

INDIA FOUNDATION JOURNAL

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- National Security Management
- Strong Foundations for Nepal-India Friendship
- Deconstructing the Law of Sedition in India

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- Homeland Security 2016- Smart Border Management
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- National Seminar on Integral Humanism in Indian Thought
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- Sanjeev Sanyal's "The Ocean of Churn: How the Indian Ocean Shaped Human History"

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Editor's Note

Dear Readers,

India's rise as a leading power is being acknowledged by the international community. On the one hand, it would need sustained economic growth for years so that India can abolish extreme poverty and also emerge as a engine of growth for the global economy. On the other, India would need to proactively work to revise global governance norms. The latter would include reforming extant governance structures, for e.g., UN Security Council, Nuclear Supplier's Group, World Bank/ International Monetary Fund shareholding patterns, as well as establishing and sustaining new, participatory structures like the G-20 and BRICS.

India's active role at the Hangzhou G-20 summit has been appreciated; hosting the BRICS Summit in Goa gives India an opportunity to help build BRICS as a viable platform that could develop global governance norms in emerging fields like Climate Change, e-Commerce, trans-border monetary flows, for example. Further, the financing needs of developing countries cannot be met by existing multilateral development institutions, who have also developed very intrusive lending norms that cut at the very notions of sovereign decision-making. The BRICS-led New Development Bank which has an Indian national as its first president is set to give the existing institutions a run for their money.

India Foundation hosted a civic reception for the Prime Minister of Nepal Shri Puspa Kamal Dahal 'Prachanda'. His speech on the occasion clearly laid down the development and political convergence between the agendas of both countries, an eye-opener for many who see only dark clouds. This issue also carries Governor, Jammu & Kashmir, Shri NN Vohra's inaugural speech at the Homeland Security Conference jointly hoisted by India Foundation and FICCI. In addition, we have a factual but thought-provoking article on the evolution of the law of sedition in India besides reports of different events, book review etc.

India Foundation Journal wishes its readers a Happy Vijaya Dashmi, symbolising the victory of good over evil.



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India's Strategic Options and BRICS¹

*Shakti Sinha

Introduction

The BRICS summit in Goa scheduled for mid-October (2016) has spawned a number of events all over the country on a whole host of subjects. It would not be incorrect to say that the word BRICS has appeared in the media more often in the last two months than over the past 10 years. Post- Cold war and with the unilateral moment in international affairs seemingly over, does BRICS present India with a viable alternative to carve out its own geo-strategic space? Many Indian strategic thinkers do not appear reconciled to the increasing irrelevance of the Non Aligned Movement and stress on retaining strategic autonomy. There is a distinct discomfort with what is seen as India hitching its fortunes with that of the United States.

It is therefore necessary to understand what BRICS is before one can see whether it has a future? There is scepticism that an acronym (BRIC) that came out of a global investment firm (Goldman Sachs) to draw the attention of international investors to the potentialities of large emerging markets that were currently under-priced with possibilities of huge gains. These countries with large domestic markets had the potential to become engines of global growth but needed

sustained investments in infrastructure and productive investments, an attractive proposition for pension and long-term funds that were not looking for quick payoffs; such a relationship could benefit both once these economies could trigger sustained growth. But what is BRICS at present beyond an acronym? Samir Saran of the ORF very clearly explains, BRICS is not 'a trading bloc or an economic union, per se, nor a political union.' What brings these countries together is 'neither attractiveness of the economics of these countries nor a cosy ideological confluence.' It does, however, reflect a desire for a new multipolar world order.

Critics have pointed that BRICS members are 'dysfunctional misfits.' Their geopolitical compulsions have considerable variations with more dissonance than agreed agendas. Similarly, the structures of their economies have more competing and opposing interests than complementarities, e.g. China and India would like low petroleum prices while Russia's imperative is high petroleum prices. Similarly Brazil relies on high international prices of soya and maize which it exports to China, who would like to pay less for its food imports.

