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## EDITORIAL

On 11 September 2001, terrorists simultaneously hijacked and commandeered passenger aircraft to unleash terror in the United States of America. The Twin Towers of the World Trade Centre, New York and a wing of the Pentagon in Washington D.C. were hit. Another aircraft probably meant to hit either the White House or the Capitol Hill in Washington, crashed in a Pennsylvania field. Many innocent lives were lost. The targets were chosen by the terrorists to symbolise the economic power, the military power and seat of governance of the sole super power in the world. It is after a very long time in the history of the USA that the security of the American homeland had been threatened.

The terrorists struck a blow not only at the United States of America, but at humanity and at the civilised way of life. The entire episode is a stark and terrible reminder of the power and the reach of the terrorists to destroy innocent lives and challenge the existing civilised world order. The message it conveys to nation states is that there is an imperative need to redouble the efforts to defeat this great threat to the people, of the free world, our values and our way of life. The lead article in this issue of the Journal is titled "11 September 2001 : Global Response Patterns" by Major General Vinod Saigal. The author attributes the reasons for turmoil in Afghanistan to the strategic overreach attempted by Pakistan after the Soviet pullout from that country. According to the author, inordinate sufferings inflicted upon the people of Afghanistan in the last decade are linked to the spread of Islamic Jihad and global terrorism perpetuated by the ambitions of the Pakistani military to be the new masters of the Great Game, regardless of the price that Pakistan itself may have to pay for such folly. The author traces the mobilisation of religious orthodoxy in Afghanistan involving transformation of rational Islam to offensive religious fundamentalism capable of conducting terrorism on a global scale with massive military and financial assistance. Some sections of the Muslim community may be more assertive and conscious of their identity because of the likes of Osama Bin Laden, but there is a need for introspection as to where all this is leading them. The author highlights certain strategies for post Taliban Afghanistan; post intervention strategies for Pakistan and suggests measures for combating terrorism. In the author's words, "there is no peace between nations if there is no peace between religions".

Speaking on "Indo-Russian Relations in the First Quarter of the Twenty First Century", the Russian Ambassador to India Mr Alexander Kadakin stressed the need for countering the spread of international terrorism, religious extremism, illicit drug and arms trafficking, taking consistent steps in curbing the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction



with the goal of comprehensive prohibition, and in the formation of a just and multi-polar world order. He emphasised the need for building a democratic world order based on multilateral society with a pivotal role for the United Nations.

The debate on whether the US should deploy the Ballistic Missile Defence (BMD) system has intensified. Colonel Gurmeet Kanwal in his article titled "Strategic Implications of US Missile Defence" has highlighted that the successful fielding of a BMD system will undoubtedly reinforce the present position of the US as the world's unchallenged hegemonic power. The unipolar status will continue for a while longer and the US will be better placed to unilaterally intervene in any part of the globe to secure its national interests. This unchallenged supremacy causes the maximum consternation among world leaders as there will then be no checks and balances, and international relations may once again be governed by a "might is right" attitude. Any security framework, no matter how tentative it is, will be potentially dangerous and destabilising. Almost the entire international community has deep reservations about the US proposal and is of the view that the US is seeing phantom ballistic missile threats from the so called "rogue" states. It appears that with the terrorist strikes of 11 September 2001 the US may have to rethink regarding the utility of fielding the BMD system.

The conduct of a capsule course for UN Military Observers and Staff Officers (UNMOSOC-1) by the United Service Institution of India- Centre for UN Peacekeeping (USI-CUNPK) figured prominently amongst the major events at the USI during the quarter ending December 2001. The training capsule was conducted from 29 October 2001 to 09 November 2001. The aim of the course was to acquaint participants with the basic principles of UN peacekeeping, important operating techniques in vogue and the factors governing their conduct in the mission areas. 33 officers including eight participants from friendly foreign countries, namely, Bangladesh, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kenya, Mozambique, Nepal, Tanzania, Ukraine and the USA attended the training capsule. The Indian participants included officers empanelled as Military Observers and Staff Officers in UN Peacekeeping Missions in Lebanon (UNIFIL), Congo (MONUC) and Eritrea and Ethiopia (UNMEE).

***Best wishes to all our members for a very Happy New Year.***



# 11 September 2001 : Global Response Patterns

Major General Vinod Saighal, VSM (Retd)

## Introduction

Were I to be asked to sum up the genesis of the current turmoil on the globe in just one sentence I would attribute it to the strategic overreach attempted by some Pakistani Generals after the Soviet pullout from Afghanistan. When examined closely it will be found that the inordinate suffering visited upon the people of Afghanistan in the last decade, linked to the spread of Islamic *jihad* and global terrorism, can be laid at the door of the ambitions of Pakistan's military to be the new masters of the Great Game, regardless of the price that Pakistan itself might have to pay for such folly.

Following from this first statement, it becomes clear that irrespective of whether *Al Qaeeda* has cells in 60 countries or 150 countries no terrorist organisation can develop such extensive reach without the support of state organisations. *Al Qaeeda* would surely have satellited itself on the network established by Pakistan's Inter Service Intelligence (ISI) in concert with the now discredited Bank of Credit and Commerce International (BCCI) for money laundering, which reached its zenith in the heydays of General Zia ul Haq. It will be recalled that the BCCI network spread from Shanghai to Rotterdam to New York and Washington and reached up to the very corridors of power in the USA. They had infiltrated shipping lines, airlines, stevedores, cargo handling at airports and much else. Through money laundering they had chalked up assets up to US \$ 20 billion. Its founder Agha Abedi, a close associate of Zia, found refuge in Karachi. He died there. *Al Qaeeda* again would

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Major General Vinod Saighal, VSM is a retired officer of the cavalry. He is the Executive Director of Ecology Monitors Society concerned with demography and ecology. He has authored the *Third Millennium Equipoise* and *Restructuring South Asian Security*.

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have satellited itself on the dummy companies set up by the ISI in Europe, the USA and elsewhere for the clandestine purchases of its nuclear programme. Therefore, the dismantling of *Al Qaeda* cannot take place without the comprehensive dismantlement of the ISI networks spanning several continents.

I believe that the comparison of American strikes on Afghanistan with the British interventions of an earlier era and the more recent Russian intervention in Afghanistan are not entirely correct. To the best of my belief the US does not wish to remain in Afghanistan as an occupational force for any length of time. Should that be the case the question of getting bogged down in a manner analogous to the earlier interventions should not arise.

### **Restructuring the Pakistan State**

In my forthcoming book on *Resurgence of Pakistan*, I have traced the progress of Pakistan from a failing State to being a dynamic and responsible member of the comity of nations. 'Fundamentalism' has a limited life span; but if it is not given up it will self-destruct the polity that adheres to it. Pakistan surely would realise this what with new global currents linked to the spread of knowledge, thanks to the information revolution,

The happenings on 11 September 2001 compelled me to rethink and re-title my book which now reads as 'Restructuring Pakistan'. Without restructuring the Pakistan State the problem in Afghanistan is not amenable to satisfactory resolution. It is now an ineluctable necessity. The subject has become extraordinarily complex in the last few weeks. I can cover only those aspects which I think are the most relevant from both the subcontinental and global perspectives.

There is a need to look at three distinct time horizons: Immediate; Short-Term; Long-Term – up to about 2 years in the short term; and from 3 to ten years in the long term. I will, therefore, dwell on four aspects:

- (a) The salient aspects of Islam related to the present crisis.
- (b) Afghanistan.
- (c) Pakistan.



(d) Global Perspectives (to include the subcontinental perspective).

None of these can be compartmentalised and hence overlap between these will be observed.

### Islam

Simply put, in its broadest sense, fundamentalism can be described as any system or group that seeks to impose its own values and beliefs on other people through coercion or violence. Any system or regime that demands absolute conformity in thought, conduct, mode of dress and the like, and that which continues to enforce its tenets through violence or the whip to the exclusion of all other beliefs, values or modes of conduct, is fundamentally abhorrent to human dignity and progress. The elaboration given above takes care of many problems related to religion or definitions that are restrictive in their scope.

The mobilisation of religious orthodoxy for giving battle to an entrenched ideology (communism), in a country under occupation (Afghanistan), makes an interesting case study in itself. Of greater interest at the present time is the study of the *chilling* transformation that was engineered in the purely 'defensive' mobilisation of the religious orthodoxy (for vacating aggression) to one of 'offensive' religious fundamentalism with pan-Islamic overtones, capable of conducting terrorism on a global scale. Religious mobilisation by itself, however, could not have succeeded in repelling aggression without massive military and financial assistance.

The horrors perpetrated by the Taliban on the hapless women of Afghanistan are by now too well known to require reiteration. What has not sunk in sufficiently into the people's consciousness is the fact that these atrocities are spilling over into other areas of the subcontinent amongst the Islamic population. Just a handful of zealots are able to terrorise whole segments of population who may be viscerally opposed to such draconian injunctions at the behest of the votaries of violence; who have neither the authority nor the right to enforce such medieval norms. Recently radical Islamic elements threw acid on girls in Srinagar for not sporting the



veil. Earlier, a young girl was shot dead for non-compliance. Cases of this nature are on the rise in Pakistan, Bangladesh, in India in the State of Jammu and Kashmir, and elsewhere. Regardless of where these atrocities are perpetrated the fount for the spread of the demonic fervor are the radical Islamic camps in Pakistan and Afghanistan.

It is for the people of Pakistan to take note of what is being perpetrated in their name. Before it is too late they have to take note of their situation and the direction in which their State is being pushed. They should pay heed to what John Ruskin said in this regard:

"You may either win your peace or buy it; win it, by resistance to evil; buy it, by compromise with evil."

Massive compromises were made all the time by the US, the political dispensations of Pakistan, India and Bangladesh, and by the people of Pakistan who watched with dismay the gradual radicalisation of their land. Except in the case of the US, who seem to be now changing direction after a rude shock, others are still making compromises. Those making compromises (especially in Pakistan and Bangladesh) must realise that once they come under the grip of radical elements it becomes very difficult to extricate oneself. Take the example of Iran.

Even with a near 80 per cent popular mandate, President Khatami must bow to the will of the die-hard clergy who have taken control of the levers of power and continue with restrictive practices that the public abhors. One is unsure whether this state of affairs be described as divinely ordained or devilishly perpetrated on a hapless populace. President Khatami himself is a cleric and scholar of distinction whose call for a 'Dialogue of Civilisations' rather than a clash should be heeded.

Various Islamic groups in Pakistan, Afghanistan and elsewhere are projecting the US response to the 11 September outrage as a fight between the West and Islam. This is no more than a clever ploy on the part of the people who committed the outrage and who fearing retaliation now wish to take shelter behind religion. In reality



the clash of civilisations theory is a red herring. The fight today, especially on the subcontinent, is a struggle between liberal Islam and radical or obscurantist Islam.

## ISLAM – THE RELIGIOUS OBFUSCATIONS

### Overdoing Scholastic Interpretation of the Quran in the Twenty First Century

It is felt that the average person has allowed himself/herself to fall into the theological trap while discussing radicalism, especially of the Islamic variety. This applies to governments and intellectuals. Most people have a fair idea of what is wrong and what is right. Killing of innocent people, women and children is an abominable act. These acts are morally repugnant to any humanistic creed. One does not have to quote the scriptures to condemn them. Such condemnation automatically flows from the viewpoint of commonsense, jurisprudence or from any rational plane. No civilised society can sponsor or tolerate such behaviour and still call itself civilised. Therefore, there should not be any need to go into theology to bring out their moral indefensibility. By the same token, it is amazing that the suicide missions resulting in the deaths of innocent people have been made out to be passports to heaven. Elementary commonsense tells one that suicide is a sinful act; and where such a foolhardy act results in the death of innocent people it is a sure passport to purgatory, whichever way one looks at it. The youths who undertake these missions can never be considered martyrs. They are naïve and gullible youngsters imbued with hatred from an early age to further the geopolitical ambitions of people dreaming of political or religious dominance on a global scale. It is mentally inconceivable that text of any great religion of the world allows for such interpretation.

- (a) Aspect of indoctrination.
- (b) Differences in the outlook of Islamic countries.
- (c) Transformations: Ideology ➤ Militancy ➤ Military  
➤ Politico-Military ➤ Geo-Politics.
- (d) Radicalising Islam or Islamic radicalism?



The radicalisation of a great religion is taking place on account of the inability of the vast majority of the people living in these countries to counter the machinations of people seeking political dominance through the spread of religious orthodoxy. The following excerpt sums up the situation admirably:

"Yet, for all the cruelty and obscurantism associated with religion, hidden within the great traditions of faith are precious resources for the future welfare of humanity and these are *too important to be abandoned to the extremists.*"<sup>1</sup> (Emphasis added).

The tragedy of Jammu and Kashmir is in essence the tragedy of Islam in the Twenty First Century. The fight in Jammu and Kashmir is ostensibly a fight between Pakistan and India. In reality the fight is between a humanistic creed and obscurantist beliefs that should have disappeared with the Dark Ages. The dehumanising injunctions issued from time to time by a retrogressive orthodoxy on a population cowering under terror is reminiscent of the *auto da fe* of the worst period of the Inquisition. By attempting to destroy Sufism in Jammu and Kashmir the radical Islamists are pushing Islam into a *cul de sac*. This brings us to some very pertinent questions on the interface between Islam and Kashmir.

- Has the Talibanisation of Afghanistan brought peace and prosperity to the region?
- Has the creeping Talibanisation of Pakistan and its Army brought peace and prosperity to the region?
- Will the hypothetical Talibanisation of Jammu and Kashmir bring peace and prosperity?

Therefore, one may ask: Was the world seriously expecting India to countenance with equanimity the *Talibanisation* of the Vale of Kashmir?

Modern science had its early beginnings in the Islamic civilisation between the Ninth and Thirteenth Centuries, a time when Christian Popes were burning 'witches' in the gloom of the Dark Ages. About seven hundred years ago, Islamic civilisation suffered a severe regression in its ability to acquire science and there have



been no significant efforts at recovery since. Most Islamic traditionalists feel no regret and welcome the regression, believing that it helps preserve Islam from the corrupting and secular influences of Western civilisation where the validation of scientific truths depends on observation, experimentation and logic and not on any form of spiritual authority. Historically, Islamic civilisation has paid a heavy price for this failure, which has contributed to its retreat and the ascendancy of the West.

What we are seeing today could conceivably be the second and final regression of Islam in case the liberal Islamic elements are unable to face the challenges mounted by fundamentalism. There are over four hundred million adherents of the Islamic faith on the subcontinent. They have to take up the challenge posed to the magnificence of their religion by the radical fringes of Islam. Instead of getting involved in obscure texts and the interpretations that vary from age to age they too must pose themselves some simple, soul-searching questions.

"Does Allah, the Merciful, the Just, require terror – of the type being unleashed on innocent women and children in the name of religion – to add to His glory"?

"Is the programmed violence being unleashed by the petty myrmidons of tyranny – through the *deeni madaris* – embellishing, in any way, the magnificence of the teachings of the Quran"?

"If the answer to the first two questions is not in the affirmative then *why* are the *silent majority* of Muslims on the subcontinent *silent*. Why are they allowing their religion to be so denigrated by people who are using it as a tool to capture political power"?

## AFGHANISTAN

The tragedy of Afghanistan goes deeper than Osama bin Laden or the Taliban. The real tragedy of Afghanistan was the abandonment of that country by the Americans, consequent to the Soviet withdrawal, to Pakistan Army Generals who started playing the Great Game in their officers' messes. It was their ambition to be players in Central Asia that is the real cause of the rise of Islamic radicalism and the tragedy of the Afghan people.



The second major aspect of note is the failure of Pakistan and India to jointly chalk out a post-Taliban strategy. There should be no doubt in the minds of the Pakistan Generals that the US is now here to stay. Ultimately, the fate and future make up of the governments in Afghanistan will more likely be decided in Washington, London and Moscow than in Islamabad and New Delhi. By their incessant bickering these two nations have been marginalised in their own region. The Americans were part of the problem to begin with. They have been comprehensively befooled; and what is more they have been humiliated and provoked. Having been aroused they are quite clear about what they want.

Having said that, it can be realistically assumed that in the longer term nobody gains from continued instability in the region. Therefore, while the ground situation can keep changing, it would benefit almost everybody if the desired goal of post-intervention settlement in Afghanistan were to be clearly enunciated *ab initio* at the present juncture.

In a nutshell it should be the endeavour of the world community to make Afghanistan a neutral zone of peace with a constitution modelled on the Swiss pattern. Some of the steps leading to such an outcome, say over a period of five to ten years, are contained in succeeding paragraphs.

### **Post-Conflict Strategies for Afghanistan**

- (a) Stationing of the UN forces for deployment in Kabul and selected areas.
- (b) The US back up forces. (In bases outside Afghanistan).
- (c) The UN administration (Interim).
- (d) Disarming in areas liberated.
- (e) Re-framing Afghan constitution.
- (f) 'Loya Jirga'.
- (g) Return of former King, Zahir Shah.



- (h) Repatriation from Afghan diaspora.
- (j) Restructuring liberated Afghan Areas.
- (k) Restarting judiciary, civil services, setting up a minimum operational infrastructure.
- (l) Re-forming Afghan police force.
- (m) Stationing of international force for guaranteeing sanctity.
- (n) International guarantees against aggression from Pakistan, and other neighbours.
- (o) Neutral state – the UN recognition.
- (p) Merger with Northern Alliance forces under terms supervised by the UN.
- (q) Education package.
- (r) Rehabilitation package.

There will be many pitfalls, and meandering before arriving at the selected goal. However, clarifying the intent at the very outset will help to rally most of the Afghan people round it and pre-empt undesirable activities and initiatives on the part of Afghanistan's neighbours. Stability in Afghanistan will automatically lead to greater stability in Pakistan, Iran and the Central Asian Republics. Peace and tranquility will start flowing outwards from one of the most troubled areas of the world.

It is recommended that again, on the initiative of the US, a Special Security Council resolution to this effect should be considered. Concomitantly, a referendum under the UN supervision of the people in the refugee camps in countries neighbouring Afghanistan can be held. It can be made, to the extent possible, a participative process. The dispossessed Afghan refugees today make up one of the largest segments of the Afghan people.



## PAKISTAN

Coming on to Pakistan a few basic aspects that need to be understood are:

- (a) The web of clandestine activity that links the ISI and Osama is so intricate that to dismantle one automatically involves the other.
- (b) The source of all the trouble after the Soviet withdrawal having been Pakistan, no lasting solution for peace in Afghanistan can be found without some restructuring in Pakistan. Unless the latter is also addressed it merely postpones the resolution of the problem till it emerges in a more virulent form a few years later.

Short sighted - and short-term - agreements reached with the Pakistan military to meet immediate US goals should be replaced by long-term agreements that are in the interest of the people of Pakistan as well as the comity of nations. These include:

- (a) Closing down of *deeni madaris* in Pakistan and throughout the subcontinent.
- (b) De-indoctrination programme.
- (c) Restructuring and modernising of education.
- (d) Spread of Information Technology (IT) culture.
- (e) Health package.
- (f) Revitalisation of economy.
- (g) Restoration of democracy in a phased manner with full safeguards.
- (h) Extinguishment of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) capability.
- (j) Debt rescheduling and financial aid to be linked to progress on reforms agreed to.



"The Muslim nuclear weapon – which already exists in Pakistan – will travel to other Muslim countries in the years to come".<sup>2</sup>

It should be recalled that the term 'Islamic bomb' was not coined by Islamic fundamentalists, the Taliban or bin Laden. It was first coined in the 1970s and 1980s by the Pakistan establishment when they were seeking Arab funding support for their programme. The connotation of an 'Islamic bomb' seems to have been lost upon the US and Western think tanks who keep referring to the volatility of the South Asian theatre as a very likely place for a nuclear exchange. Probably so, but the reasoning is not entirely correct. They have been missing the wood for the trees. Pakistan does not need an Islamic bomb to deal with India. A 'Pakistan' nuclear weapon would suffice. The connotation 'Islamic' has unmistakable supra national and Pan Islamic overtones. It is meant to convey to the Islamic extremists the availability of these weapons of mass destruction for wreaking havoc on the enemies of Islam. These are mainly in America and the West.

While nations have, in their own way, tried to move ahead, some unsuccessfully, in their march to freedom or nationhood in the post-colonial era, Pakistan has managed to go round in circles, what with its military coups and civilian governments taking turns in running the country. This process has been aptly summed up by a Pakistani journalist, who writes:

"No road in Pakistan is more extensively traveled on than the one leading back to democracy. At the same time, no road is more signposted with the crucifixion of hope than this one. It is not in our military coups that we have betrayed ourselves so much as in our return marches to democracy. If every coup has kindled the irrational emotionalism which forms so strong a part of our national character, the aftermath of every coup has gifted us a fresh set of problems, more complicated and intractable than those originally meant to be solved".<sup>3</sup>

One has then to ask oneself whether the military artfully contrives during its various direct interventions to create a situation where democratic governance patterns are 'obliged' to founder!



## GLOBAL PERSPECTIVES

### How the World has Changed on 11 September 2001

Even if peace is restored and major conflagrations do not take place it will take a generation for the scars to heal and for mutual suspicions to melt away. Global perceptions that have radically altered for a large percentage of people in the countries most affected are tabulated below:

(a) Americans will never again feel safe in several Muslim countries. The US officials working in Muslim countries will generally reside behind barricades or electronic surveillance as was the case in Iran before the Khomeini revolution.

(b) The picture of American irrationality in targeting all South Asian and other non-white foreigners consequent to the collapse of the twin towers will remain etched in the minds of the victim communities for a long time to come. While young people may continue to flock to the US, the more adult, self-respecting Asians are bound to have second thoughts. (It should be mentioned, however, that the immediate response to a similar outrage in several other countries of the world might possibly have been more savage).

(c) For a few mesmerising days the veneer of civilisation disappeared from the face of the most advanced civilisation in the world. The Americans could unflinchingly inflict pain on others. But the upholders of morality and cherished American values were unable to take pain.

(d) Hereafter, the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans no longer confer immunity on the USA.

(e) The world - and many thinking Americans - perceived that the US security lies in global security and not in *high-tech planet destroying warfare*. Whether the US government comes round to this point of view will decide, to a large extent, the direction the world takes in the coming years. (The European allies of the US must exert themselves to propel the US in this direction for the benefit of the Western alliance and the world in general).



(g) Ironically – and perhaps tragically - the twin towers attack has helped to consolidate the hold in the US of the very forces that were the most hated face of America *for the elements* that carried out the attack. President George W Bush and the extreme right in US politics have been strengthened immeasurably. {'Military crises have invariably propelled the growth of American government, as politicians have rushed through new spending programmes and regulations to show the public that they were alive to the situation. When the crises passed, however, the government didn't revert to its pre-crisis size. Instead, the expansions created new avenues for furthering government growth'}.

(g) The Anglo-American media have played an important role in whipping up war hysteria and hard line opinion moulding.

(h) The enduring nature of the Anglo-American entente has again been demonstrated. Britain has emerged as the key player for the furtherance of the US interests in the area of the Great Game. Regardless of all else, the Anglo-American forces will continue to have a presence in the region for the foreseeable future.

### **REFORMULATING THE GROUND RULES FOR COMBATING GLOBAL TERRORISM**

If terrorism is a global menace then global protocols to fight terrorism should gradually replace the US-centric understandings arrived at bilaterally between the USA and various countries and groupings. A minimum common global platform should include:

(a) Elimination of WMD capability of states that sponsor terrorism. Short-term agreements are no substitute for long-term guarantees. Hence 'extinguishment' of capability is an overriding priority.

(b) Use this opportunity for harmonisation with global community.

(c) The US to defer/renounce NMD.



(d) Strengthen the UN.

(e) Countries retaliating against state - sponsored World Trade Centre (WTC) type strikes anywhere in the world should be guaranteed immunity against WMD/nuclear retaliation from states nurturing terrorism when undertaking the US type hot pursuit or other retaliatory measures. Such attacks should be confined to attacks against terrorist networks.

(f) All such attacks to be construed as attacks against humanity or the comity of nations.

## Conclusion

All in all, global challenges of the Twenty First Century are :

(a) The eco-destruction of the Planet that is taking place at a frenetic pace.

(b) Demilitarisation of the Planet that should be taking place, but is not.

(c) Dehumanisation of the Planet as a result of the breakdown of the social cohesion of societies.

Unless the world utilises the tragic events of 11 September 2001 to change course as a collectivity, there is not much hope for bringing about harmony on this increasingly fragile planet. One may want to recall a quote from the Swiss theologian, Hans Kruger:

"There is no peace between nations if there is no peace between religions."

## Notes

<sup>1</sup>Marcus Braybrooke, IIC Quarterly, Spring, 2000

<sup>2</sup>Singapore's Senior Minister, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, in an interview published in *The Washington Times*.

<sup>3</sup>"Nation undergoes slow torture", by Ayaz Amir, *The Times of India*, 17 August 2001.



# Indo-Russian Relations in the First Quarter of the Twenty First Century

Alexander M Kadakin

The cordial sentiments among Indians towards Russians and vice versa descend from the legendary period of mid-1950s, when young and independent India was amidst the process of defining its place and role in the global system of coordinates. It was but natural that two great nations of Asia – Indians after two centuries of the colonial yoke and Russians in the aftermath of the bloodiest war in history – realised the imperative of joining hands in their aspiration to ensure a better life for their citizens.

During the last 40 years of Soviet-Indian cooperation, our joint projects in core sectors of Indian industry – the Bhilai and Bokaro steel plants have become temples of friendship between the two countries. That was the period when pragmatic partnership at the governmental level was amply supplemented with romanticism of newly found friends and mutual affection at people-to-people level. It was the combination of these two factors that has brought about a phenomenon, what historians now call "the Indo-Russian friendship and partnership."

The dramatic changes in the global scenario of the last decade of the Twentieth Century have undoubtedly transformed the scale of imperatives influencing the evolution of our bilateral ties in the Twenty First Century. Ideological considerations have receded into the background. Though the new generation of Russians and Indians are in a way different from the earlier generations, yet, they do carry forward into the Twenty First Century the baton of our amity and friendship in a new environment.

The current system of international relations is in a state of flux and transition. The process of formation of a New World Order

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replacing the international architecture of the Cold War has turned out to be more protracted and complicated than one could imagine way back in the early 1990s. There are attempts aimed at the creation of a unipolar world based on diktat of one country or a group of military or economic powers. There are instances when unilateral coercive steps are taken in violation of the UN Charter and the international law.

The very nature of the present-day problems and challenges calls for concerted efforts. No country, however influential or powerful, is in a position to take sole responsibility to solve major global problems. All this is evidence of the fact that the future world order rests on multipolar structure.

Russia and India have been steadfastly advocating building a democratic world order based primarily on multilateral security mechanisms with the UN playing a focal role. The experience of the past decade has proved that only within such a system of international relations can we respond effectively to the emerging challenges in this era of globalisation.

Great upheavals enable the human race to amass experience virtually overnight. At present, it applies primarily to the threat posed by, as President Putin pointed out in the Indian parliament a year ago, the "Terrorist International". On 11 September 2001, the United States was subjected to an unprecedented act of aggression by international terrorism. Russia and India understand better than any other country, the feelings of the Americans. From our point of view, the response to this outrage should be a joint one. President Vladimir Putin has promised to render all necessary assistance in a concerted effort to eradicate the evil empire of terrorism.

During his second televised address to the nation in ten days, Mr Putin pointed out that Russia had been combating international terrorism and had on many occasions appealed to the international community to cooperate with it. He urged the world community to turn its primary attention to enhance the role of international institutions like the United Nations and its Security Council that is established to promote international peace and security.



President Putin outlined five major concerns with regard to Russian involvement in the international anti-terror action in Afghanistan:

- (a) Interaction between secret services in gathering and sharing intelligence data on the whereabouts of terrorist leaders, training camps and infrastructure.
- (b) Providing Russian and Central Asian airfields for international flights delivering humanitarian aid to the area of the anticipated operations.
- (c) Participation in joint international search and rescue efforts.
- (d) Intensifying military and technical assistance to the internationally recognised Afghan Government led by Mr Rabbani.
- (e) A deeper cooperation with anti-terror action participants, the scope of which would squarely depend on the general level and quality of Russia's relations with them.

When we say that there must be a joint reaction by the international community, it implies that a global system of counteraction against new threats and challenges needs to be worked out. International terrorism, organised crime and the spread of narcotics are all interrelated. Along with the identification of the terrorists who masterminded the latest crimes, we must give thought to what ought to be done to prevent repetition of such tragedies in the near future. We should pool our intellectual resources, technology, money and top-notch professionals in a collective action.

Setting up mechanisms that would block the sources of financing of extremist organisations is where our efforts will be directed. Within the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), we have already established the anti-terrorist centre that is devising mechanisms of preventive action and combating terrorism. We are setting up a similar kind of structure with China and the Central Asian states within the Shanghai-5. We have begun to create anti-terrorist centres at the regional level, but it is perfectly clear that a global monitoring system is the need of the day.



At present, no country can deal with these problems single-handedly. The challenges are global, hence there arises need for cooperation. Within the UN and other fora, we ought to discuss in a serious manner, the ways to create a global system of countering new threats and challenges. Russia and India will need to play a pivotal role in this effort.

For the same reason, Russia addresses the world community to empathise with the Russian concern in Chechnya, which became a criminal enclave primarily because the men who seized power there had nothing in common with the interests of the Chechen people. As President Putin observed, "for us the most important thing is to prevent this territory from being used as a bridgehead for attack on Russia and for rocking it from within".

Russia and India have achieved a common understanding to help promote in the UN, the Russian draft of the Convention on Combating Nuclear Terrorist Acts, as well as the Indian draft of the Comprehensive Convention on Combating Terrorism. Both countries reaffirm their mutual readiness to actively cooperate in this matter.

