

22 Critical Tibetan river systems and India's role in safeguarding regional Environmental Security

03 Quantification of National Power, Power cycle, Theory and the China challenge

08 Counterfeit Currency – Terrorism & Economic threat – Security Perspective.

16 On Kashmir Imbroglio - Conflict resolution through strategic Interactions.

32 A Prescription for India's Public Diplomacy in the S.E Asia Region.

Thru' the Desk of the Editor

Editorial Board

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From Chanakya to Sun Tzu and Machiavehi to Clausuith none of them were great general. But, their thinking caused rise and fall of empires. Changed history and geography of the globe. They were strategist. They developed strategic culture. Strategic culture is an inherited body of political military concepts based on shared historical and social experience. Strategic culture shapes leader's interpretation of international events, thereby producing certain preference orders regarding how behavioral pattern needs to emerge.

Of late, most thinkers seem to agree that, India does not have strategic culture. George K. Tanham states these reasons –

1. India lacked political unity for most of the history;
2. Indian concept of time or rather lack of concept of time – Indians view life as an eternal present, with neither history, nor future – discourages planning.
3. Indians consider life as a mystery, largely unknowable and not entirely under man's control. This distracts strategic thinking.

It will be noteworthy that, Indian philosophical traditions are remarkably eclectic. This diversity is the source of Indian civilizational thought process. However, I state here, two ancient traditions- Narayania tradition & Bhargava tradition; while Bhargava tradition is inclined towards diktats and stability, Narayania tradition is altruistic and evolutionary. While one is dogmatic, another focuses on social welfare. These traditions explain the richness of Indian ideology, refuting the above stated reasoning.

Then why does it lack strategic culture? Indian academia and Professionalism resembles 6th century medieval structure, not in terms of aesthetics but in terms of functionality. They are so compartmentalized that, there is lesser scope to develop a multidisciplinary approach like strategy.

U.S. Admiral Willey states, "I can't claim that, Strategy is or can be a science in the sense of physical sciences. But it can and should be an intellectual discipline of the highest order and the strategist should propone oneself to manage ideas with precision, clarity and imagination. Thus, while strategy itself may not be a science, strategic judgment can be scientific to the extent that it is orderly, rational, objective, inclusive, inter – disciplinary and perceptible."

This Journal is a platform for youth, bureaucrats, academicians, researchers, Defense Personnel to contribute their experiences, opinions, strategies, thought processes, to influence the Policy Makers in their work to form Security Policy for our country.

I believe, it will help us in sensitizing Indian youth and to bridge the gap between civilians, armed forces, strategist, as the nation which is internally strong and vibrant, will always be in better position to defend its borders and external aggression.

FINS considers the concept of 'Security' to be multidisciplinary and integrated phenomenon and this journal is an effort in that direction, so to say - scholastic contribution in its humble capacity.

- Adv. S.N. Desai.

Quantification of National Power, Power cycle, Theory and the China challenge

In closing passages of war & peace, Leo Tolstoy asks “What is Power?” This has been the most central question for International relation practitioners today.

Power’s definition and role it plays in international relations can be seen in different ways by various international relations theories. Hans J. Morgenthau and Robert Strausz saw international politics itself as the “Struggle for power”; Charles Kindleberger saw power as “Strength capable of being used efficiently” (Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff 1990). A.F.K. Organski suggests that one of the most important characteristics of a nation is its power: for power is a major determinant of the role a nation plays in the international system. He defines power as the “ability to influence the behavior of others in accordance with the one’s own ends” and warns against defining power as the use of force or violence alone (Organski 1968).

Power has figured importantly in discussions in international relations since time of Thucydides. Two principle approaches to power analysis in international interactions has been the ‘Power as resource’ approach and the ‘relational power’ approach.²

Since Joseph Nye’s three dimension chess board –military power, economic power and soft power dimension are taken into account while defining the strategic impetus. A number of efforts have been made by various scholars to quantify soft power using the published as well as primary source indicators like diplomacy sub index, government sub index, culture sub index, education sub – index, innovation sub – index etc. Rand Corporation sought to bring in non – state actors into power calculation.

Before one can measure power, one must first have a concept of power. In the field of international relations, the desire to measure power on a single dimension that would allow states to be ranked often gets in the way of – or even precedes conceptual analysis. Frey (1989) has pointed out that the difficulty of measuring power often leads researchers to redefine it so as to make operationalization easier. ‘In this fashion, power has frequently been defined in terms of supposed resource – e.g. the ability to mobilize resources, possession of resources, and other forms of what Elster (1976:252) calls “generalized fetishist theories,” that is, theories that attempt to regard relations as properties’ (Frey, 1989:7-8). Dahl (1984:21) identifies ‘confounding power with resources’ as a fallacy in power analysis, and another writer labels it as ‘the vehicle fallacy’ (Morris, 2002:18-19).³

Here, according to Baldwin, the methodology of measurement of power would depend upon the purpose of measurement.

There have previously, various attempts, being made to measure power.⁴

Such approaches include,

Source	Power Equation
Singer and Small (1972)	$\text{Power} = \frac{(tpop + upop + sp + fc + mb + saf)}{6}$ <p>Where tpop = total population; upop = urban population; sp = steel production; fc = fuel/coal production; mb = military budget; saf = military personnel</p>
Cline(1994)	$\text{Power} = (C + E + M) \times (S + W), \text{ where } C = \text{critical mass (territory + population); } E = \text{economic strength; } M = \text{military strength; } S = \text{strategic purpose; } W = \text{national will}$
Beckman (1984)	$\text{Power} = \frac{[\text{steel} + (\text{pop} \times \text{pol_stab})]}{2}, \text{ where}$ <p>Steel = percentage of world steel production; pop = percentage of world population; pol_stab = score for political stability</p>
Organski and Kugler(1980); Kugler and Domke(1986)	$\text{Power} = (\text{GNP} \times \text{Tax Efforts}) + (\text{Foreign Aid of Receipie}$ $\text{*Tax Efforts} = \frac{\text{Re al tax ratio}}{\text{Tax capacity}}$
Alcock and Newcombe(1970)	$\text{Power} = \text{Population} \times \left(\frac{\text{GNP}}{\text{Population}} \right) = \text{GNP}$
German(1960)	$\text{Power} = N(L + P + I + M), \text{ where } L = f_1(\text{territory, use of territory}); P = f_2(\text{workforce, use of workforce}); I = f_3(\text{resources, use of resources}); M = 10(\text{military personnel in millions}); N = 2 \text{ if nuclear armed, } 1 \text{ if not}$
Fuchs(1965)	$\text{Power} = \frac{(EP^{1/3}) + (SP^{1/3})}{2} \text{—where } E = \text{energy production;}$ <p>P = population; S = steel production</p>

In measuring the size of a nation, this study adopts Cline's framework, which includes critical mass (territory and population), economic strength, and military strength. More specifically a

nation's GNP and military expenditures are used to represent its economic and military strength. In addition, in measuring the degree of modernization, this study employs energy consumption per capita.

The results of Cline's power assessment are problematic, in part because his evaluation of intangible factors such as strategic purpose and national will relies heavily on subjective perception, and in part because his method of assigning weights to variables is too arbitrary to duplicate the outcome or obtain consistent result. Singer and Small's method, which is consistent and duplicable, is used here instead to aggregate individual component into a power index. The composite method is as follows:

1. Use yearly aggregate statistics. Calculate the percentage share of the world sum for each

variable item (except energy consumption per capita) for every country.

2. For the additive components, assign a total score of 200 to critical mass (evenly divided for territory and population, i.e. a score of 100 for each), economic strength and military strength. The assigning of 200 as a total score is for calculation convenience.
3. In the interactive model, construct an index of capacity, which serves as a power multiplier, by subtracting individual nation's energy consumption per capita over the world average energy consumption per capita.
4. Subtract the power score of the target nation over the power score of the sender (here, the United States) to generate a ratio index for relative capabilities.

More specifically, three measures for national power are formulated as:

$$\text{Model 1: Power} = \left(\frac{\text{Nation } i\text{'s GNP}}{\text{World Total}} \right) \times 200,$$

$$\text{Power} = \frac{(\text{Critical Mass} + \text{Economic Strength} + \text{Military Strength})}{3}$$

Model 2 :

$$\text{Critical Mass} = \left(\frac{i\text{'s POPU}}{\text{World Total}} \right) \times 100 + \left(\frac{i\text{'s AREA}}{\text{World Total}} \right) \times 100$$

For the analysis using Power Cycle theory, Cline's method may be the most appropriate one.⁵

Which states,

$$P_p = (C + E + M) \times (St + W)$$

Where,

P_p = Perceived Power,

C = Critical Mass, Population, Territory

E = Economic Power

M = Military Capability

St = Strategic Purpose

W = Will to pursue National Strategy

The author feels Soft Power may also be included in this relationship and notes that, various attempts have been made successfully to quantify Soft Power in part, like the Soft Power 30⁶ and New persuaders III.⁷

Thus, the modified formula,

$$Pp = (aC + bE + cM + dS) \times (St + w)$$

Has been used, where a,b,c,d are the constants and S = Soft Power.

A. Measurement:

- i. Using Delphi method, the values of constants were found to be a=1.31, b = 3.30, c = 4.21, d = 1.18
- ii. C: is a factor of population, literacy, economic⁸ power has been used.

According to this, Economic Power is a factor of

- i. Revenue earned
- ii. (a) Foreign Exchange Reserves
(b) Export of goods and services
- iii. Measure of aggregate human capital.

Then,

iv. Sunmarines.

v. Soft Power : Various attempt have been made to calculate & quantify Soft Power. The author here has used regression analysis and sub components and weightages have been derived using Delphi Technique.

vi. Strategy purpose & will to Pursue strategy is based on expert opinions.

Based on this perceived power has been calculated.

B. Power Cycle Theory: The foundation of state power, which power cycle theory stresses is National Capability relative to other states in the system.⁹ According to

this theory, Structural uncertainty catalysis was at critical point. Major shifts of power between status occur infrequently and are rarely peaceful.¹⁰ In 'Causes of war', Evera states¹¹ a very specialized version of power shift : windows of opportunity where, relative Power shifts cause conflict. According to this literature, explanation for major wars lies in general rise and decline of states.¹² For Doran passage through critical points provides a more robust explanation than power shifts for the onset of war.¹³

C. Observations:

- (a) Accordingly National Power has been computed and relative power is considered when system consists of U.S., China, India and Japan.
- (b) U.S. score in especially power, from 2013 till 2016 due to lack of willingness of pursuing national purpose.
- (c) 2016 becomes a critical year and extrapolation would show, by 2018, major conflicts between US –China, India – China will erupt though not war.

