIEW

etc. When the Legion needs to put together a team for a special operation, all this prior talent comes into play. It is Special Forces capable, outperforms all French Army Units, and is the first to be launched in a combat situation. So the Legion is a highly professional force of very tough soldiers. The Legion has never claimed to be the best, says it is among the best, probably the best, recognizes equals but knows of no superiors. It does not acknowledge all operations.

By the end of the cold war, are you saying militants were actively sent into India by Pakistan with the help of its army? How did Pakistan — when you were there — send extremists into India?

Yes. Take the period of the most intense militant activity in Kashmir, then do a bit of reverse engineering asking yourself all the while how long it would take to achieve such intensity. The intensity is a culmination of the preparatory phase. And in proportion to the intensity of the culminating phase, how long do you think the preparatory phase was? And what do you think its components were? I witnessed people crossing the LOC without visas or passports. In any case, eye-witnesses are important for police and not necessarily military operations. Clandestine operations are murky, and take place in a grey area. The western expectation of police procedures to tackle clandestine military operations is naive, and this naiveté seems to be overwhelming a culture that gave birth to sophisticated scholarly works such as the Arthashastra.

Can you describe in detail how terrorist cells form and operate? How does it all begin?

It all begins with the choice of guerilla over conventional warfare. Sometimes this choice is imposed by circumstances, but not always. Organization is in small watertight cells, and the level of motivation is very high. Recruitment is by word of mouth spread in the centers of ideology. Thinking is long-term, and the cult of leadership is ever present, fuelled by visionary theoreticians, mainly academics. Like the German Baader Meinhof, the Italian Red Brigades terrorist nuclei are composed of highly intelligent people, often academics. The same is true of Islamic organizations, although there is a reluctance to concede it. When they achieve a spectacular coup

in a western country, there is a rush to explain how they couldn't have outsmarted a western government without the active or passive connivance of that western government or its decision making bodies. This gives rise to a plethora of conspiracy theories. If it is accepted that Islamic terrorists are as intelligent as the European terrorist organizations, it would lead to more accurate analyses. By a process of reverse engineering, it is possible to obtain a sharper picture.

Why is there so much Islamic terrorism and is Middle-East really the hub or is it somewhere else? What is your opinion?

A number of Muslims discount the effects of the thirteenth century Mongol invasion of Iraq, which left the Caliphate in ruins. Enough Muslims are convinced that because their destiny was hijacked by the West as part of a concerted plan, their only resort to protect their way of life and make it available to others is by terrorism. Western socialist discourse posits that terrorism is solely a result of economic conditions, and that once the economic environment is improved; people will abandon terrorism as a means. This approach discounts ambition, sense of destiny and greed. Even this discourse admits that it will not be the end of competition, but that the adversary will then play by more acceptable rules. That is not a given. The competitor might well set up other rules nobody's prepared for!

The hub of Islamic terrorism is a mobile base that changes location subject to the level of security available in a country and the willingness of its government or elements within, to provide it. So this hub has been moving from Syria, Iraq, Libya to the Bekaa Valley in Lebanon to Somalia to Afghanistan and Pakistan. Radical Islamic organizations reason in terms of one Islamic space under different flags, and they are free of any deadline to achieve the ultimate goal. In contrast, Western Generals plan for operations within deadlines, and each nation state is assessed as a distinct sovereign

space. This hidebound view of warfare works to the advantage of terrorist organizations.

How do you see the politics in Pakistan play out now?

The urban elite would like to see a strong, efficient and honest democracy, with the military under civilian control. Unfortunately, honest politicians are not always vote pullers, and vote pullers not always honest.

Pervez Musharraf did lay the groundwork for a free press, but the digestive process of that liberty is still underway. That facilitates outside observers' tendency to impose wishful thinking on their analyses retrieved from press reports and editorials. Their ears are not at ground level, and they can only access the literate urban population through the press. The potential for violent instability comes from the urban illiterate / semi-literate and the rural masses. They comprise the rank and file of militant groups, as in southern Punjab.

Besides which, they operate in secrecy, as do their supporters. Even the passive support can only be assessed by an ear to the ground. This lacuna is substituted by the availability of strident tones of the urban elite through the press, leading analyses to a qualitative dead end.