The situation in Afghanistan threatens to destabilise the whole region, which impinges on Russia's and India's security concerns. Therefore, interaction between our countries in combating terrorism and religious extremism is considered to be an objective necessity.

Russia has consistently supported the Anti Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty of 1972 – the cornerstone of the international legal system in the field of nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation. The international political implication of the American National Missile Defence (NMD) project has become one of the most critical issues of global concern. The creation of a theatre missile defence is likely to fracture the Treaty and thus undermine the entire existing system of agreements in the field of disarmament and nuclear non-proliferation. Russia considers it important to address vital security issues through constructive dialogue and not unilateral action. We need to proceed from abstract deliberations on whether or not the ABM Treaty is outdated to concrete analysis of the existing risks and potential threats. After all, the anti-ballistic missile defence has proved impotent in the face of civilian aircraft being converted into a weapon of aggression by the terrorists on 11 September 2001.



During the current session of the UN General Assembly, Russia will re-introduce the draft Resolution on preservation of and compliance with the ABM Treaty. We hope that India will support the Resolution. Russia notes very positively that Delhi proceeds from the importance of compliance with bilateral and multilateral obligations by the states in the field of world's disarmament and does not accept any unilateral measures, which could disturb world's strategic stability. Various aspects of strategic stability will, therefore, occupy the centre stage in the Indo-Russian political dialogue in the first quarter of the Twenty First Century. The fact that the US has started consultations on these issues with its allies and with other countries, including India and China, is a welcome step.

India and China being the most populous countries of the world, share serious responsibility in maintaining international security. This fact alone necessitates closer cooperation between them. These are the imperatives of the emerging multipolar world order.

India and China are Russia's major world partners and naturally we cannot but welcome the recent shift towards a more constructive relationship between them. Further development of this positive trend will offer new opportunities for interaction, which will be beneficial for regional and international stability.

Another crucially important aspect is the globalisation issue, which has turned out to be a double-edged weapon. On the one hand it has opened unlimited opportunities for higher standards of living. On the other hand, it has perpetuated despairing poverty in the developing world with millions struggling to meet the essential needs of existence. The process of globalisation has resulted not only in the so-called digital divide between the rich and the poor nations but also a spiritual regress of humanity.

I hope that these topical issues will be placed high on the agenda of Indo-Russian cooperation in the first quarter of the Twenty First Century, both at the bilateral and multilateral levels. Russia as an influential Eurasian and global power and India as an Asian and important world player have to recognise their moral



responsibility for the consolidation of the interests of the smaller states which traditionally fall in the area of our influence or interests. At the bilateral plane, the official visit of President Vladimir Putin to India, in October 2000, has opened up a new chapter in the history of Indo-Russian relations. During the visit, the Declaration of Strategic Partnership, along with 16 other vital agreements in various fields were signed. The provisions of the Declaration envisage progressive advancement of our interaction in the new century not only at the bilateral but also at the regional and international levels. The Declaration provides for further cementing of Indo-Russian strategic partnership and cooperation in meeting the growing challenges and menaces which the new epoch is fraught with. The other 16 agreements and memoranda signed during the visit are supplementing and substantiating the Declaration. The most important of these are the agreements on promoting cooperation in the area of oil and gas exploration in the Bay of Bengal, accelerating trade and joint processing of precious metals and natural diamonds, a package of documents in military and technical field, a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) on peaceful uses of nuclear energy, as well as an Integrated Long-Term Programme of Scientific and Technological Co-operation (ILTP).

It is noteworthy that the Declaration of Strategic Partnership has formalised what had already existed in practice between our two countries – the broad-based convergence of fundamental national interests and the deep rooted national consensus regarding the need for a comprehensive enhancement of our bilateral ties. The crucial global level tasks, outlined by the Declaration, comprise countering the spread of international terrorism, religious extremism, illicit drug and arms trafficking, taking consistent steps in curbing the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction with the ultimate goal of comprehensive prohibition and formation of a just and multipolar world order. The Declaration is not directed against any third country and does not envisage the establishment of any military or political bloc.

In the aftermath of the devastating terrorist attacks in New York and Washington, the Declaration is assuming special significance. Now that the events with the global response to the "Terrorist International" are rapidly unfolding around the regions of Central and South Asia, Moscow and New Delhi have activated



the existing machinery of consultations and monitoring over the regional situation with collective means of response being put on high alert. These include the mechanism of regular and emergency consultations at appropriate levels, set up in May 2000.

Just a few days ago, the Indian National Security Advisor, Mr BC Mishra, visited Moscow and discussed with his Russian counterpart and other high-level Kremlin officials the whole gamut of cooperation in the security field, including global implications of the recent terrorist onslaught. Another important dialogue mechanism instituted for our interaction is the Joint Working Group (JWG) on Afghanistan and countering the menace of cross-border terrorism and drug trafficking at the level of Russia's First Deputy Foreign Minister and India's Foreign Secretary. Three meetings of the above-mentioned JWG have been held so far. The fourth is in the offing. During President Vladimir Putin's visit to India, last October, the two sides agreed to hold Indo-Russian Summits every year. We are looking forward to the official visit of Prime Minister AB Vajpayee to Russia in early November. Recently, President Putin pointed out that Mr Vajpayee's visit would mark a new milestone in our bilateral relations. The two sides are expected not only to review the progress in implementing the Agreements reached in October 2000, but also to explore new avenues to further develop the Indo-Russian Strategic Partnership.

Last year witnessed an unprecedented intensity of high level exchanges at the bilateral level – four Indian Cabinet Ministers visited Moscow in two months and the Russian Deputy Chairman flew twice to New Delhi. In a similar vein, the second half of the current year is expected to maintain the same pace of inter governmental contacts. Two weeks ago, the Union Minister of Communications and Information Technology, Mr Pramod Mahajan, led a high level delegation to Moscow to discuss the 'Inter governmental Protocol on Cooperation in the Telecommunication Field' to be signed during the forthcoming summit. In October 2001, our Deputy Premier, Mr Ilya Klebanov, who is simultaneously co-chairing two Indo-Russian Inter-governmental Commissions on Trade, Economic, Scientific and Technological Cooperation and on Military and Technical Cooperation, will arrive in New Delhi, heading a powerful team comprising the captains of the economy and industry to review all pending bilateral issues in the areas falling



under the jurisdiction of the above-mentioned Commissions. This rapid pace of development strengthens our confidence that the Indo-Russian Strategic Partnership will continue to grow.

In mid November, the heads of administrations of three influential regions of the Russian Federation - St Petersburg, Samara and Volgograd, accompanied by the representatives of their respective business elite will arrive in India, to demonstrate the technological achievements of these regions during the India International Trade Fair to be held at Pragati Maidan. Several important regions of Russia and states of the Indian Union have already established fraternal relations - Mumbai with St Petersburg and Maharashtra with Tver Region. During Mr Vajpayee's visit to Russia, this list will be expanded to include Gujarat with Astrakhan Region and Kazan with Hyderabad. It is a relatively new and extremely prospective area of cooperation. In addition to the traditionally close and confidential inter governmental ties, it is supposed to promote the bonds of friendship as well as the spirit of entrepreneurship between Russians and Indians.

On a regular basis, there is an exchange of visits at the level of the Speakers of both Houses of our Parliaments. In 1998, the Agreement on establishing the Indo-Russian Inter Parliamentary Commission co-chaired by Mr GN Seleznyov, Chairman of the State Duma, the lower chamber of the Russian Federal Assembly, and Mr GMC Balayogi, Speaker of the Indian Lok Sabha, was signed. Its first session was held in New Delhi in March 2000. It is remarkable that India has not so far established a similar joint body with any other country, while Russia for the second time - after constituting a similar mechanism with France, decided to promote its interaction with foreign parliamentarians to such an advanced level. This body is destined to play an extremely important role in the strengthening of our bilateral relations in the first quarter of the Twenty First Century. As our countries are resolved to further reinforce the fundamentals of democracy, to impart maximum transparency to their respective social, economic and political systems, the Commission will serve as a powerful leverage in removing any bureaucratic hurdles that might be threatening to impede the smooth ongoing cooperation.

Military and technical cooperation occupies a crucial place in



the whole gamut of bilateral ties. It is conducted on the basis of the relevant long-term programme till the year 2010, approved by our Governments in 1998. Gone are the days of buyer-vendor contracts between Moscow and New Delhi. India is modernising its armed forces through the acquisition of state-of-the-art armament from local defence industries including a great deal of those produced under Russian licenses - SU-30MK1 multipurpose fighter-bomber jets for the Indian Air Force, T-90 MBTs for the Indian Army, missile battleships and submarines for the Indian Navy. In June 2001, a new milestone has been added by the successful testing of our new joint product - "BrahMos"- supersonic antiship cruise missile with a striking range of 290 kms, on the interim test range in Orissa. Most of the above- mentioned projects are set to last throughout the first quarter of the Twenty First Century. In the defence sector we wish to embark jointly upon the development of a fifth generation fighter jet and the Advanced Jet Trainer (AJT), advanced electronic warfare equipment, aircraft engines and marine propulsion systems. Building on this immense scope and great potential of our partnership in this field, in October 2000, we signed an agreement on establishing the Inter Governmental Commission on Military and Technical Cooperation. It is co-chaired by the Deputy Chairman of the Russian Government, also in charge of the military-industrial complex and the Indian Defence Minister. Its first session was successfully held in Moscow in June 2001. Of special significance is also our cooperation in the field of peaceful uses of atomic energy. Russia conducts it in strict adherence to its international commitments. By the year 2002, we will broaden the horizons of our interaction by launching a new joint project - the construction of the 2,000 mw Kudankulam nuclear power plant that will supply cheaper electricity. By its scale and significance, this project is termed as the "Bhilai and Bokaro" of the Twenty First Century. In compliance with an earlier request by India, Russia is supplying nuclear fuel to the Tarapur plant. Another graphic example of our fruitful interaction in the high-tech field is the recent successful launch of GSLV equipped with a cryogenic engine and some other systems of Russian origin.

Unfortunately, our trade and economic interaction has fallen far behind the scope of cooperation in all other fields. However,



during 2000-2001, after a decade long stagnation we seem to have broken the vicious circle of our traditional, dominantly mineral and semi-finished commodities EXIM basket. Within the framework of the ILTP, Russia and India have undertaken more than 150 joint scientific projects which will provide relatively cheap technologies in various fields from biomedicine and agriculture to semiconductors, computer chips, new materials and energy sources. Their practical implementation will inevitably improve the standards of living of the common people, both in Russia and India.

During the last decade of the Twentieth Century, the annual volume of bilateral trade has been fluctuating in the range of \$ 1.1-1.9 billion. At present, our countries are advancing bilateral economic cooperation in industrial sectors such as power engineering, metallurgy, oil and gas and mineral resources exploration. Russian companies are taking part in the modernisation of Bhakra and Tehri dam hydro power systems. Russian power generating equipment is being supplied to a number of Indian chemical and metallurgical units. A significant technical and technological assistance has also been rendered to several Steel Authority of India Limited (SAIL) metallurgical network units, as well as to numerous Indian coal-mining enterprises.

During President Putin's visit to India in October 2000, a multimillion contract on the joint exploration of gas fields in the Bay of Bengal was signed between the Russian gas giant Gazprom and the Gas Authority of India Ltd. In February 2001, during the visit of the Indian Petroleum Minister, Mr R Naik, to Moscow the Indian oil company, ONGC Videsh Ltd, and the Russian Rosneft (Russian Petroleum) signed an agreement on the joint exploration of hydrocarbon reserves in the Russian Far-Eastern island of Sakhalin. This project is a manifestation of how mature the Indo-Russian Strategic Partnership in the economic and investment fields is all set to be in the Twenty First Century. Its unique feature is that it will be the first ever overseas project in which India has decided to invest so massively, \$ 1.7 bn, in direct and portfolio investments. The hydrocarbons extracted from "Sakhalin-I" oil fields will be supplied to highly solvent and remunerative, but at the same time energy deficient markets, such as Japan, South Korea, China and the Asia Pacific Rim (APR) countries. The Russian and Indian



stake in the international consortium 'Sakhalin-I' constitutes 40 per cent of the total portfolio. Another multimillion contract between the oil giant, Lukoil, and the ONGC Videsh Ltd for joint offshore exploration of hydrocarbons in the Arabian Sea is also on the anvil. Our maiden project in the field of trade and processing of rough natural diamonds - whose world's largest producer is Russia and the world's biggest processor is India, will be adding another \$ 500 million to the annual bill of bilateral trade.

Russia and India are making every 'effort not to limit their mutual investment cooperation on the narrow confines of natural resources and raw materials. In 2001, the two sides have embarked upon an unprecedented project of joint designing and manufacturing of a 100-seater turbo-fan, Ilyushin-214 airliner, and its 20-ton cargo version on the basis of Russian technologies, at an estimated cost of \$ 600 million.

While interacting with the Indian business circles I highlighted the fact that in Russia, the period of economic uncertainty has ended. At present the Russian economy is going through a phase of rapid growth. In the year 2000, the GDP growth rate reached 8.8 per cent, an unprecedented figure since the end of the Second World War.

Due to the consistent efforts of President Putin's new Cabinet, in the year 2000-2001, the Russian Parliament adopted a package of laws that have considerably cut all major taxes. Business profit tax has been reduced from 35 per cent to 24 per cent and VAT from 20 per cent to 15 per cent. A unified rate of tax on personal incomes has also been fixed at the level of 13 per cent. The majority of minor taxes have entirely been abolished. Thus, Russia has become a place with the most favourable taxation climate in Europe. President Putin's persistent efforts at eradication of corruption and economic crime are also yielding visible results. In the year 2000 and in the first half of 2001, Russia has been experiencing an unprecedented influx of domestic and foreign investments. In 2000, the FDI inflow amounted to \$ 5.0 bn and in 2001, it is projected at the level of \$ 7.0 bn.

The new favourable economic environment in Russia has



aroused commercial interest among some Indian entrepreneurs. According to Russian and Indian media reports, in 2000, "Videocon" electronics company and the Russian Voronezh Electronic Tubes Factory (VELZ) have signed a MOU on setting up a Joint Venture (JV) for the production of Videocon coloured TV tubes in Russia. The Indian Company is preparing to invest up to \$ 100 m in this project. Another example of successful investment interaction between Russian and Indian industrialists is a package of joint projects in the field of beverage and food-processing, currently implemented by the Indian Sun Group of companies. The cumulative amount of its direct and portfolio investments into various industrial units in Russia has totalled \$ 500 m since 1991. A number of small-scale investment projects are also being undertaken in the field of production of pharmaceuticals, in particular, with Dr Reddy's Laboratories and Ajanta Pharma.

The Russian business elite is being encouraged to invest more actively in the mutually beneficial projects in India. I am sure that Russian corporates can find application of their considerable financial potential and technological expertise in India.

The implementation of a crucially important infrastructure project - the creation and development of the strategic "North-South transport corridor" will exert a tremendous effect in the improvement of the economic ties between the two countries. In September 2000, Russia, India and Iran signed a relevant inter governmental agreement in St Petersburg. Experimental shipments of several hundreds of containers along this route have proved that it would save up to a fortnight on the delivery and about 30 per cent of the shipment costs. But the pace of the implementation of this project will, of course, depend on the regional stability.

In conclusion, I would like to emphasise that time-tested friendly relations between Russia and India have never rested on considerations of expediency or transient factors. We view these relations as a stable, independent and self sustaining priority factor in our foreign policy, which has never been susceptible or vulnerable to any considerations of the moment.



# Strategic Implications of US Missile Defence

Colonel Gurmeet Kanwal

During his address on global security at the National Defence University, Washington DC on 1 May 2001, President George W Bush unveiled his plan to deploy an anti-missile shield to protect America. As had been widely anticipated, the newly elected President lost no time in implementing his election promise of authorising the development and subsequent deployment of a limited ballistic missile shield. In doing so, he has sounded the death knell of the US-Russian bilateral Anti-ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty of 1972. The ABM Treaty has often been described as the cornerstone of global strategic stability. The architecture of most arms control agreements had been built around this treaty and the Non Proliferation Treaty (NPT) over the last 30 years. President Bush has also re-defined the doctrine of nuclear deterrence. The Bush decision may eventually spur a new global arms race. The new US policy has several indirect repercussions for India's security and needs to be analysed carefully so that suitable strategies can be evolved.

Whilst clearly articulating his determination to go ahead with a missile defence system with all the attendant risks of destabilising the new world order, President Bush held out several olive branches. He expressed his willingness to address Russia's concerns; announced his intention to link missile defence with unilateral reductions in the US nuclear stockpile coupled with a gradual move away from hair-trigger alerts; and, indicated his readiness to have wide-ranging consultations with US allies and friends to seek international consensus on this sensitive issue. Almost the entire international community has deep reservations about the US proposal and is of the view that the US is seeing phantom ballistic missile threats from the so-called "rogue" states, though some nations such as the United Kingdom do not appear to be willing to say so publicly.

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However, it is the larger purpose of Ballistic Missile Defence (BMD) that must be noted. The successful fielding of a BMD system will undoubtedly reinforce the present position of the US as the world's unchallenged hegemonic power. The "unipolar moment" will continue for a while longer and the US will be better placed to unilaterally intervene in any part of the globe to secure its national interests. This unchallenged supremacy causes the maximum consternation among world leaders as there will then be no checks and balances and international relations may once again be governed by a "might is right" attitude. Any security framework, no matter how tentative it is, will be potentially dangerous and destabilising.

### **Intercepting Ballistic Missiles**

The limited Ballistic Missile Defence (BMD) system proposed to be deployed by the US comprises the National Missile Defence (NMD) shield that is expected to defend against threats to the US homeland and theatre missile defence (TMD) that is intended to guard Japan, South Korea, Taiwan and the US fleets against missile attacks when deployed.

A nuclear-tipped ballistic missile can be intercepted in three segments of its trajectory: during the boost phase immediately after launch (boost phase interception -- BPI), in mid-flight while it hurtles through outer space and during the terminal phase after re-entry into the earth's atmosphere and before impact or burst. Missile defences require an elaborate surveillance and early warning system to detect a hostile launch through military satellites and ground-based radars and suitable interceptors to destroy the incoming missile before it can reach its intended target. Interceptors are primarily anti-missile missiles and, increasingly, powerful space-based or airborne lasers. Anti-missile missiles could be stationed on land (the US advanced Patriot, Russian S-300 and the Israeli Arrow II) and at sea on US Aegis class destroyers. Anti-missile lasers could be positioned in the



air (on Boeing 747 aircraft) and on satellites in outer space.

However, despite all the media hype, the technology is decades away from becoming operationally effective. The simplest way to defeat missile defences is to saturate each target with simultaneous attacks from a large number of missiles. Other counter measures include the launching of decoys and flares designed to confuse and distract interceptor guidance systems and anti-missile warheads, thereby enhancing the chances of penetrating the missile defences.

### **Russian and Chinese Reactions**

The Bush administration is of the view that nuclear deterrence, an essential element of the US Defence policy, must be adapted for Twenty First Century deterrence requirements. Defence Secretary Donald Rumsfeld had stated during his confirmation hearing before the US Senate that, "Credible deterrence can no longer be based solely on the prospect of punishment through massive retaliation. Instead, it must be based on a combination of offensive nuclear and non-nuclear defensive capabilities working together to deny potential adversaries the opportunity and benefits from the threat of use of weapons of mass destruction against our (US) forces and homeland, as well as those of our allies." President George W Bush chose to use almost the same words while justifying the need for the BMD during his 1 May address. Quite obviously, besides issues affecting national security, the US decision has been driven by a combination of factors that include ideology, domestic politics and the need to rejuvenate the military-industrial complex (MIC) in a flagging economy.

Though ostensibly aimed at neutralising ballistic missile threats from "states of concern" to the US such as North Korea, Iraq, Libya and Iran and non-state actors like Islamist terrorist organisations, the proposed BMD will undoubtedly undermine the quality of deterrence of nuclear-armed adversaries of the US like Russia and China. Russia may halt further reduction of its nuclear



forces, upgrade its nuclear posture to a robust launch-on-warning status and develop sophisticated missile defence penetration aids. In an extreme case, Russia may even withdraw from the START-I Treaty and put START-II on hold. Russia is also likely to step up its efforts to convince Europe to join it in developing a European missile shield. In any case, Russia will use the fielding of the BMD as leverage to wrest major concessions out of the US, including additional funds for scrapping its obsolete nuclear warheads and the transfer of technology that has so far been denied to it.

On the other hand, China can be expected to be more aggressive in its opposition. Besides the NMD, it feels threatened by the TMD that will provide a nuclear shield to Japan and South Korea and severely degrade the offensive capabilities of its short-range surface-to-surface missiles (SSMs). China is worried that Taiwan may use missile defence technology to develop offensive ballistic missiles. China may even retaliate against the US decision by resuming the sale of ballistic missiles to Pakistan, Iran and the Middle East – a decision that will lead to further missile proliferation and, consequently, strategic instability. North Korea may also renege on its nonproliferation commitments, leading to greater instability in the Asia-Pacific region.

Since it possesses only about one dozen to 20 ICBMs that can reach the west coast of the US and threaten cities like Los Angeles and San Francisco, China will have to take several steps to ensure that its deterrence remains viable despite the BMD of the US. China could be expected to upgrade its nuclear weapons capability quantitatively as well as qualitatively. The modernisation and expansion of its nuclear arsenal would imply a several-fold increase in the number of inter-continental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) and submarine-launched ballistic missiles (SLBMs), an enhancement in the quality and variety of its nuclear warheads and an increase in the number of warheads from the present level of about 450 to a larger number. China would also develop multi-warhead ICBMs with multiple, independently targeted re-entry vehicles (MIRV) so that each missile can hit several targets simultaneously. The implementation of these measures would lead



to an exponential increase in China's Defence expenditure. It is this daunting proposition that has driven the Chinese reaction to the proposed BMD. China is extremely conscious of the debilitating impact that burgeoning defence expenditure would have on its developing economy and would do everything possible to avoid the prospect of breaking up like the Soviet Union by being forced to indulge in a crippling arms race.

The first round of the wide-ranging consultations promised by President Bush has since been held. While the US allies have been far from uniformly supportive, some have expressed outright skepticism. Russia and China have clearly expressed their reservations and have jointly reiterated their opposition to BMD. In particular, both have opposed any US moves towards the unilateral abrogation of the ABM Treaty. However, the international community is still to come to terms with the new possibilities thrown up by President Bush's attempt to re-define the contours of nuclear deterrence in terms of defensive options that supplement offensive postures. The existing nuclear orthodoxies based on doctrines such as MAD (Mutually Assured Destruction) prevented nuclear holocausts after the Second World War but have now definitely outlived their utility in the post-Cold War world and need to be jettisoned in favour of more pragmatic strategies that reflect the emerging poly-centric world order.

### **India's Options**

China's nuclear force modernisation and a quantitative increase in its arsenal will have adverse impact on India's minimum nuclear deterrence that is based on a small number of survivable warheads and missiles and the concept of punitive retaliation. While India's retaliatory posture does not require it to match a nuclear-armed adversary warhead for warhead, an exponential increase in the number of warheads by its adversaries will upset the present ratio disproportionately against India. India will be forced to upgrade the state of readiness of its modest nuclear arsenal and continue to qualitatively improve its nuclear warhead and ballistic missile capabilities as a hedge against strategic uncertainty. India will also need to consider the joint or indigenous development of anti-missile defences to enhance the defensive capability of strategically important primary nuclear targets like New Delhi and Trombay,



among others. During Defence Minister Jaswant Singh's visit to Moscow in early June 2001, the Russians are reported to have made an offer for the joint development of a BMD system. Also, Russia's willingness to sell its S-300 long-range air defence missile system to India has been on the cards for some time now.

Contrary to what some commentators have averred, the US is unlikely to offer a missile shield to India, nor would India be inclined to accept such a shield if it were offered as it would undermine India's strategic autonomy. However, technological cooperation with the US to jointly develop such a shield, would be in India's interest. Pakistan could inevitably be expected to follow suit and step up modernisation and qualitative upgradation of its nuclear forces to match India because Pakistan still believes in the first use of nuclear weapons. This may result in an unintended arms race in South Asia with all the attendant problems, unless India and Pakistan can agree to institute mutually acceptable nuclear Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) and risk reduction measures.

India's diplomatic options must also be considered. During the Cold War era, India would have rued the US decision to field BMD as the beginning of the end of strategic arms control not the least because of its long-standing opposition to the militarisation of space. However, it has now clearly emerged that India gained nothing from the nuclear regime that had been derived from the NPT, as it never had a stake in it, nor in the CTBT and the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG). The existing regime was set up without any regard whatsoever for the security concerns of countries like India. There can be no rational justification for mourning its passing or shedding tears for the dismantling of the grim calculations involved in MAD and other similar nuclear doctrines. India must independently analyse whether the BMD systems stand a reasonable chance of ushering in a more stable world order and, consequently, a more peaceful future and then decide whether to support this US initiative in full measure. It is this larger vision that must guide India's stand, rather than attempts to secure short-term tactical gains.

Today, India can and must think in terms of options that will further its national security interests. India can accept the strategic,



technological and commercial inevitability about the fielding of a limited BMD by the US and take necessary measures to safeguard its national security, so that it can remain engaged in ongoing negotiations and discussions on the issue and count as a player to reckon with in the emerging international security framework. India has a chance to be a leading player in re-writing the rules of the global nuclear order; it must not throw it away. Another option for India would be to throw its weight behind a global missile defence convention that includes all nuclear powers, a concept that appears implausible at present but one that may rapidly take shape in future. Alternatively, India can oppose the deployment of missile defences as a destabilising development, as it opposed several other post-World War II international security developments, and remain a fringe player on the world stage. For too long has India perched itself on the moral high ground in world politics that is driven increasingly by the hard-nosed requirements of realpolitik, and has gained nothing in return.

It is in this context that India's implied endorsement of the US decision needs to be viewed. The eventual deployment of a limited BMD system is strategically, technologically and commercially inevitable. It is this likely scenario in which India has cautiously welcomed President Bush's intended moves to gradually de-alert its nuclear weapons and unilaterally reduce the number of warheads while refraining from being directly critical of the decision to field missile defences. It is in India's interest to invest further in its growing "strategic partnership" with the US, Russia and the European Union, both for developing its growing economy and to prepare itself for a larger role in international affairs so that it is ready "to sup at the table of great nations," as Condoleezza Rice, the US National Security Advisor put it. Sitting in moral judgement on the inevitable BMD is not in India's interests. However, national security cannot be sacrificed at the altar of diplomatic gains and India must simultaneously take all necessary precautions to neutralise the negative impact of the BMD counter-measures likely to be initiated by India's nuclear-armed adversaries.

Writing in the *Economic Times* (15 May 2001), Indrani Bagchi suggested four possible scenarios that may be played out in the case of BMD: "The best case for India... the US achieves both



technological capabilities and international support, the international security framework is re-written and India's gamble pays off handsomely. Second, the US gets the technology but Russia and China back out. India remains in the new US centred order because if the US decides to go ahead unilaterally it could be the making of a new nuclear hegemon, which will not be in India's interests. Third, the US gets nowhere in terms of technology but gets multilateral support ... we're then looking at a more stable global scenario. Fourth, it gets nowhere with either technology or international support. We're back to square one, but perhaps on the right side of history." The thought that India has so far been left out of all important discussions regarding international security framework due to its own predilection for riding the moral high horse and that the situation needs to be remedied, has tended to dominate the writings of Indian analysts since the *Shakti* nuclear tests of May 1998. In keeping with the pragmatism of Kautilya's teachings in statecraft, Indian analysts are increasingly recognising that in a world driven by realpolitik, morality in international affairs is a weak peg for a nation to hang its ideology on.

There are undoubtedly many advantages for India in recognising the inevitability of ultimate BMD deployment and taking its bearings from that likely milestone. By remaining engaged with the US as a co-equal partner in saving the emerging security paradigm, India can continue to work towards its long-standing goal of early nuclear disarmament — the only measure that can completely eliminate the danger of a nuclear holocaust. All things considered, India will do well to support the BMD to further its own national interests while simultaneously adopting all measures necessary to safeguard its national security interests should its nuclear-armed adversaries react as anticipated. However, the BMD deployment is a long way off. More than anyone else, the US is well aware that the BMD system is no "silver bullet" that will provide it an impregnable shield and allow it to think freely in terms of a winning first strike. By cooperating with the US, rather than opposing it unthinkingly as in the past, India can help to shape the contours of the emerging strategic landscape. India should, quite naturally, drive a hard bargain for its support and also remain vigilant about any adverse repercussions to its own security.



# The State Civil and Armed Police and National Security

N N Vohra

National Security encompasses and relates to any and every kind of threat to the Indian State: from every possible source within the country and from across the airspace or our land and sea borders. Thus, in general terms, national security could be defined to comprise two major components - external security and internal security. I would confine my observations to the role which the State Police forces are required to play in managing the internal security of the country and, in such process, contribute to safeguarding national security.

India is the seventh largest country in the world with an area of over 33 lakh square kms, a land boundary of more than 15,000 kms, over 600 island territories, a coast line of over 7,500 kms and an Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) of 2.5 million square kms. It has land borders with six countries and maritime borders with five countries. In the East, our island territories are over 1,300 kms away from the main land and are thus far closer to our ASEAN neighbours. Except Haryana and Madhya Pradesh all other States have one or more land or maritime borders which require to be safeguarded. Arising from the conflicts with Pakistan and China, our borders with these countries are militarised and generate a variety of threats to national security.

Our national security is significantly influenced by the country's historical legacy, immense cultural and geographical diversity and socio-religious traditions which are rooted in thousands of years of history. Our billion and more population comprise multi-racial, multi-religious, multi-lingual and multi-cultural societies of which significant

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segments are still deprived and disadvantaged. The management of such acute complexities in our secular democracy generates continuing serious challenges on varied fronts, specially in the maintenance of internal security. Regional and global developments also influence the geo-political balance and impact significantly on our security interests.