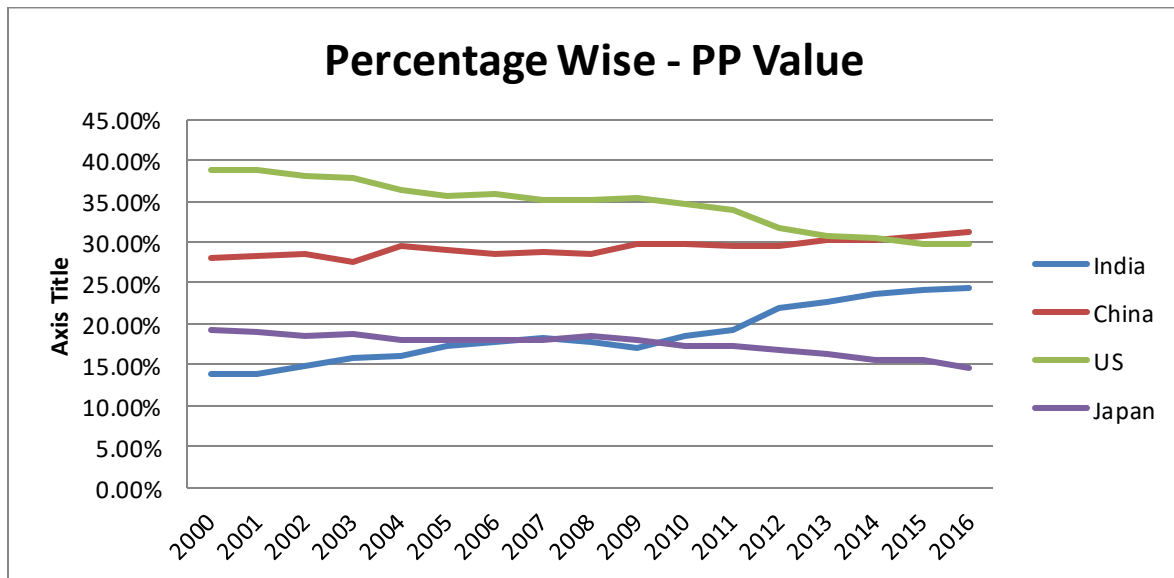
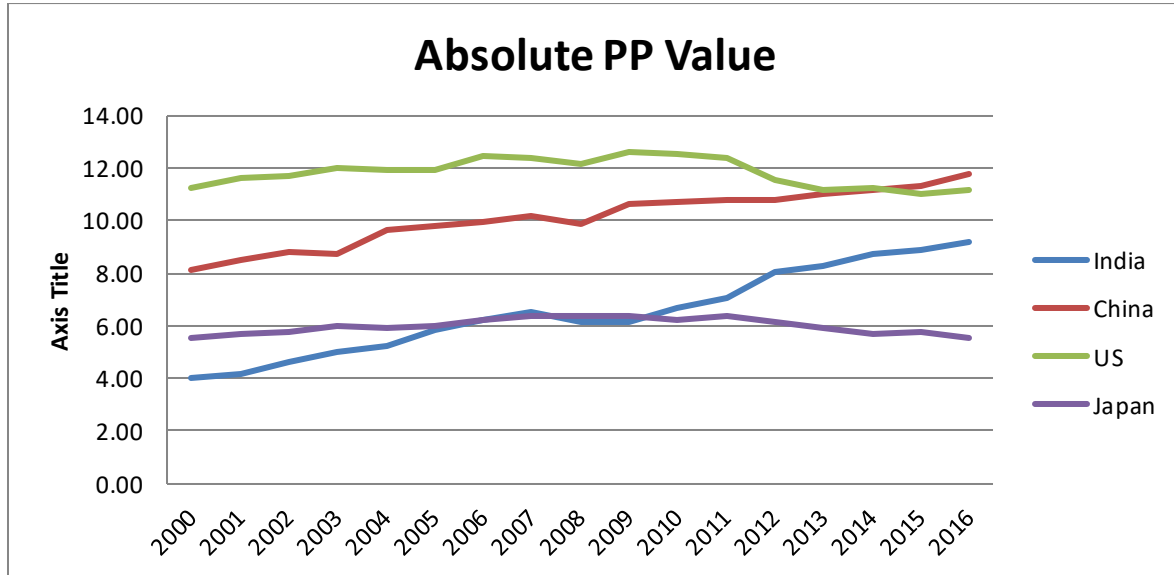
Conclusion:

- (1) Japan has already peaked in relative Power terms, China will pass through an inflection point of slowing relative power growth.¹⁴ India would bridge the gap and U.S. would face relative decline as compared to China.
- (2) For China to enjoy 'Peaceful rise', it must contend with challenges of future systems transformation just as the other members of the system had in the past.

- (3) Other government must learn to preserve their security and interests while assisting China to trans this projected and particularly streeful interval future history.¹⁵

Limitations:

- (1) Ideally there should have been long cycles.
- (2) Only power cycle theory has been considered.



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“Counterfeit Currency – Terrorism & Economic threat – Security Perspective”

Counterfeiting of money is one of the oldest crimes in history. It was a serious problem during the 19th century when banks issued their own currency. At the time of the Civil War, it was estimated that one-third of all currency in circulation was counterfeit. At that time, there were approximately 1,600 state banks designing and printing their own notes. Each note carried a different design, making it difficult to distinguish the 4,000 varieties of counterfeits from the 7,000 varieties of genuine notes. The circulation of counterfeit currency poses a serious threat to national economies, financial institutions and consumers worldwide. It fuels the underground

economy and finances the activities of organized criminal networks and terrorists. A strong network of partnerships between the law enforcement community and the private sector is integral to putting effective solutions into place.

Traditional counterfeiters in most cases are individuals or a group who counterfeit money for their own profit. But during modern history, states involved in counterfeiting the currency of enemy states to destabilize their economy. During World War II, Hitler initiated “Operation Bernhard” and counterfeited British pounds. As a result Britain had to withdraw most of its currency notes.

Which Society segment undertakes Counterfeiting of money-

- Terrorist Organizations
- Nexalite Groups
- Drug Peddlers
- Human Traffickers'
- Illegal Arms dealers

The common factor in all the above categories is all of them are anti-social, anti- human & anti – national elements.

Economic Impact of Counterfeiting of money

1. A very important behavior of a currency note is the function of it to act as a legal tender. To break it down, Legal tender is a medium of payment allowed by law or recognized by a legal system to be valid for meeting a financial obligation. In regards to the law a counterfeit currency does not hold the above liability. Hence, it is a sunk cost for every holder or possessor of such a currency.

The circulation of such currency will not just increase the circulation of money in the economy but would also decrease the real incomes of household sector of the economy. To illustrate, assume that you receive an income of Rs. 10,000 out of which the counterfeit currency includes four notes of Rs. 1000 denomination each. Now, with the detection of these currencies your real income would be lost by an equivalent amount of Rs. 4,000. This is very bad for the economy as more and more individuals lose their income there'll be a decrease in their disposable income which will lead to lack of spending in the economy.

However, running on the assumption that such notes are undetectable and are

completely alike to the genuine ones, there'll be an unwarranted increase in the money flow of the economy leading to high rise inflation.

Also, there is no correlation whatsoever between the reporting of printing of currency by RBI and Inflation in the economy. There'll be inflation even if RBI does not account for the printing of currency.

2. It makes the domestic currency lose out its credibility in the global markets, thereby triggering adverse socio-economic impacts.

Security threats due to counterfeiting of money

- Organized crime networks who use counterfeit money to finance illegal activities such as trafficking in human beings and drugs, and even terrorism.
- Counterfeit currency is also usually associated with Terror Financing-like smuggling, aiding insurgency and left wing extremism, trade in narcotics, psychotropic substances and other contrabands, etc.

Counterfeiting of money – security threat – India perspective:

The Financial Action Task Force (FATF) report of 2013 found that the Indian rupee was the ninth most counterfeited currency in terms of its value and stood third in terms of the number of FICN detected around the world. This is a grave concern to India and if not dealt with would have had serious implications as counterfeit currency can reduce the value of the currency and increase inflation.

A. Extent of the problem -

** Nayak Committee, appointed to assess the menace of fake currency, estimated the total amount of fake currency in circulation in India at about Rs 1,69,000 crores as of 2000 (in other words, eight per million were fake).

But, the latest figures could be about Rs 12, 00,000 crores, more than seven times in a decade. Statistics on denominations is revealing. According to figures disclosed in Parliament by the Government of India, during the 2006-09, 7.34 lakh of Rs 100 notes, 5.76 lakh of Rs 500 notes and 1.09 lakh of Rs 1000 notes, all fakes, have been seized (a total of Rs. 47.04 crores). This clearly establishes that 100 rupee note is a popular denomination for counterfeiters. The above set of figures is considered only as a “tip of the iceberg” when compared to the total un-seized notes that are floating in India. Also, the number of reports (a single report is an instance of counterfeit currency detected) filed by banks and other financial entities on detection of counterfeit currency has increased manifold in the recent years. Overall, the magnitude of the problem is immense.

Number of Counterfeit Currency Incidents Reported

Reporting Entity Type	2007-08	2008-09	2009-10	2010-11	Total till 31 March 2011
Public Sector Banks	81	396	1391	1898	3764
Indian Private Banks	7388	29,846	115,720	2,34,400	387,354
Private Foreign Banks	1111	5422	7099	7936	21,568
Others	-	66	3571	7216	10,853
Total	8580	35,730	127,781	2,51,448	423,539

B. Cross-border nexus -

Fake Indian currency notes principally originate from Pakistan, but smuggled through various routes, using different modalities. Directly, smugglers make best use of train services and commercial trucks that run between Pakistan and India to push counterfeits into India. The most popular indirect routes are via UAE, Nepal and Bangladesh. Fake notes from Dubai are transported through air with the help of bonafide passengers or couriers appointed for the purpose. Thailand, Malaysia, Myanmar and Sri Lanka are also used as transit points. International airports in Bangalore, Chennai, Calicut, Cochin, Hyderabad, Mangalore, Mumbai and New Delhi are identified as main landing points of counterfeits from abroad. Porous and weak land borders respectively with Nepal and Bangladesh are utilized by organized gangs to smuggle fake

currency into India. It is also carried by infiltrators from Pakistan. Making use of weak maritime security, counterfeits have also been routed through sea. Once smuggled, the fake money is exchanged for original notes at roughly 2:1 ratio or even higher. Interestingly, there has been a spurt in fake currency circulation especially since 2006, roughly when Pakistan intensified its proxy war against India**

C. Why all fingers are pointed at Pakistan

1. To distinguish between fake and real currency notes has become increasingly difficult mainly due to the fact that counterfeits are now printed with state of the art technology using security paper that is made available only to state actors. This clearly indicates involvement of government agencies in the neighborhood.
2. Pumping fake currencies is one of the sub-conventional warfare strategies pursued by Pakistan against India. The objectives behind are to subvert Indian economy and to fund terror networks.
3. According to a Planning Commission Report, "the fake currency enables the adversary to obtain the services of individuals and groups in this country to act against our security interests at very low cost to itself. Once such conduits are established, they are used to push in drugs, explosives, weapons and trained terrorists."
4. For instance, investigations reveal that Rs 50 million that was incurred by the terrorists to trigger blasts in Hyderabad in 2007 and Rs three million spent on the attack on the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, in 2005 were generated mainly through fake currency.
5. Apart from security, fake currency poses huge socio-economic problem. Its impact

on general crime on society is serious as more and more educated unemployed youth are attracted towards the counterfeit racket.

D. Counterfeiting of money & legal provisions

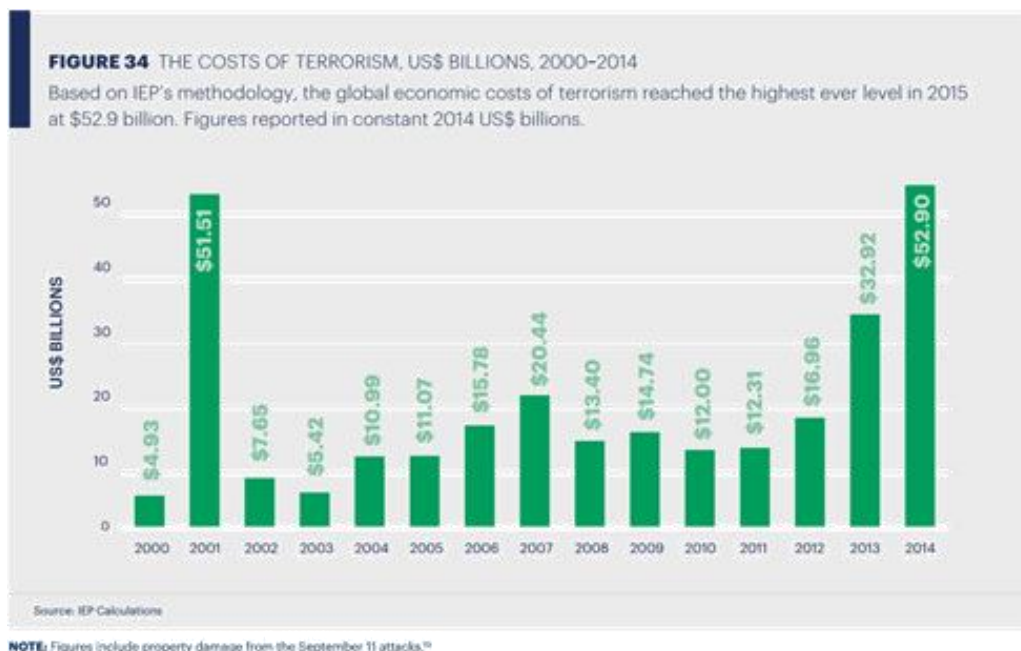
1. Sec 489(A) of IPC – "Whoever counterfeits, or knowingly performs any part of the process of counterfeiting, any currency-note or bank-note, shall be punished with 2[imprisonment for life], or with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years, and shall also be liable to fine.
For the purposes of this section, the expression "bank-note" means a promissory note or engagement for the payment of money to bearer on demand issued by any person carrying on the business of banking in any part of the world, or issued by or under the authority of any State or Sovereign Power, and intended to be used as equivalent to, or as a substitute for money.
2. Section 489(B) of IPC-Using as genuine, forged or counterfeit currency-notes or bank-notes.
3. Section 489(C)of IPC-Possession of forged or counterfeit currency-notes or bank-notes
4. Section 489(D)of IPC-Making or possessing instruments or materials for forgoing or counterfeiting currency-notes or bank-notes
5. Section 489(E)of IPC-Making or using documents resembling currency-notes or bank-notes.