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¹This is an adapted excerpt of key note address delivered at the One Day National Seminar on 'Brick-Upon-Brick, For a Stronger 'BRICS': Challenges and Opportunities', hosted by the Centre for Latin American Studies, Goa University with the International Centre, Goa on August 12, 2016.

Emergence of BRICS

So what accounts for the continuance of BRICS, if increased salience is still not on the horizon? It would be necessary to look into the historical context in which BRICS emerged. Though the acronym was coined in 2003, one can really trace its origin in the political sense to 2008. The Afghan and Iraq wars had exhausted the United States and there was a major inward shift to American politics. The rise of Obama as a presidential candidate overcoming the far more internationalist Hillary Clinton reflected this shift. The collapse of Lehman brothers and Obama's subsequent sweeping win in the Presidential elections sealed this shift. (The rise of Bernie Sanders as a credible challenge to Hillary Clinton in 2016, and Trump's emergence as the Republican candidate to challenge her indicates that insularity not global inter-connectedness is still the most important pole in American politics. And the BREXIT vote is a sign that this phenomenon is much larger than what most analysts gave it credit for). Economically, the 2008 financial crisis led to a loss of confidence the US had in its abilities to affect global change far in excess of the physical loss it actually caused. What made it worse from the US point of view was that many others, like China and Russia saw it similarly.

In fact, globally this was seen as the end of the unipolar moment that the US had occupied since the fall of the Berlin Wall though it was still seen as predominant. This shrinkage of the US's abilities and confidence was attributed to the hubris of the Bush years. So while the US was able to lean on

China to get India the NSG waiver as part of the US-India nuclear deal in 2008, it had to do considerable heavy lifting, a sign that its influence was waning. Similarly, Russia could prevent President Saakashvili from ending the illegal status of North Ossetia and Abkhazia, parts of Georgia which functioned as de facto independent regions but the Russian army had to do so under the guise of 'peacekeepers, a fig leaf it would not need when it seized Crimea from Ukraine in 2013. Similarly, China made aggressive moves in the South China Seas (SCS), far in excess of its actions in the past, but did not precipitate matters, like the 2015-16 seizure and build-up of defence assets on 'islands' created by reclamation in different parts of SCS and its brazen disregard of the ruling of the Permanent Court of Arbitration in the case brought by the Philippines.

However, as the financial crisis unfolded and became contagious and the West was unable to reverse its affects, Russia and China saw this as a good opportunity to increasingly challenge the extant international system. China's ability to keep on adding capacity and capturing more and more of the western markets, running huge trade surpluses was unprecedented. This gave it financial resources that it used adroitly to invest in infrastructure and prestigious projects in developing countries across continents. It launched its One Belt One Road initiative by merging the New Silk Road and the Maritime Silk Roads initiatives. However, the situation is not as simple as it looks, with the BRICS countries themselves, by and large, mired in economic and political difficulties.

Status of BRICS' Economies

The Chinese economy is saddled with considerable excess capacities, with recent growth driven by public investments in non-viable infrastructure projects funded by the repressed financial sector. The shift from export-led growth to one fuelled by domestic demand is turning out to be much more difficult than expected, and but for the (unnecessary) investments across the country, the growth rate of the economy would be far below the expected 6.2%. Simultaneously, the success of President Xi Jinping in centralising powers has made him the arguably most powerful Chinese leader since Mao. This and the political purges carried out in the name of the anti-corruption campaigns threatens to upset that institutional arrangements that Deng Xiaoping had put in place to ensure collective leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, and by implication of the Chinese State. The apparent refusal to choose a successor anytime soon underscores the political tensions, which combined with economic stagnation could be potentially destabilising.