India is a Union of States. Our Constitution demarcates the executive and the legislative powers of the Union and the States. The States have the responsibility of maintaining "law and order" in their respective jurisdictions. Thus, "Public Order" and "Police" are included in the State List (List II, Seventh Schedule of the Constitution). Consequently, in terms of Article 246(3), the States have the exclusive power to make laws in respect of the aforesaid matters and in normal times, the maintenance of public order is the sole responsibility of the States.

The States may seek the Centre's assistance whenever a serious situation arises which they are unable to tackle by fully utilising their available resources. In such circumstances the Centre may deploy its police forces and/or the Army in aid to civil power (Item 2A, List I, Seventh Schedule). Such deployments of Central armed forces are for specific periods or till such time as a given disorder is brought under control and normalcy is restored.

The Constitution provides that it shall be the duty of the Union to protect the States against external aggression and internal disturbance and to ensure that the government of every State is carried on in accordance with the Constitutional provisions (Article 355).

To maintain the federal solidarity the Union is empowered to issue necessary directions to the States (Articles 256-257). If the President is satisfied that a situation has arisen in which the Government of the State cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, he may proceed to enforce President's Rule for a specified period, till Constitutional functioning is restored in the State (Article 356).

Under the original provisions in Article 352, it was stipulated that if the President is satisfied that a grave emergency exists whereby the security of India or any part of the territory is threatened



whether by war or external aggression or internal disturbance or if there is the imminent danger of such an eventuality, he may enforce Emergency in the whole or any part of the country. However, consequent to the 44th Amendment (Act 1978) the term "internal disturbance" was substituted by "armed rebellion".

As a result of the aforesaid amendment the duty of the Union Government in combating the threats to the country's internal security can only be in a situation of an armed rebellion taking place and not merely in the event of outbreak of disorder or disruption of settled conditions. It is my view that the aforesaid amendment has resulted in seriously restricting the Union's authority, specially in the context of the obtaining grave threats to national security.

The power to enforce Emergency has been exercised twice on grounds of "external aggression" - in October 1962 after the Chinese intrusion in NEFA and in December 1971 when Pakistan launched an undeclared war on India and once, in June 1975, on the grounds of "internal disturbance" in the country.

The Constitution also provides for the enforcement of Martial Law. There has been no occasion in the past five decades and more for this Constitutional provision being put to use.

For discharging their Constitutional responsibility, to maintain public order in their jurisdictions, the States are expected to maintain adequately trained and equipped police forces. Briefly, the entire framework of the civil police administration in the States, from the village level upwards, is expected to timely gather intelligence, enforce the laws, take pre-emptive actions to ensure against any disruption of peace and public order, apprehend offenders, investigate cases, launch prosecutions and take every necessary measure to maintain law and order.

The States are also expected to maintain adequately trained and equipped armed police units in the required strength and call them into action to assist the District Police whenever a situation arises which the latter cannot handle from within their own resources. Armed Police contingents may also be deployed to manage Statewide agitations or any other large scale situation which has the potential of disrupting law and order.



As the essential responsibility for the maintenance of peace and public order rests with the States, it would be useful to examine whether they have equipped themselves to discharge this vital obligation. In this context it may be mentioned that when the Founding Fathers of our Constitution decided to vest this responsibility in the States, the maintenance of public order largely involved keeping criminal activities under control, making preventive arrests or imposing curfew if the emerging situation so warranted. Thus, in the earlier years, an agitating crowd could invariably be dispersed by resorting to lathi (cane) charge or using tear gas, and in the event of agitation turning violent, the civil or armed police on duty could, under directions of the Duty Magistrate, fire in the air and, if even this did not work, fire at the advancing mob to incapacitate the front ranks but not to kill.

The aforesaid scenario no longer exists; the ground realities relating to the maintenance of public order have undergone a sea change. For last two decades and more the Police has been required to deal with serious disorders created by highly motivated and trained insurgent and terrorist groups which possess unlimited resources, state-of-the-art communication systems, weaponry and remote controlled gadgetry for causing death and destruction. The State Police forces do not possess the required capability and resources to tackle insurgencies, much less the grave situations unleashed by well organised terrorist groups. The serious deficiencies from which the State Police suffer were exposed in the early 80's when Punjab was faced by Pakistan supported militancy. The continuing insurgencies in the North East region and Pakistan's proxy-war in Jammu and Kashmir, ongoing for over a decade now, have further demonstrated the incapacities of the State Police organisations.

At the time of the attainment of Independence, the total strength of the civil and armed police constabularies in the country was less than one lakh. As per the latest available data, the strength of such forces has risen to over 14 lakhs of which, significantly, the total strength of the armed police is merely 3.71 lakhs.

Almost every State suffers from acute deficiencies in the strength and infrastructural resources of its civil police set-up. The Police Stations, grossly understaffed and ill equipped, cannot be



expected to timely gather intelligence or effectively police the areas under their charge. The strength of the armed police maintained by the States is altogether inadequate and far too ill equipped to timely tackle any arising situation.

Over the years the successive governments in the States, irrespective of their political coloration, have most seriously failed to discharge their vital obligation to maintain well trained, fully equipped and professionally trustworthy civil and armed police forces in adequate strength to effectively maintain public order and timely tackle serious security situations which may develop in their jurisdictions. Continuing inadequate budgetary support for the Police departments, and the consequentially increasing deficiencies in almost every aspect of Police functioning, has led to a situation in which the States perpetually call upon the Union Home Ministry to deploy the Central Police Forces for tackling virtually every kind of internal disorder.

In the aforesaid scenario the Centre has been compelled to continually increase the strength of the Central Police Forces which in 1999, comprised about 5.9 lakh personnel constituting 354 battalions. While this strength may appear significant, it must be noted that it includes about 220 battalions of border guarding forces which should in normal circumstances never be moved away from their duty to watch the frontiers. It is also to be noted that the Centre, whenever called upon to deal with serious internal security situations, has had no choice except to withdraw the BSF, Indo-Tibetan Border Police (ITBP) and Assam Rifles (AR) from their mandated roles for indefinite periods. As the Central Police Forces are themselves not fully trained and equipped to deal with war like situations, the Centre has also had to deploy the Army in aid of civil power on repeated occasions.

The internal discipline, morale and commitment of any uniformed force is crucially determined by the manner in which it is controlled and managed. Studies undertaken by the Bureau of Police Research and Development in regard to the living and working conditions of the State Police forces and various other available reports reveal a most alarming situation:

- (a) 25 per cent of the Police Stations and 50 per cent of the Police outposts do not have regular buildings.



- (b) Over 37 per cent Police Districts work from make shift Police lines.
- (c) Over 70 per cent Police Districts do not have a proper Control Room.
- (d) Superintendents of Police in over 34 per cent Police Districts, are not provided residential accommodation.
- (e) 70 per cent of the constabulary is without residential accommodation.
- (f) The mobility deficiency is approximately 43 per cent.
- (g) The weaponry available with the Police is insufficient and obsolete.
- (h) The communication systems are inadequate, out dated and non-functional in most cases.
- (j) The National Police Commission (NPC) had assessed, over 20 years ago, that the Constables were required to work an average of 13 hours a day. Presently, they perform daily duties for even longer hours.
- (k) While required to undergo training every five years, Police personnel are provided training opportunities only once in every 20 years.
- (l) The curricula for the training of Policemen, which requires continuing orientation to modern policing practices with special reference to the emerging crime patterns, has not been regularly reviewed and changed.
- (m) Inadequate attention has been paid to the maintenance of to-date crime records and communication systems which would enable rapid access and retrieval of the required information for investigating crime.
- (n) The Forensic Science Laboratories are very few in number and even these are inadequately equipped. The speed and quality of investigations are seriously impaired as thousands of references made by the Police remain pending for prolonged periods, resulting in the failure of prosecutions and continued resort to obsolete investigation methodologies.



In 1999-2000 the all India expenditure, to maintain Police forces with a strength of over 14 lakhs, was no more than Rs. 14,922 crores. These figures would readily indicate the impoverished status of the State Police organisations. The Bureau of Police Research and Development has estimated, last year, that an investment of over Rs. 30,000 crores would be required to remedy the essential deficiencies in the State Police organisations.

The experience of dealing with the period of serious disorder in Punjab, the insurgencies in the North East region, the continuing proxy war in J and K and significant disturbances elsewhere in the country has demonstrated that some of these disturbances may not have escalated into grave internal security problems, if they had been promptly and effectively dealt with, at the incipient stages. In this context it may be noted that while prolonged neglect has led to the presently obtaining inadequacies of the State Police organisations, a factor which has seriously impaired their performance arises from the persistent interference in their functioning by political and extra-Constitutional elements. As the Police is among the most visible instruments of the national administrative apparatus its failure to enforce the law effectively has led not only to seriously eroding the image of governance but also creating a most regrettable impression that lawless elements can indulge in criminality with impunity.

In the above stated background, it would not be an exaggeration to say that internal security cannot be maintained unless the State Police organisations are enabled to function with efficiency, speed and total reliability. This can happen only if immediate measures are taken to systematically remedy each factor which has contributed to the progressive decline in Police functioning. Inter alia, besides providing the required financial allocations, the State Chief Ministers would have to ensure that there is no political interference whatsoever in the day to day functioning of the Police, specially in regard to the recruitments, transfers, postings and promotions of the personnel at all levels. Further, the Police would be able to resolve many of their internal problems if the State Governments can ensure that all appointments to the senior echelons, specially those of the State Police chiefs, are from among officers of proven professional standing and known



integrity. For restoring the command and control systems, discipline, efficiency and loyalty of the Police, it would also be necessary to ensure that all incompetent and dishonest elements are ruthlessly weeded out.

In its 43rd Report to the concerned Parliamentary Standing Committee, the Ministry of Home Affairs has brought out that 210 of the 535 districts in the country are affected by grave problems of public disorder such as insurgency, militancy and ethnic strife. In other words, about 40 per cent of the country is facing serious disorders of one or the other kind.

While the maintenance of law and order would continue to significantly depend on the efficiency of the Police and Intelligence organisations, a number of other factors impinge on the safeguarding of internal security, among which reference may be made to some of the more worrying concerns:

(a) The effective maintenance of security calls for efficient and honest governance of the States. Good governance is inconceivable if there is any compromise whatsoever in the enforcement of the Rule of Law. Continuing maladministration and corruption have created the inalienable impression that our polity, bureaucracy and the rich and influential elements are beyond the pale of law.

(b) In the past years there has been an unending spate of scandals and exposures of corruption at the highest levels which have eroded the credibility of governance. With money and muscle power playing a dominant role in the electoral process, unseemly and criminal elements have found their way into the State and Central Legislatures. National security cannot be safeguarded if those convicted for corrupt practices are able to secure ministerial positions.

(c) Consequent to the bomb blasts in Mumbai in March 1993, which had caused enormous human and economic loss, a report prepared in the Ministry of Home Affairs had exposed the serious security threats which emerged from the nexus between politicians, bureaucrats and crime syndicates. For want of determined action to liquidate this nexus, the underworld



crime and mafia groups have continued to enlarge their networks and such elements have since built up resources and capacity to carry out sabotage and subversion virtually at their will.

(d) About one fourth of our billion and more population subsists below the poverty line. The failure of governance to ameliorate the lot of the deprived segments has generated understandable feelings of anger and resentment among them.

(e) The feeling of alienation among the disadvantaged communities is heightened by their social and economic exploitation. They are subjected to harassments by various political groups which exploit religious, caste and ethnic factors to seek electoral gains.

(f) Besides the failure of governance to implement the avowed goals of a welfare state and deliver social and economic justice, there has been continuing neglect in responding sensitively and timely to the felt needs and political aspirations of ethnic groups and tribal communities, most of whom live in remote, difficult and unconnected areas of the country. The failure to satisfy the demands of such groups, which are unfortunately viewed in terms of the likely electoral gains and losses to the political parties in power, has contributed to an understandable distrust of the governmental machinery.

(g) The Centre provides substantial grants to the States to carry out poverty alleviation programmes. Even such funds being embezzled or diverted to non-productive purposes has contributed to loss of hope and cynicism among the disadvantaged groups.

(h) Tangible steps have still to be taken to deal with rampant corruption and introduce efficiency and accountability in governance. The Lokpal Bill has been pending enactment for over three decades and the Lokayukta, established in many States, have still to produce any mentionable results in bringing the dishonest to book.



(j) Internal security management, even in some of the disturbed States, is jeopardised by the activities of political persons and public servants with questionable integrity who have linkages with the very insurgent and militant groups against whom the Security Forces are combating. Such elements, specially the tainted functionaries, require to be urgently dealt with.

(k) The divisive environment pervading several parts of the country is exploited by Pakistan's sustained efforts to destabilise India by investing enormous resources for spreading religious fundamentalism, establishing networks to carry out sabotage and subversion and coercing the disgruntled and alienated elements to adopt the gun culture and spread insurgencies.

(l) For want of timely counter-action after the 1993 terrorist attacks in Mumbai, Pakistan's ISI has established linkages with organised crime and mafia groups which carry out extortions, kidnappings and killings, smuggling of weapons, explosives and illicit drugs, money laundering, circulation of fake Indian currency and freely perpetrate varied other offences which seriously affect national security.

(m) For the last two decades, ever since Pakistan's initial foray into Punjab, the Centre's essential response has been to deal with the emerging internal security problems through the deployment of additional Central armed forces. While such application of force is inescapable for restoring normalcy in any disturbed area, no lasting outcome can be achieved unless, systematic attention is also devoted to deal with the social, economic and political aspects of any serious disorder.

(n) If internal security has to be effectively managed, the States must fully discharge their essential responsibility to maintain peace and public order. If there is any default in this regard the Centre must not allow political considerations to come in the way of promptly and strictly dealing with the defaulting State, as provided in the Constitution.



(o) The Centre must pursue all possible approaches to secure the fullest support and undiluted coordination by the States to execute all measures necessary for maintaining national security.

(p) Lawlessness cannot be controlled and internal security maintained unless the entire framework of the criminal justice system functions with speed, fairness and honesty. In 1999, nearly 50 lakh cases were registered under the IPC and other laws and over two crore cases were pending trials in Courts. Besides being severely handicapped in its strength and resources the image of the cutting edge of the justice system – magistrates, subordinate judges, prosecutors and even lawyers – is seriously tainted. The most urgent measures must be implemented to reform the justice administration apparatus.

(q) The Police Act of 1861 is obsolete and unworkable in our democratic framework. It must be replaced without further delay by a more relevant legislation.

(r) While we are continuing with a host of outdated and irrelevant laws, we do not have an adequately stringent law for dealing with cases of terrorism, cyber crimes and the emerging areas of organised criminality which pose a grave threat to the nation's unity and integrity.

(s) The activities of the organised crime groups can cause grave internal disorders. So far we do not have a Federal Crime Agency which can take cognisance of, investigate and prosecute the serious offences committed by networks whose activities may cover several States, the entire country and even extend beyond our frontiers. The law under which the CBI operates does not allow it to take up any case without the consent of the concerned States.

(t) There is no comprehensive law for dealing with serious economic offences which, if unchecked, can disrupt the national economy. No further time can be lost in enforcing a comprehensive Economic Offences Code and implementing



a fully coordinated strategy to deal with the most serious threats to the economic security of our country.

(u) Those engaged in cyber offences and E-commerce generated crimes, operate in a borderless world. Such grave challenges cannot be met if the various law enforcing agencies continue to operate within their respective limited areas of responsibility.

(v) Many of the fundamental factors which contribute to the generation of serious grievances and in turn lead to internal disturbances, shall start reducing when the people are empowered. Concerted action must be taken to enable the local communities to manage most of their affairs, including the maintenance of public order.

(w) For safeguarding internal security the Centre shall have to considerably enlarge its resources and speedily re-organise its functioning to enforce a constant vigil across the country and beyond its frontiers. Towards this objective it would be necessary to enlarge and significantly strengthen the intelligence apparatus in the States and ensure that it operates in complete conjunction with the Central intelligence agencies.

(x) Our national interests cannot be protected and safeguarded unless there is very high sensitivity to every aspect which has a bearing on the maintenance of security and, further, there is undiluted coordination among all concerned agencies in the States and the Centre to identify emerging problems, evolve action plans and execute them efficiently without any delay whatsoever.

In the prevailing security environment, it would be a serious mistake to distinguish and deal separately with our external and internal security concerns. From the scenario which I have attempted to portray it would be appreciated that, over the past decade and more, our internal and external security concerns have got inextricably intermeshed. It is, therefore, extremely important that a holistic view is evolved of all our security concerns and a comprehensive strategy is worked out and executed to safeguard national security.



It is also necessary to recognise that internal security includes the maintenance of security in respect of every vulnerable area: energy, science and technology, environment, communications and information technology, food, financial and economic security et al. In this context it is of vital importance that the existing structures and organisations, and the systems and procedures followed by them, are most urgently reorganised to enforce a constant vigil on each and every front and establish prompt and reliable responses to meet any challenging situation. Any failure to do so would pose grave threats to the very unity and integrity of our country.

National security can be safeguarded if each one of us remembers, always and ever : "who dies if India lives and who lives if India dies?".

### ARTICLES FOR THE USI JOURNAL

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# Exploitation of Space for Military Purposes : An Indian Experience

## Part-I

Brigadier A K Lal

**"The vastness of Space is a Key factor  
in the war-form of the future"**

**- Alvin & Heidi Toffler**

### Introduction

Conventional wars are almost an outdated concept in this shrinking world. Compare Alexander's long campaigns in 326 BC to the present. With modernisation and great technological advances, distances have shrunk. Warfare has been upgraded from bows and arrows and horses to precision guided munitions (PGMs) and killer satellites. The year 2000 AD and beyond is bound to be an era of space wars. As Frank Barnaby in his book *Future War* has said "Today's military planners see space as a 'High Ground', a vital part of the military equation".

Prior to First World War warfare was limited to the horizontal dimension only whereby invaders raided on horsebacks. Since then vertical dimension is only adding infinitely, ie even beyond space. Therefore, let us analyse if they affect warfare and their strategies. What impact do they have on nuclear strategy in a future milieu is definitely a moot question? Can we achieve global security by preventing an arms race in space? To what extent space domination will give victory on ground? Will they make nuclear weapons redundant? Or can we have an integrated nuclear space strategy to offset conventional inferiority? Are conventional wars already outdated?

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The current decade has witnessed an intense and phenomenal revolution in military affairs (RMA), particularly in the technologically advanced military forces including the exploitation in space. This was articulated by Marshal NV Ogarkar (Russian Army) who gave RMA a technical colour and an important factor for future global security and planning. The forerunner in the RMA has definitely been Information Technology (IT), which is on the threshold of revolutionising human life and warfare too. It integrates all information in real time and thus its military application has no barriers, even when dealing with satellites and space warfare. Technologies related to space would occupy prime positions in times to come. Their application in space warfare has been progressively expanding after the 1957 Sputnik-1 launch by Russia. Reagan's proposed Star Wars or Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) although shelved as a whole, is proliferating in respective singular fields under different names like the Global Protection Against Limited Strikes (GPALS) type projects. Undoubtedly any victory in space would generate a cascading effect on ground. It is bound to outdo strategies of nuclear warfare alone, by an integrated nuclear and space doctrine – or maybe by 'The space-sky-ground' doctrine. This concept proposes integration of technologies with weapons systems and their geographical locations like on earth, air and space; so as to churn a new theology impacting on the paradigm of future 'Force Structures', not so far in the distant future, may be in the post 2010 period when Star Wars concept may start being visible. Conventionality of current military application would be surpassed by technologies in outer space. International bodies, who have raised a cry on this account by treaties to curb this trend, have already proved non-starters. Therefore, tomorrow's threat perceptions would become space centric too, which would change the balance of global military power. Donald J Kutyna, earlier Chief to the US Space Command says "In a future of decreased, retrenched forces, we will rely on space even more, space systems will always be first on the scene."<sup>1</sup> It is precisely here that the efficacy of space based military capabilities become an economical force multiplier in the Indian context.

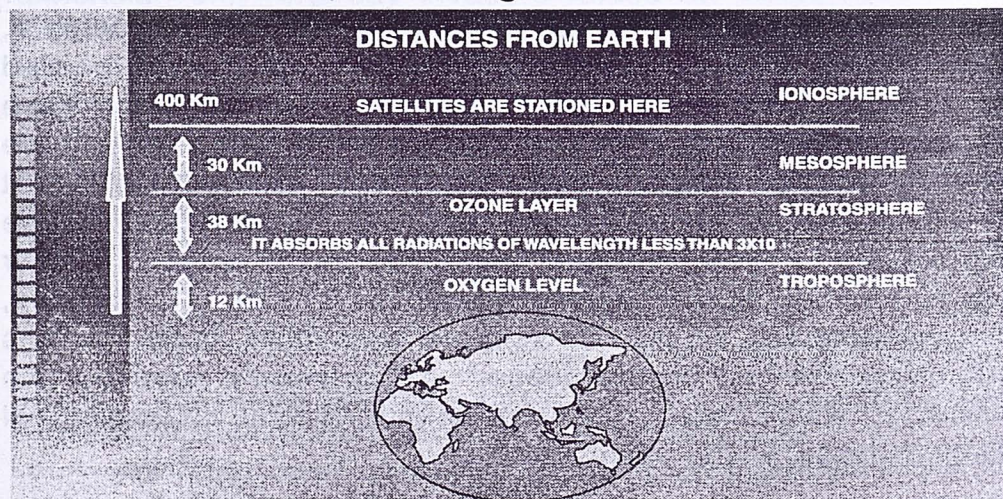


The canvas of this subject requires a complete understanding of the astrodynamics of space and the acrodynamics of atmosphere. With this is required the analysis of breakthrough technologies and its impact on the Defence Services of modern states, so that its applicability in an earth-space environment can be crystallised.

## UNDERSTANDING THE FUNDAMENTALS OF SPACE : EXPLOITATION FOR MILITARY APPLICATION

Space is termed to denote the entire universe, the earth and its atmosphere, the moon, the sun and the other solar systems over the infinite skies. "Outer space" denotes the entire space except the earth and its atmosphere. 'Outer space' begins where the earth's atmosphere ends and the beginning of orbital space or circumterrestrial space is extending from 60 miles above earth to about 50,000 miles. The space above can also be classified as Troposphere, Stratosphere (which also has the Ozone layer), Mesosphere and Ionosphere, where the satellites are normally placed. The inter se distances from the surface of the earth are also shown in diagrammatic form in figure 1.

Fig. 1





## **Astronomy : Solar System**

Our earth is the third planet from the Sun and Mars is closest to the earth. In 1967, Mariners 6 and 7 passed Mars. In 1971, Mariner 9 went into orbit around Mars and thereafter in 1976, Vikings 1 and 2 landed on Martian surface. No life has been detected on Mars but there is a possibility of presence of some water and organic compounds on Phobos and Deimos, the two satellites of Mars. Obviously Mars has a space-base potential. Similar probes are being carried out for other planets and their satellites. One cannot overrule that in the later part of the Twenty First Century, they may be used as space stations for a passing fleet. In the near future, however, the rivalry for the moon would result in military bases being established on the moon. The race has already begun. We need to understand the moon, a little more.

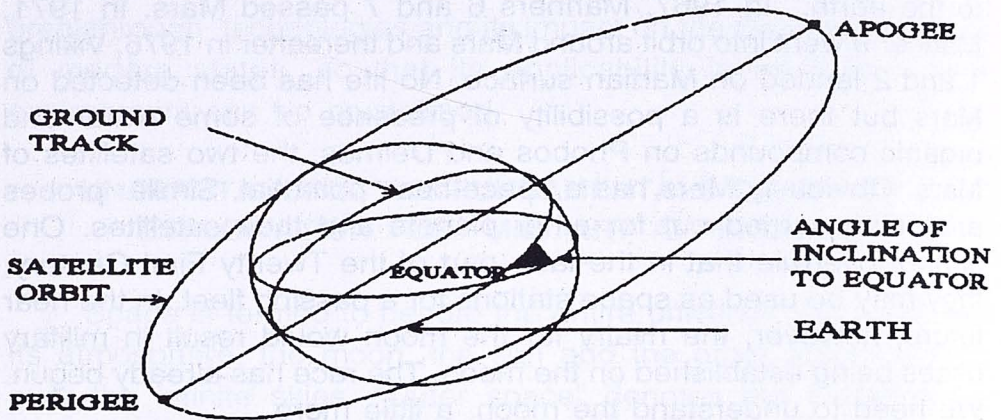
The moon has a circumference of 10,920 kms as compared to earth's 40,077 kms. Earth has 81 times the weight of the moon. The distance from the centre of the moon to the centre of the earth is 484,404 kms, whereas the inter surface distance is 476,366 kms. This implies that if the speed to travel towards moon is 1000 kmph then the total travel time to the moon would be 19 days 20 hours and 9.6 seconds. Escape velocity from the moon is 2.4 kms per second compared to earth's 11.3 kms per second. The Moon's period of rotation is equal to the period of revolution about the earth ie 27.32 days. These astronomical specifications qualify the moon to be the base; the stepping stone for future military activities in space at least till the middle of the next century. Countries would deploy strategic forces on it. Occupation of moon would be decisive at least in a global war. Understanding of orbits in the military context becomes necessary as explained below.

## **Basic Orbital Physics**

- Every satellite in orbit has its own uniqueness and eccentricity (defined as the ratio of half the distance between the foci of the ellipse and the semi-major axis (ie  $c/a$  in figure 1). For seeing various orbital combinations see figures 2 and 3. The perigee is the point where a satellite is nearest to the earth and the farthest point is the apogee of the orbit.

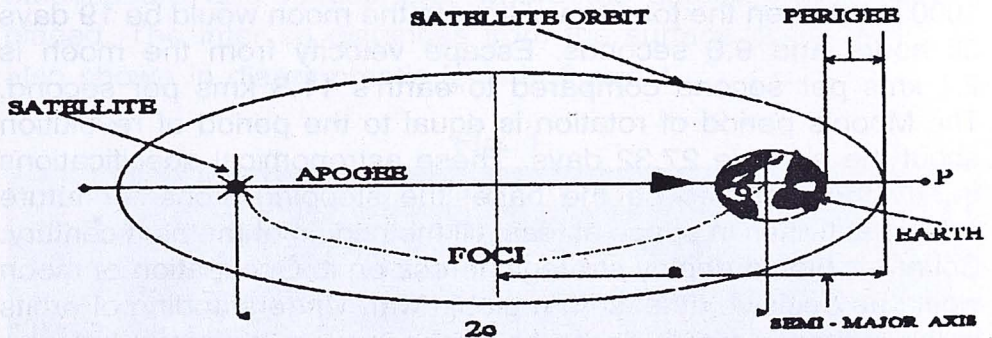


Fig 2

**SATELLITE ORBIT CHARACTERISTICS**

Source : Christopher Meredith, *Space Weapons - Deterrence or Delusion*.

Fig 3

**A SATELLITE IN ORBIT : PLAN VIEW**

Source: UNIDER, Geneva. P-7

- These satellites are classified into three categories, according to their orbital characteristics : they are geo-synchronous, semi-synchronous or non-synchronous, depending on their utilisation in space and the movement in respect to earth.

**Exploitation and Military Application**

Reconnaissance is one of the primary tasks of a satellite. It



could be photographic, electronic, or oceanographic surveillance, both for civil and military purposes. Communication, navigation, meteorology, or geodetic satellites have given a new dimension to land warfare capabilities. Then, there are the satellite weapon systems, which can effect both the land and space battles like the anti-satellite (ASW) or the anti-anti satellite weapons (AASW).

### **Anti-Satellite Weapons**

The 'conventional' weapons are based on missile and satellite technologies. Unconventional weapons are those which use directed electromagnetic radiation as a means of destroying or damaging a satellite.<sup>2</sup>

In the USA a number of potential devices are being investigated for weapons applications by the Air Force, the Navy and the Defense Advanced Research Project Agency (DARPA). The US Air Force has carried out a number of tests using its airborne laser laboratory (ALL) equipped with a 400 kw carbon dioxide gas dynamic laser. The laser radiation wavelength is 10.6 mm. In such a laser, the rapid expansion of the lasting gas provides the inverted distribution of excited molecular energy states necessary for laser beam emission.