Author wish to suggest that these age-old provisions w.r.t. counterfeiting of money in Indian Penal Code needs a revamp and

should be made more effective and should be integrated with The Information Technology Act, 2000 – which needs suitable amendment- treating ‘counterfeiting of money’ as cybercrime with severe punishment. Government has taken a positive step by making Money Laundering Act more forceful.

Terrorism – triggered thru’ counterfeiting of money – its Economic impact – India perspective –

A theoretical myth that is often committed is viewing terrorism as a political weapon. A deeper look into the subject reveals that the impact of terrorism is more economic than political. Especially in democracies like India, terrorism may shake the foundation of democracy a little but it would take a lot more than that to completely uproot the political structure. What terrorism does successfully though is instil fear and uncertainty and hatred among people and as a result, dampen the economy. World Economic Forum calculated the cost of terrorism to the world to be \$52.9 billion in 2014, the highest since 2001, according to the new 2015 Global Terrorism Index. The calculation accounts for the direct (and some of the indirect) costs of terrorism, and is conservative in its approach.



As highlighted in the chart, the cost of terrorism reached its highest point in 2014, surpassing the economic impact felt in 2001. This represents a tenfold increase on the figure in 2000, and a rise of \$20 billion on the previous year.

The economic effects of terrorism have been analysed from two perspectives:

Macro perspective

Micro perspective

*******Macro-economic impact of terrorism:**

Moody's Investors service carried out a study to measure the impact of terrorism on several countries and identified four major areas:

Country's economic growth, investment growth, government expenditure and Government cost of borrowing.

It took 2013 as its base year of research and came up with the following findings:

These findings are extremely significant.

- A country that has been inflicted with terrorism sees its economy affected drastically.
- The drop in investment is a natural effect as foreign investors fear pumping money into a country that is terrorism prone and as a result, is susceptible to economic breakdown. Thus, there is a significant decline in FDI's as well as FII's immediately after a terrorist event.
- Next is the rise in government expenditure. The government has to divert its funds from welfare and growth related projects towards rebuilding and restoring damaged infrastructure.
- Some expenditure is required on the care of those injured and suffering traumas due to lost family members.
- A worthwhile investment for the government is also in improving its defence and security along with intelligence gathering capability. Thus, because of increased government expenditure in non-growth related areas, economic growth of the country slips.
- Another effect is felt in the stock market. After the terrorist attacks in 2008, for example, BSE had to be closed down entirely for a day. Surprisingly on the next day, markets flared up in patriotic defiance, with the benchmark Sensex index closing up 66 points on a day when most expected it to drop. However, with GDP growth slowing to 7.6% and foreign institutional investors withdrawing more than \$13 billion from its equity markets, India's economy already yielded defeat, leaving its Sensex at less than half where it stood a year ago.

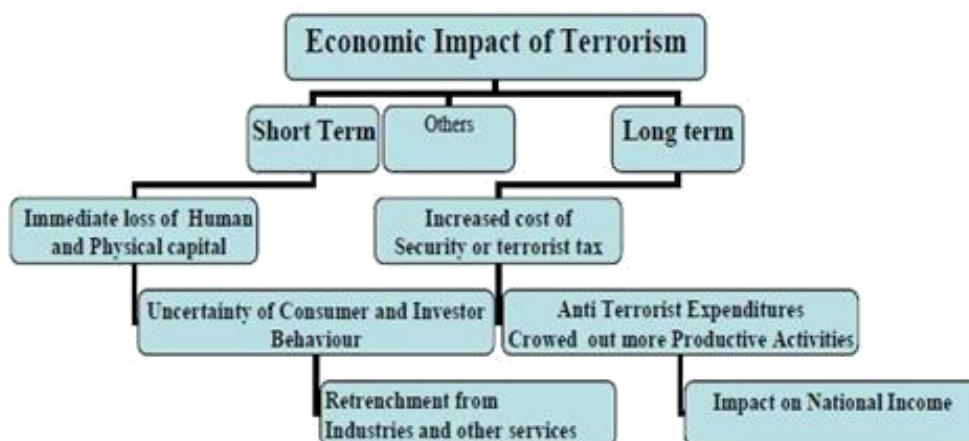
Micro-economic impact of terrorism:

The impact that a country feels is immense. However, the decline in economic growth of a country because of the impact on individuals can be much more devastating. Terrorist attacks, it is said, are diverse in terms of the personal and property damage inflicted.

For example, for 3 days after the 2008 attacks, trains ran empty, schools and offices remained closed, and Bombay's residents, heeding a call from the government, stayed indoors. On the next Friday afternoon, when some of the fear started to fade away and considerable public activity was witnessed, a false alarm about more armed gunmen at train stations sent back the city's residents into quivering fear. Imagine the financial capital of India shutting shop and not making any money for 3 days!

All offices being closed down did not do any business for 3 days straight.. It is difficult to put a number to the opportunity loss in earnings but one can be sure that it is enormous. Plus there is the lost income earnings of those who lose their lives. So there's that much less contribution towards the GDP but more importantly, it affects individual families in much destructive ways.

A research paper from ICSSR Journal of Abstracts and Reviews provides a comprehensive pictorial representation of this topic.



The perspective of Narco-terrorism:-

Having looked at terrorism as an individual event, we will now analyse drug trafficking in India and its implications. There is a symbiotic relationship between drugs trafficking and terrorism which at first sight look like two totally different forms of crime. However, the two most often exist in combination, somewhat like a horse and carriage. Sponsoring terrorism is an expensive affair and money for killing, kidnapping and sabotage does not come through legal means but from illegal and unofficial channels. Terrorism needs huge sums of money to carry out its operation. Since it is difficult to acquire that sum from official and legal sources, terrorists approach drug syndicates and underworld dons for cooperation. This phenomenon is known as Narco-terrorism. The term was used for the first time in the US when drug smugglers in Bolivia, Colombia, Peru, Nicaragua and other Central American which funds terrorist activities in Pakistan and Afghanistan.

The Golden Crescent, a principal area in Asia covering countries like Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iran is the largest producer of illicit opium. Afghanistan and Pakistan alone share a very large pie of the total illicit production. It is a

matter of serious concern to India, because these drugs are the major source for funding Pak-sponsored terrorism in this country. The drug money is floated in an unorganized but systematic manner into the Indian money market thereby damaging financial institutions. Therefore, the illicit drug trafficking from Afghanistan and Pakistan threatens both the polity and the economy of India. Author is of the opinion that one of the root causes which leads to Narco – Terrorism is Counterfeiting of money.

In the Author's viewpoint –

Terrorism is often viewed from a very narrow lens. It is seen as an overt act of violence and destruction which destroys the social, political and economic fabric of the country. The motives and strategies behind it are also understood only conventionally. However, the abovementioned data suggests how terrorism can take various forms and how in order to curb terrorism, a myriad of issues must be addressed. Taking a one-dimensional approach will never resolve this problem. Linkages between different phenomenon must be identified in order to safeguard the country from savage attacks and preserve its national security and economy.

Socio-Economic implications of Narco-Terrorism:

By pumping the hard currency generated from illicit narcotic drugs trade, Pakistan's motive is to disturb the local money market and make a dent in the Indian economy. The economic liberalization introduced in India opened a plethora of opportunities to Pakistan based drug syndicates in 1991.

There were three major fallouts of economic liberalization on the domestic economy of the country. First, government control became relaxed over banking and financial institutions. Second, it curtailed availability of loans. Third, it raised cost of borrowing. And fourth, it reduced return on deposits. As a result money launderers and drug traffickers started floating their ill-gotten money into the domestic money market. Similarly, the drug money laundered through Hawala or any other illegal channels deprived India of foreign exchange earnings. All these collectively affect the economy of the nation in slow process and these uncalled for inflow of illicit funds damage the financial institutions in the country.

Rajnath Singh, in an interview, pointed out another socio-economic problem associated with this: the problems of drug trafficking and abuse take significant toll on valuable human lives and productive years of many people.

In short, Author is of the opinion that above pointers is nothing but a dangerous facet of 'economic terrorism' against India.

To effectively curb multi nexus, complicated, externally state sponsored problem of Counterfeiting – terrorism – Economic threat, India should adopt multi-pronged strategy which can cover –

It is important to stay ahead of counterfeiters. The Reserve Bank of India should constantly

upgrade both paper-based (security thread, water mark, fluorescent fibres and physical and chemical characteristics of the paper) and print-based (anti-photo copying feature, optically variable ink – OVI – see through effect, intaglio printing etc) security features of Indian currency. The public should be educated on these security features, which will enable them to easily distinguish fake from real notes.

Effective cooperation among the concerned agencies is essential to address the threat. The Central Bureau of Investigation is the nodal agency for coordinating and monitor cases related to fake currency; Department of Revenue Intelligence is the lead operational body at the national level; respective state police is the lead operational agency for acting against counterfeits in that particular state; National Crime Records Bureau and Central Economic Intelligence Bureau hold all data pertaining to fake currencies. These apart, the state governments, central police organizations, intelligence agencies, the RBI, Enforcement Directorate, Ministry of External Affairs, Financial Investigation Unit, and Department of Legal Affairs are other concerned agencies. External dependence on security paper and ink should be reduced by increasing indigenous production.

At the same time, India should use its diplomatic leverage to make sure that international companies contracted to supply India-specific paper maintain secrecy.

India should offer to train Nepalese and Bangladeshi customs and immigration officials in identifying and keeping watch over frequent travelers to Dubai, Dhaka, Colombo and other neighboring countries.

Demonetization of certain denominations of currency (8th November, 2016 – Rs 500 & Rs 1000 notes were taken out of circulation) On the eve of declaration of this historic decision – Shri Narendra Modi – Prime Minister of India said – “enemies across the border” have been responsible for the circulation of FICN in India. The decision to withdraw Rs500 and Rs1000 notes from circulation could have a massive positive impact by eliminating FICN from India’s economy. The Rs500 note in particular is the most commonly counterfeited note in India and demonetizing it is quite a remarkable move to eradicate the threats emanating from FICN to the Indian economy.



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Kashmir Imbroglia

Conflict Resolution through Strategic Interactions

“All models are wrong, some are useful!”

The paper is based on some of the useful models, not formula based models, but agent based models. This consists of,

1. Premises
2. Explains type of conflict
3. Role of external factors
4. Strategic interaction for conflict resolution

I. Premises

1. The first premise is, the current conflict is, inorganic and not organic in the sense that, this is not home grown, but role of, external factor cannot be over emphasized. Cross border influence of the neighboring country, which considers terrorism as the instrument of state policy has inorganically caused this state of conflict.
- c) The author uses' Threshold Model of collective behavior¹. It explains the support internally.

If the threshold of taking to weapons is

	A	B
	1	0
	1	1
	1	2
	2	3
	2	4
Average	1.4	2.5

As in case A, despite lower threshold. One would not take to weapons if the support for the first instigation does not come from outside.

- a) Similarly as per “standing aviation model²
 - $S = Q + E > T$ Where Q = Quantum of Instigation, E = External Factor or error
 - Threshold is lower, people stand.
 - Standing ovation is possible if more than X % of people stand. Here, despite minimum instigation or disgruntlement, if external factor is high, people would cause agitation and standing aviation model would be applicable. Thus, Peer effect + Signal would come in effect.
- b) It has been well documented that, the brutality of LeT and JeM can clearly be identified to be different from brutality of JKLF and Hijbul mujahidin.