Brazil's economy was driven by exports to China and high petroleum prices, the unravelling of which has led to recession with no signs of recovery, not even little green spouts in any sector. The unprecedented political crisis with the impeachment of President Dilma Rousseff has left it with an unpopular caretaker government that is unable to break the political logjam needed to adopt necessary policies to restructure its economy.

Putin's political opportunism in the Ukraine and the ensuing economic sanctions would have hurt

Russia but when compounded by the collapse of petroleum prices led to a free-fall of the economy. While this has since stabilised, but not recovered, the Russian leadership needs political diversions to retain credibility. The armed intervention in Syria in support of the Assad regime while popular in the short-term could land up bogging Russia down in wars that no one would win. While Putin has adroitly brought, or bullied, Turkey into breaking away from the West insofar as Syria is concerned, the fundamental contradictions in the strategic objectives of both countries would ensure that the alliance is likely to be short-term.

South Africa, a politically correct add-on to the original BRIC, has the smallest, and weakest, economy amongst the BRICS nations. President Zuma is bogged down in corruption scandals and its economy is going nowhere. Other than optics, it has no reason for being grouped along with the others. If Nigeria could get its politics right, and improve its governance systems, it has the potential to become the engine of growth of Africa and a better claim to be seen as a major emerging economy. But that seems some time away.

India, under Prime Minister Modi, is the odd one out for the moment though in sheer impact on the global economy, it would continue to lag China for some time. However, in the short period of just over two years, it has demonstrated the imagination and willingness to create new instruments that has started delivering growth, a far cry from the policy paralysis and crony capitalism of the UPA days. A whole range of activities e.g., re-starting the infrastructure story, the emphasis on skilling India,

financial inclusion (Jan Dhan Yojana etc.), improving the investment climate, transparent access to natural resources (think coal, spectrum), cooperative federalism through enhanced devolution of taxes, Goods & Services Tax etc., have changed the mood and image whose real impact would only be felt over the medium term. No wonder, India is, and would remain, the fastest growing large economy for some time.

Expectations of China, India and Russia

In the face of an obvious economic rationale for the group, it is useful to try and understand why these countries meet as BRICS, which is a subset of their world view. China is not just the leading country of this grouping but also the only one with immediate international aspirations. Its actions and policies suggests that it is not in thrall of the existing world order having ridden it successfully to emerge as the second largest power, poses the USA a challenge that the erstwhile Soviet Union could never do. China's rise, as that of Germany in the last decades of the 18th century is hugely disruptive; the Soviet Union's heroic role in the defeat of Nazism enables it along with the USA to emerge as the only two real victors of World War, thought at huge human costs. This allowed the Soviet Union to become a very important rule maker of the post-War world order. China's effort to become a rule maker is not going to be readily accepted as there is no *Carta Blanca* waiting to be written upon. Its forcible seizure of atolls in the South China Seas and rejection of the

verdict of the order of the Permanent Court of Arbitration coming on top of other unilateral actions have caused trepidations in the neighbourhood. And made it less likely to win friends despite the seeming unlimited cash it is rolling out worldwide in infrastructure projects.

India, on the other hand, though hurt by past humiliations has never let history complicate its faith in its future. And since 1991, underscored the need to interact with the world to achieve its 'manifest destiny'; a tendency strengthened dramatically with the assumption of office by Prime Minister Modi. It has no wish to challenge the international order based on liberal principles of rule of law, even though it would like them tweaked to accommodate its rise, or recovery of past position. Hence the desire to become a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council, of the Nuclear Suppliers' Group and so on. However, it is not prepared to gatecrash and accepts that it would be though its emergence as a major economic power and as a provider of security in the Indo-Pacific that its case would be taken seriously. It remains prickly about formal alliances and accepts that while there may be strategic congruence with the USA, as there was with the Soviet Union for a while, ultimately each country must pursue its own interests.