The most commonly used chemical reaction is between hydrogen and fluorine emitting radiation at a relatively short wavelength of 2.7 $\mu$ m or deuterium and fluorine radiating at 3.8 $\mu$ m. The Triad programme consists of three elements, code-named *Alpha*, under which the feasibility of generating infra-red chemical high-energy lasers has been investigated; *LODE* (large optical demonstration experiment), under which a large mirror 4 m in diameter is being developed to steer and control the laser beam; and the space-borne *Talon Gold*, under which the target acquisition tracking and precision-pointing techniques have been investigated.<sup>3</sup>

### **Anti-Satellite Capability (ASAT)**

Weaponisation of space is already on, although the Outer Space Treaty of 1967 prohibits the same. Most of the ASAT weapons tested upto the 1980s fell short of the range in reaching



military satellites.<sup>4</sup> Therefore, the present levels of ASAT held by both the USA and Russia would be definitely of longer range with the capability of destroying them. Both, nuclear and non-nuclear ASAT weapons have been formed. According to an estimate, a total of 20 ASAT tests were carried out by the Soviet Union between October 1968 and June 1982.<sup>5</sup>

### **Space-Based Defensive System (BMD)**

Presently the Anti-Ballistic Missile system (ABM) is under debate. Understanding their concepts would give a clear picture of their military application. There are four concepts of a space-based BMD system. The first is that in which high-energy lasers are orbited. These are very similar to the high-energy laser weapons discussed earlier. The second concept in this field is that proposed by the High Frontier Group. In this concept, 432 satellites, each armed with 40-45 missile interceptors, would be placed permanently in orbit around the Earth.<sup>6</sup> The interceptors, each capable of obtaining a velocity of about 1 km/s relative to the carrier satellite, would be guided by infra-red sensors to home in on enemy missile boosters and destroy them by colliding against them at high speed. However, this system by itself is very vulnerable. Thus, a third concept has taken roots. The third BMD concept, which is partly space-based, is that which was also supported by the US presidential science adviser George A Kayworth. This system would consist of several hundred lasers each operating at or near the visible light spectrum. The lasers would be interspersed throughout the US landmass and would be fired at large Earth-orbiting mirrors launched in great numbers on warning of an attack by enemy missiles. The fourth BMD concept could operate in neutralising an ICBM during re-entry phase. The idea being to unbalance the heat shield to ensure burning off, of the missile before it enters the earth's atmosphere. This can be even done by a non-nuclear area electro-magnetic pulse (EMP) explosion along a corridor dictated and identified by ballistics. BMD may yet take another intangible form by creating a 'Thought Pulse (TP)' in the corridor of entry into the earth's atmosphere. This TP can be created by breakthrough research through the medium of spiritualisation and capacitance to store the thought. Maybe, the world will get convinced over the domination



of mind over matter. Presently, very little research has been done on this aspect due to lack of human comprehension (one private research group in India is doing such work).

## **Militarisation and Weaponisation**

Militarisation of space falls within the definition of utilising the services of satellites for enhancing performance of terrestrially based weapon and surveillance and communication systems. On the other hand, weaponisation would mean placing of weapon systems in space, ie using space platforms. The military aspects of existing satellite functions would increasingly encompass the following as our dependence on satellites will increase four fold :-

(a) **Command, Control, Communication, Computer and Intelligence and Information (C<sup>4</sup>I<sup>2</sup>)**. The array of surveillance and intelligence data is gathered by space, air and land-based electronic and photographic equipment and sensors. C<sup>4</sup>I<sup>2</sup> cannot operate without space assets.

(b) **Meteorology and Remote Sensing**. Meteorology (Met) in warfare is getting added importance, as any warfare artillery, missiles, tactical nuclear weapons, chemical weapons or biological weapons would be dependent on this factor. Many NATO remote sensing weapons and ammunition failed due to unfavourable Met conditions especially cloud formations. Most of the military satellites (about 40 per cent) in the period up to 1985 were photo-reconnaissance satellites.<sup>7</sup>

(c) **Early Warning and Electronic Intelligence (EW and ELINT)**. This is one of the key areas of satellite intelligence. ELINT can monitor all possible sources generating electromagnetic spectrum and thus provide EW as well as enemy's capability including the performance data about the missiles and aircraft. EW satellites carry infrared sensors to detect plumes of missiles so launched. In the European scenario the time of flight is 30 minutes, which gives adequate notice of an ICBM attack. Information from such satellites is communicated to the North American Defence Command (NORAD)/space command at Colorado Springs and within 300 seconds of a



missile launch, the NORAD is able to identify the nature of attack. This gives about 25 minutes to the defender to take recourse against the same.<sup>8</sup> However, in the South Asian context, the time of flight would be just six minutes. This early warning and reaction would be almost impossible.

(d) **Navigation Global Position.** Satellites are in a position to provide real-time data of mobile ships, aircraft or missiles which helps in targeting and navigation of the following :-

- Midcourse navigation.
- Ascertaining very accurate disposition of troops and weapons.
- Positioning and ascertaining velocity of space vehicles and satellites.
- Assists movement of ground troops in areas where there are no navigational aids like in deserts (in the 1990 Gulf War, infantrymen moved with the help of Global Positioning Systems – GPS).
- The US Navstar GPS includes 18 satellites in 6 planes.<sup>9</sup> The current IRIDIUM project will have a constellation of satellites which will connect the globe comprehensively.

(e) Following weapons technologies are likely to evolve :

- Laser weapons (particle beam/chemical lesser).
- UHF weapons.
- Ultra sonic waves weapons.
- Stealth weapons.
- Plasma weapons.
- Ecological weapons.
- Smart weapons.
- Logic weapons.



- Sonic weapons.
- Electro-magnetic rail run.

## SHIFT IN MILITARY STRATEGY AND PRINCIPLES OF WAR

Space and nuclear warfare tend to merge and become interdependent. In fact, nuclear war would slant towards flexible response by fourth generation systems. This perforce would require assistance from space. Space would become the 'eyes' and 'ears' of employing nuclear weapons pin-pointedly with lesser collateral effects.<sup>9</sup> Analytically, nuclear war would ascend to the orbiting space platforms. Country 'A' without space capability cannot fight country 'B' which dominates. The treaties to further ban weaponisation of space would be a non-starter and would become adjunct to Nuclear Non Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and the ongoing Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT). Or do we foresee an S-5 group akin to the P-5 group, so emerging.

Yet another facet which would undergo a sea change is the definition of yet a higher form of strategy which may effect the outer space or the cosmos. The military definitions which emerge in a graded manner are Minor Tactics, Tactics, Strategy, Grand Strategy, Outer Space Strategy, Universal Strategy and Cosmic Strategy (to enable better comprehension of this new subject, background details have been appended, for reference only. These views are of the author alone).

### Principles of War : Transformation

The factoring in of space militarisation in defence capabilities and force structures is bound to occur. Therefore, it becomes very important to study the transformation in the traditional principles of war:

(a) **Concentration of Force.** This dictum was propounded both by the 'Expanding Torrent' and 'Blitzkrieg' theory. However, in a changed scenario where satellites would be dominating the warfare spectrum, a new connotation to concentration of force would emerge. Imagine a scenario of concentration of force before a strike. (The example of



Guderian's Second World War concept of concentration of massive armour, for increasing the force ratio, for turning the flanks of France, cannot be forgotten). But this would prove disastrous in a space dominant scenario, as any concentration on ground is likely to invite strikes from 'direct firing laser satellites'. In other words, concentration of force like tanks etc would become sitting ducks in a space warfare scenario.

(b) **Surprise.** Due to battlefield transparency caused by ongoing RMA, surprise would only be possible by change of intention and direction of attack.

(c) **Momentum.** The meaning of 'Momentum' of operations would enlarge to a wider facet of electronic warfare and a continuous application of 'dominating manoeuvre' from one point of 'centre of gravity' to yet another, so as to pulverise and completely dislocate the enemy. Therefore, maintenance of momentum will not require only numbers but "momentum in technology" too.

(d) **Administration and Logistics.** Due to lesser physical deployment of troops and the telescoping of time and space, the concept of focussed logistics would become predominant and opening the axis of maintenance may become subsidiary.

(e) The other forms of warfare which would become dominant would be cyber, satellite, PGMs and the concept of 'Dominating Manoeuvre'.

## A Common Nuclear and Space Doctrine

A nuclear doctrine exists for a nuclear weapon state (NWS). But no space doctrine has been even thought of. There is need for introspection and for combining the space and nuclear doctrine as a projection of national will power. Deterrence is the pillar of a nuclear theory based on preservation instinct and the fear of annihilation. Space based theories may be more 'IT' intensive coupled with scope for limited area destruction due to space based 'directed energy' application. An examination of both doctrines reveals that their dual integration in the right proportions would serve strategic goals more efficiently.



## Space Deterrence

Space oriented militarisation has the capability of reducing nuclear deterrence theory and gives technological edge the final say. Therefore, in the coming millennium an integrated space-nuclear doctrine would automatically evolve. A nuclear power without space capability is like a blind man with muscles. On the contrary, a country with space capabilities can take the defensive action of neutralising nuclear missiles, mid course during its flight. Therefore, an integrated space-nuclear doctrine is a transitory doctrine of the new millennium, the culmination of which would be space based DEWs, which will make nuclear weapons redundant and an absolute concept. There will therefore be a trend towards nuclear disarmament by 2010 AD or so and miniaturised nuclear weapons only upto 1 KT may remain operative. Manning of Moon would be the order of the day; 'Lunar Strategy' would replace 'Nuclear Strategy'. The basic principles of Space Doctrine would enunciate :-

- (a) Use of minimum fractional nukes with no collateral, so as to destroy only a limited target.
- (b) Credible ABM/BMD systems.
- (c) Robust C<sup>4</sup>I<sup>2</sup> system to support real time command and control (Integrate space and nuclear resources of land, sea and air).
- (d) Minimum deployment of satellites, ASW and AASW, below the decided levels as dictated by a disarmament conference.
- (e) Joint exploration of Moon for common good of man and denial of right to miniaturisation.
- (f) No-First-Use of space weapons; however, counter city retaliation by DEWs if necessary as retaliatory strike.
- (g) Maintain wide spectrum of response, if necessary.

## CONCEPT OF OPERATIONS

If one views space from an operational rather than organisational perspective, one is driven to get a vision of an



extension of the vertical dimension to infinity. Undoubtedly air power has been the cradle of space exploration. Similarly, in the later part of the next millennium, space power would become the mother of cosmic power towards infinity. Coming down to the present ground level military powers and equations, General Moorman of the US Army had rightly said "Looking ahead a few years, one can speculate that advocates of both air power and space power will likely be talking"<sup>10</sup> of similar issues. Therefore, what could be the visions of space?

### **Visions of Space**

The salient points on visions of space could be:

- (a) Space and space weapons will save us from a nuclear war.
- (b) Space is an area in which there is little risk of terrestrial spill over. But space cannot remain immune from the effects of combat originating on Earth.
- (c) The technology of open ocean sailing (the compass, sextant, and full-rigged ship) came together only in the late Fifteenth Century and it was only in the mid-1800s that sailors were freed from the whims of winds. Similar projections in concepts can generate similar powers.
- (d) The conquest of air began in 1783, when the Montgolfier brothers flew their first balloon over Paris. It was completed within two centuries. Space is going through a similar cycle.

### **Concept of Star Wars**

In the case of land centric sub-regional powers, the national aim would be to preserve the land boundaries, unlike the USA and others. Therefore, space potentialities as a concept would have to lend support to ground operations or the Army. Accordingly, space facilities would have to be placed in support of the Army. In fact, for better cohesiveness and integration, all weapon systems upto the stratosphere should be placed under command of the Army and above that integrated with the Air Force command.



## Pattern of Star Wars

This is a hypothetical view, requiring further debate and validation. Star Wars would be fought in space with the ultimate aim of victory on ground. Star Wars would take three distinct phases :-

(a) **The Satellite Phase.** This would involve shooting out each other's satellites with a view to gain superiority and freedom of action thereafter. This would involve firing of lasers or ammunition of tremendous velocity at long ranges from 100 to even 10,000kms. The future would also lie in creating reflective shields on satellites against laser weapons or even the designing of antisatellite weapons (ASW). The side which will have base on the moon would have a definite advantage due to the vast deployment in space and its natural balance in the Universe.

(b) **Destruction Phase.** This would involve destruction of the population, communication and other strategic installations on ground. The options for doing this would be by :-

(i) Pin-point engagement of targets by satellites closer to the surface of the earth. This could be done by lasers, particle beam, proton guns or by x-ray lasers. A laser beam can damage the target with energy range between 10 and 10 w/cm.<sup>11</sup>

(ii) Nuclear strike, either by an ICBM or by an aircraft.

(iii) Burning the target area by focussing solar energy on the target.

(iv) Conventional attack with the aid of satellite lasers in fire support role.

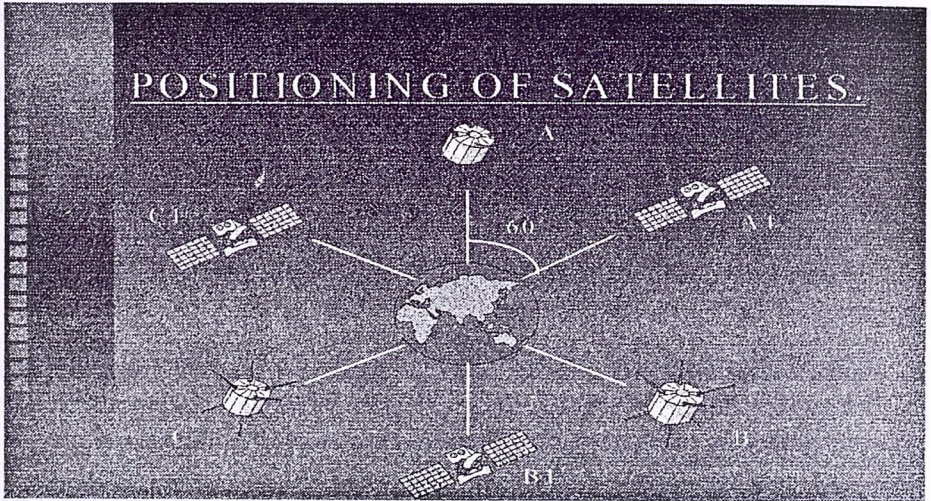
(c) **Mopping-up Phase.** This would involve physical taking over of the territory and capture of the Army installations and population with a view to harness the resources of that country for self perpetuation and advancement. This would of course be done by conventional forces like the infantry and armour. Air mobile capability for such tasks would be of paramount importance.



## Spatial Tactics

This implies practice of tactics in space warfare and would be akin to tactics on ground as during ground warfare. It is possible to evolve the basic tenets for spatial tactics by astro-mathematics, the guidelines for which are enumerated below (figure 4) :

**Fig. 4**



- (a) 120 degree angle positioning.
- (b) Depth.
- (c) Mutual support.
- (d) Reserves.
- (e) Minor tactics.
- (f) Numerical superiority.
- (g) Domination of Earth's orbital path and 'Area of Influence' (AI) would be a strategic gain in war capability.
- (h) The domination of Moon gives domination over AI.
- (j) Command over Lunar Liberation Points (L4 and L5) gives overall command over earth-moon environment (Liberation points are between Earth and Moon and have zero gravity).
- (k) Moon remains the astro-strategic cosmic stepping stone into outer space.
- (l) Outer space domination gives the ultimate external and impregnable Defence capability.



## Evolution of Space Militarisation

The Gulf War, writes Colonel Alan Campen, former Director of Command and Control Policy at the Pentagon, "is the first instance where combat forces largely were deployed, sustained, commanded and controlled through satellite communication".<sup>11</sup> Similarly, Sir Peter Ansen and Dennis Cummings of Matra Marconi Space UK Limited have said "It was the first real test under war conditions of the \$ 200 billion US space machine, and the first justification is combat of the \$1 billion French and British investments in military space".<sup>12</sup>

(To be concluded)

### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Heidi and Alvin Toffler, *War and Anti-War*, p. 99.

<sup>2</sup> Bhupendra Jasani (ed.), *Space Weapons – The Arms Control Dilemma*, p. 11-12.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, p. 16; "DoD's Space Based Laser Programme – Potential Progress and Problems", General Accounting Office, Report No. C-MASAD-82-10, 26 February 1982.

<sup>4</sup> John Pike, 'Anti-Satellite Weapons and Arms Control', *Arms Control Today* (December 1983), pp. 5-7.

<sup>5</sup> Bhupendra Jassani, "Emerging Technologies", *Disarmament*, (Summer 1987), p. 26.

<sup>6</sup> DO Graham, *High Frontier : A New National Strategy* (Washington DC, 1982), pp. 119-128.

<sup>7</sup> "The Military use of outer-space" Bhupendra Jassani in *World Armaments and Disarmament, SIPRI Yearbook 1986*, pp. 131-157.

<sup>8</sup> "Disarmament : Problems Related to Outer Space", *Disarmament* (United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research), p. 24; Craig Covault "USAF initiates broad programme to improve surveillance of Soviets". *Aviation Week and Space Technology*, 21 January 1986, pp. 14-17.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid, p. 25.

<sup>10</sup> Moorman, 'Space : A New Strategic Frontier', p. 22.

<sup>11</sup> Alvin and Heidi Toffler, n. 1, p. 98.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid, p. 98.



# Defence Procurement and Production Systems

**Lt Gen Chandra Shekhar, PVSM, AVSM (Retd)**

## Introduction

It needs to be understood that procurement procedures are a dynamic concept and must respond to the prevailing challenges and needs. These must be simplified, rationalised and strengthened so as to be transparent and timely. The technology environment is changing and unless the acquisition process and the development cycle of new equipment are shortened, the Services would remain operationally in a disadvantageous situation. In the changed strategic scenario, the sources of assured military supplies have dwindled, yet new and alternate sources are now available which has added to the complexities of procurement. Added to this is the fact that the environment has become conflict prone and uncertain with the result that the Armed Forces are to be prepared to meet contingencies over a wide spectrum of activity. All in all it implies that the procurement procedures have to be simpler, speedier and less rigid; and apart from merely the procedures, all aspects of procurement activity such as manning, quality assurance and devolution of financial powers need critical examination.

The aim of Defence Procurement and Production is to ensure quality, timeliness and value for money in provision of defence equipment to the Armed Forces. Existing Defence Procurement Procedures have been operative since 1992, with only marginal update or changes. These pertain to two processes – acquisitions on the capital account and purchases on the revenue account. Recently, new systems and broad structures have been announced. However, the operating procedures have not been defined, which need to be set out and modernised.

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## **New Defence Management Structure**

The Government has recently approved new Defence procurement structure as also integration of the Services Headquarters with the Ministry of Defence (MOD). Essentially, procurement structure is a three tiered structure with the Defence Acquisition Council (DAC) at the apex under the chairmanship of the Defence Minister. Its members include Rajya Raksha Mantri (RRM), Chief of Defence Staff (CDS)/ Chief of Staff Committee (COSC), Service Chiefs, Vice Chief of Defence Staff (VCDS), Secretaries (Secys) Defence, Defence DDP and S, Defence R and D, Defence (Finance) and Special Secretary Acquisition (SSA). Its primary role is to accord in principle approval of long term perspective plans (15 years), acceptance of necessity for the capital acquisition plan (5 years), identify 'Make', 'Buy' and "Make and Buy" projects and monitor progress of the three Boards under it – Defence Procurement Board, Defence Production Board and the Defence R and D Board.

The Defence Procurement Board (DPB) under the Defence Secretary with a Special Secretary Acquisitions will have the primary role of capital procurements and coordination. The Board will have as its members Service Vice Chiefs, VCDS, other Secretaries, Financial Adviser (FA) and Special Secretary Acquisitions (SSA). The acquisitions will be made based on provisional approval by the DAC and CDS. The acquisition wing under the Special Secretary Acquisitions will be the third tier and will have separate Land, Maritime, Air and Systems Divisions, besides a separate Finance Division. Revenue acquisition will be delegated to the integrated Service Headquarters.

Each division for land, maritime and air will have Acquisition Manager (JS) and Technical Managers (Two Star Service officers). The work related to price negotiations and contract management will be overseen by the Acquisition Manager and work related to trials evaluations, equipment selection handled by the Technical Managers. Each Service will also have equipment induction cells to facilitate induction and management of weapons and equipment. All the qualitative requirements (QRs) will be approved by the DPB.



The Defence Production Board will have similar composition as the Procurement Board except that it will be headed by the Secretary Defence Procurement Staff and Supplier (DP and S) with Defence Secretary as a member alongwith other members of DPB. This will also include Chairman DFB and CMD of concerned Defence PSUs as members. The Board will oversee all activities related to indigenous manufacture, progress 'Make' projects and provide support to the DAC.

The Defence R and D Board will be chaired by the Secretary Defence (R and D) and have similar composition as the DPB. It will have other members such as chief controller R and D and distinguished scientists on as required basis. Service Deputy Chiefs or equivalent will be invited members. The R and D board will progress, monitor and report on all indigenous R and D proposals in consultation with the user service and production board. The board will also evaluate and recommend technology transfer to the DAC. In addition to creating these boards DAC will need to monitor the functioning of these boards as also resolve inter Service disputes, where the CDS/Chief of Integrated Defence Staff have failed to do so. Special Secretary Acquisition will provide the permanent secretariat to the DAC. Each Service Headquarter would need to reorganise their respective procurement functioning vis a vis the newly created acquisition wing.

### **Measures to Improve the System**

**Trials and General Staff Evaluations.** The following recommendations are made to cut delays in conduct of trials and processing of trial report :-

- (a) Equipment should be trial evaluated only in that terrain where they are proposed to be fielded, rather than achieving tolerance ranging from glacier to deserts.
- (b) Selected vendors should be intimated to bring equipment for trials soon after approval of Technical Evaluation Committee Report.
- (c) Service HQs should evolve separate procedures for conduct of trials of major and minor equipment. Concept of



trial evaluation should be introduced for minor equipment rather than field trials for every item.

(d) Whenever additional equipment and trained trial-teams can be made available, simultaneous trials of the equipment at different locations should be conducted, where the equipment is under use. Trials should be completed within the specified period.

**Revenue Procurements.** Streamlining of micro level procedures, automation of inventory, improved vendor management, decentralisation of procurement to the three Services are major areas of reform. Development of Management Information System for faster and quality decision making as done by the Indian Navy is recommended to be adopted by all. Creation of the 'Systems' Division in the Acquisition Wing for capital head is a 'positive step' in this regard.

**Monitoring Projects.** For major projects costing more than Rs 200 crores a Project Management Organisation (PMO) must be set up. For other projects, a user representative can be co-located with the Development Agency. The officers posted in these PMOs should have a longer tenure of upto five years. In order to achieve better monitoring of major projects costing more than Rs 200 crores, it is recommended that they should have a three tiered monitoring structure comprising the Apex Board, an Executive Board and Management Board. For projects costing upto Rs 50 crores, the Acquisition Wing in the new management structure would be adequate.

### **Finalisation of Contracts and Price Negotiations.**

(a) The conclusion of Price Negotiations Committee (PNC) takes considerable time. PNC gets delayed specially when there is a wide variation between the price offered and the one acceptable to the supplier. In case of equipment offered which is inducted for the first time, there is no 'bench mark' to go about. Take the example of Advance Jet Trainer (AJT) for the IAF. The PNC has taken many years despite the fact that the IAF has indicated clearly its choice after prolonged



Technical negotiations because the price of British Hawk or French Alpha Jets, the best available aircraft, are not acceptable to the Finance. Accountability of operational voids or accidents due to poor training in the vintage aircraft is not fixed on the players "vetoing" the proposal.

(b) **Management of Contracts.** On finalisation of PNC, the draft contract is sought from the vendor and vetted by various agencies like Service Headquarters, Directorate General of Quality Assurance (DGQA), MoD and MoD (Finance). Often amendments are suggested to the draft and discussed leading to delays and corrupt influences. This is because there is no single expert agency for drawing up contracts and thereafter for post contractual management. Issues related to Predespatch Inspection (PDI), Joint Receipt Inspection (JRI) are also not clear, with the users and the DGQA passing the buck to each other. Tasking these activities to the Special Secretary Acquisition as in the new structure would result in better management. Each Service should create a "Cell" in the Service Headquarters which could also double up as the Equipment Induction Team to monitor deliveries to the users. This has been accepted for adoption in the newly established Defence Procurement Structure.

**Decentralisation of Procurement.** In the Army, procurement of commonly available fast moving items should be decentralised to the Command Headquarters. Adequate structures to support procurement at the command levels should be created with financial powers and for advice. The Navy and the Air Force have already decentralised these to maintenance Commands. The Army needs to modernise its revenue procurement system.

**Fast Track Procurement.** During war like situations, modified procedures under fast track process should be adopted. For Commercial-off-the-Shelf (COTS) products, simplified procedures are recommended. Care must be taken in the drawing up of specifications for common user items, which should be broad based to allow easy procurement.

**Internet for Procurement.** In order to bring in transparency



in the system, most of the procedures, policies, and specifications would be placed on the 'Internet'. As security in "E Commerce" improves, Internet could be used for 'online' ordering and payment as well. The 'Systems' Division along with Land, Maritime, Air and Finance Divisions under the newly established Acquisition Wing of the Defence Procurement Board will need to evolve guidelines for the users.

## Conclusion

What has been spelt out, about procedural changes and restructuring, by themselves will not achieve user satisfaction, unless there is greater collaboration and coordination between various agencies. Integration of the Procurement Agencies and the MoD, along with DRDO and DGQA must take place in right earnest. Integrated Project Teams must operate with autonomy under the Project Executives like in the British or French systems. The decision making time should be considerably speeded up and the new centralised structure not made into a bottleneck with clear allocation of responsibilities and decentralisation to the Service Headquarters and DPB.

There is need to arrive at exact description of roles and functions for the newly created Procurement System in relation to capital acquisition and revenue purchases separately. At the same time Defence Production both by the Defence Public Sector and Private Sector needs to be harmonised. The Defence R and D Board should conduct relative technology evaluation and assessment after evaluating options and validating specific projects for approval by the DAC.

There is an inherent danger in over centralisation and DAC should not spread its tentacles all over. Capital Acquisition needs to be delegated to the Services for specified limits on similar lines as the revenue purchases to avoid undue delays in the procurement. Merely setting up a structure is not the answer. The operating procedures and climate also need to be streamlined.

Any structure or system is as good as the people who operate the system. Notwithstanding the fact that best available talent is



inducted to manage the new system, there are areas 'prone' to influence or 'pressures'. These are basically in the 'technical parameters', both in inception and adoption as also in the price negotiations. The Acquisition Manager and the Technical Manager who will operate the system would be subjected to avoidable pressures. There is a need to have 'Watch Dogs' to protect the system.

These 'Watch Dogs' should be independent of the system and report directly to the Defence Minister. It is believed that in the proposed new structure, there would be expert oversight and advice available for individual acquisition proposal to the Defence Procurement Board by establishing Technical Oversight Committee (TOC) consisting of Service professionals and scientists as members.

An Eminent Persons Group (EPG) will be established with experienced individuals of retired functionaries from diverse backgrounds of financial management, equipment management, legal expertise and contract skills by the Defence Minister to examine whether all prescribed procedures have been followed in all major acquisition programmes, before the contracts are concluded. The EPG will report to the Defence Minister directly from time to time.

Integrated Services Headquarters needs to evolve specific 'Checklists' for the revenue purchases, make them transparent and adopt 'systems' approach for procurement, trials, maintenance and acquisitions. There is a need to demarcate clear cut responsibilities between the Service Headquarters and the DPB for capital and revenue procurements.



# Defence R&D and Defence Production

**Air Marshal BD Jayal PVSM, AVSM, VM & BAR (Retd)**

## Introduction

**S**elf-reliance in defence weapons and systems has been the national goal from the time India became independent. Few will disagree with this laudable objective. But fewer have enquired about its precise definition. Today for any nation to be truly self-reliant in every sphere of defence hardware is neither a practical nor an affordable proposition. What then should we strive for when we talk of self-reliance? The answer to this question will vary depending on who is being questioned.

Consider that Russia and China today use western engines and avionics in their civil and military aircraft. Consider also that notwithstanding a mature aerospace industry, India still imports automobile gearbox technology. One then begins to recognise that total self-reliance in today's technological environment is an unrealistic vision.

This paper attempts to briefly touch upon the various organisations that contribute towards equipping the armed forces, their strengths, weaknesses and what changes are necessary.

## Defence Research and Development Organisation (DRDO)

Defence Science Organisation was set up soon after independence. Over the years it has grown substantially and today Defence Research and Development Organisation (DRDO) is a Department of Defence with a network of 52 laboratories/establishments spread across the country.

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The mandate of DRDO is to enhance self-reliance in defence systems through design and development leading to production of state-of-the-art weapon systems and to undertake development of expertise and emerging technologies, which would be required for future programmes.

The first mandate reflected above should really apply to research and development of various technologies that go into weapon systems, as the task of designing and developing a weapon system itself is the legitimate activity of defence production agencies. Yet judging by some of the recent programmes like the Integrated Guided Missile Development Programme, Main Battle Tank (MBT) and Light Combat Aircraft (LCA), DRDO has assumed responsibility to design, develop and produce complete weapon systems. This has had an adverse bearing on the functioning of the production agencies whose design and development departments have become subservient to DRDO. In the longer term this also has an adverse impact on the quality of in-service product support that will be forthcoming to the user service once the weapon system is inducted, as this is the responsibility of agencies that produce these weapon systems. Equally, by getting involved in production activity, the scientific and research orientation and ethos of DRDO has suffered considerable dilution.

With a vast array of resources both human and infrastructural and liberal project funding from the user services, the general expectation was that the Services would have benefited considerably from the national asset that DRDO is and that the Indian Armed Forces would have attained a modicum of self-sufficiency. For reasons too complex to enumerate, which encompass organisational, personal and inter departmental issues, this has not happened. Instead programmes like the Pilot-less Target Aircraft (PTA), Indra Radar, Remotely Piloted Vehicle (RPV), LCA, MBT and a host more have become bogged down, denying the Armed Forces vitally needed operational capability. And even those systems that have found their way into service are heavily dependent on imported systems, sub-systems and components. In the ultimate analysis, of the two primary aims of DRDO earlier mentioned, neither the services nor defence PSUs appear to have seen any significant benefits.



DRDO has spread its activities far and wide. Today it covers a canvas stretching from pure research to pre- production of weapon systems and from space and missile technologies to boots and clothing. While there are some notable successes on the missile front, in nearly every other area, promises made have not been kept.

It speaks of the total disregard for the Services in the existing management structure that the say of DRDO or the defence PSUs has carried more weight than that of the Services. Often the MOD has superseded Services' professional views on future weapon systems over inflated claims made by DRDO. Not only have the Armed Forces' re-equipment plans suffered serious setbacks, but a sense of mistrust has replaced an integrated national approach to self-sufficiency. Programmes earlier mentioned and a host of others are testimony to this weakness, which primarily stems from a flawed higher defence management structure and where those that determine the Services' future re-equipment are not accountable for the final operational consequences.