Would China prefer the military or Pakistan Prime Minister Yusuf Raza Gilani?

China and Pakistan balance each other in relation to the United States and India. Unlike the US, China does not help to pay Pakistan's bills, but provides military and civilian support. China is also worried about the spill-over of Islamic fundamentalism from Pakistan within its own borders. While China would like to see a strong military to balance India and stand



ELITE UNIT: Foreign Legion is Special Forces capable, outperforms all French Army units, and is the first to be launched in a combat situation



SPECIAL INTERVIEW

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up to the US from time to time, it would not like to see the secret services further strengthened, which would be the case under military rule. In that scenario, the vilified elements of these secret services that created and sustain fundamentalist groups would feel more secure. If Gilani plays his cards right, he might be able to muster Chinese backing, but that by itself would not be enough. He also needs Washington's gift packages. The icing on the cake would be Indian support!

How do you see the increasing Chinese incursions into India?

Signals of friendship to Pakistan, pre-empting the possibility of Indian games in Taiwan, and an exploitation of Indian laxity and indecisiveness, in varying and overlapping proportions.

With a deep-water port in Sri Lanka, China has completed the SAARC surrounding of India! Do you think France, UK, US or Russia would be supportive of the Indian predicament?

China's deep-water port in Sri Lanka is India's failure with Sri Lanka, and the island's own balance of power policy to obtain some strategic elbow room. An Indian port in Taiwan would be a reaction in which case, the initiative would stay with China. China is purportedly a threat to American military satellites, or is trying to be one. That's an area where India should take the initiative. The second

area is in cyber warfare. The third area should be in detection and anti-detection on land, air and sea. This way the Chinese would have no excuse to step up their incursions on the Indo-Chinese border. Furthermore, India needs to act in such a way that the Chinese react as desired and predicted to their own initiative.

With Kim Jong dead, North Korea is now ruled by the son of whom we know little about. Do you think the Korean situation will keep China occupied enough to keep its eye off Kashmir and Arunachal Pradesh?

Perhaps, but it will not be a long-term window of opportunity. Indian intelligence and think tanks should estimate the duration of this diversion and see how it can be used to their advantage to outpace China in space, in cyber warfare and detection and anti-detection. Perhaps strengthen its northern and north-eastern frontiers, and concentrate on internal security.

The war on terrorism of the US has proved to be a damp squib. Do you think we will see a replay of the late 80s and early 90s when Western nations encouraged dictators as long as their corporate interests were protected?

This time it would appear to be a semantic reinterpretation of Islamic fundamentalism to vindicate the results of the Arab spring in which they apparently had some part to play.

With Kashmir's strategic importance in the South Asian and Chinese equation in the long term, do you see PoK being occupied by China as it already has installations there?

In case of fragmentation, perhaps, but I think the Indian Army might even beat them to it!

Do you think Pakistan will ever become a nation which is relatively stable? If yes, how?

Yes, if it makes peace with India in a way that allows average Pakistanis to maintain their self-image. Peace with India means radically reduced defence expenditure that can be channelled into the economy and education. An educated work-force and Foreign Direct Investment would reduce the misery of the poor. Otherwise Pakistan is liable to tragically muddle along like Albania, hoping for the Big Break.

Kindly let us know your affiliations and current position - do you work for the French Navy or have you retired?

A teacher in France obtains tenure and grade-A civil service status by passing a national competitive exam. After receiving my PhD *summa cum laude*, that is what I did, and was shortly afterwards seconded to the French Navy. I am now a Lecturer in English at one of the Toulouse University colleges.