For Russia, BRICS like SCO and the attempted Eurasian Union, represents its efforts to remain globally relevant even as economically it is a middle power unlikely to emerge as a major economy. The continued reliance of export of natural produce limits its ability to even retain its

traditional markets of Central Asia, which though largely dependent on remittances from Russia, are much more plugged to China economically. Russia itself frequently lands up looking like China's junior partner; the recent aggressive moves in Syria and challenge to the US should be seen in the light of Putin's moves at retaining a larger role for Russia in world affairs.

Conclusion

Has BRICS delivered? If no, or not sufficiently, should the grouping continue to exist? The reform of International Monetary Fund's quotas to better reflect China's, and to a lesser extent, India's economic weight, the establishment of the New Development Bank (NDB) and of the Contingent Reserve Facility is considerable achievements. However, the quotas would need further reforms going along and how credible the NDB emerges as a reliable and independent funding agency indicate that the journey are far from over. In fact the establishment of the China-promoted Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB), where unlike the NDB, it is the dominant shareholder signals China's discomfort at having to share power at multilateral forums. On the positive side, the rise of the NDB and the AIIB has forced the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank to simplify its lending norms; these so-called Safeguards were put in place to placate Western NGOs that saw themselves as speaking for the poor of the world since they mistrusted governments of developing countries who the NGOs saw as predatory. As a result, the autonomy of borrowers to frame their

own social and environmental policies was seriously compromised. Worse, in effect lending cost went up as borrowers had to undertake various interventions and processes that were time-consuming and costly. This has been slightly rolled back and if NDB and AIIB were to develop into major financiers of development, the World Bank and other multilateral development agencies would be forced to become more sensitive to the needs and circumstances of the borrowers.

Politically, BRICS did coordinate their positions on the Libya issue, preventing a full-fledged international military intervention but failed to prevent the disintegration of the State and the country. Similarly on Syria, the initial discomfort with foreign military involvement finally gave way in the face of the persistent conflict and the rise of the Islamic State. It must be accepted that there are limitations in how politically relevant BRICS as a grouping can ever become. As three of the members (Brazil, Russia and South Africa) have varying degrees of economic dependency vis-à-vis China, they can be left out of the discussion for the time being. China and India have as many issues of dissonance as there are of congruence, with the former becoming larger over the years as China seeks to expand its footprint over areas and issues that threaten India. Internationally, India is committed to freedom of navigation and therefore of keeping the Sea Lines of Communications open. China's unilateral moves are a serious challenge to this. Regionally, the continued use of Pakistan to keep India bogged down in its neighbourhood and to distract from its growth efforts far from

reducing seem on the ascendant with China's refusal to accept the naming of known Pakistani terrorists and the launch of the China Pakistan Economic Corridor that runs through India's territory in the illegal occupation of Pakistan. Prime Minister Modi's best efforts to isolate problem issues from others where cooperation should be further developed have not been reciprocated by the Chinese leadership, yet.

That, however, does not mean that BRICS should be disbanded or could have no role to play in global affairs. Technological disruption, Climate Change combined with the relative 'withdrawal' of the Western societies from globalisation poses substantial challenges to the growth stories and plans of BRICS, particularly China and India. Inward looking USA and the European Union lack

the capability and credibility to lead on these serious issues, e.g., e-Commerce, monetary flows, agricultural coping strategies and others. The WTO negotiations seem to be going nowhere, challenged by plurilateral arrangements like Trans Pacific Partnership and the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP). If the different components of BRICS are to achieve their geo-economic and geo-political goals, this grouping offers them a platform where they can develop common understanding and values that would contribute to global rule-making that is transparent, non-hegemonic and supportive of sustained economic growth. And for that BRICS would have to be sensitive to aspirations of its members and work in a spirit of partnership and equality.