The concept of pure defence research leading to evolution of technology and materials which then find application in the defence industry towards design and development of weapon systems against service staff requirements has been lost. The tremendous potential within the defence research laboratories both in terms of infrastructure and human resource has failed to make an appreciable impact either on self-sufficiency or on the fighting potential of the Armed Forces.

### **Ordnance Factories and Defence Public Sector Undertakings**

Many of the Ordnance Factories and some Defence PSUs date back to the Second World War. During the war the priority was volumes and timely production at any cost. Thus was conceived the costing philosophy of 'cost plus'. A philosophy, which rewards the industry with higher profits if production costs are greater. It speaks volumes for defence PSU's priority towards production efficiency that this form of costing still existed not too long ago and in some cases may still do so! Post independence



as the role of the Public Sector gained primacy in the socialistic model of development, so also did the role of defence PSUs. With defence sector also being a strategic sector, not only was government ownership complete, but also the private sector was kept completely outside.

For decades, under the slogan of self-reliance, Ordnance Factories and defence PSUs have held the Armed Forces as captive customers. Armed Forces' budgets have been compelled to bear the entire burden of overheads, idle labour and outdated technology within these undertakings. On nearly every occasion they have had the first preference to respond to a Service Staff Requirement. Often orders have been placed by the MOD against Service advice. Not only have the PSUs then imported systems/sub-systems/components, but also projects have still suffered vast cost and time over runs. Notwithstanding this massive public investment, when the erstwhile Soviet Union collapsed, all the three Services suffered acute spares shortages. The Mig 21, which was under production in India for over three decades, suffered the same fate. Today the Services are constrained to appeal to the private sector to come to their assistance, although apart from public seminars and platitudes, little progress has been made.

Some years ago a massive restructuring and rationalising of US Defence industry was undertaken with prodding from the US government. At the time the change was being overseen by Jacques Gansler, Under Secretary of Defence for Acquisition and Technology, who as early as 1980 when outside the Government had said 'In order to understand the economic operation of the US Defence industry, it is first absolutely essential to recognise that there is no free market at work in this area and that there likely cannot be one because of the dominant role played by the Federal Government. The combination of a single buyer, a few large firms in each segment of the industry, and a small number of extremely expensive weapons programmes constitute a unique structure for doing business.'

This sums up the challenge to governments and their defence industries across the globe. How to keep this unique structure for



doing business, finely balanced between free market on the one hand and absolute state control on the other. No longer can the government, the Services and the defence undertakings think strictly in institutional and compartmentalised terms.

Emerging challenges offer opportunities to look at change. Defence industry by virtue of its technological edge and security applications is a crucial strategic industry. National governments in the west have long recognised this linkage and continue to evolve policies that both support the industry and retain its competitiveness.

While governments, defence forces and the defence companies in the west are consolidating and restructuring to meet emerging challenges, there is no such urgency visible in the Indian scene. Successive Indian Governments have held the view that public ownership automatically safeguards national strategic interests. This flawed logic coupled with political, bureaucratic and scientific control has brought Indian defence industry to the brink.

The Indian Government while treating all defence Public Sector undertakings as security related has done nothing to prepare these vital industries to face emerging challenges. Policies during the hey day of non- alignment discouraged arms exports thus insulating the Indian defence industry. Today the industry lacks marketing knowledge and skills. Unless the Government evolves a strategic policy for its defence undertakings, and frees day-to-day management from its control, nothing can change.

In the emerging defence market place, a weapon system is no longer a unique national product. Systems and components are sourced internationally and even customised to suit requirements of different customers. This opens up opportunities for Indian defence PSUs to exploit their core strengths preferably in partnerships with bigger international companies. In a fiercely competitive industry this is the only way to find a place in the international market. Design and development in selected areas, integrating civil and military production, component and system manufacture, integration and testing of avionics and weapon systems, repair and overhaul of civil and military platforms / engines



/ components, writing and updating software are some areas of Indian strength that come to mind. There are many more; the opportunities are endless. Unless defence PSUs diversify into the civilian sector and gain a foothold in the export market, they cannot serve national strategic interests.

Areas that can no longer be ignored are divesting some of the government's holdings, freeing management decision making of bureaucratic and scientific interference, rationalising and consolidating the existing infrastructure and human resources towards efficient defence and aerospace activities and shedding the rest. These are major issues, but ones on which the very survival of a strategic industry rest. The 'unique structure of doing business' earlier referred to will take on different shades depending on many factors. Indian government needs to recognise that India has to define its own unique structure and then introduce institutional reforms.

### **Private Sector**

For too long Indian government policy guided by the antiquated Industry Policy Resolution, has kept the private sector outside of the defence procurement process. While the supposed reason has been security considerations, the larger issue appears to have been the wider politico-economic debate of retaining the Public Sector in defence and strategic areas. Nowhere has the glaring weakness of this concept been more evident than within the defence apparatus. In an area where technology is the driving force, defence research and development have been reduced to bureaucratic exercises with Services as captive customers, having to make do with old technology, poor quality, delayed deliveries and substantially higher costs for the massive overheads.

Recently, the government has allowed the private sector to set up wholly owned units for defence manufacture permitting even foreign investment of up to 26 per cent. Much will depend on what restrictions and guidelines are imposed on the private sector. However, one thing is certain. If the government fails to make long-term commitments thus exposing private sector investment



decisions to the vagaries of bureaucratic uncertainty and if the Services do not tailor their stringent military specifications to realistic levels, then we may find the private sector shying away from the defence sector. If we are to encourage private sector participation in defence production, then the government must act as a facilitator, at least to begin the process.

In the developed countries, it is the commercial world that has been the technology driver in space, computers, electronics, material sciences, computer aided design and manufacture, genetic engineering and so on. The militaries are merely reaping the benefits of these civil led R and D efforts towards defence applications. While this will happen as Indian economy expands, to accelerate the process the defence sector will have to promote the private sector.

### **Defence Technology Commission**

Defence research, development and industry form the bedrock of national security power. Its R and D drives technology and promotes self-reliance especially against denial regimes. Its exports support both R and D and the industrial base thus promoting affordable weapon systems for national security. While India possesses all the pre-requisites for a sound industry, its contribution to the building of the nation's defence, air, space and IT power have not been in keeping with this potential. Lack of an integrated and mission oriented approach is the cause.

The only way to harmonise actions towards clear strategic and security goals of self-sufficiency, security, affordability, defence research and development, immunity from technology denial regimes or technology warfare measures and doing all this in a coordinated and prioritised manner, is to set up a National Defence Technology Commission working in close concert with Indian Space Research Organisation. The commission should consist of technocrats and professionals tasked to progress the development of space, aeronautics, missiles, information and defence technologies towards clearly defined strategic goals and national requirements. The Services as the largest operators must be key players within the Commission.



## **Army/Navy/Air Force Technology and Systems Commands**

Modern weapon systems and corresponding support infrastructure are becoming both powerful and more complex. Whether such systems are being evaluated for procurement from overseas, being developed indigenously or indeed being modified to suit Services' operational requirements/tactics, there is need for systematic and a multi disciplinary approach to these tasks to ensure that in the final analysis the Services get a weapon system meeting their operational requirements in time and at an affordable price. The role of Technology and Systems Commands will be to drive technology upgradation, operational/technical innovations to weapon systems and carry out developments and modifications to enhance the operational capability of the Services.

Each Service also has establishments dealing in IT and operational software. These are by and large distributed weapon system wise eg separate for communications, radars, weapon platforms etc. Software is emerging as the brains behind weapon systems. It is vital that while hardware can be imported or even indigenously produced, the software must be designed and developed by operational people who will also be able to blend operational tactics into software design. Every Service must plan to have a dedicated software development centre within their Technology and Systems Command to exploit this vital and rapidly evolving Operational asset. By keeping this within the Service, the latter will also be able to ensure security of their potential and tactics.

## **Scientific and Technological Human Resource**

That India possesses high quality scientific and technical manpower is borne out by the achievements of its people in the international arena. Consequently one would have expected India to achieve far greater success in the area of technology in the defence sector. Yet India continues to import a large proportion of its defence requirements from overseas.

The fundamental weakness that appears to run across the entire Indian human resource landscape is that administration and



administrators have become to occupy the top place in the very hierarchical structure of Indian society. Administration, whether in public or private sector is no more a means to an end, but perceived to be the end in itself. The result is that many scientists and technologists perceive rising up the management ladder as a measure of success rather than aspiring for technological or scientific achievements. Specially so in defence and government laboratories and institutions where accountability matters little and where merit and technical excellence mean less than authority and power. Scholarly and dynamic scientists find this ethos out of tune with that of the task of research and technology development. It is not surprising that many a scientist who has left lucrative assignments at top institutions in the west to come and work closer home at lower emoluments have regretted their decision and a majority returned.

Unless scientists and technologists are given their due place in terms of emoluments and status, it is unlikely that things will change for the better.

## Conclusion

The nation has invested huge sums in infrastructure and human resource development of organisations responsible to promote a defence capability. Notwithstanding this farsighted planning, self-sufficiency is nowhere in sight and the Armed Forces are still being constrained to import nearly all their weapon systems. Experience has shown that inter-organisational and inter-personal turf battles have taken precedence over national security compulsions.

The nation and more specifically the Armed Forces continue to pay a heavy price for which there has been no individual or organisational accountability. Defence Services, production agencies and DRDO each have a clearly defined area of responsibility. Accordingly their human resource development and organisational ethos reflect the organisation's specific role. When this equilibrium is disturbed, as has clearly happened in India's case, then all suffer.



In the final analysis India's defence capability must encompass self-reliance in areas where technology denial is a threat along with fruitful strategic partnerships to enable not only affordable weapon systems for the Armed Forces, but sustainable R and D and industrial base through export and economies of scale. These challenges cannot be met with the present archaic and compartmentalised structure of defence industry.

Post-Kargil, the Government has embarked on reforming the national security system based on the Group of Ministers (GOM) report of February 2001. This is an opportune time for an in depth restructuring of the defence research and production roles and responsibilities such that the nation gets the best value for defence investments and those invested with authority in every organisation and at every level are also accountable.

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# Field Marshal SHFJ Manekshaw, MC

Arvindar Singh

**"The durability of a General and his survival value depends more on character than capacity."**

**— Lord Moran**

**S**am Manekshaw occupies a position in the annals of our contemporary military history which remains unparalleled till today and which cannot be very lucidly described given the complex nature and magnetism of his personality.

Undoubtedly, he has been one of the most controversial figures our Army has thrown up, or for that matter any of our three Services have thrown up. The 1971 victory was historic, in the sense that for the first time a foreign army surrendered to Indian forces and we took 93,000 Prisoners of War (PoW). "In defeat unbeatable, in victory unbearable" said Winston Churchill about Field Marshal Montgomery of Alamein; these words can be applied equally to Manekshaw.

As a junior officer Manekshaw did not have much field experience in battle as he was wounded in the early part of the Burma campaign at Sittang Bridge for which he was awarded the Military Cross (MC). Destiny so willed thereafter that whenever India went to war, be it the 1947-48 Kashmir action, the 1962 Chinese debacle or the 1965 Indo-Pak conflict, Manekshaw was not on the scene of action. But his brilliance as a Staff Officer more than made up for it. As Director of Military Operations, during the Operations in Jammu and Kashmir, he was at the forefront of planning and strategy. Later on as Commandant of the Infantry School, he adopted unorthodox approaches in his way of functioning. Till this time the School had been heavily dependent on outdated British pamphlets. It is to Manekshaw's credit that he was instrumental in the preparation of training pamphlets more in tune with the requirements of a modern Army.

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As a Divisional Commander, Sam fell foul of Major General BM Kaul, who was commanding another Division at Ambala. The genesis of the misunderstanding arose in the alleged caricaturing of Kaul as the enemy commander in a military exercise being conducted by Manekshaw in Jammu. Major General Kaul, later as the Quarter Master General, due to political patronage was able to wield power disproportionate with his appointment and virtually ran the Army Headquarters, had his revenge. Together with his patron, Defence Minister Krishna Menon, he ordered an enquiry against Manekshaw accusing him of "anti-national activities" as the Commandant of the Defence Services Staff College Wellington. In typical Sam style, Manekshaw, had whilst viewing a portrait of Shivaji on a charger remarked facetiously "There are no horses worth the name in Maharastra, if anything Shivaji rode it must have been a "Tattu" (a country pony). We should be true to history." The other anti-national crime Sam was accused of was that he had ordered the displaying of potraits of Clive and Warren Hastings in the Staff College. He was also accused of hobnobbing with Western students during social functions and ignoring Indian students. On these frivolous charges, deliberately blown out of proportion, an outstanding officer was subjected to uncalled for humiliation and harassment. It is a sad commentary on the state of affairs prevailing in the Defence Ministry (and the entire Army) during that period. It must be recalled that at that point of time subtle efforts were being made to politicise the Armed Forces and to place pliable officers in seats of power. It was widely felt that Manekshaw had been specifically targetted so that no potential rivals remained to Kaul once General PN Thapar, the then Chief of the Army Staff (COAS), retired.

It was fortunate for Manekshaw that Lt Gen Daulat Singh, an upright and a no-nonsense officer, presided over the inquiry. He not only completely exonerated Manekshaw but passed strictures against those who had made wild and unsubstantiated allegations against him. It stands to the credit of Manekshaw that in later years, when he was in a position to do so, he never harmed the careers of those cronies of Kaul who had given evidence against him in the inquiry. That was the quality which particularly endeared Sam to all those who served under him. He was never petty-minded or vindictive. Nevertheless, it can be said without the fear



of contradiction that had the Chinese aggression not taken place and led to the ignominious exit of his detractors, Sam would undoubtedly have faced further obstacles in his career, for unlike Sam neither Menon nor Kaul were blessed with the quality of forgiveness or mercy. Manekshaw went on to successfully command the Tezpur Corps in Assam and the Western and Eastern Army Commands.

Manekshaw had undoubtedly a reputation of speaking off the cuff and quite unnecessarily creating a controversy at times. On 12 October 1966, he was on board an Indian Airlines flight from Calcutta to New Delhi. One of his fellow passengers was William K Hitchcock, the American Consul General. Hitchcock was to report later that "Manekshaw believed that it was ridiculous for the Indian Army to pin down 30,000 troops in Eastern Command just on the basis of certain menacing sounds from the Chinese. He was deeply concerned over the Indian dependence on Soviet equipment." He went on to say, "He believes that if he went to the US now the consequences would be (1) He would be identified with a Western bias (which he definitely has) (2) that such an identification might thwart his promotion as Chief of the Army Staff and (3) that not being Chief of the Army Staff, he would be unable to take effective action to redirect Indian Military thinking away from the Soviet Union. He further went on to say that he would be delighted to visit the US as Chief and was 'quite critical' of General JN Chaudhari's role during the 1965 conflict". However, his statement in Sandhurst after the 1971 War that had he opted for Pakistan, at the time of partition, and had he risen to be the Chief of the Pakistani Army, Pakistani would have emerged victorious was blown out of proportion and not taken in the right spirit.

Unfortunately, Indians lack a sense of broad mindedness on certain matters, as well as lack the ability to recognise a statement made in a lighter vien. To Manekshaw's credit he upheld the dignity of the Army and its officer cadre during his stint of three and a half years as Chief of the Army Staff. At a meeting presided over by K B Lal, the then Defence Secretary, and where Sam was also present, Lal addressed one of the Brigadiers and said, "Brigadier, a bit of sunshine is coming through that window which is ajar, will you close it?" The Brigadier was getting up to do so when a furious voice stopped him, "Sit down! You are a Brigadier of the Indian



Army, not a bloody chaprassi. Let the Defence Secretary get one of his men to do it". The incident shows that Manekshaw was an assertive Chief who would not be pushed around by the bureaucracy or for that matter the political leadership.

It is well known that as the 1971 War escalated, not only the bureaucrats but also the politicians, which included the powerful Defence Minister Jagjivan Ram, were sidelined by Mrs Indira Gandhi who preferred to deal directly with General Manekshaw and the Army. Manekshaw had shown his true mettle by refusing to be cowed down by the formidable Prime Minister in being rushed into a premature intervention in East Pakistan in March 1971. With refugees streaming into India because of the reign of terror unleashed by the Pakistani Army, and the resultant enormous financial burden, India had to face, with world leaders making no effort to prevail upon the government of Pakistan to put an end to the atrocities being meted out to its people in the Eastern wing, Mrs Gandhi had pressing reasons to think in terms of an immediate military intervention. But Manekshaw pointed out that with the monsoon due in East Pakistan within three weeks, when most rivers would come into spate, troop movements would be restricted to roads, and the deployment of the armoured and other formations to their battle locations would particularly pose an enormous logistic problem and thus could not be done in a haste. Another important factor to be considered was that with the mountain passes open, the possibility of the Chinese Army intervening could not be discounted. Manekshaw showed great courage of conviction not to budge from his stand that the timing of mounting a military operation should be left to his discretion. At the end of the meeting, Sam asked whether he should resign on grounds of mental or physical health? Mrs Gandhi understood the logic behind his argument and gave him a free hand with an assurance that there would be no interference in the conduct of military operations. During the remaining seven to eight months, Manekshaw prepared the Army thoroughly and meticulously. Every aspect from strategy to building of infrastructure for the operation, to logistics and deployment of troops, and making up vital deficiencies in arms and equipment were looked into meticulously. Thus, a motivated and well prepared Indian Army was ready to be launched by December 1971.



Manekshaw had laid great stress throughout his career on the necessity of a single commander, who could co-ordinate the affairs of the three Services not only during peace but more importantly during war. He has attributed his success in the 1971 War, primarily, to the fact that he had direct access to the Prime Minister when he expected prompt decisions, and did not have to go through the time-consuming and often frustrating bureaucratic channels. During a talk at the National Defence College, Manekshaw took great delight in emphasising the close rapport he had with Mrs Gandhi, and that in the War the Ministry of Defence had little or no role to play in the execution of operations much to the chagrin of bureaucrats attending the course. It later transpired that the National Defence College was instructed not to invite Manekshaw for future courses. But as usual Sam had the last laugh. At a "victory" celebration in Bareilly, Jagivan Ram waxed eloquently about the great contribution he had made towards victory in the 1971 War. At the end of the talk he was requested to unveil a huge portrait of the "Hero of Bangladesh". It turned out to be a portrait of Manekshaw! Needless to say, Jagivan Ram left fuming.

During the 1971 War, Lt Gen JFR Jacob currently the Governor of Punjab who was Chief of Staff of Eastern Command, maintained that Dacca being the geo-strategic and geo-political heart of East Pakistan should be the main objective of attack. He had urged that by concentrating efforts on border towns the troops would be dissipating their efforts; it would not only be time consuming but would result in heavier casualties too. However, at a meeting in Fort William, Manekshaw had over-ruled him and insisted that Khulna and Chittagong being entry points to East Bengal, should be the focus of offensive plans. Dacca would then automatically fall. Maj Gen KK Singh, Director General of Military Operations and Lt Gen JS Aurora, GOC-in-C, Eastern Command, concurred with Manekshaw's views. Jacob argued vociferously against this strategy but in vain. Ignoring Jacob's advice, Manekshaw had on 13 December issued a single directive that all towns that had been by-passed should be captured. No mention of Dacca had been made. Later in the course of the actual operations, Jacob's views were vindicated – Khulna turned out to be a stumbling block, with our forces meeting stiff opposition and getting bogged down till



16 December 1971. It must be remembered that Manekshaw had his own reason for giving lower priority to the capture of Dacca. At that point of time a resolution asking for an immediate cease-fire sponsored by Poland and backed by the Soviet Union was pending in the Security Council. Manekshaw was keen to ensure that maximum territories were captured before a cease-fire became effective. Fortunately for India, ZA Bhutto who was then the Foreign Minister in General Yahya Khan's government came to the rescue of the Indian Army. Tearing up the resolution and striding out in a huff, he unwittingly helped in the creation of Bangladesh. This resulted in vital time being given to the Indian Army to plan an air strike on Dacca which ultimately led to its fall.

Whilst conceding that Manekshaw was a highly successful Chief who not only restored the esteem of the Army after the humiliation of the 1962 War and the 'self-doubts' of the 1965 War, and he rightly deserved to be elevated to the rank of Field Marshal, Jacob nevertheless feels that his visit and talk to the formation commanders prior to the outbreak of war, was counter-productive as his approach was too "school-masterish".

It is one of those ironies of fate that when Sam Manekshaw was General Staff Officer Grade 1 (GSO1) in the Military Operations Directorate, in the years immediately preceding independence, Yahya Khan was his General Staff Officer Grade 2 (GSO2). Politics and geography willed that both would fight a battle against each other as Chiefs of their respective armies. It is a well known fact that Manekshaw did not share a cordial relationship with Jagjivan Ram, who is considered to be one of the best Defence Ministers India has had. Lt Gen SK Sinha (currently Governor of Assam) who was Deputy Adjutant General at the time, has an interesting story to narrate. A list of officers being commissioned from the Indian Military Academy Dehra Dun was put up to the Ministry of Defence and in due course reached the Minister. Jagjivan Ram sent the file down with a query as to how many of these newly commissioned officers belonged to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The percentage was worked out to 0.5 per cent. Jagjivan Ram was livid and wrote that since it was government policy that 15 per cent of all government jobs are reserved for Scheduled Castes and 7.5 per cent are reserved for Scheduled



Tribes, a grave omission had taken place. He wanted responsibility fixed and severe action taken against the guilty. Manekshaw sent for Sinha and asked him to prepare a strong reply wherein he was to highlight that Manekshaw was fully responsible for this "grave omission" and whatever action desired could be taken against him. Sinha prepared a report along these lines stating that in the preceding 30 years, the Indian Army had been either preparing for a war or participating in a war, thus thorough professionalism demanded that merit outweighed all other considerations. He also pointed out that members of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes had been accommodated in the lower ranks of the Army through certain Regiments. He incorporated the clause of Manekshaw taking the responsibility along the lines he desired. When Sinha took it to Sam, the latter smiled and said "You know Sinha if the Minister had his way he would fill the Army with Scheduled Castes and Biharis." Of course, nothing more was heard from Jagjivan Ram on the matter because Sam's popularity was at its peak after the 1971 War. Till date, the officer cadre of the Army does not have any form of caste reservation, probably the only government service to do so. Jagjivan Ram was an able administrator with a vast grasp on Defence matters, with rich administrative and political experience having been a Minister right from the time of the Interim Government in 1946. Manekshaw having direct access to Mrs Gandhi was not appreciated by Jagjivan Ram and some members of the bureaucracy who felt side-lined. To quote a small example, Jagjivan Ram made a statement in Chennai in November 1972 that the Army would not have a Field Marshal or Five-Star General. Barely six weeks later Manekshaw was designated Field Marshal. It was Mrs Gandhi who called the shots in the Defence Ministry.

Vision, competence, compassion and courage are essential qualities that a capable military leader must have, but more than that he must be able to hold the morale of those under his command. To quote the great soldier Field Marshal Slim :

"Morale is a state of mind...that intangible force that will move a whole group of men to give their last ounce to achieve something without counting the cost to themselves. The essence of morale is that it should endure and to endure it should be built on certain foundations."



Manekshaw understood this well. He toured various parts of the country where the Army was deployed and was able to establish an instant rapport with his troops through "pep talks".

He showed an acute sense of military professionalism and character by not going to Dacca to take the surrender of the arms in East Pakistan, as he rightly felt that this was the prerogative of the territorial commander of the Eastern Army, on which he would not encroach. As Chief of the Army Staff, he could only accept the surrender of the entire Pakistan Army. He turned down a request from no less a person than the Prime Minister in this regard. On visiting Calcutta after the War, he refused to ride in a foreign car captured from Bangladesh. This small incident had a major impact as it brought to light the "no-nonsense" attitude of the Army Chief. He is also credited with having refused an Ambassadorial assignment as well the Governorship of Maharashtra with the cryptic comment "I do not want to be a 'Laat Saheb'".

It has been said "that some create history, some live in history and some become a living history." Undoubtedly, Manekshaw belongs to the third category. No doubt, fate and destiny play a role in every great man's life, and so it has been with Manekshaw as well. He was unquestionably 'the right man, at the right place and at the right time.' A grateful nation conferred upon him the rank of Field Marshal for life on 31 December 1972. It is, however, unfortunate that successive governments did not use his services on military matters. Had an office of Chief of Defence Staff been established in the 1970's and a person of Manekshaw's calibre been chosen to occupy it, with sufficient autonomy in functioning, a debacle of the Kargil type could possibly have been avoided.

Sam Manekshaw's showmanship, flamboyance and sometimes conceit would have irked even those who were most devoted to him. However, in that moment of truth, when war lay like a leaden weight on all Indians in 1971, his clarity of purpose and professional approach stood like a beacon. His patriotism and dynamism will stand out as a golden chapter in our military history. The 1971 War will always be remembered with immense pride as the pinnacle of our military glory.



# National Regeneration Movement : The Role of Defence Services Personnel

Acharya John Sachidanand

## Introduction

Beginning with a near encounter with death, in an air crash in 1982, at the least expected moment of my life, I have gone through a number of deep spiritual experiences which have left their irrevocable marks upon my life and personality. At four different stages of my pilgrimage of faith – a retired Judge of Kerala High Court, Justice Joseph Vithayathil; an English Benedictine monk, Rev Fr Bede Griffiths (OSB), who became an Indian *sanyasi* with the name Swami Dayananda; the venerable President of the Ramakrishna Mission, HH Swami Ranganathananda; and the Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi were brought into my life at four different stages of my search for Truth that began soon after this air crash. I feel that a time has come for us to go beyond religious identities and to sincerely seek for a synthesis of science and spirituality that can pave the way to human solidarity, holistic development and integral peace.

Today, I want to share with you a very important message and mission – for the realisation of which I have dedicated my life.

## ***The Message : India Needs a 'Second Freedom Struggle'***

The nation today is facing grave crisis of values. The all-pervasive corruption and immorality at all levels and in all matters are threatening to destroy the social fabric of India. Added to this moral decay that is eating into the soul of our nation are the problems of wide-spread poverty, illiteracy, unemployment and poor health that are being faced by a vast majority of our people.

In spite of India's claim of being tolerant, of late, she has become a religiously intolerant society. Much violence and bloodshed

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are caused in the name of religion in our country. An article in **Deccan Chronicle** of 29 July 2001, points out to a dangerous growth of private armies and arms training in different parts of the country, openly being promoted by various religious outfits, even though raising private armies and organising arms training by such groups are totally illegal.

### **Casteism**

One of the *curse*s of *history* that has grown as a cancer into the soul of India is *Casteism*. Though initially it began as a division of labour, the *caste system* in course of time became one of the most inhuman ways of treating and exploiting one's own fellow citizens. Economic development, political stability and national integration will continue to be mirages as long as this *caste system* continues to prevail in the country.

### **Corruption**

Our former Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi, once admitted in the Parliament that out of every hundred rupees allotted by the Government for various developmental projects, almost ninety are eaten up by the government itself. Government servants are often corrupt, even though they are very highly paid in comparison to the per capita income of average Indian citizens. Perhaps, this all-pervasive corruption is the worst crisis the nation is facing today. This is also one of the major reasons why poverty and illiteracy are so wide-spread in our country.

Criminalisation, terrorism and violence have become integral parts of our political life today. There is a growing nexus between politicians, criminals and terrorists. Injustice, exploitation and violence go hand in hand. '*Muscle power*' plays an important role in Indian politics today.

No other category of Indian citizens make as much sacrifice for the nation as the members of the Defence Services. No other organisation of men are trained and motivated to sacrifice their own lives for the sake of the nation as the men and officers of our Army, Navy and Air Force. Hence the present state of the nation should also pain us the most. We cannot be mute witnesses to



what is happening in the country today. I feel that the retired '*Defence Service*' Personnel are called upon to enter a new kind of '*Defence Service*' not to fight a war or to protect the geographical boundaries of India, but to fight the forces of evil.

The real crises India is facing today are not economic and political but ethical and moral. Another '*Dharma Yudh*' needs to be fought against the forces of adharma in the country. All said and done, India has great moral and spiritual treasure which is our greatest source wealth and power. We need to bring these forces into action. This is what we are trying to do through the 'National Regeneration Movement' (NRM) which is envisaged to be India's 'Second Freedom Struggle'. This is also the theme of my talk today.

In the multi-religious context of Indian society, our mission has to have an inter-religious nature and approach. Inter-religious harmony and co-operation are historically ordained imperatives for the very survival of India as a living force. We need inter-religious people to take up this historic task. Here again, the Defence Services have certain advantages as members of the Defence Services are truly inter-religious people.

I am glad to know that Lt Gen ML Chibber was one of the visionaries who had worked hard to give shape to the Institute of National Integration, Pune. This unique Army Institute trains Officers and JCOs to take up the mission of national integration and inter-religious harmony. This was started after *Operation Blue Star* to check religious and communal hatred spreading in the Defence Services. Presently, the Navy and the Air Force are also taking interest to get their personnel trained at this Institute. During my visit to this Institute, I saw how well regular Army Officers and JCOs were being trained for the mission of national integration and inter-religious harmony, I also realised how well suited, the members of the Defense Services were for the mission of nation-building through inter-religious co-operative action.

The process to launch the NRM was initiated at Hyderabad during the Golden Jubilee of Indian Independence by Dharma Rajya Vedi, a socio-spiritual organisation founded by me in 1990 for



national regeneration and global peace. It is now being recognised by the United Nations as a body working for a culture of peace. I was invited to represent it in the Millennium World Peace Summit of Religious and Spiritual Leaders organised by the UN at New York in August 2000.