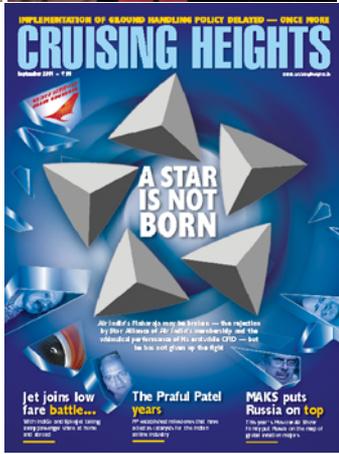
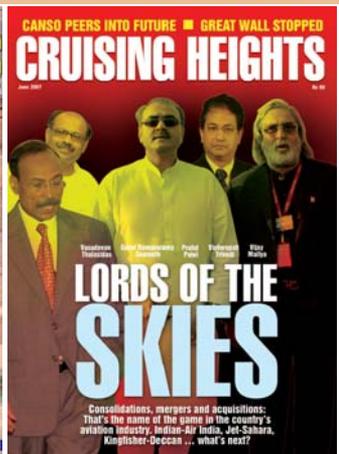
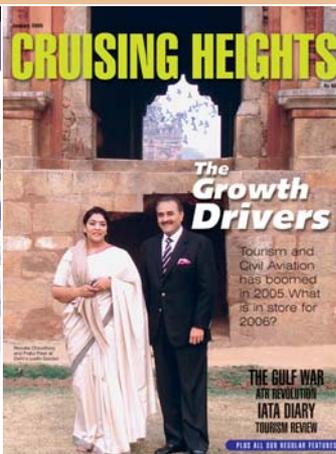
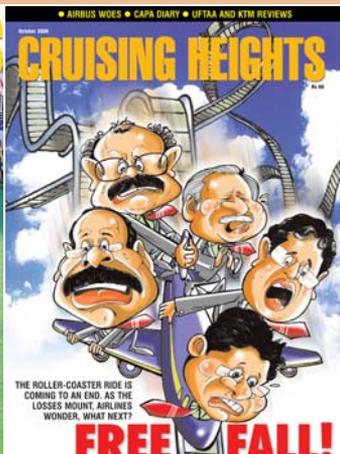
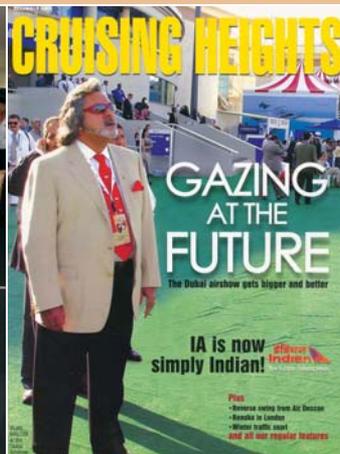
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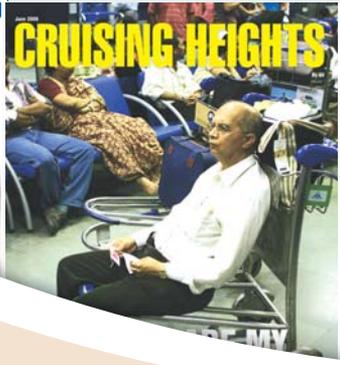
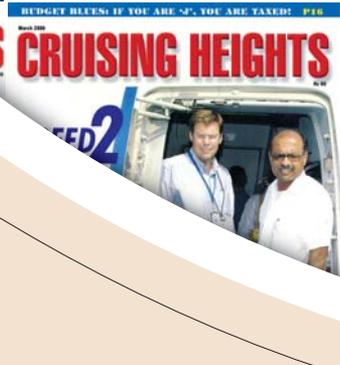


Juhu refuses to take off
Even with the green signal to expand, Mumbai's Juhu airport still cannot accommodate traffic

Dreamliner shows its wings
Boeing's 787 makes a whistlestop tour of India wowing those invited to fly in it

Tough times for cargo carriers
While multinationals TNT and FedEx are expanding services, Indian startups face financial obstacles

PLEASE, I WANT SOME MORE
ONCE RESPECTED THE WORLD OVER, AIR INDIA'S MAHARAJA IS ALL BUT READY TO THROW IN THE TOWEL, AMIDST REPORTS OF ITS DEMAND FOR MORE FUNDS, A LAST-DITCH EFFORT IS BEING MADE TO REVIVE THE AILING GIANT



UNDERSTANDING SYRIA

AS I write this from Syrian capital Damascus, people are participating in what is called a referendum for approving a new constitution that President Bashar al-Assad promises and his supporters say will be more “democratic”. The new constitution will end the monopoly of the ruling Baath party as the only legitimate political party in the country. That means that there will be a multi-party system. Secondly, the President will be directly elected by the people — not through the Baath party as is the existing system. And he will have only two consecutive terms of seven years each in office, though this feature will be effective with next Presidential election, thus enabling Assad to have two full terms. Thirdly, elections in Syria under the proposed constitution will be held by the Supreme Constitutional Court, an independent body.