BRICS and the Emerging World Order: The Game Changers of the Twenty First Century World Politics

*Nanda Kishor M S

The Twenty First Century world politics is witnessing a sea change in power calculus through the emergence of some of the major economies of the world in the form of BRICS. It leaves us with no doubt that this new phenomenon in International Politics has created a new constellation and has been challenging the existing notion of the super power on several fronts. It needs to be noted that the West has been constantly making an effort to put down the BRICS initiative through different propaganda and several academic writings. The Wall Street Journal came up with a series of articles warning the readers and investors across the world to be wary of growth and also not to get carried away. Today, BRICS together account for 30 per cent of global land, 43 per cent of global population, 17.3 per cent of the world's merchandise trade, 12 per cent of global commercial services and 45 per cent of the world's agricultural production and yet the West does not accept the fact that others are growing along with the United States and other developed economies. A question would emerge then - why is the West wary of the rise of BRICS?

The answer to the above question is quite interesting as it is not just the economy that is making the West to behave in a particular manner, rather it has to be credited largely to the courage

and effort from the BRICS nations to boost their economies and the confidence in their approach to the world order. If we look at the present scenario of the BRICS nations, on several counts it is challenging the present world order. Firstly, on the economic landscape; secondly, on the leadership component, and lastly, the alternate view on politics which they have discovered from within and have not borrowed from the West unlike in the past. Each of these issues need elaboration to make a case that these factors seem to be unsettling the West and making them to go out of their way to somehow destabilise BRICS as an entity.

If we look at India, China, Russia and to an extent South Africa with an exception of Brazil for the time being, all of these countries are doing well economically. India under the leadership of Narendra Modi, has found a new direction in its economy. Though there are detractors who would not want to give credit to his economic reforms, statistics prove otherwise. The present economic condition of India is considered one of the best since the adoption of the LPG by India (Liberalisation, Privatisation and Globalisation) strategy in 1991. One may argue that the economy during UPA I was also good but the conditions were different as the world financial crisis came only in 2008 and by then the UPA I was finishing its last

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lap of the term in office. By the end of UPA II, the economy had gone from bad to worse and the scam ridden government was unable to sustain growth in a scenario of high inflation. It is at this juncture that Narendra Modi had to step in and take the mantle of the country. The type of radical economic reforms Modi has been able to bring in whether it is the GST or transparent auction of the telecom spectrum, has put the country in the right direction ensuring high growth rate. No doubt that these reforms were also part of the mandate of the previous government. Unfortunately they were unable to garner enough support of the legislators and States and also to a large extent, willingness was lacking too. One of the senior economists of the country said, 'If the Monsoon in 2016 is as expected, then the first three years of Modi will be the best three years since 1996, and possibly the best three consecutive years for Indian economy since independence'. It is this achievement that West did not anticipate with regards to India and also did not expect radical reforms in the economic sector. India has been steadily growing at 7.6 %, though this was expected only in the beginning of 2016. The vibrant Make in India campaign and boosting the manufacture sector is a cause of concern for the Western market as they have had monopoly in certain sectors for centuries now.

Same is the case of China, which since 2006 has been the largest holder of foreign currency reserves, estimated in 2015 to be more than 3.8 trillion dollars. According to the International Monetary Fund (IMF), China's gross domestic

product (GDP) surpassed that of the United States in 2014, making it the world's largest economy in purchasing-power parity terms.

Even when there is constant propaganda against Russia from the West, there are some scholars who have taken realistic view of the economy and what Putin has done to Russian economy after Boris Yeltsin. One of the scholars opines that 'net private capital outflows in 2014 stood at \$150 billion, which is equivalent to 8 percent of GDP. This is a record high for Russia, a country well-known over the past couple of decades for its capital flight, owing to an erosion of the population's confidence of investing at home'. Yet the world goes blind as it wants to demonise Russia and its influence in the continent in particular and world in general. Another scholar says that 'according to data from Bloomberg, some 78 percent of Russian companies on the MICEX index showed greater revenue growth in the most recent quarter than their global peers did. And Russian companies on the whole are now more profitable than their peers on the MSCI Emerging Markets index'.