Dharma Rajya Vedi initiated the process for launching the NRM with a Seminar on '*Common Moral Programmes for Nation-building*' on 14 Aug 1997 at Madina Education Centre, Hyderabad. It was inaugurated by my guru, Swami Ranganathananda, the President of Ramakrishna Mission. The idea was to bring together various moral and ethical forces in the country for the shared mission of nation-building based on 'Common Moral Programmes' acceptable to all collaborating partners. An experimental 'pilot project' was also successfully carried out in Andhra Pradesh to test the practicality of our idea. After almost four years of struggle, hard work and experiments and at the end of a series of seminars, workshops and discussions organised in different parts of India the 'National Regeneration Movement' was formally inaugurated on 7 May 2001. A book titled 'National Regeneration Movement' was released on that day which will be the source and reference book of the National Regeneration Movement.

### **Common Moral Programmes of NRM**

The National Regeneration Movement is envisaged to be a 'Second Freedom Struggle'. It is launched and coordinated by Dharma Rajya Vedi. The NRM has also a basic programme termed 'Chatur Guna' and a constructive programme termed *Ashtanga Yagna*. Both are time-tested programmes of Dharma Rajya Vedi, found to be acceptable to people all over India. Together they constitute the 'Common Moral Programmes' of the NRM. The ultimate goal of this 'Second Freedom Struggle' is liberation of India from the forces of adharma and corruption and thus to gain for her economic, social and moral freedoms.

**Chatur Guna** – the basic programme of the NRM, is a four-point moral regeneration programme. It comprises :

- (a) A prayer a day for peace according to one's religious tradition in one's own place and time.



- (b) Skip a meal a week and feed a hungry person.
- (c) Do a good deed a day selflessly.
- (d) Respect parents and teachers and seek their blessings.

**'Ashtanga Yagna'** – the constructive programme of NRM, is an eight-point programme for the national reconstruction of India. It consists of :

- (a) *Family Ethics Programme* to promote the sanctity of marriage, family life and human sexuality.
- (b) *Responsible Citizenship Programme* to promote a sense of responsibility and patriotism towards the nation.
- (c) *Enlightened Leadership Programme* to promote leadership qualities based on moral and ethical values.
- (d) *Mutual Help Programme* to promote an attitude of caring and sharing.
- (e) *Green India Programme* to promote environmental health and ecological harmony.
- (f) *Clean India Programme* to promote hygiene and sanitation.
- (g) *Heal India Programme* to promote indigenous and holistic healthcare systems.
- (h) *Knit India Programme* to promote inter-religious dialogue, communal harmony and national integration.

Both '*Chatur Guna*' and '*Ashtanga Yagna*' programmes have also been promoted by Dharma Bharathi National Institute of Peace and Value Education (DBNI), Hyderabad, in educational institutions across the country as 'Practical Peace and Value Education Programmes' since 1993. The DBNI was started to promote the vision and mission of Dharma Rajya Vedi among people, especially among teachers and students in the country through educational programmes. The success of these programmes inspired the Madurai Kamaraj University to start a Post Graduate Diploma



Course in 'Peace and Value Education' from the academic year 1997-98.

### **Aim and Objectives of the NRM**

The aim of the NRM is moral regeneration and national reconstruction of India. The NRM is a 'Second Freedom Struggle' to liberate the nation from the forces of adharma. All responsible and patriotic Indians who believe in moral and ethical values and who are concerned about the future of the nation can take part in this Second Freedom Struggle.

The aim of the NRM will be realised by promoting its Common Moral Programmes all over the country with the help of like-minded organisations and institutions. Interested organisations and institutions can join this Movement by paying a membership fee of Rs 1,000/- (Rupees one thousand) which will be used by the National Co-ordinating Committee to meet the expenses of the NRM. The member institutions/organisations will be given the necessary training and orientation by the DBNI. Thereafter, they can take up and promote the programmes of the NRM as their own in their respective institutions/areas/regions.

The DBNI will also set up a network of Regional Institutes and Extension Centres all over India. In course of time they will be linked up to form an autonomous 'Dharma Bharathi Open University of Peace and Value Education' which will provide a strong moral and ethical foundation for a greater India of the third millennium. A cadre of totally dedicated constructive workers and enlightened leaders will also be trained and prepared for this historic task. Residential academies of leadership training (Dharma Rajya Gurukuls) will be established for this purpose. The 'Dharma Sevaks' and 'Dharma Sevikas' trained at these Dharma Rajya Gurukuls will enable them to dedicate themselves for the success of this divine mission.

### **Methodology of the NRM**

A seven-pronged methodology is adopted for promoting the NRM all over India:

- (a) Select, train and appoint full-time and part-time



Coordinators and Resource Persons for the NRM in different parts of India, with special preference given to Ex-Defence Personnel.

(b) Organise training and orientation programmes for students, teachers and all interested citizens with the help of the Coordinators and Resource Persons of the NRM.

(c) Monitor, direct and evaluate the work of Coordinators and Resource Persons from the National Office.

(d) Establish National Regeneration Centres ('Pratyasa Grams') with Dharma Rajya Gurukuls in different parts of India to train and accommodate the cadre of fully dedicated constructive workers and enlightened leaders of the NRM.

(e) Promote the NRM through cultural activities and print and audio/visual media.

(f) Bring out '*Peace Lovers Directories*' for various places /cities/ regions to mobilise public opinion and financial support for the NRM.

(g) Establish Regional Institutes and Extension Centres for the DBNI and link them up to form a *Dharma Bharathi Open University of Peace and Value Education*.

### **Role of Defence Service Personnel in the NRM**

Now let me elucidate a few concrete suggestions as to how you as retired or serving members of the Defence Services can contribute towards this nation-building endeavour. First of all, I invite the retired men and officers to take up the leadership of this 'Second Freedom Struggle'. They can volunteer to be Coordinators and Resource Persons of the NRM in their respective Districts/ States/ Regions. Retired persons with the necessary academic qualifications and teaching abilities can establish Dharma Bharathi Regional Institutes of Peace and Value Education in their respective areas/regions. They can also establish the DBNI Extension Centres and serve as Co-ordinators and Directors of such Centres and Institutes. In course of time we can link up all such Regional Institutes and Extension Centres to establish an autonomous



Dharma Bharathi Open University of Peace and Value Education in affiliation with the United Nations University and other world universities of Peace.

Wherever possible retired persons can also form 'Local Units' of Dharma Rajya Vedi and, promote the programmes of the NRM. Seven or more members can form a Local Unit. Talented, well-connected and well-to-do persons can provide public relations support, funds mobilisation and financial assistance.

Air Chief Marshal IH Latif, the former Chief of the Indian Air Force, and one of the Patrons of our Dharma Bharathi National Institute of Peace and Value Education, rang me up before I came here to address you, to suggest that I should also mention in my talk the importance of a moral regeneration within the Defence Services before we launch the mission of national regeneration. I fully agree with him. We need to transform ourselves first. Only a transformed life can transform others.

Now let me also suggest a few possible ways for serving personnel to participate in this divine mission. Serving personnel can help to promote the programmes of the NRM among the officers, men and their families of their Units / Stations. Charts and Posters on 'Chatur Guna' and 'Ashtanga Yagna' can be printed and displayed. The Commanding Officers and the First Ladies of the Units / Stations can provide the necessary leadership. They can also introduce these programmes as 'Practical Peace and Value Education Programmes' in educational institutions under their management. Welfare Associations, especially Associations of the Army, the Navy and the Air Force ladies, can play an important role in this mission. They can also help to mobilise material and financial resources for the NRM. More officers and men need to be trained at the Institute of National Integration, CME, Pune, so that they can be active promoters of national integration and communal harmony in India even after their retirement.

*The Dharma Bharathi National Institute of Peace and Value Education*, Hyderabad will be more than willing to organise training programmes specially suited for the Defence personnel and their unique life-situations, especially in *Family Ethics*, *Responsible Citizenship* and *Enlightened Leadership*. These programmes can directly contribute towards improving quality of life and relationships.



## Conclusion

I have attempted to share with you a message and a mission which is of supreme importance for the whole nation. The message is that the country today is facing a grave moral crisis. As retired and serving members of the Defence Services constitute the most disciplined and dedicated category of Indian citizens we can provide the much needed enlightened leadership to the nation at this critical period in its history.

The mission is the *National Regeneration Movement* – Second Freedom Struggle for the moral regeneration and national reconstruction of India, promoted by Dharma Rajya Vedi. I have also outlined briefly the aim and objectives of the NRM, the methodology of the NRM and how as retired or serving members of the nation's Defence Services one can contribute towards this nation-building endeavour.

Before I conclude, let me remind you one very important aspect of the NRM. I for one consider the NRM as a divine mission entrusted to us by history and destiny. This is our 'Yuga Dharma'. Hence we need to treat this Movement with reverence and devotion as service to God. In front of God we are all brothers and sisters. We may play different roles but our mission is the same. This will also mean that we may have to forget our ranks and positions and humble ourselves to work with all kinds of people for the common good of the nation.

We may be very few in number today and our mission is extremely challenging. But let us not be discouraged. The history of the world is the history of a handful of men and women with faith, courage and conviction; men and women who were prepared to pay the price with their own blood, sweat and tears for the great missions entrusted to them by destiny. They could do so because of the power of their faith; their faith in themselves, faith in the infinite grace of God and faith in the inherent goodness of people. The members of the nation's Defence Services, whether retired or still serving, cannot be discouraged or frightened off so easily. *Satyameva Jayate* (Truth alone shall succeed) is the motto of our nation. If we are in the right path and our intentions and means are pure and noble, we need not be afraid of anyone or anything.



## **Out of This World : Ladakh or Little Tibet**

**Major General DK Palit, VrC (Retd)**

One often uses the phrase "Out of this World" as a hyperbole in describing situations or experiences that are in fact only a wee bit extraordinary. My experience in Ladakh was one among the three that answered to that phrase.

In 1956, when I was commanding 1<sup>st</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> Gorkha Rifles in the Valley, since all my rifle companies were deployed on picquets in the north-western region – Nastachun Pass, Tutmari gali and all that – I had nothing to do except pay occasional visits to the heights and was, therefore, often called upon to do odd jobs for division headquarters. One of the most interesting of them came my way that summer.

There had been rumours for sometime that the Chinese were surreptitiously building a road through the Aksai Chin plateau to connect Chinese Sinkiang and Lhasa over the "Roof of the World" the Pamirs and the Kuen Lun Range to the North and the southern arm of the Karakorams to the West – a barren, uninhabited geographical oddity lying at an average altitude of 5,300 metres (17,200 feet), one of the most desolate places on earth; there is nothing for humans to eat; and no grass grows.

The Army Headquarters in Delhi directed Headquarters 19 Division in the Valley to send out two patrols eastwards from Leh, across the Nubra Valley, heading towards the Aksai Chin - claimed by India as part of her territory but had never been visited, let alone occupied or administered. General Umrao Singh, General Officer Commanding (GOC), sent for me and ordered me to proceed to Leh to co-ordinate and launch the two patrols. At that time, we had no experience or training in high altitude warfare. The general belief in the Army was that persons above the age of

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35 should not be sent to heights above 15,000 feet for long periods. So I was not to accompany either of the patrols, but base myself at Leh (11,000 ft altitude).

While I was making arrangements for the trip, the Staff Captain at Brigade Headquarters, a young Army Service Corps officer Benoy Moitra, who had often accompanied me on chukor and duck shoots in the mountains and lakes of the North-Western part of the Valley enquired if I could take him along on some pretext or the other. Fortunately, our Brigade Commander, Gobinder Singh (formerly of the Patiala State Forces) was also a keen sportsman and had often teamed up with us during our shooting excursions. When I put the case to him he readily agreed to let Benoy go with me to Ladakh.

We flew into Leh in an Air Force Dakota, landing on the long stretch of hard sand that slopes down gradually from the Southern outskirts of Leh, to the foot of Spituk monastery situated on a prominent hill, a mile or so West of the quietly flowing Indus, which at this juncture splits into many channels easy to cross on pony-back. (In later years this strip was developed into Leh airport, the second highest in the world). The settlement at Leh consisted of perhaps a couple of hundred adobe homes scattered around the central market square – all of it dominated by the fort and monastery looming over the hamlet, silhouetted against the higher ranges to the West.

We were driven to Station HQ in Leh's only jeep. The Station Commander was a Lieutenant Colonel of the Sikh Regiment. A few years my junior in service, he was at first somewhat stand-offish at having a senior officer thrust upon him : but after we became acquainted, I found him to be positive, helpful and friendly. Nobody had told him about my mission, no patrols had arrived from the units; we had simply been dumped on him without an explanation. Little wonder that he had greeted me somewhat stiffly.

"Poop" Singh (to give him a name) had put us up in the J and K Militia Mess, a small four or five-roomed house which had formerly been the residence of the Wazirs of Leh, the so-called governors of Ladakh. It was fully equipped as an officers mess, with a mess detachment authorised by the Government. As we were the only dining-in members, we could not have been made more comfortable.



Leh was not all that high – when compared to some of the heights at which we set up permanent picquets later. Yet at 11,000 feet (or a little less) it was the highest habitation the Army had been deployed in till then. The first indication of the height was laboured breathing. Even the short walk to the jeep had us almost panting; and even when sitting still, one tended to take deep-breaths while talking. As for the nights, when asleep, one used to automatic shallow breathing at lower heights, would suddenly wake up feeling out of breath. It takes a few days to acclimatise to sleep through these rhythmic breath changes.

The air is rarefied at these heights and there are no dust particles in it. In that clear atmosphere distant objects appear close – less than half the distance. You start walking towards a village that you can see in the distance. You think you will reach it in fifteen minutes – but you walk endlessly and you take nearly half an hour to get there. On our first trek out of Leh, the phenomenon was quite disconcerting.

It was near full moon on our first night – and it appeared as a precise circle of brilliance against a jet-black night sky. There was no haze and the edges were sharp : more stars than I had thought existed shone through the blackness of the sky. I never again saw a sky-scape quite like it.

Before we set out on our treks we had been warned that the mid-day sun would be extremely hot. The air was so clear that the full fury of the sun's heat and light - with none of the gamma and other rays filtered out – beat down on us. "And be careful! Should you seek the shade of an overhanging rock to have lunch or take a rest – you could well freeze to death if you happen to fall asleep."

Later in my service, I found opportunities to visit and even live among other Buddhist people, in Towang and other reaches of the North-Eastern frontier, but till then Ladakh was my only experience of Buddhist culture and ambience; and a constant source of new experience and wonderment. Where else for that matter was food so monotonously unvaried and simple – crushed or milled barley, a few roots such as giant-size turnips and radishes; hard, dried cubes of solidified yak's butter; occasionally a strip of dried mutton or yak-flesh (for though the Buddhist may not kill, there is no ban



on eating flesh killed by others)? Where else is all food eaten uncooked, at least by the common people (for whom the only cooked item in their daily diet is tea)? This is because there are few trees or bushes in that desert-mountain terrain and wood is a rare commodity.

And where else in the world is polo played within the confines of the village high street and market-square? Buying and selling ceases on days appointed for polo : teams are chosen – mostly from among the Shia Muslim elements of the population. The players collect on to the cobbled "field" of play – riding sturdy hill ponies perhaps, ten or twelve hands in height with a variety of ingenious bits to hold them in. Only a few of the players have sticks in their hands – lengths of bamboo or a branch of mulberry, with a flat projection at the bottom. Others will use their hands to scoop up the puck and scoot. Somebody in charge again throws in a puck amongst the waiting stalwarts – and the jostling, scurrying, heaving and pushing builds up to a crescendo. Presumably goals are scored, between the heaped up cairns of stones set up at either end of the market-square.

Alas, I never actually saw a game being played. The above is a description narrated by the "Raja" of Leh, a hereditary title, then serving as a lieutenant in the local militia, who was made my temporary, unpaid ADC for the duration of my stay.

The patrols still had not come. So Benoy and I spent a few days visiting monasteries, shrines in peoples' homes and other Buddhist places. Spituk Gompa (monastery) was our first experience of the cloying smell of burning yak's butter from the many lamps in the central shrine. This was a monastery of the Yellow Hat sect, seat of Kushak Bakula, Abbot of Spituk Gompa and at that time Leh's representative in the Jammu and Kashmir State government.

Our next visit to a monastery was to Himis Gompa, the "senior" monastery of Ladakh – of the Red Hat, conservative sect, about 20 miles South-West of Leh, across the Indus. The monastery forms an impressive block of buildings hidden inside a narrow glen running down to the Indus. Alas! being enclosed on all sides, the whole area smells of human excreta.



Our approach was heralded by the deep Wagnerian music of long copper-and-silver bass trumpets. Once at the outer courtyard, we were serenaded by the slow songs and seemingly rhythmless dances by lamas wearing animal costumes representing lions, stags, bulls and sheep.

The monastery cum fort above Leh was a special treat. This was no longer in use either as the Raja's residence or as a place of prayer and ritual, no one lived there any more and we were able to visit the many, dusty staterooms and lesser apartments at leisure. In the main reception room on the top floor, with crumbling ceiling and decaying wooden floor, there were a row of idols – Avalokisteshwar, Bodhisattvas and other figures. The central sculpture was a multi-coloured depiction of a ferocious and snarling deity (in his "terrible aspect" – as God would appear to a sinner). An unclothed female clasped his body, hands around his neck, her legs around his waist. The middle portion of the sculpture had been coyly covered over with a piece of cloth, but we were allowed to remove it. The godly couple, we were told, depicted God neither as male nor female but a male-female whole, conjoined by the act of copulation.

Fortunately there was no cloying smell of burning butter nor the usual all-pervading smell of excreta outside; so we were able to spend nearly half a day poking around in dark, unlit corners – in one of which we found a heap of wooden printing blocks for producing manuscripts. We were told by our guide that we could take a few slates as souvenirs which Benoy and I did – somewhat guiltily!

On our way down from this monastery-fort, we passed the local Mosque. There is a large Shia Muslim community in Leh. As we went by, our guide for the day told us that if we waited a few minutes we would hear the muezzin's call, but, alas! we had been bid to tea at the Colonel's hut and we had to hurry on.

Incidentally, in Leh one could (in those days) drink three kinds of tea – Tibetan, Turkish and "Lepton" (or the Indo-Brit variety). Turkish tea is slightly greenish in colour but tastes well; Tibetan tea is made from pieces of solid tea broken off from large tea bricks, and salt – with Yak's milk – not to our taste. On the whole, we were unenterprising enough to stick to the Army canteen variety of "Lepton"!



We had met one of the local dignitaries – Kalon (which was either his name or designation of Councillor) and were privileged to be invited to his house, which was clean, elegant and furnished with painted woodwork. He took us to see his shrine, where we saw a number of fine *tankhas* (paintings of the Buddha, or Buddhist figures and scenes, on cloth). The house was completely empty and we wondered whether the womenfolk had been sent into *purdah*. That was not so : we were told that everyone was away at the market because a caravan of Yarkandi merchants had arrived from Khotan the previous evening. That was a sight not to be missed, so we persuaded the Kalon to come with us to the market square.

The scene in the bazaar-square was something to write home about. All inhabitants of Leh were there, not to mention visiting Tibetans, Chinese, Yarkandis, Baltis and Turks in high Cossack boots - some with gaily caparisoned mountain ponies, talking loudly and gesticulating wildly. Horses and yaks were being unloaded and stalls set up.

In summer, Leh used to be the meeting point of caravans from Lhasa, Khotan and Srinagar. Now that the Chinese have spread their tentacles across Central Asia, the caravans are less frequent. But a few still come through; at least they did in the mid-fifties. Indian cotton goods were sent westwards, exchanged for bricked tea from West China (which the Ladakhi's prize above the Indian "Lepton").

There was a huge mastiff chained to the wall of a building. These big, hairy and ferocious watchdogs were to be seen at the entrances of monasteries and some of the larger houses. When a stranger approaches they bark savagely and strain at their thick, spiky chains, often flinging themselves at the intruder, who had better keep his distance. We never saw a hound loose or even walking outside on a leash with his master.

We had been in Leh five or six days by then and still there were no patrols, no orders for us. An inquiry at Station Headquarters elicited the reply that there had been a delay in Divisional Headquarter's plans and we were to cool our heels for a week or so. Since we had seen all that we wanted to see in Leh, I asked



Colonel PS if he would be kind enough to arrange for us a trek to Khalatsi – where the highway from Srinagar crosses the Indus from its left bank to the right. There were a number of interesting monasteries along the way, just off the highway – which we would dearly like to see. The Colonel was very helpful and readily agreed to arrange an "expedition" for us.

The "expedition" consisted of two of us; one pony to carry our bedding, pup tents, and a spirit lamp, *dekchi* and *tawa* for cooking; and a so-called cook-cum-guide – a young Ladakhi militiaman named Sonam (as far as I recall). "So-called", because, as we soon discovered, his concept of cooking (in a land where any form of cooking except for the boiling of water was a rare event) was to lay out the day's collection of twigs, leaves and dung (gathered on our way from monastery surroundings), sprinkle spirit over it and ignite the lot, then place the *tawa* on the flames and bake flat cakes of ration wheat into fat, half-raw "chapaties". These we ate with condensed milk or jaggery – all washed down by hot, sweet Indian tea. Once in a while we would open one of the four or five tins of curried potato that we had brought with us.

We set off early on the first day, approached Spituk along a path through green barley fields, poplars and *chortens* of various shapes and sizes. By-passing the monastery hill, we skirted round its western slope. Here the path ran quite close to the river and we had to pick our way through a marsh. The only greenery one sees in Ladakh are fields of barley that line the narrow water courses near a monastery – though, we never again saw such a profusion of crops and poplars as at the base of Spituk.

The next village was Nimu, a few miles to the North of a range of craggy hills but, if I remember rightly, it had no convent. We did not want to pitch camp anywhere near a village if we could help it because of the smell of drying ordure that surrounds all such habitations. We decided to move on past Basgo, a small settlement under a dilapidated monastery-castle atop a craggy peak.

In Ladakh long Mani walls are built on the approaches to villages, dividing the path into two (and one has to walk along the right fork – or else one invites bad luck). We halted after Basgo's northern Mani and had a sandwich lunch, shared with Sonam – and



a heap of grass, acquired at Basgo, for the pony. (Although Indian coinage was the medium of purchase and sale at Leh, most other places still operated on the barter system – for which purpose we had provided ourselves with packets of cigarettes and candles. However, the only things we bought during our trip were fodder for the pony and the deliciously sweet dried apricots that were a speciality of the warmer valleys of the upper Ladakh region, such as Lamayuru and Kargil).

The plans we had made before setting out from Leh were that we would journey up the Srinagar "highway" to the Indus at Khalatsi, cross over by the narrow suspension bridge to the left bank and visit the oldest and one of the largest monasteries of Ladakh at Lamayuru (of the Yellow Hat sect). We were told that this monastery had some of the best mural paintings to be seen outside Lhasa and its neighbouring monasteries. Others among the larger Gompas that we wanted to visit were those at Rizong and Likhir – all located up side-valleys that opened out on the highway and within two or three miles of it. Since we had been advised to return to Leh in five or six days, in case instructions were received from Divisional Headquarters we decided to make for Lamayuru first and then return at a more leisurely pace.

On our second night out we camped near the Khalatsi bridge. Early next morning we crossed over to the left bank. Here the path entered a narrow, rocky defile hemmed in by sheer cliffs. At places the path was so steep that a series of steps had been cut into the rocky floor of the valley to ease the climb.

The first sight of the monastery was breath-taking. The ravine had widened out into a wide hollow enclosed by red hills. On the crest of a steep hill, on the far side of the hollow, stood the magnificently proportioned pile that is the monastery of Lamayuru, a tall central building spilling out into small wings that clung to the slopes. Further down the hill-side was honey-combed with caves (which we later learned were meant as meditation centres for the monks). Below the caves, lines of peasant's quarters constituted the Gompa's fief – the village of Yuru.

There was no difficulty in making an entry into the large hall that led to the inner sanctum. One of the older Lamas took us under



his wing and Sonam acting as interpreter showed us round the central hall. The mural paintings were exquisitely drawn and painted in ochre and vermillion and most of them were like the figure we had seen in Leh fort – the mystic union of the God-head with itself as consort. When I stated my interest to photograph the paintings the Lama at first demurred; then, surprisingly, agreed to let me do so if I paid a small fee towards the monastery kitty – the only time this happened to us in Ladakh.

We were taken into some other chapels that opened out from the main hall. In one of them there was a colossal image of the Bodhisat named Chenrezig (a Bodhisat being a devotee who has attained knowledge approaching that of the Buddha). He was portrayed as a tall figure with innumerable arms that form a circle, like a halo, round his head, which was, in fact, nothing but many heads disposed like a pyramid resting on his shoulders. We had to leave without visiting the Inner Sanctum, a great pity; it was early afternoon by then and we had to go back across the river and up the road for a few miles if we were to adhere to our schedule.

Having "done" Lamayuru, we travelled back at a more relaxed pace. We had been told that most of the valleys that opened into the mountains on our left had their own little Gompa fiefdoms – some, such as Rizong and Likhir, were well worth visiting.

The first sight of Likhir was spell-binding and nature was at her best that day, to enhance the effect. A wide valley opened out in the mountains on our left and we began to ascend the slope towards it. As we topped a ridge, there, seeming to grow out of the very eminence on which it stood, was the most exquisite architectural pile that we had yet seen – a brilliantly sunlit, shining superstructure against a background of dark hills.

Although it had seemed only a few hundred yards away, it took us nearly half an hour to get there – the high altitude fore-shortening effect. And the close, full view of the Gompa offered us the insight into the architect's magic – how he could make the whole edifice seem an extension of the hill : all the windows and balconies were slightly sloped inwards – so that the building blended with the sloping hillside as though it were an extension of the hill.



Once through the main portals, we seemed to have entered a labyrinth of courtyards, stairs and passages. In the central shrine, we saw some exquisite tankhas, some of which were mounted on rich (Chinese?) brocade.

In one of the verandas that ran round a spacious courtyard, we saw a large mural of the Wheel of Existence, a Lamaist adaptation of the Buddhist philosophy, which teaches that one's action in the present life, good or evil, promotes or demotes one to a higher or lower stratum of existence in one's next life – as a Bodhisat or a common human, an animal or one cast into purgatory.

Either opening out from the Likhir valley or from the main highway a wee bit further down, I have forgotten which, we went up a narrow glen more profusely covered with *bosky* growth than elsewhere. We saw coveys of chukor and the brilliantly coloured blood peasants of the high Himalayas; and the wonder of it was that they took little notice of us save to walk to one side of the path when we passed them. They were so fearless of humans in this non-violent Buddhist land that they behaved like tame birds.

The monastery at Rizong was like Likhir of the Yellow Sect. It was tucked away in a very narrow glen and so out of the way that it received few visitors. Sonam found out that it was considered to be kind of an outcast community because it had declared its independence from Lhasa and now trained and educated its own novices to become monks. (Other monasteries, of both orders, were still dependent on Lhasa monasteries for the grant of "degrees"). We learned afterwards, in Leh, that this was one of the best run convents of Ladakh. It was certainly kept spotlessly clean; some of the statues of Lord Buddha and Bodhisats were in princely attire, adorned with semi-precious jewels. It is believed that the coffers of Rizong contained more riches than those of all the others in Ladakh put together.

Returning to Headquarters, we learned that there was still no indication from Srinagar about plans for the patrol we were to send. We also learned that on the day after, an Air Force Dakota was coming in from Srinagar with fresh rations and other supplies. We decided to go back with it on its return flight and seek further instructions from the GOC.



Having a couple of days to kill, Benoy and I decided to make a day trip south-eastward along the highway to Lhasa and visit the convent at Stok where there was a "three-storey Buddha" that could be viewed from raised platforms on three levels. We made an early start, southward along the Indus, breakfasting on sandwiches and flasked coffee on a sandbank a little below the road. Thence upstream the river narrowed down and was deeper and faster flowing.

By mid-morning, we had begun to feel the heat of the relentless Ladakhi sun. We debated whether to take a dip in the Indus. When we asked Sonam, he smiled and said that we would very likely catch pneumonia if we did. And was he right! When we went down to the river's edge and felt the water – it was icy cold – not at all as inviting as the warm shallows we had waded through on the way to Himis.

The Gompa at Stok was a simple affair, with just one chamber – but it was three storeys high. The multi-storeyed statue was beautifully made, painted over with pale gold – it was worth the trouble we had taken.

That was the end of our fascinating fortnight in this latter day fairyland of monks and monasteries and of simple people living in a contented, faraway Shangri-la of their own, unaffected by the pressures, pulls and perversities of life in the so-called civilised world on the plains of Hindustan.

### **RESULTS GOLD MEDAL ESSAY COMPETITION 2001**

#### **Group 'A' - Open to All Officers. "Managing Change in the Armed Forces"**

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|------------------------------|--|
| (a) Cdr SM Anwer<br>DSSC     | - First Prize - cash award of Rs. 5,000 and entry accepted for publication in the USI Journal. |
| (b) Lt Cdr SS Kinagi<br>DSSC | - Second Prize – cash award of Rs. 2,500.  |

#### **Group 'B' - Open to Officers Up to the Rank of Major or Equivalent Ranks in the Navy and Air Force with Not More Than Ten Years Service. "Economic Power As A Concomitant of Military Power"**

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| (a) Maj R Rajesh Bhat<br>54 Engr Regt<br>C/o 56 APO      | - First Prize - cash award of Rs. 5,000/-, and entry accepted for publication in the USI Journal. |
| (b) (i) Capt NR Rayudu<br>996 AD Regt Wksp<br>C/o 56 APO | - Second Prize – cash award of Rs. 2,500/-.   |
| (ii) Capt Sunil Gautam<br>16 Engr Regt<br>C/o 56 APO     | - Second Prize - cash award of Rs. 2,500/-.   |

As the standard of contribution was not upto the desired level, award of Gold Medal has not been made this year.