2. Second premise being, this external provocation has led to intergroup conflict. Here the author uses, segregation Model³. This states that, people who stay together, think alike, speak alike, and behave alike. This can happen due to -
 - a) Peer effect, ie due to peer group effect, they adapt themselves to the group thinking
 - b) Sorting effect, ie if they are different from the group surrounding them, they leave the cell, and go to the cell where there is a group thinking alike. The following table shows, there has been a lot of sorting effect, due to Exodus tip (People Leaving) and not Genesis tip (People entering) and in the last 20 yrs., the segregation index based on ethnicity has change from approximately 68% to 98%.

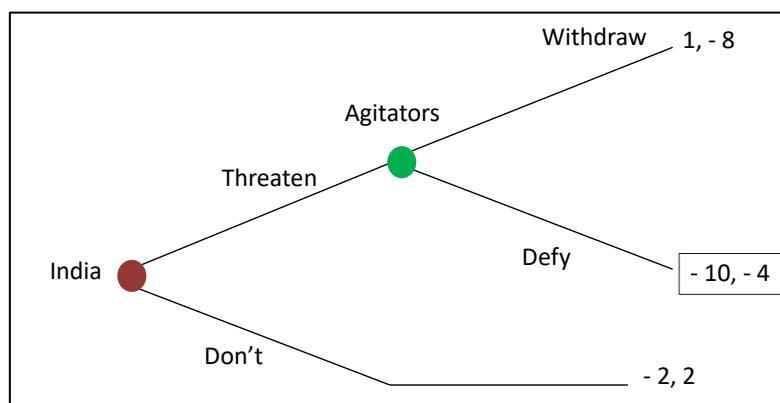
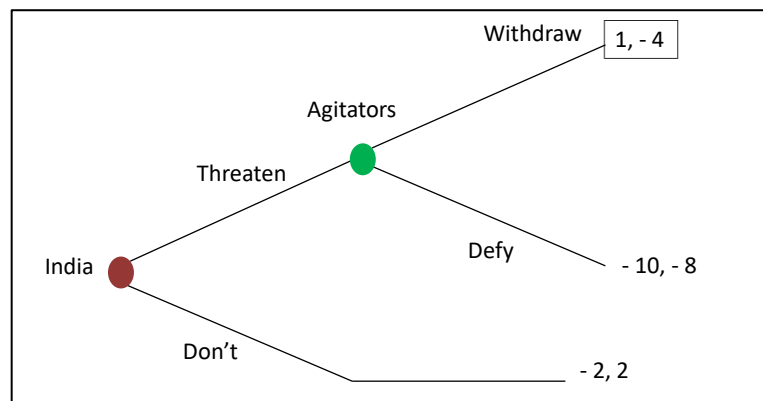
Genesis Tip or Exodus Tip Demography

	Area	Pop	Muslim	Hindu	Sikh	Buddhist/other
Kashmir	15.37%	54.93%	98.4%	2.45%	0.98%	0.17%
Jammu	25.93%	42.89%	33.45%	62.55%	3.3%	0.7%
Ladakh	58.33%	2.18%	46.4%	12.11%	0.82%	39.67%
Total	100	100	68.31%	28.31%	1.87%	0.89%

(2011 Sensex)

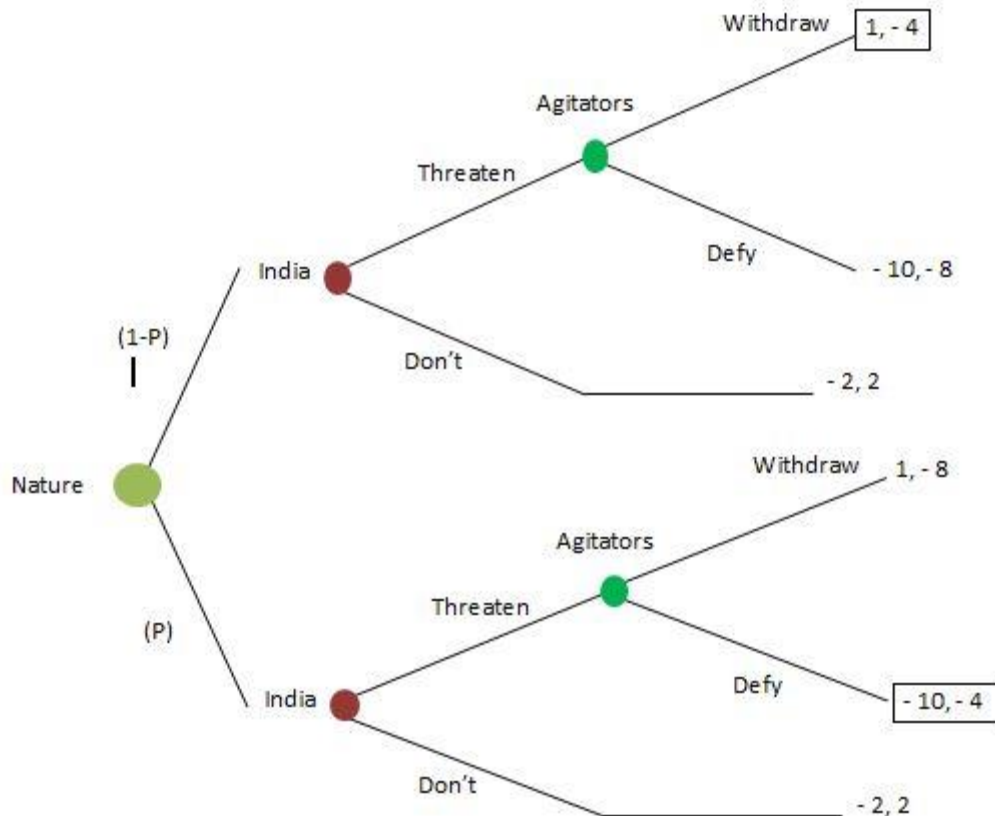
Last 20 yrs. segregation index (approx.) 68% → 98%

3. This has both Rational and Emotional contents.



In this kind of Game theoretic model, the agitation has already started. The Indian govt. has a choice of threatening to strong arm the Agitation or not and in first case, the agitators can withdraw or defy. In the pay off the first number is of India , and the second is of the Agitators. Obviously rather than going to 2 pay off, India would want to threaten and rather than setting for -8 pay off, the agitators would like to withdraw, hence, the Sabgame equilibrium is, India threatens and Agitators with draw. But then, why would the agitators start the game in the first place?

(b) Consider the role of an external force, its whose consideration, the pay offs are different. In whose calculation, the payoff of losing face, honor not disturbing peace of India is much worse than withdrawing, in which case they would not withdraw and defy. This typically seems to thee game of the rogue neighning state or non-state actors.



3. (A) Strategic interaction can change pay offs:

Consider the following interactions:

In the above example. At a value of $P = 0.27$, the above game can be converted to bottom game by external factors but India can also revenue it, using other factors like diplomacy, public diplomacy etc., and minimize such effects.

(B) One can also consider negotiation as an important tool. Hence the auto uses sequential co-ordination game- Battle of sexes,

	Opera	Football
Opera	10,5	0,0
Football	0,0	5,10

(a)

	Opera	Football
Opera	10,0	0,10
Football	0,5	5,0

(b)

If a man on dating wants to go to football and the lady wants to go to opera, the pay offs are as per

(a). The solution could be, in the first week they go to opera and serbsequent week they go to football watch. But, when we include factors like suspicion, blind dates they pay off are like.

(b) and there is not sub game equilibrium.

(c) using Neutrosophic Game, (Fuzzy Dynamic Fuzzy bargaining Game)⁴ as the situation is extremely dynamic also does not lead to any result, as bringing U.N (Human rights) in on Kashmir issue, Uri Attack, constant cross boarder terrorism and ceasefire violations has vanished semantic negotiation space hence,

Pakistan strategy vectors :

- Internationalize Kashmir problem
- Bring India an negotiating table

India strategy Vectors

- Stop cross borders terrorism
- No negotiation except Pak occupied Kashmir
- Declare Pak a rogue state

II. Type of conflict:

Yet another aspect of the conflict in Kashmir in, typically an In-group out-group conflict. Hence,

- a) Hostility in the intergroup interaction results in the fraction of parochial members of at least are group is sufficiently large.
- b) The possibility of conflict increases with the difference between the parochial altruists between the groups- This causes phase tradition.
- c) During peacetime the payoff of Tolerant non altruists in more, whereas during war time parochial altruists is more leading to fitness
- d) This agent based model doesn't necessarily speak of ethnicity only.

III. Role of External factor

Apart from Ingroup outgroup conflict, the cause of conflict among nations has been well explained by Charles Doran's Power cycle theory, where a revisionist power challenges a status quo power at the inflection point.

More often than not, it is the stronger state, which has the possibility of winning has the incentive of waging war against the weaker state. Then why would a weaker state cause even an asymmetric war against stronger state?

The author here, addresses this phenomenon as context as cause which is neither sufficient nor necessary condition under which weak state wages war against strong state, but makes certain outcomes more or less likely in combination with other factors using.

1. Power Transition Theory, "This is a war initiated by state, that feels more dissatisfied regardless of whether one in defender or challenger. Here, a weaker power would be more dissatisfied with status quo if it is in loss frame.
2. Windows of opportunity Theory. Policy makers decide to choose wars where the conditions are suitable for them, and such conditions world drastically worsen as time lapses. Thus Even a weak state would wage war that is anxious about future. This would be preventive or preemptive war.
3. Diversionary Theory : This is external use of force for internal political purpose or internal compulsions.
4. Rational Choice Theories : Limited goals for military action in asymmetric conflict like better negotiation advantage

To analyses those, the author uses cognitive model, as combination of Game theory and prospect theory combining perceptions of rich and frame effect.

The analysis suggests that,

1. While strong states have preference order of prisoners Dilemma, weak states have preference order of chicken Game.
2. If credibility of Punishment is increased, strong state can push weak state thus preventing defection.
3. Decision makers of rogue state in loss frame seek risky choice.

Gain frame choose safe choice. Hence strong state should make defection costly.

4. For weak state,

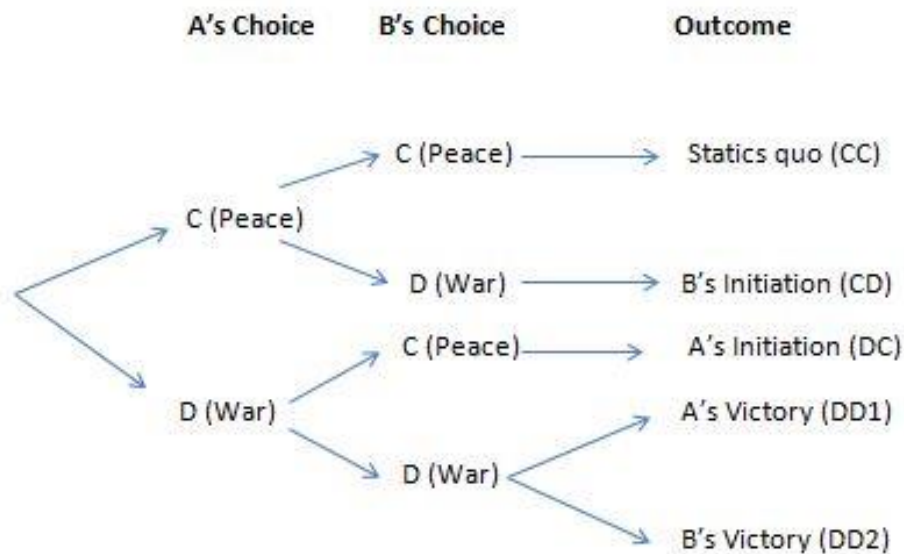
- In chicken game co-operation is safe choice, defection is risky choice.
- In prisoners Dilemma, co-operation is risk choice and defection is safe choice

Sang Hun park has given enough imperial evidence to demonstrate this phenomenon U.S. Army War college clearly differentiates between ‘deterrence’ and ‘coercion’ and emphasizes on capability, credibility and effective imposition of unacceptable costs. Centre for strategic and international studies in such situations recommends deconstructing the network into component parts and deter them independently.