There can be an argument that the other two members, Brazil and South Africa, are in trouble and not doing so well. Similar is also the case of the European Union and yet it is accepted it as a success. The RIC (Russia-India-China) of the BRICS are capable of helping Brazil and South Africa. Also there is a hope that very soon with political stabilisation there would be recovery.

With regard to the second argument, namely the leadership component, the RIC countries have

probably the strongest leaders of the world at this juncture. United States, probably by default being the super power might want to call its President a strong leader but the RIC countries have leaders who are capable of speaking their mind and ability to back their words with deeds. Xi Jinping and Putin were anyway known as strong leaders whereas India has got one now in the form of Narendra Modi. Without any hesitation and probably with the lone exception of some of his detractors in India, the rest of the world has accepted him as one of the most charismatic leader, who is part of the agenda setting in the international affairs. Meeting with Barack Obama six times over last two years of him since coming to power proves that even Obama seems to be convinced of the leadership qualities of Modi. Xi Jinping is experimenting with his country and the people have accepted him. He is even hailed as the greatest after Mao by many. Jonathan Fenby says 'Projecting a folksy image domestically as "Xi Dada" (Uncle Xi), he appears popular, as a leader, with ambitions that match China's economic weight, the strongest chief of the world's most populous nation since Mao Zedong'. This is a considerable achievement in international politics to lead a country of the might of China. Putin has been made to look like a villain and also has been dubbed by the West as the next Hitler. Putin is much more strategic than Hitler; for that matter he is the Mr. Cool and task master in the international politics. One just needs to remember what he has done to Syria where the Western powers seem to have no clue about their mission.

Look at someone like Erdogan and see how he has succumbed to pressure and has gone back to Putin, and not to the Western powers, to fight the ISIS and extremists.

Though the spark of great leadership was seen in Dilma Rousseff and Zuma, off late these two have fallen prey to corruption charges. This is seen as the only rough patch in managing BRICS leadership. The RIC countries are confident than ever before to take the mantle and move further. This has been done so even when the two leaders of Brazil and South Africa have been in trouble.

The last argument to put forward is that of the alternate politics and ideology being provided by the RIC leaders of the BRICS. Putin has proved his mettle as a strong leader and has proved this against all his opponents in Russia and abroad. His politics is still not understood by many in the world; he has continued to remain as one of the strongest leaders of the world. He has strengthened United Russia as one of the strongest political parties in Russia. When everybody wrote Russia off, it was he alone who believed that he could bring stability to the political situation of his country. His tactics and manoeuvrings can be called as his politics from within. He is least bothered about the glorified concepts of the West. He has convinced his people to accept him as he is and he has proved through elections every time. Xi Jinping believes that China's "consultative democracy" - or system of consultative conferences - as the country's unique way of fostering public consensus and reaching out to citizens on important matters. He does not see democracy envisaged by the West as the model.

Though it may sound that China is an authoritarian country and it has to become democratic, the Chinese leader feels that the Western model need not be the only model. He is the one who has been able to be popular as a leader by taking up issues of corruption and many other evils of the society without copying everything from the West. The urge to come up with their own model and ideas itself is a point of departure from the hegemony of the West in some concepts based on ideology. In case of Narendra Modi, though he endorses the present day ideals such as democracy and human rights, he feels that these have been practiced and preached by India much before the West was a civilised society. He would every time get back to 'Vasudaiva Kutumbakam' and 'Ekam Sat Vipra Bahuda Vadanthi' rather than 'Liberty, Equality and Fraternity' slogan. He fought against all the odds that came in his way to the most powerful office of India. The West painted him as a villain with the Godhra incident, yet he did not spew

venom on them and grew beyond their expectation by embracing them and calling them good. This itself is seen as one of the biggest failures of some of the Western countries. His 'country first' slogan, Make in India to Clean India have gone past regular rhetorics used by the leaders of the world. His politics is not borrowed one but a genuine understanding of his country and the soil. This component of politics from within is highlighted to prove the point that these leaders are not in dearth of ideas and are capable of pulling their respective countries out of crisis.