## Letter to the Editor

I

Dear Sir,

**W**ith reference to Review of *Generals and Governments in India and Pakistan* appearing in the July-Sep issue of the *USIJ*, the essay by Sumona Dasgupta on the militarisation of the Indian state has not touched on the following points which are relevant to the theme portrayed.

- (a) The increasing strength of various paramilitary forces such as Rashtriya Rifles, ITBP and special forces which are being used in the entire spectrum of Indian conflicts.
- (b) A large number of acts such as the Disturbed Areas Act and the J and K Special Forces Act have been enacted with the main purpose of facilitating the use of Armed Forces in various insurgency affected areas.
- (c) In disaster reliefs, major efforts have been made to bring Armed Forces units with their entire range of manpower and resources.
- (d) Government public relations departments and the other media have highlighted the deeds of various Service personnel which tend to glorify the men in uniform.
- (e) These trends need to be monitored and curbed so that the militarisation of the political parties does not result in fascist methods to control the state.

*Brigadier A Thyagarajan (Retd)*



## Recollections of a Soldier – Statesman\*

Lieutenant General Satish Nambiar, PVSM, AVSM, VrC (Retd)\*\*

"In the Service of the Nation - Reminiscences" published by Viking Penguin India is an autobiographical account of one of the Indian Army's outstanding military leaders in recent times - General K V Krishna Rao. It is truly a memorable record of the contribution made by this distinguished son of India *in the service of the Nation*. It not only reflects his achievements as a soldier in the Indian Army that took him from commission in 1942 to the pinnacle of that honoured profession as the Chief of the Army Staff, and Chairman, Chiefs of Staff Committee from which post he superannuated in 1983; but also encapsulates an experience in governance in the country that remains largely unmatched in terms of commitment and achievement. His tenure as Governor of Nagaland, Manipur and Tripura from June 1984 to June 1989 (including a brief period of charge in Mizoram), was notable for many reasons which he records with a great sense of satisfaction. The two terms he served as Governor of Jammu and Kashmir during some of its most disturbed periods, from 11 July 1989 to 18 January 1990 and again from March 1993 to March 1998, were notable for his sense of propriety and commitment to basic values; and even more so, for the tenacity and single-mindedness with which he pursued the goal of ensuring that Pakistan's proxy war in the State did not succeed.

General Krishna Rao's writing style reflects his strong character qualities of frankness to the point of being blunt at times, total loyalty and unreserved commitment to the country, the system, the Indian Armed Forces, his subordinates, and to those of his superiors who drew his respect, and his inability to suffer fools too easily. The range of tasks he was required to undertake and his consciousness of the relative importance to the readers of his experiences, is strikingly reflected in the composition of the book. Of the 556 pages of print, less than half is devoted to his military career. And only half of that part relates to his early life in the Army and till command of 8 Mountain Division in Nagaland and Manipur and later in the Sylhet Sector in Bangladesh in 1971. Thus in less than a quarter of the book he covers some of the interesting events of that time episodically in a manner that retains the reader's attention; right from his initial posting

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\**In the Service of the Nation – Reminiscences*. By General KV Krishna Rao (New Delhi: Viking-Penguin India, 2001), pp.576, Rs.595.00, ISBN 0-67-091127-5

Lieutenant General Satish Nambiar, PVSM, AVSM, VrC (Retd) is the Director of the USI. *Journal of the United Service Institution of India*, Vol. CXXXI, No. 546, October-December 2001.



to the Maratha Light Infantry and immediately thereafter to a new regiment under raising - the Mahar Regiment. He was to later become the Colonel of that Regiment, an appointment he held till his retirement from the Army. Brief accounts of his experiences in the British Indian Army in Burma during World War II and in the North West Frontier Provinces. Unforgettable experiences in the protection and evacuation of refugees on both sides of the border after the Partition of the sub-continent in 1947. His outstanding competence and capacity for sustained hard work is reflected in his reminiscences on the appointments he held at the middle level particularly as the senior general staff officer at the divisional headquarters in Jammu under a number of general officers commanding that included Field Marshal SHFJ Manekshaw, his nomination for the Defence Services Staff College course at Wellington in the Nilgiris, and his selection to attend the prestigious Imperial Defence College in London as a Brigadier. Of this first quarter of the book, a substantial part is devoted to a fairly detailed account of the operations of 8 Mountain Division during the operations in Bangladesh in 1971 and its commitments in the conduct of counter insurgency operations in Nagaland and Manipur.

Notwithstanding his considerable achievements in the course of his military career (like most military commanders who reach the very top of the profession), General Krishna Rao's unique contribution to the establishment lay in the process he set in motion as the head of an expert committee set up by the Government of India in 1975 together with Generals Chibber and Sundarji. This Committee did yeoman service to an otherwise 'status quo' establishment in that it made recommendations for reorganising and re-equipping the Indian Army within the framework of a long term perspective plan based on realistic threat perceptions and technological advances. It advocated revision of operational doctrines that are still in the process of being implemented. What makes interesting reading is the fact he was in positions of authority as Deputy Chief of Army Staff, General Officer Commanding-in-Chief Western Command, and Chief of the Army Staff to monitor follow-up action on the Committee's recommendations. The book records his sense of satisfaction in regard to certain aspects which is matched by a sense of frustration on others that were the subject of lethargy and indifference of the Government machinery. Equally importantly, the account dispels many myths that abound in Army circles about the origins of the recommendations that came to be implemented, particularly in regard to increased stress on mechanised warfare and the formation of the Mechanised Infantry Regiment. Documentation of this process in the book is useful to the Service community in understanding nuances of many decisions taken earlier, and to academics and researchers in highlighting the thoroughness with which decisions are taken in the



Armed Forces. The remark attributed to the then Prime Minister Morarji Desai on Page 162 where he is quoted as suggesting that the military were 'war mongers' is a sad commentary indeed on the political leadership of the day. The irony is that even today the political leadership has little genuine understanding of the military and remains largely disinterested unless faced with dire situations, when of course, the immediate reaction is to call upon the military. To what purpose, one is never too sure. The most important aspect that shines through the account of General Krishna Rao's tenure as the Army Chief and Chairman Chiefs of Staff Committee is that of the direct access he had to the Prime Minister, Smt Indira Gandhi. So vital in context of the commitments of the Indian Army in manning the Northern borders with Tibet and the Line of Control in Jammu and Kashmir, in dealing with counter insurgency in the North East and within Jammu and Kashmir, as also in many other internal security issues. Vital that the Head of Government gets direct and first-hand inputs from the military and more importantly the Chiefs. This is no reflection on the competence of the Defence Ministers or the civilian bureaucracy whose views can in any case be conveyed to the Prime Minister separately.

The third and fourth parts of the book that deal with the author's role in governance at the national level are invaluable because of the national security insights they provide on the most vital regions of the country from the security point of view; the North East and the North West. The account of his tenure as Governor of Nagaland, Manipur and Tripura, during which he also briefly held charge of Mizoram, are a historical record of the developments in those states during a crucial time. It serves as a useful study of the insurgency in those states, the political machinations and manipulations that compound an already difficult problem, and the not always coordinated efforts at Central Government level. The author's total commitment to the task he undertook comes through vividly in his account of the interaction he had with the political leadership of the states. As does the affection, admiration and empathy for the people he held in the greatest respect. Not uncommon for anyone who has had the honour and privilege of serving in the North Eastern states. General Krishna Rao takes justifiable pride in his achievements as the Governor and shares some of his thoughts on how the problems of the region need to be addressed.

The value of General Krishna Rao's documentation of his experiences in the domain of governance at the national level rests on the fact that besides his impeccable credentials as a military commander who served with distinction in the North East and in Jammu and Kashmir, he is the only person who has experience as Governor in both these regions. His



first tenure as the Governor of Jammu and Kashmir was at a momentous period. It was marked by a number of developments that were to prove a watershed in the troubled history of that State. He records these as much with a sense of anguish as with a sense of inevitability given the political machinations he was privy to. The Rubaiya Sayeed episode is recorded with as much objectivity as he can muster; but the incompetence with which it was really handled by the Central Government is revealed starkly through that attempt at objectivity. The author's basic sense of values did not allow him to continue in the post. His return as Governor in March 1993 is a manifestation of his unreserved commitment to the unity and integrity of the Indian Union. At that time there were no takers for that thankless job. The political leadership and the civilian bureaucracy had more or less given up on Jammu and Kashmir. General Krishna Rao proved to be the man of the hour. Through sheer single-minded commitment, perseverance and hard work, together with the Army that he loved so dearly, he succeeded in breaking the stranglehold that Pakistan had imposed through the proxy war she had launched on the State of Jammu and Kashmir. The conduct of elections in the State in May 1996 was the crowning achievement. His contribution to turning the situation round is probably now masked behind the veil of hostility some political leaders and most of the civilian bureaucracy harbour against him for his insistence on dealing only with the Prime Minister on most vital issues concerning the State. Something he records as a precondition he set for acceptance of the responsibilities he was asked to undertake. Historians will no doubt record the debt of gratitude the Nation owes to this great son of hers.

Whether one agrees with the views expressed by General KV Krishna Rao in this autobiographical account or not, what cannot be disputed is the fact that he has done great service by documenting for posterity, his experiences both as a soldier and probably more importantly, as Governor of the most troubled states of the Republic of India in the North East and in Jammu and Kashmir. "In the Service of the Nation - Reminiscences" is essential reading for all those who have anything to do with matters of state or running the military, as also for scholars and researchers who are interested in national security. Its eminently readable style also makes its study for the layman a pleasant and educative experience.



## Short Reviews of Recent Books

**A Primer in Power Politics.** By Stanley Michalak (Delaware : A Scholarly Resources Inc., 2001), pp. 233, \$ 21.95, ISBN 0-8420-2951-6.

Politics is not a science; it is an art and a very difficult art to master as to how nations operate. This requires a great deal of study of history, of situations, of the limits and uses of force and of norms and behaviours. The author in this masterly piece has carried out an in-depth study of how the boundaries of nations have been drawn and redrawn over the centuries and how the miscalculations of political heads had landed nations in situations where they did not plan to be.

In the chapter on "Itch to use the Force", the aspects related to deterrence and use of force for limited war have been dealt. It brings out that success in use of coercive diplomacy depends on a balance of interests, usable military force and the domestic and international support enjoyed. In any contest of wills the 'Balance of Interest' is usually a better predictor of outcomes than the 'Balance of Absolute Military Power'. An essential element of sound diplomacy is to know what the use of military force can and cannot do. Initiating a war may be easy but staying in it when the going gets rough is not so; and it is always difficult to get out of it.

Arbitration and mediation are useful devices in emotionally charged situations in which states want to avoid the use of force but the involvement of honour and reputation makes resolution by traditional diplomacy difficult. Peace in the ultimate depends on attitudes of nations towards existing distribution of power, status, territory and resources. It remains to be seen whether global economy would usher in an era of global peace or merely provide another context within which traditional wars would continue to take place. Only time will tell.

According to the author, nations are more concerned with power and influence; more so than they are about moral rectitude or consistency. Michalak has amplified his views with examples of events that have taken place over the past 400 years along with



maps to highlight how national security interests have kept maps changing. An interesting book that stimulates the mind to ponder on the role of 'power politics'.

*Colonel A K Garg*

**War and the Illiberal Conscience.** *By Christopher Coker (Boulder, Colorado : Westview Press, 1998), pp 239, \$45.00, ISBN 0-8133-3369-5.*

The author has delved deeply into the dogmas of Western philosophers which affected the politics and the life pattern of the world during the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries. Most of them advocated jingoism and evolved logic through extrapolation of history to justify the ideology and agenda of their political leaders. They empathised with the prevalent dissatisfaction in society and making use of subtle semantics and patriotism, they justified fascism, communism and their brand of ethnic and racial strife. Despite the immense loss of life and destruction caused during the two World Wars and the ethnic cleansing of minorities in various parts of the world, the human race is nowhere near its sought after utopia.

The book makes for heavy reading with a look into the failed dogmas of political elites of the last two centuries.

*Major General L S Lehl, PVSM, VrC (Retd)*

**On Killing : The Psychological Cost of Learning to Kill in War and Society.** *By Lt Col Dave Grossman (New York : Little Brown & Co., 1996), pp. 366, \$15.95, ISBN 0-316-33011-6.*

The author is a former army ranger and paratrooper, and a professor of psychology at West Point. This gives him the right credentials for studying the impact of killing another human being and the trauma a soldier goes through once the action is over. The author has taken a wide range of case studies pertaining to soldiers of different eras and times. He has extensively quoted from works of numerous military thinkers, philosophers, psychologists and historians in the process. His stated objective has been 'to understand the psychological nature of killing in combat and to probe the emotional wounds and scars of those men who answered



their nation's call and meted out death or chose to pay the price for not doing so. The book has lived up to the author's mission.

The author's research, which necessitated the interview of a large number of war veterans, provides a tremendous insight into human psychology where it involves killing another human being. The bonds men develop with each other and the burden a leader carries because ultimately he must be willing to give orders that may kill his own soldiers, is a subject in itself and has been thoughtfully handled by Colonel Grossman. Because they hardly ever directly shoot to kill another human being, sailors and fighter pilots do not suffer the same trauma as a foot soldier. This is an aspect that has been discussed to highlight the fact that the issue primarily concerns an army combatant. In the final analysis, the author stipulates that not more than two per cent soldiers suffer the after effects of killing another human being. The rest have to be trained and conditioned to accept killing the enemy as something normal and necessary.

A reading will help commanders conclude that when some of their soldiers are reluctant to shoot at another human being it is not necessarily out of fear but a consequence of an emotional and mental conflict. It may be worthwhile if our authors too dwell on this subject of the soldier's psyche when faced with the task of killing another human being and discuss this aspect at length during initial training. This will help platoon and company commanders in preparing their fresh recruits for the tasks ahead of them.

*Brigadier Parmodh Sarin (Retd)*

**Terrorism and Democratic Stability.** By Jennifer S Holmes (New York : Manchester University Press, 2001), pp. 241, £ 50.00, ISBN 0-7190-5959-3.

Jennifer S Holmes has picked up this intriguing subject for research as to how state repression and violence resulted in the breakdown of democratic systems in Uruguay, Peru and Spain, without much opposition from liberals within these countries. In all these cases their military played a dominant role in usurping democratic stability. The intriguing question as to why Uruguans and Peruvians withheld support for their respective democracies while the Spaniards resolutely defended theirs has been empirically



analysed by the author in this book. She first delves into the comparative study of violence and democratic stability versus military intervention alongwith a historical overview of Uruguay, Peru and Spain before discussing each of the three countries in detail to arrive at her plausible hypothesis.

There are some important lessons for those countries which have been persistently plagued with the scourge of military takeovers. This is a book of immense value and interest to students of democracy, terrorism and military coups.

*Colonel Jagmohan Singh*

**Nuclear Rivalry and International Order.** *Edited by Jorn Gjelstad and Olav Njolstad (London : Sage Publications, 1996), pp. 212, Rs 395.00, ISBN 0-8039-7753-0.*

The essays in the book were commissioned for a conference held in June 1993 in Rjukan, Norway. Since then India and Pakistan have acquired nuclear capability which will have a bearing on the future role of nuclear deterrence. The book analyses the problem of nuclear rivalry and its effects on world order. The contributors – many of whom are experts with years of experience in the field of strategic employment of nuclear weapons – seek to answer two key questions : Do nuclear weapons stabilise or destabilise interstate relationships? What is the interplay between nuclear weapons, international rivalry and world order? The analysis is interesting. A book worth reading by those of us who are still 'students' of international politics.

*Major General Prem K Khanna, MVC (Retd)*

**Searching for Peace : The Road to Transcend.** *Edited by Johan Galtung and Carl G Jacobsen (London : Pluto Press, 2000), pp. 290, £ 15.99, ISBN 0-7453-1614-X.*

This book presents conflict resolution in a mixed perspective. Divided into four parts, the first part explains varied perspectives and assumptions underlying conflict resolution. The authors have explained in detail the phenomena of peace making as real politic citing broad spectrum of conflicts. Part two of the book spells out at length the process of conflict formation, especially in the Twenty



First Century, with case studies of Russia-China, India-Pakistan, conflicts in Eurasia and East Asia/South China Seas. The focus is on geoeconomic, geomilitary, geopolitical, and geostructural conflict formations. Part three introduces a new approach to conflict research that is the Transcend perspective, meaning broadly 'conflict resolution by peaceful means', portrayed by time and space of forty years highlighting forty different conflicts. However, indepth analysis of all forty case studies brings out that the model looks at the conflict at surface level. Part four of the book gives out yet another important perspective of conflict and its resolution by mediation. The authors of this part are candid enough to admit that mediation is a North American / European method. The three case studies where mediation has been applied are the Israel-Palestine Oslo Accord, Yugoslavia – Dayton Agreement and Afghanistan. In all three case studies the outcome is there for us to see. All the accords have been hemmed in by number of ifs and buts.

The Transcend approach is indeed a novel strategy in peace research techniques and quite relevant in the South Asian scenario. The book is a must read for peace activists and researchers.

*Lieutenant Colonel Sunil Chandra*

**Industrial Espionage : Causes and Cure, Volume-I.** By Dr S Subramanian (New Delhi : Manas Publications, 1998), pp. 455, Rs. 995.00, ISBN 81-7049-079-2.

Introduction to this book is made through the evolution of industrial espionage with a number of cases illustrated from the USA, the UK, Malaysia, Saudi Arabia and so on. It has been explained that intelligence denotes information that has been verified for its reliability, assessed for its accuracy, processed for its veracity, valued for its utility, and is in ready-to-use format for the decision maker. The author has explained three types of intelligence - strategic tactical and operational.

The book is in seven parts : Part 1 - Historical Perspective; Part 2 - Industrial Espionage Today; Part 3 - Product Piracy; Part 4 - Threat to India from Industrial Espionage; Part 5 - Defence Against Industrial Espionage; Part 6 - Security Operations; and Part 7 - Legal Supplement.



The "Historical Perspective", in Part One explains the valuation of industrial espionage and the methods of industrial intelligence gathering through the ages and compared it with the National Intelligence Agencies. He has also attempted to explain as to why industrial espionage is required at the corporate level. "Industrial Espionage Today" in Part Two is about the decision-making in competitive business and how to organise competitive business intelligence system and technology-in-aid of industrial espionage. The Author has cited a large number of cases of "Product Piracy" and the losses of industrialised nations who have spent colossal amounts on Research and Development (R&D).

The Author has given four chapters on preventive measures. The "Legal Supplement" with an analysis of Patent Act 1970, Trade and Mercantile Act 1958, Copyright Act 1957 and Consumer Protection Act 1986 come to the aid of the author's suggestions. The Book enables busy business executives and security professionals to take adequate measures to prevent their organisations from becoming victims of industrial espionage.

*Colonel P K Vasudeva (Retd)*

**Handbook on Energy Audits and Management.** Edited by Amit Kumar Tyagi (New Delhi : Tata Energy Research Institute, 2000), pp. 164, Price not indicated, ISBN 81-85419-71-X.

TERI has been actively associated with the industry over the past 10 years to perfect the methods of energy audits in industrial units. In this it has achieved significant and popular successes. The handbook has been produced in a format which will appeal both to the managements as also the engineers working with the energy producing and energy expending systems in industrial units. This handbook will certainly help educate the industry personnel, energy auditors, energy consultants and the financial institutions, to understand various aspects of energy production and conservation.

*Colonel Jagmohan Singh*



**The Power of Human Rights : International Norms and Domestic Change.** *Edited by Thomas Risse, Stephen C Ropp and Kathryn Sikkink (UK : Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 318, Price not indicated, ISBN 0-52165 88 29.*

The book under review is by scholars committed to the cause of human rights. They are part of what they categorise as the 'international human rights advocacy network'. The book examines the linkages that this network has spawned with Western governments, NGOs and the UN agencies in the field, as also the cumulative impact of this 'global human rights polity' on domestic change within human rights violator states. Its conclusions are remarkable for the fact that it forwards ten practicable lessons based on their theoretical framework for human rights practitioners. The theoretical framework in question is a five phase 'spiral model' dwelling on the manner of socialisation into international norms of recalcitrant states. In the 'repression phase', activation of the network is done in order to highlight the violations. This leads to the 'denial phase', in which the state rejects the imposition of an external paradigm of human rights. Once sufficient information is made available on the state's human rights record, it undertakes a defensive 'tactical concessions' phase. In doing this, it lays itself bare to penetration through argumentation and lobbying by human rights activists. This forces the state to acknowledge 'prescriptive status' of human rights norms. Last, is the phase in which the state exhibits 'rule consistent behaviour' through institutionalisation and habituation to human rights norms.

The impact of international relations on this spiral is considered, though not in as much depth as may have been warranted. The fact is that the West in keeping with its geo-political purpose has condoned repressive behaviour of violator states. To neglect this aspect is to iterate the West's assumption that human rights violations are a result of domestic factors in the developing world. The second noteworthy point is that the book does not discuss the cases of China and India, thereby disregarding the experience of major states and regions. Therefore, the book can be recommended reading only for human rights buffs.

*Major Ali Ahmed*



✓  
**The Book of Military Quotations.** By Major Vivek Chadha (New Delhi : Bookmart Publishers, 2001), pp. 320, Rs. 695.00, ISBN 81-87583-04-5.

Major Chadha's operational service in theatres ranging from Sri Lanka to the State of Jammu and Kashmir has instigated his quest for an understanding of the nature of his calling. His first book was a first hand account of the demands on the leader at the spear end of the Low Intensity Conflict (LIC) battlefield.

The book originated in a remarkable observation by the author in that there is a vacuum of military quotations originating in the Indian cultural and military milieu. It is a book that will get repeatedly thumbed for it has a thoughtfully prepared menu of topics, which the compiler, being an insider, is in a position to know. It has been well presented by the publishers, but at a price that may seem daunting. Nevertheless, it is a book that should grace the shelf of any young officer who adopts the Forces as his career.

Quotations are the compression of wisdom into memorable language. Thus they are both a work of art and philosophy. The selection on offer reveals the compiler's aesthetic sense as also the wide scope of his search. In this age quotations serve the purpose of attracting the reader to reflect on the thought they transmit. Since in right thought springs right action, the food for thought that this book contains is recommended as staple to the fresh entrants to the officer corps.

Major Ali Ahmed

✓  
**Asia Annual 2000.** Edited by JK Ray (New Delhi : Shipra Publication, 2000), pp. 253, Rs. 450.00, ISBN 81 7541 06 20.

This volume explores the complex interconnection between cultural and socio-economic structures of society and provides a critical dialogue analysis of ethics and related themes. It includes a summary of events in 1999. The portion on Maulana Azad by Feroze Bakht Ahmed points out the necessity to re-examine the relevance of such greats in the present context. Surinder Gopal's note on "Indians in Central Asia" in the Nineteenth Century explains the entrepreneurial skills of the Indian traders that allowed them to cope with the technical, economic, political and administrative



changes that affected the course of commerce in the era of the "Great Game".

The "Great Game" also confirms the background to Indrani Chatterji's paper on "Mannu Mission" and "Colonialism Design in Central Asia". It points out how the British efforts at securing trading privileges, lowering octroi and greater scales of Indian goods, significantly influenced British Mannu Mission policy in the region. Suchandana Chatterji's paper on "Share Identity: Iran and Tajikistan" examines a similar question pertaining to ethno-cultural-links and how linkage of Tajikistan identity with Persian identity is a stereotype that subsumes other identities in Tajikistan. Linkage is also the central theme of Anita Gupta's paper on "Geopolitics or Geoculture: Redefining Pan Turkism in Central Asian Context". Arpita Basu Roy's paper on "Afghan Refugees – A Case Study of the Largest Refugee Population of the World", delineates Afghan civil war into a number of stages and provides for an analytical representation of transborder flow. The paper also focuses on the needs, perceptions, and management of refugees in their host countries. Jyoti Bhushan Das Gupta examines the rise of Taliban and its growing influence and power in Afghanistan. It focuses on the policies of other powers as a reflection of unsolicited foreign intervention at critical moments, shaping or destroying indigenous political moments aimed at reconciliation and peace. Mohammad Azhar examines Indo-Iranian trade, its import and export structure and the prospects for enhanced trade between the two countries.

The need for strengthening regional, economic cooperation between India and China is examined by Wang Dehua. The paper argues that for the emergence of sub regional cooperation including India, China, Myanmar and Bangladesh, the revitalisation of silk route is a historical necessity. It is a useful volume for scholars who are interested in political, economic and socio-cultural relations among Asian countries.

*Colonel P K Vasudeva (Retd)*

✓ **Reorienting India : The New Geo-Politics of Asia.** By B G Verghese (Delhi : Konark Publications, 2001), pp 303, Rs. 500.00, ISBN 81-220-0611-6

Most books on geo-politics are from Western perspective. This book is one which approaches the subject from an Asian prism,



through Indian eyes. India, by its sheer size, resources and momentum is a growing economy. The Nineteenth Century great game between England and Russia and the events of the Twentieth Century, upto the end of the Cold War, broke Asia into artificial regions or buffers. Historically, India and China were great civilisations where goods, ideas and cultures moved to other lands via the overland silk route or via sea. The Twenty First Century gives us new opportunities to reorient political relationships. The seven chapters of the book with excellent maps analytically take the reader through a historical journey of Asia. It traces the fusion of Asian nations manifest in organisations like SAARC, ASEAN and so forth. Excellent examples and case studies of North East/East India getting integrated with the Eastern countries/districts of countries, have been given.

This book recommends cooperation and not conflict. An update on current events in Asia, this is indeed an invaluable read.

*Colonel P K Gautam (Retd)*

**Information Age and India.** By Akshay Joshi (New Delhi : Knowledge World, 2000), pp. xii, pp. 301, Price not indicated, ISBN 81-87966-01-7.

The author suggests that India has the potential to become a power to reckon with in the information age. He traces the development of IT in India and discusses the enabling tools to achieve India's IT dream. The agenda for action discusses the strategic options for India as it advances in the information age. Issues like development of high-end software, managing export control regimes, information security, indigenous development of IT hardware, venture creation, and human resource development have been thoroughly discussed. The book emphasises that effective governance, wealth generation, and national security are all linked to information technology. National security is derived from the technological strength of a nation; and that alone will give India the real strength.

An interesting book for all those who are interested in the use of IT for development purposes.

*I R Kumar*



- ✓ **Weapons of Peace : The Secret Story of India's Quest to be a Nuclear Power.** By *Raj Chengappa* (New Delhi : Harper Collins Publishers, India, 2000), pp 489, Rs 150.00 (paperback), ISBN 81-7223-418-X.

Here is a gripping story of what went on behind the apparently impenetrable screen that shrouded India's building a nuclear arsenal. In this meticulously researched book, Raj Chengappa, the well known Executive Editor of *India Today* has brought out hitherto unknown details of the drama that overnight changed the country's standing in the international scenario. Chengappa has certainly excelled himself in giving his readers a vivid account of otherwise heavy substance, in a lucid style that reads something like a news story. He has enunciated complex theories of nuclear fusion and fission in simple language, making these comprehensible to the uninitiated. It has everything for a layman, a scientist, a technocrat and a strategist. That makes this book impossible to put down, once started. The author has given a very revealing account of how our scientists went about their tasks. As one reads along, one gets quite familiar with famous Indian scientists.

Recommended for every unit, formation and establishment library.

*Major General Yatindra Pratap (Retd)*

- ✓ **India's National Security Dilemma : The Pakistan Factor and India's Policy Response.** By *Rajpal Budania* (New Delhi : Indus Publishing Company, 2001), pp. 312, Rs. 500.00, ISBN 81-7387-116-7.

The author has attempted to develop a conceptual framework of India's security concerns primarily in the context of disputes between India and Pakistan. The reviewer agrees with the author that "India's cooperative non-military approach to national security ... could not secure it from external threats". The focus is on acquiring power - "military, economic and political." The author has not, however, taken into account adequately the threat to India's national security posed by the insurgency groups most of which are aided and abetted by Pakistan's Inter Service Intelligence (ISI) with an objective of balkanisation of India to serve Pakistan's security considerations vis a vis India.



Despite this, the book has served its purpose by focusing on vital national security issues which often escape our attention.

S K Datta

**Kargil 1999 : Pakistan's Fourth War for Kashmir.** By Air Commodore Jasjit Singh (Retd) (New Delhi : Knowledge World, 2001), pp. 342, ISBN 81-86019-22-7.

Since 1947, Pakistan's leadership has upheld Kashmir as an unfinished agenda of partition. And Pakistan has fought five wars, i.e. 1947-1948, 1965, 1971, the covert war since 1980s that began with the battle for Siachen and persists, and the one in Kargil in 1999. Air Commodore Jasjit Singh has carried out an indepth analysis of the five wars, the role of the Pak Army and the ISI. The chapter "Beyond Kargil" makes very interesting reading on matters like maintenance of a credible defence capability which is affordable. In the Post Script the author has ably described the role of the Army in Pakistan. It is relevant to mention that a number of retired Generals and the Press have been making very strong statements against the Army in its futile efforts at various stages, in particular the Kargil War, which has exposed systemic flaws in the decision-making process.

The author is to be commended for his well researched book. A must for all Defence libraries.

Commodore R P Khanna, AVSM (Retd)

**Kashmir in Conflict : India, Pakistan and the Unfinished War.** By Victoria Schofield (London : I B Tauris Publishers, 2000), pp. XVII, 286, \$ 18.95, ISBN 1-86064-545-3.

The Kashmir conflict has become the focus of a somewhat greater attention with the Pokhran II and Chagai nuclear tests in 1998. Drawing upon research in both the countries, Victoria Schofield has penned down the origins of the state and the controversial 'Sale' by the British of the predominantly Muslim Valley to a Hindu Maharaja in 1846. Schofield has reviewed the entire record of the conflict, interviewed many participants, and struggled to find possible solutions. Her assessments of 'Problem Kashmir' lead her to put forth systematically the issues that divide the Governments of India and Pakistan, as they square up to each other in their race of wits to search for a solution to this vexing issue.