This brings us to a conclusion that, strategically dealing with a weak rogue state requires proactive, credible use of strong incentives and disincentives, so as to make cost of defection high, thus converting the Chicken game into prisoner’s Dilemma game. Thus ensuring that the weak rogues state does not gamble and take undue risks threatening the strong state.

Weak State’s choice in an asymmetric conflict.

Frame / Game	Chicken Game	Prisoner’s Dilemma
Weak State Loss Frame	1. Risky Choice War/ Detections	2. Safe Choice peace co- operation
Weak State Gain Frame	3. Safe Choice Peace, co- operation	4. Risky Choice War / Defection



Strong states Preference Order : $DC > CC > DD > CD$
(Prisoners Dilemma)

Weak States preference Order : $DC > DD2 > CC > CD > DD1$
(Chickens Game)

IV. Strategic interaction for conflict resolution:

(a) **Short term** :Externally

- 1) Increase cost of misadventure to an unacceptable level
- 2) Credibility of action to be high
- 3) Increase threat perception, while engaging civilian us in interactions and isolate rogue state internationally

Internally 1) Identity nodes and reduce clustering coefficient (Graph theory)

2) Appreciate difference in motivation

b) **Long Term** : 1) Hard line on agitators cross border terrorism

2) Affecting demography with peer effect, Genesis effect

3) Bring only Pak occupied Kashmir an negotiating table

4) Develop stage – 3 Capacity

Limitation : This study does not include factors like U.S, China and Others.



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Critical Tibetan river systems and India's role in safeguarding regional Environmental Security

Abstract:

South -Asia and South-East Asia comprise the largest chunk of humanity and also share common concerns arising from climate change. Reports of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) have concluded that this region is already experiencing the effects of Climate Change and faces imminent aggravated future threats in the form of ecological

degradation, food and water scarcity, agricultural shifts, health hazards, ecological disasters etc. Moreover the developmental needs and aspirations of these countries are enormous and certainly bound to be further complicated by the effects of climate change. The author desires to study of problem of ecological degradation of Tibetan plateau (source of 10 major river systems in Asia supporting a population of over a billion) and the further aggravation of water scarcity

related conflicts in the region.

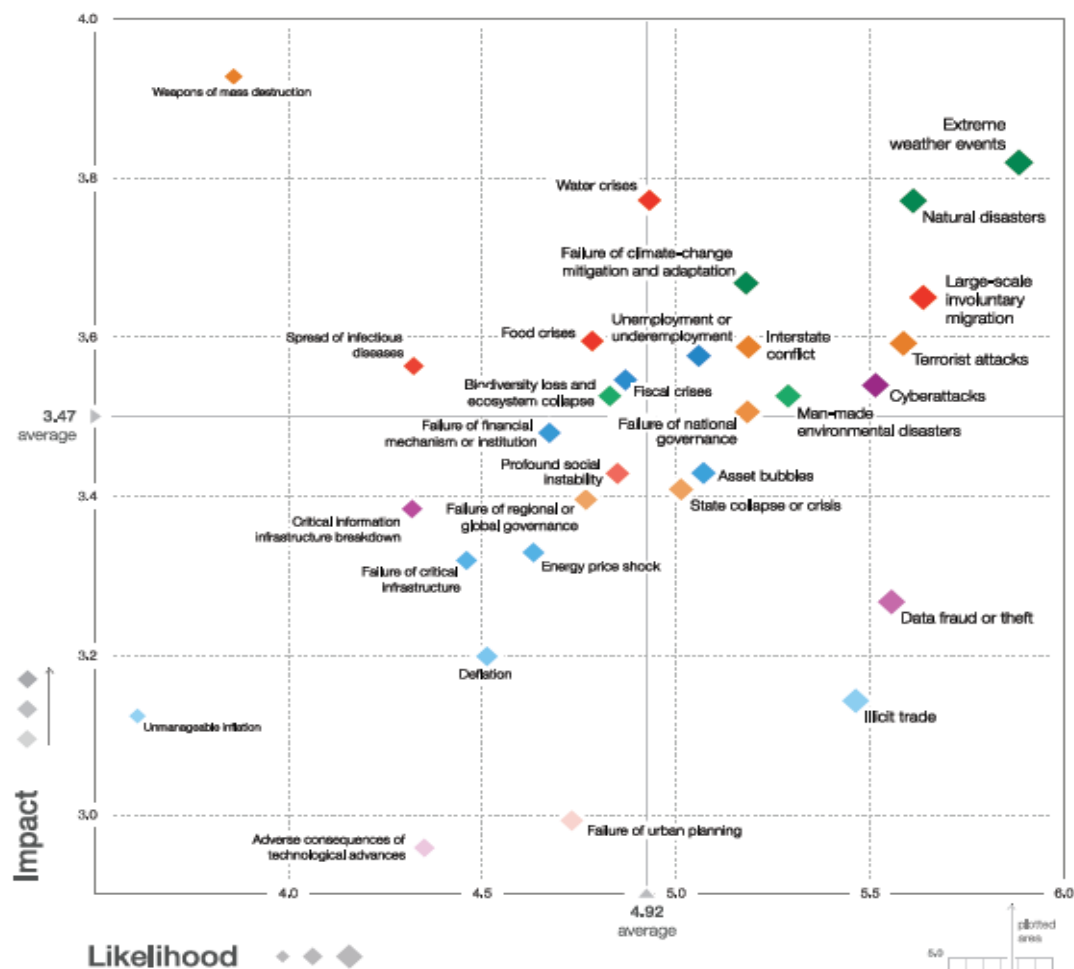
Global Water stress and approaching crisis

"There is a water crisis today. But the crisis is not about having too little water to satisfy our needs. It is a crisis of managing water so badly that billions of people - and the environment - suffer badly"- World Water Vision Report.

The latest United Nations World Water Development Report warns that, by 2030, only 60 percent of the world's demand for water will be met by existing resources at the current rate of use. That will leave 40 percent of the population without access to the water it needs. Over 260 river basins are shared by two or more countries. In the absence of strong institutions and agreements, changes within a basin can lead to transboundary tensions. When major projects proceed without regional collaboration, they can become a point of conflicts, heightening regional instability. The Parana La Plata, the Aral Sea, the Jordan and the Danube may serve as examples. Water stress results from an imbalance between water use and water resources. The water stress indicator measures the proportion of water withdrawal with respect to total renewable resources. It is a criticality ratio, which implies that water stress depends on the variability of resources. Water stress causes deterioration of fresh water resources in terms of quantity (aquifer over-exploitation, dry rivers, etc.) and quality (eutrophication, organic matter pollution, saline intrusion, etc.) The value of this criticality ratio indicates high water stress is based on expert judgment and experience. It ranges between 20 % for basins with highly variable runoff and 60 % for temperate zone basins. [1]

Global Economic Report 2017 clearly indicate Water crisis, Climate Change induced extreme weather events and forced migrations as emerging top global risks. Although Asia is home to more than half of the world's population, it has less freshwater (3,920 cubic meters per person per year). Almost two-thirds of global population growth is occurring in Asia, where the population is expected to increase by nearly 500 million people within the next 10 years. Asia's rural population will remain almost the same between now and 2025, but the urban population is likely to increase by a staggering 60%. In South Asia, home to nearly 1.6 billion people, cities are increasingly feeling the pressure of population growth and urbanization.

Figure 3: The Global Risks Landscape 2017



Tibet Plateau: Significance for South and South-East Asia

The Tibetan Plateau is the land bridge connecting South Asia with East Asia. It is home to the Himalayas, the world's tallest mountain range and at times referred to as the "third pole" because they hold the largest concentration of ice and glaciers outside the northern and southern poles. Scientists say the Himalayas also influence weather patterns, which help to predict rainfall and flood cycles. The most critical trans-boundary river basins formed by Himalayan Rivers are the Ganges-Brahmaputra-Meghna, Indus, and Mekong basins, the largest in area and population

served. [2]

The Tibetan Plateau, also referred as 'The Water-Tower of Asia,' is the headwater of major rivers that flow into the countries that depend most on water from the Tibetan Plateau are Bangladesh, Bhutan, China, India, Myanmar, Nepal, Pakistan, Thailand and the countries of the Mekong sub-region, Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam and supply water to almost 1.5 billion people in Asia; almost a quarter of the world's population. The total river basin area is estimated above 5,477,700 sq. km. [3]



As long ago as 1884, an English meteorologist working in India had the inspired idea that the snows of Tibet and the Indian monsoon are causally connected. Henry Francis Blanford also suggested that the less it snows in winter in Tibet, the earlier the snowmelt, and the earlier the monsoon. In other words, the Tibetan Plateau acts as a heat pump in the summer drawing in the moisture rich water vapors from the Bay of Bengal. The seasonal monsoon wind shift and weather associated with the heating and cooling of the Tibetan Plateau is believed to be the strongest such monsoon on earth. The major rivers that flow from the Tibetan Plateau are further recharged by the monsoon as they reach the lower riparian countries. [4] The impact on Tibet's landscape and its natural resources due to climate warming and human intervention will threaten not only the future food security of many nations but also their development.

With the regional population expected to exceed 2.2 billion by 2050, expanding access to safe water sources will prove challenging. The predicted decrease in water availability induced by climate change, therefore, will only exacerbate the situation.

Climate change and Ecological Degradation of Tibet Plateau: Concerns for South and South-East Asia

Levels of carbon dioxide and other 'greenhouse gases' in the atmosphere have risen steeply during the industrial era owing to human activities like fossil fuel use and deforestation, spurred on by economic and population growth. If the level rises too high, the resulting overall rise in global average temperatures is liable to disrupt natural patterns of climate. In its Fourth Assessment Report, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) concluded that

evidence of climate change already occurring is unequivocal and is due in large part to human activity. Other studies have found that in the last three to four decades, warming in the Himalayas has been more than the average of 0.75 % over the last century. Some have confirmed that it is warming 5-6 times faster than the global average.^[5] Critical components to Tibet's ecosystem are undergoing major transformations due to climate change. For instance, it has led to the receding of Tibet's glaciers, shrinking and disappearance of thousands of lakes, drying of wetlands, thawing of permafrost, and reduced flow regimes in many rivers. These days, on the Plateau, the spring thawing is earlier and the permafrost is melting away before the growing plants can access the water. This rise in temperature has also increased the rate of evapotranspiration from the rivers and watershed areas intensifying the desertification process.

The simulations from the World Climate Research Programme's Third Coupled Model Inter-comparison Project predict that climate change will result in increased monsoonal precipitation over South Asia, East Asia and the western Pacific Ocean. Changes to monsoonal rainfall patterns could affect agricultural productivity and thus reduce food security. In the short and medium term, the warming affects will likely exacerbate climatic extremes, lengthen monsoons, and lead to an increasing number of floods, according the International Centre for Integrated Mountain Development (ICIMOD)'s Himalayan Climate and Water Atlas. Climate change induced water scarcity will negatively impact the region's agricultural productivity, energy production and the health of its population. Coupled with increased precipitation, more run-off water will lead to increased flooding events. These, in turn, will increase the risks of waterborne diseases like diarrheal, malaria or cholera due to deterioration in the quality of drinking water. A proliferation of

mosquito infestations is also expected. The increase in intense rain events will also have a negative impact on fisheries. Countries in the region are increasingly turning to hydropower to meet their energy demand. Seasonal melt water is the main source of power for hydroelectric dams on the glacier-fed rivers. Estimates indicate that a 1 % reduction in stream flow could reduce electricity output by roughly 3%. Southern Asia's economic growth, demographic boom, and appetite for energy are producing conditions for a water crisis.