The emerging world order is shaped by BRICS due to their capability to give alternate options to the present system in the world and that emerging world order would be shaping the politics of the Twenty First Century. Every step of BRICS, whether it is a bank or university or for that matter even thinking beyond the boundaries to create alternate politics from finance to literacy, would be the greatest point of departure in world politics.



BRICS Cooperation: At the New Historic Starting Point

*Ouyang

Introduction

The BRICS cooperation is at the crossroads, Initially tagged with five major emerging economies, it is now far beyond the original concept tailored for the financial markets. On the one hand, BRICS has rapidly become a new and promising political-diplomatic entity, explored different kinds of dialogue mechanisms covering economic, trade, finance, business, health, education, academic, combating transnational crime and security among others, enhancing the grouping's ability to shape global agenda. On the other hand, BRICS cooperation is facing some common economic and political challenges, with some Western analysts non-stop trying to "bury" the alliance, saying that it will inevitably fall to pieces because of the differences existing within the organization's framework. The fact is that BRICS cooperation is standing at a new historic starting point to reshape their cooperative strategy. BRICS needs to continue deepening their mutual-political trust, fulfilling the current consensus and transforming itself into an influential common voice.

The Common Challenges

With the rapid changes in the international economic situation, the world economy is slowly recovering, however geopolitical issues are still to

be settled. There are also lots of global challenges that are coming up. It is in this backdrop, that BRICS cooperation is faced with new situations and new problems. Firstly, the BRICS countries' economic growth are facing unprecedented challenges and they continue with the adjustment process; the complicated external economic environment continues exacerbating divisions in the BRICS countries' macroeconomic policies. Secondly, multiple dialogues leads to better understanding among five countries but are still far away from substantial cooperation which leaves the impression amongst the public that as far as BRICS cooperation was concerned, form prevails over substance. Therefore, BRICS could consider setting up a standing committee to prioritise agreements and ensure implementation. Thirdly, BRICS needs to deepen the areas of cooperation to build the confidence of the outside world about its future, properly handle the sensitive issues that could enhance the mutual-political confidence and help propel rapid development of the BRIC economies.

BRICS: Speak with One Voice

BRICS has become an important player in the international arena, having an influential voice in international discourse and in shaping the international agenda. This mechanism was

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established as a marked feature of the global multi-polarization in response to the needs of the time. It carries the burden of expectations not only of the people of BRICS countries, but also of those from emerging markets and developing countries. The BRICS members are committed to coordinating in multilateral forums with focus on economic and political governance. To deal with the complex and volatile international situation, BRICS countries should enhance their abilities to speak with one voice.

BRICS countries should improve the global economic governance. The volatile global stock market and energy prices are caused by the limitations of the global governance system which should respond to the international reality of developing countries' collective rise and reflect the changed international political and economic landscape. Consultation and decision making based on equality between developing and developed countries would make for historic progress. BRICS should continue to guide the international community to form rational expectations over cooperation in BRICS, help boost reform of global economic governance and elevate the representation and voice of emerging market countries and developing countries.

BRICS countries should advocate international cooperation in development. BRICS countries are active promoters of global development partnership. The Hangzhou Summit formulated the G20 Action Plan for the Implementation of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and proposed the G20 Initiative on Supporting

Industrialization in Africa and the Least Developed Countries. This highlighted development the most and yielding the best outcomes. BRICS countries should proceed to improve the global development partnership and urge developed countries to fulfil their promises of supporting developing countries. BRICS is playing a more and more important role in safeguarding world peace. In recent years, with efforts of all sides including BRICS countries, the Syrian crisis didn't repeat the tragedy in Libya and has moved on to the path of political settlement. The purposes and principles of the UN Charter have been maintained and an increasing number of countries are offering their support in establishing a new model of international relations with win-win cooperation as the core. BRICS countries need to continue to promote dialogues and negotiations and solve hotspot issues through peaceful and political measures.