Victoria Schofield concludes with five plausible scenarios, none of which may provide the long-term peace but only a gradual improvement of the status quo. The Five scenarios as envisaged by her are as given below :-

- (a) Plebiscite or referendum to be held on a unitary basis which includes independence as a third option.
- (b) Pakistan and India to agree to the Line of Control as the international border.
- (c) Pakistan to relinquish all talks of supporting the rights of the Kashmir people for self-determination and return to a more territorial interpretation of the UN resolutions.
- (d) Plebiscite to be held on a regional basis which would confirm once and for all the future allegiance of the various components of the state of J and K.
- (e) Continuation of the status quo.

Schofield urges the leaders of India and Pakistan to think seriously about the benefits of having a Line of Control through which people could travel legitimately, so that those whose friends and families got separated during Partition might meet again.

*I R Kumar*

✓ **India's China Perspectives.** By *Subramaniam Swamy* (New Delhi : Konark Publishers, 2001), pp. 187, Rs. 350.00, ISBN 81-220-0606-X.

Dr Subramaniam Swamy has projected a choice for India in this book: "Either India befriends China in a fundamental and strategic sense, or India confronts China." His own preference is for the first alternative and the book explains why. He narrates the excellent record of cultural exchanges between the two countries well into the first millennium and castigates the leadership in India and China for failing to turn this civilisational harmony into a geopolitical compact in the Twentieth Century. Next, he blames Tibet for never siding with British India. Dr Swamy does not dwell upon the cultural links between India and Tibet, or the veneration extended to the Dalai Lama by large sections of Indian population, especially in the Himalayan region.



Predictably, he devotes most attention to the Sino-Indian border dispute and exonerates Nehru's handling of the dispute. The author does not explain why the Chinese accepted the Burmese case based on the colonial era arrangements, including the McMahon Line, but rejected India's case exactly at the same time. Dr Swamy refers to Nehru's rejection of advice to raise the issue with China in early nineteen fifties. It should have been explained how that would have helped resolve the issue and not precipitated a crisis when the Chinese were most suspicious of the non-communist world. Dr Swamy quotes from Nehru-Patel correspondence too. Whereas Patel dwells on the danger posed by expansionist communism, Nehru refers to the unreliability of Western support. This was the central issue in India's foreign policy debate then. Presciently, in 1950, Nehru notes "if we fall out completely with China, Pakistan will undoubtedly try to take advantage of this, politically or otherwise. The position of India thus will be bad from a defence point of view."

To remedy this situation now, Dr Swamy proposes a deal: "a trade-off between China's relations with Pakistan, and India's transparency in Tibet." In the bipolar world assumed by Dr Swamy, what prevents Pakistan from going back to join the 'confront China' faction? In the final paragraph of his conclusions, Dr Swamy holds out the prospect of "joint supervision" of the Malacca Straits, controlling nearly 75 per cent of the world's commercial sea traffic. He does not specify to whose benefit and at what cost.

SK Bhutani

**Reassessing Pakistan : Role of Two-Nation Theory.** By Anand K Verma (New Delhi : Lancer Publishers & Distributors, 2001), pp. 278, Rs. 495.00, ISBN 81-706-2287-5.

After deep study and skillful analysis of Muslim ethos of everlordship during Mughal rule, its degradation during the colonial rule, and later the revival of Muslim identity by Sir Syed Ahmed, Mahdoodi and Sir Mohammed Iqbal - albeit within the national mainstream, the author has projected the course of the separatist movement culminating in the realisation of the Two Nation Theory. Side by side, he analyses the Government of India Acts 1919 and 1935 within the framework of British Divide and Rule strategy. The



study has subsequently exposed, after the formation of Pakistan, other fallacies to vet the breakaway of East Pakistan as Bangladesh and the Mohajir Quami Movement.

The author has made some bold suggestions to eradicate hostile attitudes. The book is a good insight into the process and current context of the two-nation theory. It will naturally raise some heckles and initiate strong debate.

*Major General S K Talwar (Retd)*

✓ **Pakistan Under Musharraf.** By Sulakshan Mohan (New Delhi : Indian Publishers & Distributors, 2000), pp. 324, Rs. 495.00, ISBN 81-7341-138-7.

As the Chief Executive of Pakistan, Musharraf has to ensure that the economy does not collapse; ensure the supremacy of the Army as the prime arbiter in all matters; keep Kashmir in the headlines; and somehow get the US into believing that he is a great one for circumcising the "mullahs" writ over the populace; and that he has clout with the Taliban. In his book, the author, a gunner officer turned journalist, tries to examine how far Musharraf will be able to achieve the goals he has set for himself given the manner of his taking over power.

Major Sulakshan Mohan asks many pertinent questions; Is Pakistan a failed state? Will it keep on nurturing Islamic terrorism? Will Musharraf be able to pull up Pakistan on the economic front? Will he indeed order elections if and when he does? Will he be able to put Kashmir on the back burner in the looming nuclear scenario and cross border terrorism and learn to co-exist peacefully with India?

The answers are all there in the fifth and last chapter. All the preceding chapters encase a mosaic of popular perceptions and speculations in the Indian media or at best only a patchwork from his journalistic gleanings from *Caravan*, *Onlooker*, *Free Press Journal* and *Anand Bazar Patrika*, where the author learned his new trade and made a mark as a keen Pakistan-watcher. Candidly he has a long way to go if this maiden effort is anything to go by. A good book of consequence. It is perhaps a little short on analyses and conclusions yet long on rhetoric.

*Lieutenant Colonel AK Sharma (Retd)*



✓  
**Pakistan's Foreign Policy : A Reappraisal.** By Shahid M Amin  
(Karachi : Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 327, Rs. 495.00,  
ISBN 0-19-579398-6.

The focus is on relations with India. Almost two-thirds of the book is devoted to this. The author has no doubt that India, from the beginning, had hostile intent towards Pakistan. Amin recounts at length the struggle in Afghanistan and its impact on relations with Iran and Saudi Arabia. He is candid enough to admit that the emergence of the Taliban has adversely influenced Pakistan's relations with these two important countries.

It is Amin's appraisal of current phase of Pakistan's approach towards India which gets considerable space. He believes the "politics of the status quo are leading towards nuclear destruction and economic ruin" and "peace and compromise, based on a drastic reduction in armaments, would be infinitely more advantageous" for both India and Pakistan. While Pakistan may have a better case on Kashmir than India, Amin believes pragmatic considerations should prevail as has happened in West Asia, between Israel and its Arab neighbours. "Kashmir is no doubt important and dear, but surely Pakistan is even more important and dearer".

The author's views may belong to a minority in Pakistan. Nonetheless, they deserve attention.

SK Bhutani

✓  
**Pakistan : The Economy of an Elitist State.** By Ishrat Hussain  
(Karachi : Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 425, Rs. 550.00,  
ISBN 0-019-579014-6.

Pakistan's economy is an enigma. For the past decade or so Pakistan baiters have been predicting a total collapse of the Pakistani economy. Yet Pakistan has managed to survive and continues to "prosper" – at least on the state owned television network, PTV. The author, who is serving with the World Bank has attempted to place Pakistani economy in perspective. Domination of political power and state apparatus by a narrowly based elite seeking to advance their private and family interests to the exclusion of the majority of the population, is, in the author's perception, the root of the problem. This is also the central theme of the book.



Commencing with a survey of Pakistan's economic performance for the past 50 years, the author highlights the ills, pitfalls and achievements of the Pakistani economy.

A detailed survey of Pakistan's agricultural and industrial sectors, fiscal, monetary and exchange rate policy, investment in education, population, health and infrastructure is provided neatly divided into alternating periods of civilian and military rule. The analysis is supported by tabulated data. An agenda for transforming the economy from an elitist to an egalitarian one, is also suggested. The author also gives valuable suggestions for economic growth which may well be applicable in the Indian context such as restoration of faith in institutions and shackling of regulators.

*Colonel Rahul K Bhonsle, SM*

✓ **James K Polk – A Clear and Unquestionable Destiny.** By Thomas M Leonard (*Delaware : A Scholarly Resources Inc., 2001*), pp. 218, \$ 50.00, ISBN 0-8420-2648-0.

This biography of a former American President (from 1845 to 1849) is part of a series of such biographies of those American leaders who contributed towards development, expansion and growth of that country. The book gives a graphic account of America's turbulent times and its impact on their foreign and domestic policies. It details the various conflicts between different vested interests within the United States itself and Polk's handling of the situation. It also describes his domestic policies and administrative style and throws light on his ability to govern a nation undergoing numerous complexities.

Joseph A Fry, the Series Editor, stipulates in the beginning that this endeavour has been undertaken with a view to 'humanise' and make more accessible those decisions and events that sometimes appear 'abstract or distant' to the present generation. Polk's presidency certainly deserves to be part of the series because it was during his tenure that the term "manifest destiny" of the United States to expand across the continent and spread the blessings of its liberty to all those swept up in its path, was coined.

Overall an interesting and educative treatise about the growth and development of the United States of America. This book should



be of specific interest to the students of American history and to those who delve into matters of 'foreign relations'. For that matter, even senior executives and commanders could draw a lesson or two on "conflict management".

*Brigadier Parmodh Sarin (Retd)*

**What America Owes the World.** By H W Brands  
(Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 319, \$ 18.95,  
ISBN 0-521-63968-9.

Over the years, there have been two schools of thought in American policy, the exemplarists, signifying that America should provide the World an example of a well functioning democracy and no more and the vindicationists school, which feels that force must supplement example.

The author explores these two schools of thought through a survey of American history from the period of Presidents Washington and Jefferson to that of Roosevelt and Wilson. As American power grew towards the beginning of the 20th Century and America as a nation grew out of the vestiges of the Civil War, the vindicationist school led by Lodge and Theodore Roosevelt gained prominence. However, the exemplarist school continued to prevail in some measure even during the opening years of the Second World War, when thinkers such as Beard felt that the US should let the Europeans do what they could do best. The dilemma of intervention versus isolation became worse during the Cold War years. The question of ethics, ideals versus national interest, befuddled the minds of leaders while the arrival of nuclear weapons added grist to the mill of over interventionism by America pulling them further into the inescapable quicksands of errorred diplomacy. Vietnam made America draw back into a shell from which it emerged only after the Gulf War in 1991. But the confrontation between exemplarists and vindicationists continues to this day. Where America desires genuine peace and amity between nations and people through negotiations rather than force of arms, American intervention is welcome. Where it acts out of greed for power and hegemony, it is to be rejected, as much smaller nations as Vietnam and Somalia have shown over the years. This book provides useful historical insights into the making of American foreign policy.

*Colonel Rahul K Bhonsle, SM*



✓ **America's Struggle with Chemical-Biological Warfare.** By Albert J Mauroni (New York : Praeger Publishers, 2000), pp. 293, \$65.00, ISBN 0-275-96756-5.

This book is divided into four parts to identify themes of Chemical Corp's bumpy transition from technical service branch to a strong operational supporter to the combat arms. Part I illustrates how the Army turned its back on the Chemical Corps, nearly destroying their own capability to fight in combat operations involving CB warfare. Part II explains the rationale behind the defensive equipment developed in the 1980s in addition to the budding binary chemical weapon programme. Part III has the areas where these programmes faltered, in part due to technical issues and in part due to the army's fickle moods. Part IV is about how the training and equipment development has paid off in the Gulf War and at home. In the concluding chapter the author has used language appropriate for prevention of, protection against, and the detection of exposures to chemical warfare agents not sufficient to endanger health immediately, but greater than the safe limits for the population.

The aim of this book seems to be two-fold; to illustrate the history of Department of Defence's Nuclear, Biological and Chemical (NBC) programme that has given the US both chemical defence equipment and chemical munitions and, second, to illustrate how the misconceptions of CB warfare has resulted in a faulty mindset when one discusses the "weapons of mass destruction". After going through this book, it is hoped that the combat arms community will recognise the distinction between classes of unconventional weapons and that they will become more concerned for and involved with the programme. The author has a plea for the US military mouthing their concerns about "weapons of mass destruction" and the continued underfunding of development of CB defence programmes.

The book is recommended for all the combat units dealing with CB warfare and for those who are concerned with the formulation of defence and national security policies.

*Colonel P K Vasudeva (Retd)*



**The United States and a Rising China : Strategic and Military Implications.** By Zalmay M Khalilzad (*Santa Monica, CA : RAND, 1999*), pp. 111, price not indicated, ISBN 0-8330-2751-4.

The discussion here is broadly the major issues that the USA is likely to face as China modernises towards becoming a super power capable of challenging American hegemony in world affairs. The report anticipates the emergence of China by 2015, as a formidable regional power and a major rival for world power by 2050. This is based on many assumptions, and important determinants of China's foreign policy have been logically unravelled. Though the report considers future projections to be of a speculative nature, Khalilzad does not mince words to suggest that as a regional power, China may be inclined to flex its military muscle to settle territorial disputes. The author suggests that the US would be compelled to react in favour of Japan in view of treaty obligations but the American involvement in any Sino-Indian dispute would depend on circumstances of the time. This deserves to be noted by military and political analysts in India. The policy options to deal with China's potential to pose politico-military challenges to the United States concludes the book. This book is of special significance for India's strategic thinkers as it gives an overview of American perspective on China with whom we have still to develop a stable relationship.

*Brigadier S P Sinha (Retd)*

**Revolution From Above – The Demise of the Soviet System.** By David M Kotz with Fred Weir (*London : Routledge, 2001*), pp. 302, price not indicated, ISBN 0-415-14317-9.

The disintegration of the Soviet Union was a unique event in human history. The authors of this book do not contribute to the popular belief that the Soviet Union collapsed under its own weight of economic misery caused by the country's costly arms race with the USA, and that the oppressive regime of communist dictatorship made people revolt against an ideology that once promised "a workers' paradise on earth". They aim to prove that the demise of the Soviet system was caused by a revolution from above. The Soviet elite – the communist party leaders and government top brass – felt that President Gorbachev's Perestroika



(reforms) for giving socialism a democratic face, and Glasnost (openness) in the working of the government, would be detrimental to their interests. Therefore, they decided to go for capitalism instead of democratic socialism envisaged by Gorbachev. Today, though Russia has left behind communism, it has not been able to build a successful capitalist system. The Russian economy is, however, still in a bad shape and the common man has lost the safety net provided by the earlier Soviet State. The authors feel "to interpret the demise of state socialism as the end of socialist challenge to capitalism is premature".

The book is well researched and written in simple language.

*Subedar Major N Kunju (Retd)*

✓ **March of Central Asia.** By Ram Rahul (New Delhi : Indus Publishing Company, 2000), pp. 208, Rs 350.00, ISBN 81-7387-109-4.

This is a well researched and authoritative historical perspective on Central Asia since the times of Cyrus the Great of Persia (circa BC 557-530) who opened up this region to the world. The book deals with motifs, poets, philosophers, ambassadors, Generals, merchants, pilgrims and travellers of both kinds: those that impeded it and those that went along with it. Essentially, it started as a transmigration of nomadic domestic cattle stockowners to fresher and greener pastures, like in the case of the Tungus, Turks and the Mongols. Alexander's conquests provided the impetus on the Silk Route, opening it to traders like Zhang Qian of China, and subsequently the Arabs, the Kitans and the Turks went on another march. Cultural transmutation was inevitable. Races intermingled freely over the centuries. Civilisations spread wings across natural demographic frontiers and flourished. Languages underwent changes. Literature was influenced by cross currents in thoughts and discernment. Conquerors like Babur migrated to India and founded the Mughal dynasty. The geographic location of Central Asia, at the crossroads of China, India and Persia, has an overriding impact in its *march*, and since history is nothing but the interaction of social and other processes, the history of this region must be an amalgam of Nomadism, Sedentarism, Shamanism, Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, Islam, politics and cultures.



This book is sure to interest serious scholars, and will also amuse the random reader.

*Lieutenant Colonel A K Sharma (Retd)*

**Industrial Change in China : Economic Restructuring and Conflicting Interests.** By Kate Hannan (London : Routledge, 1998), pp. 197, £ 60.00, ISBN 0-415-16246-7.

This excellent book by Kate Hannan of Macquarie University, Sydney, is a study of reform processes in state enterprises during the period 1985-95; with particular reference to the Automobile Dong Feng corporation. It was decided to restructure the ownership at the 15th Party Congress in October 1997. Many were inefficient and bankrupt but these could not be "down sized" drastically, as they employed a large work force. Yet reforms were essential for sustained economic growth. Some of the steps taken were :-

(a) Labour Contracting – the right to lifetime employment was not there any longer. Special hardship allowances for living in remote areas were withdrawn. Bonus was restricted to not greater than three months basic wage.

(b) Housing Reforms – 60 per cent of the municipal workers took up the option of house ownership. They paid 30 per cent balance. The 70 per cent cost was met from bank mortgage-repayable over ten years. Once purchased, the house could be inherited by spouse and/or children, but could not be sold in the open market. A major benefit to the State was that the repair of the dwelling was no longer its responsibility. The main idea was to divest the state owned enterprises from the rising costs of 'welfare responsibilities'. These amounted to 54 per cent of the wage bill.

(c) Workers arbitration procedure was introduced in 1992. It was first tried out in foreign owned companies and later it became the norm.

*Major General Partap Narain (Retd)*



- ✓ **Tiger on the Brink : Jiang Zemin and China's New Elite.** By Bruce Gilley (Berkeley : University of California Press, 1998), pp. 395, \$ 29.95, ISBN 0-520-21395-5.

China has remained an enigma. Its emergence as an economic super power beating the logic of capitalism has further heightened the mystique. At the centre of this mystique, is the functioning of China's gigantic communist bureaucracy led by a clutch of powerful leaders of the Politburo, the communist elite. Surprisingly despite a monolithic power structure, China's bureaucracy is much venerated for the constancy of results that it produces and the stability that it provides.

Bruce Gilley, Hong Kong correspondent for the *Far Eastern Economic Review* has attempted to unravel this mystery through a detailed survey of the era that saw the rise of President Jiang Zemin to power in the post Deng period. Set in five parts, each corresponding to a defining period in the life of Jiang, in a meticulously researched book, the author not only covers the main events in Jiang Zemin's life but also the growth of China as an economic power.

Jiang Zemin's deft balancing of economic liberalisation with authoritarian rule, and social freedoms with loyalty to communist ideas have been the main reasons for his phenomenal success. This book is a significant contribution to understanding the power structure of China, its influences and motivation. Laced with personal and public vignettes from Jiang's life, the book is worth reading. A must for the Sinologists.

Colonel R K Bhonsle, SM

- ✓ **Precious Records : Women in China's Long Eighteenth Century.** By Susan Mann (Stanford, California : Stanford University Press, 1997), pp. 326, £ 13.95, ISBN 0-8047-2744-9.

This is an excellent study of gender relations in the Lower Yangzi, based on a wide range of reading sources and presented in user friendly readable style. The study of the High Qing era (1683-1839) challenges enduring late Nineteenth Century perspectives that emphasised the oppression and subjugation of Chinese women. Placing Chinese women at the centre of the High Qing era, the book depicts how gender relations shaped the economic, political, social, and cultural changes of age, and gives



the reader a sense of what women felt and believed, and what they actually did. This book shows that outside of China, research on the history of Chinese women has just begun, and scholars everywhere have barely tapped the wealth of work left by China's women writers. It presents a preliminary sense of what women felt and believed, and what they actually did, during this period. Apart from the historiography of Chinese women, the book surveys High Qing history, charts the female life course, and discusses women's place in writing and learning, in entertainment, at work, and in religious practices. In conclusion, gender relations through space and time have been discussed and finally the author returns to the broad historiographic questions as to how and where the educated women have repositioned themselves to retain or recover or remake their moral and cultural authority under new regimes.

It is an elegant addition to the studies on women in China.

I R Kumar

**Struggle for Empire : Anglo-Maratha Wars - 1679-1818.**

*By Colonel Anil Athale (New Delhi : Reliance Publishing House, 2001), pp 263, Rs. 295.00, ISBN : 81-7510-120-2.*

Though India can claim a history of over 5000 years, there has been hardly a political India before the British consolidated the subcontinent under their rule and the freedom movement begun by the Indian National Congress. Because of lack of political nationalism, Indians could not rise to resist foreign invasions. People owed allegiance to their ruler and their patriotism narrowed down to defending their state and to be loyal to the ruler. An exception to this norm was the Marathas who under the great Shivaji, had a vision of *Hindvi Swarajya* (Indian independence). As the author says, "Shivaji can be rightly called the father of Indian nationalism."

Colonel Athale's book is well researched and has placed history in its right perspective. Most of the history books written by the British have been biased because they had a grudge against the Marathas and showed Shivaji and his followers in bad light. Colonel Athale has corrected this historical distortion and has given the Marathas their due glory. Inspiring reading for all, especially for students and scholars of history.

Subedar Major N Kunju (Retd)



✓ **The Ottoman Empire and Tribute Payers.** By Viorel Panaite (New York : East European Monographs, distributed by Columbia University Press, 2000), pp. 561, Price not indicated ISBN 0-88033-461-4.

This book is about relations between the Ottoman Empire and the various East and Central European countries, with particular reference to Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania, from the Fourteenth to the Eighteenth Century. The Ottoman Empire structured relations with these non-Muslim states on the laws of war and peace as set out in the *Koran*, the *Shariat* and other Muslim legal teachings, with special reference to the rules concerning the conduct of *Jehad* (Holy War) against infidels.

According to the author Muslim jurists, subsequent to their realisation of the impossibility of universalising Islam, started to view the World as a temporary bi-bloc system comprising of two separate divisions - 'Darul Islam' - the House of Islam - and 'Darul Harb' - the House of the Infidels or the House of War. It was considered the bounden duty of the Muslim community (the Umma) and also the individuals to undertake *Jehad* (Holy War) against the House of the Infidels. Peace could only be made when the infidels were converted to Islam, or when they acknowledged Muslim superiority by paying 'Jizya' or rather pragmatically when the enemy, that is the infidel forces, were stronger. In the latter two eventualities peace was to be only a temporary measure and *Jehad* was to be continued whenever conditions were favourable. This was thus the basis of the Ottoman Empire's relations with the non-Muslim states in Europe, some of whom like Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania bought peace by becoming tribute payers of the Ottoman Sultans. Though this Islamic policy relates to the medieval period, there are perhaps some lessons here for India even in these modern times when it comes to dealing with fundamental Islamic countries like Afghanistan.

The book delves in great detail on the various features in the relations between the Ottoman Empire and the Christian countries of East and Central Europe. It would interest scholars doing research on these aspects. However, since the work seems to



have been translated into English, the construction of some of the sentences has been poorly done. There are spelling mistakes that ought to have been corrected.

*Major General Samir Sinha, PVSM (Retd)*

**On Rims and Ridges : The Los Alamos Area Since 1880.** By Hal K Rothman (USA : University of Nebraska Press, 1992), pp. 378, \$ 50.00, ISBN 0-8032-3901-7.

The author is an authority on what is known as the "Wild West" and the culture of the original inhabitants of the area. In this book he has dealt with the state of New Mexico, more specifically with the area of the Pajarito Plateau, Los Alamos and the struggle of Pueblo Indians to safeguard their interests and their pre-historic culture.

The author has vividly portrayed the aftermath of the atomic tests, the consequent growth of American Defence Technology in the region, and its impact on the environment and ecology of the Plateau. It deals with the efforts that have been made to maintain a balance between the conflicting interests of the Department of Energy (DOE), that of 'White settlers' and the cultural values of the region. The author finds the long-term effects of all that has been happening in Los Alamos and the Plateau Region chilling. This, he says, is the implication of this never-ending race to expand, create more goods, and develop larger markets in a world increasingly altered to suit the whimsical desires, not the needs, of human beings.

Expansion and consolidation of the United States has not been without pains and problems for those who had been there before the arrival of settlers from far off countries. The experience of the Pajarito Plateau serves as a microcosm of the social, cultural and economic experience of the American West. This is the underlying theme of this work. The book is an excellent "case study" on the subject.

*Brigadier Parmodh Sarin (Retd)*



✓ **Constructing World Culture : International Non Governmental Organizations Since 1875.** Edited by John Boli and George M Thomas (Stanford, CA : Standford University Press, 1999), pp. 363, £ 11.95, ISBN 0-8047-3422-4.

This compilation of excellent analytical essays brings out the part played by International Non-Government Organisations (INGOs) in the manifestation and growth of an all-inclusive world polity. The explosion of the INGOs since 1875 mirrors and adds to the spread of worldwide associations and ethnic ethics based on models of level-headedness, uniqueness, growth and universalism. This is contrasted with the other approaches to understanding globalisation, including pragmatist and neo-realist analyses in the field of international relations, and world-system theory and interstate theory in sociology.

The first part of the book deals with social movement of INGOs like environmental groups, women's rights organisations, the Esperanto world language movement, and the International Red Cross. The second part is about the technical and economic bodies including International Organization for Standardization, population groups, development organisations, and international specialised science associations. In the last and concluding part, John Boli evaluates the thorough study in the first two parts: How can an INGO bring to bear any sort of effect given their meagre resources and lack of any effective means of enforcement. With regard to International Government Organisations (IGOs), Boli shows that a rather different reason accounts for their authority because they have autonomous nations as members. In his analysis of the three forms of INGO authority – autonomous, collateral, and penetrative he contends that INGOs, IGOs and states are occupied in a multifaceted manner of global management – involving a good deal of cooperation and reciprocal legitimation.

This book is an unfaltering progress in world-polity institutional assessment.

Lieutenant Colonel A K Sharma (Retd)



✓  
**Begums of Bhopal.** By Claudia Preckel (New Delhi : Roli Books, 2000), pp. 223, Rs. 295.00, ISBN 81-7436-098-0.

Usually a research scholar selects a subject on which enough material is available. But in this case the author had to put in effort by meeting people and dig into whatever material is available to write a worthwhile book.

*Begums of Bhopal* gives in a lucid manner the details of Begums who ruled Bhopal State from 1819 to 1926 during which period the state blossomed while the rest of the country raged with revolts against the British. At that time and even today, there is a misgiving that a male ruler would be more acceptable to the people but in this case the Begums were dynamic and liked by the people from all sections of the society. Almost all of them, ruled the state effectively on all matters relating to administration, judiciary, religious and military reforms etc.

A well researched book, may be of limited interest to the general public.

Commodore R P Khanna, AVSM (Retd)

✓  
**Portrait of Courage : Century of the fifth Battalion, The Sikh Regiment XLVII (D.C.O.) SIKHS.** By Major General Prem K Khanna & Pushpinder Singh Chopra (New Delhi : Military Studies Convention, 2001), pp. 279, Price not indicated.

The book is the saga of one hundred years of the 5<sup>th</sup> Battalion of the Sikh Regiment (XLVII D.C.O) Sikhs. They were raised in the first month of the Twentieth Century and have distinguished themselves in war and peace in India and overseas. The 5<sup>th</sup> Sikhs went to China in 1905 during Boxer's Revolution. The Battalion was among the first Indian troops to go to northern France during the First World War. They fought in France, Flanders, Mesopotamia, Palestine, Waziristan, Malaya and Chhamb earning battle honours and gallantry awards. In March 1960 the Battalion was detailed for ceremonial duties at Rashtrapati Bhavan. The 5<sup>th</sup> Sikhs sportsmen have represented the Nation in Olympics and Asian Games.



Chapter 7 briefly describes its thirty-year performance from 1971 to 2001. It is illustrated with rare photographs and maps. The appendices from pages 253 to 265 have further enhanced the usefulness and value of the book.

However, the Sources and Bibliography should have confirmed to the international standards. Each chapter could easily be followed by references. Sources appended at page 266 are inadequate and incomplete.

There is no doubt that this book is a portrait of courage of those sons of India who will continue to inspire the generations to come. Authors deserve our heartiest felicitation. I commend this book not only to the general readers but also to all the libraries.

*Raj Kumar Pruthi*

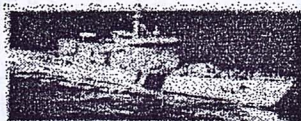
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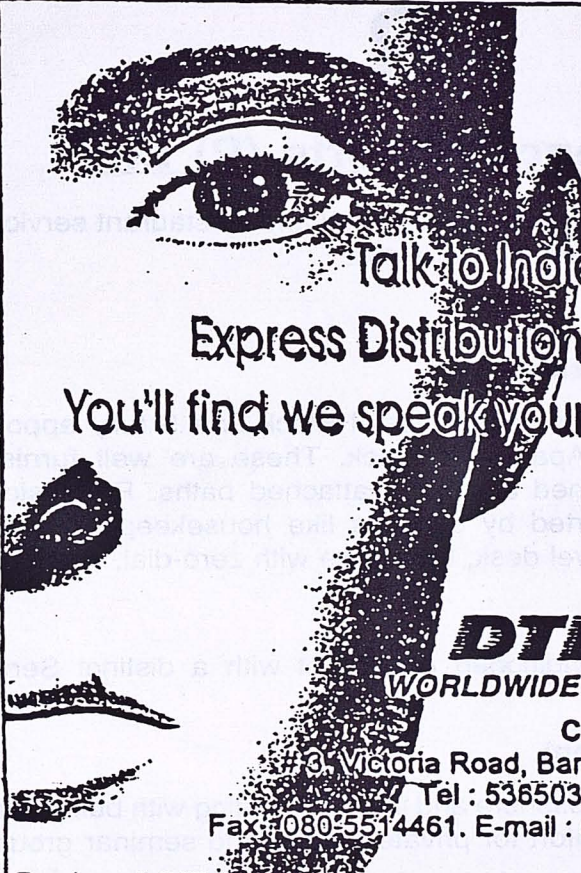
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