Environmental Security: An Emerging Non-traditional Security (NTS) concern for South & South-East Asia

'Environmental Security' depends on various factors such as the dynamics in the natural environment, population change, and degree of access to environmental resources. Shifting global realities have given rise to what is currently defined as 'Non-Traditional Security', such as food security, ecological degradation, environmental refugees, climate change, water, energy security, disaster management and public health etc. that aims to encompass various threats that obstruct the security and livelihoods of citizens. ^[6] It is estimated, that all the wars of the twentieth century resulted in the deaths of about 111 million combatants and civilians, an average of 1.1 million per year. By comparison, infectious diseases are now responsible for taking the lives of between 14 and 15 million people per year. ^[7] Over the past 25 years, natural disasters and environmental degradation have killed nearly half a million people in South Asia and inflicted colossal damages estimated at \$59 billion. South & South-East Asian governments have not yet fully realized that military measures and domestic policies alone cannot overcome NTS challenges; rather, many of these challenges must be faced collectively and through regional cooperation. ^[8]

Tibet, has hosted a wide array of Chinese development projects since the launch of Beijing's "go west" campaign in 2000. These include transport infrastructure, large-scale mining, and dams for hydropower, manufacturing, irrigation, and domestic use. Other riparian states have followed Beijing's example, pursuing water projects to meet economic targets. In the absence of international institutions and norms to regulate shared water sources and as demand for water grows, control and management of this precious resource is expected to stoke local, sub-regional, and national tensions. As Brahma Chellaney succinctly puts it "Beijing's latent capability to control cross-border river flows arms it with significant leverage over neighbors." [9] More recently in October 2015, China operationalized what is believed to be the world's highest altitude power station, the \$1.5 billion Zangmu hydropower facility in Tibet on the Brahmaputra. The Zangmu dam does not store water, but riparian states are concerned that the dam may disturb downstream soil. Planned hydro infrastructure projects throughout Southern Asia have stirred fears from communities downstream of the dams in India, Bangladesh, and Nepal about the environmental impact.

Joint Management of Transboundary Water resources

Transboundary or trans-border water resources are defined as surface or groundwater resources shaped by two countries or more. Because water is continuously in motion, issues of control, jurisdiction and sovereignty are much more complicated than when dealing with static land resources. This task is even more difficult when water resources are shared by a number of political entities. The United National Register of International River Basins listed 261 international trans-boundary river basins in the world covering 45.3% of the land surface of the

earth [10]. The management of water resources confronts many obstacles due to critical importance of water for human existence. In contrast to water conflicts, more than 3600 water-related treaties have stood firm since 805AD, while in the same period, there have been only seven minor water-related skirmishes. Rogers (1992) identified 286 treaties which settle the management of international rivers. Not surprisingly, two thirds of these treaties were ratified in Europe and North America, where problems became acute sooner.[11] In the absence of a balanced cross-boundary and cross-sectoral integration, riparian countries may easily get into conflicts over shared waters. A river may be international geographically if it flows through or between the territories of sovereign states; from the legal standpoint, a river is international if a riparian state does not have all the powers over the waters of that river. In 1997, the UN Convention on the Law of Non-Navigational Uses of International Water-Courses provides a common framework for cooperation within international river-basins. [12]

River management institutions suffer mostly because they constitute a meeting-point between hydrology and politics - two incompatible areas. The former necessitates unity whereas the latter almost certainly means division and small particularized political sovereign cells. Perhaps the development of the institutions for management of shared water resources will follow the successful evolution of another institution the Law of the Sea, which now serves as an inseparable part of the foreign policy and international behavior of states. It is evident that basin-wide cooperation is the optimal solution to the problem of managing international river basins. It is doubtful if narrowing the authority of these institutions to one function only(navigation, pollution, and water allocation) is efficient and beneficial. However, as joint management of water resources is always accompanied by restriction on sovereignty of

state, many states are reluctant to enter into such obligations. Institutions in which only a few of the riparians are involved (Nile, Mekong, Indus, Ganges, for example) may become useless in the future when non-member riparians demand their share in the common pool.^[13]

Global examples of Transboundary river Basin management

Some of the examples of the practice of water resource management could be divided into three categories:

- (a) Treaties and agreements stopping short of allocating water between riparian states such as free navigation treaties or institutions which were established for a sole purpose such as combating pollution (Elbe, Danube, Rhine).
- (b) Treaties and agreements allocating water between states (the Indus, Nile, Ganges, Jordan).
- (c) Agreements for joint management of internationally shared waters (Colorado and Rio Grande, Mekong, Senegal and Niger). ^[14]

Trans-boundary Conservation Governance Framework

The idea of trans-boundary conservation means that the territory of interest transcends the legal and geographic reach of established jurisdictions and institutions.^[15] The people affected by this have inter-dependent interests, which means that none of them has sufficient power or authority to address the problems adequately on their own. This creates a gap in governance as no single entity has the power, authority and responsibility to address trans-boundary issues, so there is a need to create innovative ways to work across boundaries. ^[16]

International examples of Transboundary Protected Areas

- **Kailash Sacred Landscape:**

The Kailash Sacred Landscape Conservation and Development Initiative is a regional Transboundary conservation programme of ICIMOD (2012-2017) in the Hindu Kush Himalaya. The initiative emphasizes the importance of sacred sites and the preservation and management of bio-cultural diversity. The area covers over 31,000 km² of diverse terrain across a remote south-western part of the Tibetan Plateau within the Tibetan Autonomous Region, China, north-western Nepal, and a part of northern India that borders Nepal.

- **The European Green Belt Initiative**

The European Green Belt is a 12,500 km long strip of land and coastal sea area. It stretches from the Barents Sea to the Adriatic and Black Seas and comprises more than 3,200 protected areas. As the Green Belt snakes from north to south, it passes through a variety of European landscapes ranging from arctic tundra, boreal forests, mires, lush flood plains and alpine peaks, to coastal habitats and grasslands. It connects 24 countries and its potential as the backbone of a pan-European ecological network is widely recognized. Almost 150 governmental and non-governmental organizations, municipalities, protected areas, enterprises and scientific institutions have come together in the European Green Belt Initiative.

China's water crisis and its domestic compulsions

The UN considers China one of the 13 countries most affected by water scarcity which supports

20percent of the world population with only 7 percent of is water. North China Plain is home to about 42 percent of China's population but only has 8 percent of the country's water resources. China has about the same amount of water as Canada put around 40 more times people. The shortages are particularly acute in northern China where half the population lives with only 15 percent of China's water. Rivers and lakes are disappearing. China has lost more than 1,000 lakes, or 13 percent of its lakes, in the past 50 years. Emily Ford wrote in The Times, "About 28,000 rivers have disappeared from China's state maps, an absence seized upon by environmentalists as evidence of the irreversible natural cost of developmental excesses. More than half of the rivers previously thought to exist in China appear to be missing, according to the 800,000 surveyors who compiled the first national water census, leaving Beijing fumbling to explain the cause. Only 22,909 rivers covering an area of 100sq kilometers were located by surveyors, compared with the more than 50,000 in the 1990s, a three-year study by the Ministry of Water Resources and the National Bureau of Statistics found. [17]

Due to Zangua on Mekong – Myanmar, Laos, Thailand, Kampuchea, Vietnam are concerned , they have treaties among themselves but not with China. China has internal concerns due to uneven distribution of water

- Desertification of Gobi is expanding rapidly- Currently, 27.4 percent of China is desertified land, affecting about 400 million people.
- Northern China has 500 million people but only 1/5th of its freshwater water resources, hence, South – North water diversion project.

The Poly-heuristics Theory (PH) of decision making and Foreign Policy Analysis

Within the vast field of foreign policy analysis (FPA), research invariably focuses either on (1)

the process or (2) outcome of decision making.

The first type of study mainly employs a cognitive or psychological approach to find out how decisions are made inside the “black box” of the state, while the second, with an emphasis on rational calculation, centers on why the final choice is made. Few studies take both aspects into consideration FFPA thus appears incomplete and seriously divided between the psychological and rational choice schools of decision making. It becomes increasingly clear that neither approach alone can provide a complete explanation for how and why foreign policy decisions are made, which creates the need for a unified model of decision processes and outcomes. [18] As a dynamic theory, PH gives a fuller explanation of variations in foreign policy decision making. PH sees domestic politics as “the essence of decision”. Poly-heuristics Model suggests Chinese decision making has

- Concerns for internal control
- Suggest worship of individual leaders
- Political influences
- Prevention of new instances of undesirable history

Thus indicating China domestic compulsion to divert water

Game theory Analysis

Value of Water

1. Here we consider the systems value of water as agricultural and industrial purposes. Economic value of water for individual is not equivalent to economic value to society as a whole (social welfare functions).
2. Upper and lower riparian both could have blocking opportunities for example Egypt in Nile river basis (Game theory Nile Basin), hence we should consider the systems value i.e the aggregate value that a unit of water can generate as it moves through a system before it is consumed or lost like irrigation, navigation, fisheries, river morphology, hydrology ultimately

agriculture or human consumption.

3. Irrigation-real consumption, Domestic or industrial- partial & Hydropower-non consumption. Hence system value is more than user value as non-consumptive values add on
4. It has been estimated that for the Chinese systems value of water per unit is 2.25 times that of India's (indicating severity of water scarcity in China) need for a unified model of decision processes and outcomes. [18] As a dynamic theory, PH gives a fuller explanation of variations in foreign policy decision making. PH sees domestic politics as "the essence of decision". Poly-heuristics Model suggests Chinese decision making has
 - Concerns for internal control
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6. Upper and lower riparian both could have blocking opportunities for example Egypt in Nile river basin (Game theory Nile Basin), hence we should consider the systems value i.e the aggregate value that a unit of water can generate as it moves through a system before it is consumed or lost like irrigation, navigation, fisheries, river morphology, hydrology ultimately agriculture or human consumption.
7. Irrigation-real consumption, Domestic or industrial- partial & Hydropower-non

8. consumption. Hence system value is more than user value as non-consumptive values add on
9. It has been estimated that for the Chinese systems value of water per unit is 2.25 times that of India's (indicating severity of water scarcity in China)

Conflict Analysis is a method which is systematized based on mathematical theory to classify outcomes by their character, comparing with preference vector of each player, and to analyze stability. An equilibrium solution represents an outcome where any player cannot change its options due to the possibility that less favorable outcome might be attained by succeeding change of options by other players. In this sense, equilibrium solution represents an outcome that is a deadlock situation from which any player cannot move to a better outcome by changing its own options. Conflict Analysis leads towards two games as follows:

Game 1: Unilateral Improvement (by China)

- a. Rational Stability: If there is no outcome called unilateral improvements for a player it is called Rational Stability
- b. Sequential Stability: If any outcomes that result from consistent improvements on the part of the other players are preferable for a particular player to the outcome under consideration, the outcome is sequential stable for that player.

Simultaneous Stability: If the outcome that results from the changes made by both players improving simultaneously is less preferred for a player, then it is a credible sanction against the possible improvement and the original outcome may be considered stable.

- c. Unstable Equilibrium: The player has atleast one Unilateral Improvement (UI) from which the other players can take no credible action that results in a less preferred outcome for that player.

None of these Games have Bays/Nash Equilibrium. Thus there is no unilateral improvement by China.

Game 2: Considering Complementarity (Multilateral approach involving other upstream-downstream nations in the river basin region)

This gives weak Bays/Nash equilibrium but can be converted to our advantage if the regional players are willing to play a more active role

Conclusion

Currently there exists no regional forum or framework for South and South – East Asian nations to discuss or negotiate over water resources other than Mekong River Commission (MRC) which does not include the most crucial upstream nation China. Even though it has been a long standing and consistent policy of China to resolve diplomatic issues in the region only via bilateral synergies and strictly keeps out of any multilateral approaches for conflict resolutions. Backed with the credibility of being a time-tested, treaty honoring (Indus Water Treaty) upstream nation and non-threatening perception of its foreign policy in the region, India could play a leading role in creating a pan South and South East Asian region diplomatic forum comprising all the affected riparian nations (India, Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh, Myanmar, Laos, Kampuchea, Vietnam) for a Tibetan River Basin Governance Framework on the lines of the Nile Basin Initiative (NBI) in 2002. Considering the gravity of the water crisis in the region the complementarity strategy emerging from the Conflict Analysis can be applied to exert necessary diplomatic pressure to bring China on the negotiation table and agree to participate in the proposed governance framework.



- Sudhir Shetty

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A PRESCRIPTION FOR INDIA'S PUBLIC DIPLOMACY IN THE S.E. ASIA REGION

Diplomacy is an integral part of the subject of international relations, that a modern nation state needs dearly. We are well aware of the whole apparatus that is deployed for the purpose, in the form of envoys, emissaries, embassies & consulates etc., which is a very formal and official way of going about it.