However, all these welcome changes will not make Syria necessarily a democratic country that we Indians believe in. A country which has been ruled over the last 40 years by one family is not going to be an ideal democratic country all of a sudden in the absence of democratic institutions such as independent judiciary and media. Besides, Syria, like all other Arab countries, does not have a democratic culture as such. But, two important features of the proposed new constitutions that are really contentious are that the President of Syria must be a Muslim and that the country will be guided by “Islamic principles”. These two features are backward-looking given the fact that despite being an arguable autocracy, Syria happens to be unarguably the most secular Arab country. Sectarianism is just not there in the DNA of an average Syrian. He or she is no doubt is a proud Arab or a proud Muslim, but that does not mean that Christians, the country’s largest minority, are in any way unequal. The women, unlike in fellow Arab countries, are liberal. In fact, Damascus looks like a typical western city, going by the choice of dress and social mores.

However, things may change now. The western countries, particularly the United States and France, along with Arab Sheikdoms of Saudi Arabia and Qatar on one hand and Turkey on the other, may have been unable to dislodge Assad from power as yet, but they have scored a partial victory by forcing him to become at least a “good Muslim” as defined by the Arab Sheikhs, Muslim Brotherhood and al-Qaida, all of whom are fighting together against him. The Islamic features in Assad’s proposed new constitution are meant clearly to appease sympathisers of the Muslim Brotherhood and al-Qaida within the Sunnis, the country’s majority ethnic group. That it is a sad development is easily conceded even by the staunchest supporters of Assad that I interacted with. They say that it

is “a necessary evil” to restore pace in the country.

In fact, anti-Assad movements in a few strategic spots of Syria expose some paradoxes of the so-called Arab Spring that started in Tunisia in December 2010 and engulfed Egypt, Libya and Yemen. Other Arab countries such as Syria, Algeria, Jordan, Kuwait, Bahrain and Morocco have also been affected, but the West has adopted double standards on the development. It has justified changes in Egypt, Libya, Yemen and now Syria under the pretext of furthering democracy, which, in effect, has resulted in the legitimisation of rank sectarianism. It wants a change in Syria, which is multi-ethnic and secular, and hand over power to those who are openly talking of a “Khilafah state” to be managed by Sunnis. The West does not find it repugnant to side with the well-entrenched monarchies such as Saudi Arabia and Qatar, which are certainly not citadels of democracy and have directly or indirectly furthered the cause of Wahabism or Islamic fundamentalism all over the world. For them, Iran and Iraq are



Prakash Nanda

enemies essentially because they are Shia-dominated. They want to throw away Assad because he is a Shia ruling over a country where Sunnis constitute the majority. The West supports all these oil Sheikdoms and closed its eyes when Saudi Arabia militarily intervened last year in Shia-majority Bahrain to defend its Sunni ruler.

Speaking geopolitically, what we are seeing in West Asia these days is that the West is with those who are trying to open the traditional fault lines along ethnic and tribal divides. But this strategy is not exactly working in Syria, even though rebels in the country are being financed openly by Qatar and armed clandestinely by Turkey, all with the tacit Western support. It is to the credit of Assad that he draws support, at least till now, from all sections in the country with a population of 22 million. It is natural for him to have the full backing of his Shiite Alawite tribes (12 per cent of the population) and Christians (10 per cent); but his real strength flows from his overwhelming acceptability among the Arab Sunnis, who account for nearly 60 per cent of the country’s population. Kurds, also Sunnis, add to another nine per cent. Under a Christian defence minister, the Syrian armed forces, well represented by the Sunnis, are deeply loyal to the Assad. And that explains why the West and Sunni Arab states have failed to project an opposition leader as an effective alternative to him. Assad may not be a democrat, but he is certainly not a Saddam Hussein or Colonel Gaddafi.

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