We are also aware of a fact that there is something called informal diplomacy, which is also known as Track-II Diplomacy, that a nation

makes use of, from time to time, in order to further its national interests in the international relations arena, especially when caught in a crisis situation or even as a part of a whole design that is supposed to cater to its vision w.r.t. its international relations in the long term. Here the diplomats of a desiring country engage with certain desirable lot of members of the academia or think tanks or socially active & known personalities in the target country, so as to open

various channels of communication with the powers that be, in the said target country.

When one widens the scope of the said Track-II diplomacy in order to expand its sphere of influence by engaging a larger slice of the target country's population, it enters the world of what is called Public Diplomacy. Here the attempt is to try and influence the general public in the target country, with a view to enhancing the probability of influencing the foreign policies of its government. It is an unconventional yet a productive tool in the armoury of a desiring nation.

Any public diplomacy initiated by a nation, banks essentially not on the hard economic and / or military power it possesses, but a soft power it perceives itself to be wielding w.r.t. the target countries, to enough extent, so as to boost its attempts at aligning their interests with its own. It is a non-state, largely civilisational in nature tool, aimed at predisposing target countries' population favourably towards the desiring nation in general and its foreign policies in particular.

Joseph Nye in his book "Soft Power: The Means to Success in world Politics" has articulated it well, as follows:

"A country may obtain the outcomes it wants in world politics because other countries – admiring its values, emulating its example, aspiring to its level of prosperity and openness – want to follow it. In this sense, it is also important to set the agenda and attract others in world politics, and not only to force them to change by threatening military force or economic sanctions. This soft power – getting others to want the outcomes that you want – co-opts people rather than coerces them".

All this discussion is about the point of the recognition of India being a regional power in Asia, that it has been receiving of late, through the past & existing world powers and especially the hostile ones from our biggest Asian neighbor viz. China, which has been on a very determined,

aggressive and quick-paced path to becoming a near future world power.

Let us look at an example each of the past and present world powers. Both of them, UK & US respectively, have firmly gravitated toward India vis-à-vis China for various reasons. Although the looming threat they perceive about China making dents in their own clout in the world could be a prominent reason for the same, the soft power attraction points w.r.t. India in terms of the comparative affinity they feel towards it are - India is a democracy (like themselves), it has its civilisational roots in universal tolerance, its largely non-aggressive stance towards its neighbourhood, transparent polity & urban social life experienced through the usage of common (English) language, noticeable presence of Indian origin senior executives in the private multinational corporations (all western) throughout the world etc.

India too is well aware of the said soft power and is actively working towards enlarging its sphere. We have noticed a good global example of its achievement, in the form of 21st June having been declared the 'Yoga Day' by the United Nations, two years ago.

As regards the Asian regional arena, India adopted "Look East policy" in the early nineties and pursued it rigourously thereafter. The Wikipedia summarises the said policy as follows:

*India's **Look East policy** is an effort to cultivate extensive economic and strategic relations with the nations of Southeast Asia in order to bolster its standing as a regional power and a counterweight to the strategic influence of the People's Republic of China.*

So it is not a secret that the said policy has been the outcome of the need felt by India, to counterbalance China's juggernaut style march, in Asia.

Let us now look at the “Act East Policy” that was adopted by India since last couple of years. An extract of the information provided by the Minister of State for the external Affairs Gen. Dr. V. K. Singh (Retd.) in reply to a question in the Lok Sabha on 23/12/2015, is reproduced below, for a ready reference.

The Objective of "Act East Policy" is to promote economic cooperation, cultural ties and develop strategic relationship with countries in the Asia-Pacific region through continuous engagement at bilateral, regional and multilateral levels thereby providing enhanced connectivity to the States of North Eastern Region including Arunachal Pradesh with other countries in our neighbourhood. The North East of India has been a priority in our Act East Policy (AEP). AEP provides an interface between North East India including the state of Arunachal Pradesh and the ASEAN region. Various plans at bilateral and regional levels include steady efforts to develop and strengthen connectivity of Northeast with the ASEAN region through trade, culture, people-to-people contacts and physical infrastructure (road, airport, telecommunication, power, etc.).

The ASEAN-India Plan of Action for the period 2016-20 has been adopted in August 2015 which identifies concrete initiatives and areas of cooperation along the three pillars of political-security, economic and socio-cultural. India continues with stepped up efforts to forge closer partnership with concerned regional and Multilateral organisation such as ASEAN, ARF, EAS, BIMSTEC, ACD, MGC and IORA. On the Civilizational front, Buddhist and Hindu links could be energized to develop new contacts and connectivity between people. On Connectivity, special efforts are being made to develop a coherent strategy, particularly for linking ASEAN with our North East. Measures, including building transport infrastructure, encouraging airlines to enhance connectivity in the region, contacts between academic and cultural institutions are underway.

The above piece of information seems to stress upon two points, among other things viz. interface of India's North East region with the ASEAN region, mainly on the connectivity & related economic activity front and energizing the Buddhist / Hindu links, on the civilizational front.

I'd like to focus on the 2nd part in this article here. I have happened to travel to three of the ten ASEAN countries so far viz. Singapore, Thailand and Indonesia on official as well as personal trips. Apart from the impressions one would generally gather from certain write-ups including travelogues, where one would get a few glimpses by way of mere passing remarks but devoid of details, I happened to observe with a kind of a penetrating eye as well as interact with the local population with a certain amount of guided curiosity. There I happened to gather a certain amount of real time “data”, that provided a good amount of clarity about the enormous amount of civilisational connectivity or rather inseparability between India and the South East Asia.

I share below my such encounters, as briefly as possible:

- In year 2007 in Thailand, a rice trader & a local of Bangkok, enquired to confirm whether we Indians loved Ramayan as the Thais did. When I replied in affirmative, he shared that the Thais believed that the Ramayan took place in Thailand and not in India. I simply nodded in agreement, without any desire to debate, as I was overwhelmed by the Thais' feeling of attachment towards it.
- In year 2013 in Thailand, I came across an elderly lady whose name she said was Savitri. I showed some curiosity, upon which she said it was a Sanskrit name.

- In year 2016 in Indonesia, I felt generally welcome more than any other foreigner wherever I went, which I realised was due to my being an Indian. Some Indonesians simply couldn't resist striking up a casual conversation, when they came to know about my nationality. They happily accord Indians the status of the forefathers of the Malay (or Melayu) family spread across SE Asia, to which they belong. Although most of them now are Muslims & some of them Christians, all of them follow certain rituals marked for certain important occasions in one's life cycle, which distinctly is a Hindu phenomenon.
- Today's modern Bahasa (official language of Indonesia & Malaysia) mostly comprises of Sanskritised Malay words, with a very few Arabic words sprinkled in between, so much for the Islamic connection.
- I interviewed two Indian origin gentlemen in Indonesia, one Punjabi sports goods dealer in Bandung and a Sindhi clothing shop owner in Jakarta. Both of them gave me an impression that they enjoyed some privileged status there than what they could have enjoyed back in India.
- An elderly Indonesian & a local of Bandung viz. Sudharma (a Muslim, with a Hindu name) made it a point to tell me that that they were a religiously tolerant nation. He seemed quite keen to do so, possibly because he secretly acknowledged it to be largely absent throughout many other nations within the Islamic world.
- One of Jakarta's classiest & costliest restaurants is 'Cafe Batavia', located in the Dutch colonial quarter of the town. I experienced the most touching moment there when I ordered a rice dish which, according to the printed menu, contained shrimps & chicken. After taking the order to the kitchen, the waiter returned to me and informed that although the menu didn't describe it, the preparation did involve addition of some grated beef, for "enhancing the taste". He explained, after seeing me visibly surprised at his approach, that he had guessed me to be an Indian and thought that beef wouldn't be acceptable to me and so he came to check with me about that. I thanked him profusely for his sensitivity & the sense of concern he had for me and advised him suitably.
- The Balinese language uses a script they call 'Aksara' (literally alphabets, in Sanskrit). The caretaker at a Balinese installation informed me that it had resemblance to Cambodian script. The Javanese script, which I later observed, resembled that of the Thai one. Some little research on our part will tell us that all those scripts were derived from the 'Brahmi' script of ancient India.
- In one of the pavilion of Indonesian province of Sulawesi, while I was observing the replica of its traditional community hall (and court of trial, when needed), the Muslim caretaker pointed at one of the engravings on the structure and told me that it was phallus, an important symbol (of fertility) for the then largely tribal populated province, following 'animist' traditions. I didn't disturb his flow by telling him about 'Shiva Linga', which nevertheless made an appearance in my mind. Would have the then weakening Hindu connection been the cause of the 'animists' being dethroned from their position of prominence and driven to the mountains & the forests, where they are surviving today, in that as well as other provinces of Indonesia?

The above insights take us closer to the SE Asia region emotionally. But notwithstanding the same, we also need to look at the further possibilities of penetration, made available by absence of staunch Islam e.g. in Indonesia. I share below the first hand impressions gathered about the Indonesian model of Islam:

- I never came across a woman on the streets or other public spaces, clad in burqa, covering her face and/or the whole body, as is found in India, though over 50% of the womenfolk, both in Bandung as well as Jakarta, wore hijab.
- Spotting a man with the skull cap on, was a rarity. Interestingly, even inside a mosque hardly one third of the men wore their skull caps while offering namaz or otherwise and nobody seemed to bother.
- I toured a mosque (Masjid Cipaganti) in Bandung, which is a listed heritage structure. I noticed some college students & others smoking, sitting just outside the prayer hall.
- The other prominent mosque was 'Masjid Raya Bandung', close to 'Asia Africa Street'. It appeared more as a picnic spot than a holy place. The inside was largely vacant and the open space outside it, was packed with families busy eating & drinking.
- Interestingly, there wasn't a single board in Arabic in any public place anywhere, except in a mosque, that too symbolically. The Bahasa ruled everywhere, unchallenged.
- I checked at some restaurants whether the meats in their kitchen were 'halal' and if their customers (who largely were locals & Muslims) cared to check about that. The answer was that some of the meats were 'halal' on a given day, while some others were not and they informed their customers about that, if the latter cared to check.

All the above gives us a picture of a liberal Islam, which we do not find even in a supposedly secular country like India, let alone a nation where Islam is the State religion. The credit may however go to the many centuries of their Hindu past, having created that deep-rooted temperament for such tolerance and also being way too distant geographically, from the 'mainstream' Islam of the West Asian origin. Does that mean that the concept of pan-Islamism is completely absent in Indonesia? I guess not, as I happened to notice an incident where the Governor (Mayor) of Jakarta viz. Purnama (a Christian) was being framed for blasphemy of Islam, allegedly committed while campaigning for re-election. The said incident, leading to a public outcry, took place in Dec.'16. There was a court trial thereafter, which delivered the verdict of imprisonment of Purnama, for two years, in May'17. In the meantime, he lost the election, giving rise to a suspicion of a political coup having been pulled off through religion, successfully. Had it been Pakistan, he would have been executed.

In short, the ground is fertile in the SE Asia region for India, to make huge inroads through skillful public diplomacy, leveraging its soft power capital fully. However, the effort needs to be large-scale and quick-footed, taking into account the changing scenario, as noticed in the above-narrated Purnama episode.

A lot has already been written about China being an emerging world superpower, India being a regional power in the making, rivalry between the two and such things. Most of it touched upon the economics and / or the military, both being the areas where China holds a much superior position than India's. What is not much written is about the civilisational aspect of the said rivalry, where India stands a huge chance to surpass China.

Hegemony is the word that is often used to describe what China is doing and wants to continue doing in Asia w.r.t. its dealings with its neighbors. It for that matter has never even made an attempt to hide its such hegemonic intentions, from the world. It has many 'contentious' issues to deal with, within its immediate and not so immediate neighborhood.

Given this confrontationist attitude cultivated for decades, without demonstrating anything for the world to hope for any amends therein, it has pumped in fear within its neighborhood, beyond measure. On the other hand, it does not enjoy a very creditable past, on the strength of which it could pose as a real (read kind) big brother in this part of the world. It rather possesses a past when hoards of its own preferred to flee the homeland, thanks to persistent conditions of internal hostilities and persecution. Such oppressed ethnic Chinese communities then fled in different directions in different phases and landed in various territories of today's Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, Cambodia & Indonesia, making them their permanent home. So China's image in the entire South-East Asia has been far from being healthy.

Contrast this with that of India, which is perceived a father figure culturally throughout this part of Asia. You've read already about what I experienced and perceived in that context, as narrated above. The world also knows about how Thailand reverts its monarchy, who they call 'Ram', despite being a Buddhist country officially. We also have read the media reports a couple of years back, as to how it fought with its another Buddhist neighbor viz. Cambodia, over the ownership of a Shiva temple viz. Preah Vihear (original Sanskrit being, Priya Vihar) dwelling on their borders. Cambodia too is proud about the largest Hindu temple complex of the world standing on its land called Angkor Wat, which is its crowd-puller & major foreign

exchange earner. The said cultural heritage of the region doesn't stop at the temples and the Sanscritised names of its inhabitants. They even write their languages in the scripts derived from ancient Indian scripts. And most importantly, they love India, not fear. The reason for this notable love and absence of fear is due to the historical fact that all this Indian civilisational influence didn't come there as an imposition of the practices of the invaders, but it settled and evolved so peacefully and naturally, that they never felt it to be alien and rather embraced it happily.

Now it's time for some reality check. Although the SE Asia loves India, there is a room for doubt about their respecting India, in the measure as the latter may be deserving. It's commonplace knowledge that the mighty are respected in this world, which China is and India is not so much, mainly due to the Gunboat Diplomacy (use of conspicuous displays of military strength as a means of intimidation in order to influence others) practiced by China. Again the measure of might depends on two major parameters viz. the economic muscle and the military muscle. While India is working towards building both these muscles, it is not likely to achieve such a place of respect so soon. However, it shouldn't be feeling so much anxious about it (provided it continues to work relentlessly on those fronts), as far as it's able to cash in on its civilisational capital earned over centuries, throughout the region.

Obviously such thinking must have gone into the makings of 'Look East' and 'Act East' policies of the Govt. of India. However, various resources (particularly the right kind of human resources, in the form of think tanks, cultural missions, joint study groups etc., in addition to the career diplomats) need to be mobilised on a substantial scale, to fight and win the soft & long drawn civilisational or specifically the public diplomacy war, leveraging its soft power.

One may like it or not, in this world which has almost become unipolar today, tomorrow's claimant for that coveted position of the 'pole' is doubtlessly going to be China and if India by that time has strengthened its regional position through the civilisational game discussed above, it will in all probability, have arrived as a formidable rival to such a Chinese claim.

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Military History

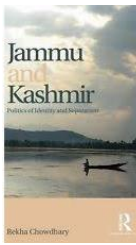
A crow would need to fly only 99 km from Phare Dazong (on the tip of Chumbi Valley) to Jalpaiguri. A Chinese composite Independent Mountain Division, rolling down from there, perhaps may need to fight a maneuver battle for about 230 km to reach Jalpailguri and cut off the entire North East. The Indian Army would have to fight a static retreating nodal battle, with odds of our 10: 1, while PLA, would have complete freedom to maneuver around our forces once they cross the passes. Therefore 'Chumbi Valley' for long has been a dagger pointing at our jugular vein & facilitates severing entire North East from the rest of India. Fortunately, Chumbi has so far been lightly held by PLA, nothing to frighten Jigme Khesar Namgyel Wangchuck, (King of Bhutan), Indian Army HQ, MoD or MEA. The Chinese had built an excellent Class 60 road from Lhasa to Gyangze (Gyantse), but the road axis further down towards Duxiang, Palizhen, Yadong to Phare Dazong, with sideways access to the passes in Sikkim (Kerang, Lachung, Nathu La and Jelep La), and Damthang in Bhutan, was in less than perfect state, denying rapid build-up of PLA forces into Chumbi to pose any military threat to Sikkim, Bhutan or the Chicken's neck area. This was the main reason why there was comparative peace in that area.

Recent discovery that the Chinese have built a Class 60 road up to Palizhen, and proposes to carry on to Phare Dazong, through the Doklam plateau (part of an inaccessible glacial area, demarcated with dotted line, as no man's land), is rather alarming. Chumbi valley is sparsely populated and such a heavy duty road below Gyantse has only one purpose, to destabilize the equilibrium of a fragile peace in that area (since 1962). Unfortunately India has no 'locus standi' since Doklam plateau is part of Bhutan, reason why MEA has been rather silent, and instead inspired Bhutan to react. To back them, it is only natural for CoAS to beef up 33 Corps and go on the offensive.

This road should not be allowed to be built, even if we have to blast the PLA effort with everything that we got (aka Lt. Gen. Sagat Singh did at Nathu La in 65 & to a lesser extent in 1967). Similarly, in 1986-88, Gen. Sundarjee reacted at Somdorong Chu, with a feint/ threat of a riposte from the Giagong plateau, boosted by Mechanised forces.

The blunder of not using our air- power, as Panditji did in 1962, should not be repeated. With the Air Force bases at Kalaikunda & Hashimara, this EDGE must also be exploited.

- Brig. S.M. Joshi, VSM (Retd)



Book Review: Jammu and Kashmir Politics of Identity and Separatism by Rekha Chowdhary

Jammu and Kashmir is unstable at least for last twenty-eight years. The recent elimination of Burhan Wani revived the violence and increased discontent in the valley. The security forces and the policemen of the state of Kashmir have borne the brunt of public agitations. Kashmiri youths hurling stones at military convoys and armed personnel especially after Friday sermons is common. A Kashmiri Muslim police officer, DSP Ayub Pandith was recently killed on the suspicion of being a Kashmiri Hindu agent of the state; Kashmir Pundits continue to raise voice against islamization in the valley. The state of India too has changed its stance towards Kashmir. The old cordon and search operations are now back in use. Over 92 militants have been eliminated in the first six months of 2017 itself. Militancy is crumbling once again after one year of Burhan Wani's death. Kashmir and news emanating from Kashmir have already captured wide attention. Kashmir is also a topic of clashing nationalisms.

We Indians, often attach a great deal of importance to the territory of Jammu and Kashmir. Many of the esteemed thinkers, historians and scholars in India have espoused the idea that India's identity as a secular state depends on Kashmir being part of India. For Pakistan on the other hand Kashmir is an unresolved issue from the time of partition. Pakistan wants to settle it once and for all but not in the way that UN has prescribed. On the other hand there is considerably strong sentiment supporting separation of Kashmir which exists simultaneously with the democratic electoral process in Jammu and Kashmir. In such conditions a clear understanding of problem in Kashmir is of utmost importance.

The book, 'Jammu and Kashmir: Politics of Identity and Separatism' authored by Rekha Chowdhary, (2016) gives us a good insight into the history of Kashmir. It comprises of three main themes or parts; 'Conflict in Kashmir: background factors', 'Militancy and Politics of Separatism' and 'Locating conflicts in Kashmir within the larger context of Jammu and Kashmir.' Under these three themes she covers a great detail.

In the first part of her book she has mainly elaborated the process of identity formation among Kashmiris and various twists and turns this process took. The changing nature of Kashmiri identity and various movements and political parties which represented this identity from time to time are discussed with impeccable factual correctness. Flawlessness as far as the facts are concerned is a constant feature of this book as the facts are put forth just cold and simple with little ideological underpinnings.

The book gives academic justice to all in Kashmir and their respective ideologies. Substantial information is provided about Sheikh Abdullah and his colleagues in the National Conference, Nehru and Congress and also of people who were on the other side of the spectrum, people like Syamaprasad Mukherjee. Their thoughts and acts have influenced the politics of not just Jammu and Kashmir but also of India as a union. In a more recent history separatists who later organized themselves under Hurriyat Conference and its numerous components acquired the center-stage. As far as democratic politics is concerned in the late 1990s, PDP emerged as an alternative to the NC with its soft and humane approach towards people, an approach

that was described as the 'healing touch' approach. All these political, militant and religious actors have got their due attention.

The second part of the book is perhaps the most significant one from conventional security point of view. In dealing with a subject as delicate and complex as 'Militancy and Separatism' the author has made a great effort of covering the most aspects of Kashmiri militancy. She studies an event, theme or development from various angles. Just to give an example, the militancy in Kashmir has been described with great caution paying attention to the most important events and causes that led to emergence of it. She explains under what circumstances and from which groups did it derive its support, what complexities and what kind of internal rivalry various militant groups had. The book exposes criminalization under the garb of militancy and the violence and fear perpetrated by them because of which a common liberal Kashmiri has suffered. The book also talks about Islamic radicalization and a part of militancy in Kashmir going hand in hand through her details of widespread attacks on liberal Muslims and violence against Hindus.

In the interim period, when the mass support for the militancy had drastically gone down, there was a feminist angle to women withdrawing their support to at least foreign militancy which has been articulated in this book. The otherwise blur lines of distinction between different militant groups get even obscure in the minds of Indians who are not aware of ground realities and political aspirations. It is really to the credit of the author that the book gives us a nuanced view of ideological inclinations and objectives of militant and mujahedeen groups.

The third and last part of the book sheds light on the internal social and sub-regional aspects of the state. It summarily touches the topics such as the political divide between Jammu and Kashmir, demands for regional autonomy. It also takes cognizance of issues of divided families, refugees from PoK and West Pakistan. An entire piece of the third chapter is dedicated to the peace process and contemporary politics in Kashmir.

The only flip side of the book is that it rarely reflects the opinion of the author in case of many seemingly controversial issues. All that a reader can do is to deduce it on the basis of choices that the author has made with regard to the words and topics.

The logic of not assuring autonomy to the state of Jammu and Kashmir and treating it at par with other states in the union did have some substance to it when the Maharaja of Kashmir approached India for military support. But once the autonomy has been accorded it becomes India's responsibility to protect it so long as the people of Kashmir get a chance to choose their political destiny. Rather it was a promise that India made to Kashmiris, that it will conduct a plebiscite. For any mature democracy keeping a promise that it has made to its people is of primary importance. It's true that unless Pakistan withdraws from the occupied territory there cannot be plebiscite. But if such a day comes, India shall not shy away from facing it. To the Indian conscience one fact should matter, that is, 'a plebiscite is due'. We should really think twice about the assumption, that Kashmiris are participating in India's electoral processes which tantamounts to their legitimacy to the state.

The author provides a deep insight into the Center-State relations, India's efforts to bring uniformity in its federal structure. 'Asymmetric relationship' of the state of Jammu and Kashmir with union of India and the state's divided existence between India and Pakistan (and China) have been two tough realities that Indians are yet to make peace with. Democratic and electoral processes in Kashmir are ridden with malpractices.

They run the risk of having scarce legitimacy. Kashmir, ever since it became a part of India has rarely seen free and fair elections. India being the largest democracy under the sun, has failed to install and strengthen the democratic institutions in the state. The problem in Kashmir has multiple facets. Unless and until the Indian state takes all of them into consideration, the resolution of conflict and stabilizing Kashmir will become more and more impossible. In general discussions on TV and through newspaper article it is often expressed that there is a great psychological gap between Kashmir and the rest of India. The perception of India among Kashmiris has always been shaped by what Delhi had been doing to them for years together. Delhi, for many years has been seen as the oppressing force which has been meddling with the internal affairs of the state notwithstanding the various agreements that it has had with the Kashmiri leaders and the Kashmiri populace. On the other hand the rest of India and their representatives in Delhi have definitely failed to understand the concerns of a normal Kashmiris and refraining them from taking up the guns. Having said so, the wave of radical Islam is very much visible in Kashmir. It certainly poses a threat to India. Indian government will have to come up with a formal policy to deal with the Kashmir issue. Steps must be taken to contain violence of any kind. The government has to strengthen the democratic institutions. It must strengthen the state government by giving some autonomy if not all that they have demanded. It will have a pacifying effect and will lead to reduction of space of separatist politics.

India has tried its hand in implementing militaristic measures but if the government has to win hearts and minds of people then they will have to find out political solutions to the problems in Kashmir. Beginning with negotiations with various groups would be a good idea in that direction.



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- Promote national security as every citizen's concern and responsibility
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- Reaching out to people in India and outside India effectively and efficiently and create responsible opinions on various cross border matters which can be dealt with alone from inside but in conjunction with people whom it matters from outside.

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