BRICS: Reshape Confidence to Lead the Global Economic Growth

BRICS cooperation has already gained historic achievements and should continue its leading role in promoting world economic growth and implementing the sustainable development agenda. BRICS should reshape its confidence to lead the global economic growth and make concerted efforts to push forward the reform on global governance and cope with global challenges together. In face of the complicated international situation, BRICS should stay confident and determined to handle challenges together, give firm support to each other and launch innovation

cooperation in order to let the BRICS cooperation burst out stronger vitality. Also, BRICS countries should continue promoting the establishment of a fairer and more just international order and stepping up coordination and cooperation on major political and economic issues, so as to tackle all kinds of global challenges together and build a favourable environment for the development of all countries.

After a decade of development, BRICS cooperation has gradually grown in strength. The five countries have also exchanged views on international counter-terrorism cooperation, the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, climate change, the Middle East situation and peacekeeping in Africa, forming an all-round and multi-layered cooperation framework that covers extensive areas and setting an example for cooperation among emerging market countries and developing countries. These years have witnessed effective cooperation in different fields including people-to-people and cultural exchanges, agriculture, railway and tourism among BRICS countries. BRICS countries should reinforce cooperation in innovation, digital economy, poverty reduction, public health and other areas. All countries should ratify the Paris Agreement as early as possible and fulfil relevant commitments on emission reduction. All parties should deepen the BRICS cooperation and support such initiatives as the BRICS credit rating agency, the New Development Bank Academy and the agricultural network.

BRICS: To Enhance the Mutual-Political Confidence

Over the past few years, BRICS has made big progress over the economic and financial cooperation. With the support from BRICS countries, the G20 Hangzhou Summit has achieved a complete success, charting the course for the global economy. However, down the road BRICS cooperation would seem to face rising geopolitical risks which could badly influence the mutual-political trust among the BRICS members. Lacking mutual trust, powers usually come into increasing structural conflicts which would be reflected in: Sino-Pakistan 'quasi-alliance', China's 'March West' and India's 'Act East', also the quadrangle of China, India, Russia and United States.

It is hoped that such cooperation could be further deepened as the BRICS working together towards a cooperative strategic partnership. BRICS countries should condemn terrorist attacks together and join efforts in combating terrorism, and strengthen confidence in growth and boost coordination within the emerging-market bloc so as to jointly cope with global challenges. Last but not the least, standing at a new historic starting point in BRICS cooperation, the BRICS countries should respect mutual core interests in order to promote friendly people-to-people exchanges. Next year China would assume the rotating presidency of the BRICS mechanism, and as the five BRICS members have strong willingness to push forward the BRICS cooperation, this mechanism would continue to achieve the fruitful results.



A New India's Story in BRICS¹

*Tulasidas Pai

Introduction

As of 2016, the five BRICS countries represent over 3 billion people, or 42% of the world population. All five members in BRICS are in the top 25 of the world by population, and four are in the top 10. China is now the 'factory of the world' and has risen to become the world's second largest economy. Brazil is a major exporter of myriad natural resources. Being a leader in defence manufacturing, petroleum products and permanent member of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), Russia holds an enviable position in global affairs. South Africa is seen as a gateway to the African continent. As the fastest growing economy, India is now the most sought after destination for foreign investors; its domestic market has recently joined the consumption bandwagon, paving the way for a robust future. BRICS has become a near universal financial term. Jim O'Neill could not have been more accurate with the prediction he made in 2001.

While all these countries have enjoyed phenomenal growth (China since the 1980s and all of them from the beginning of this millennium), there is another aspect of governance that affects BRICS: the curse of stark inequality in BRICS' societies. Economic growth alone has failed to eliminate poverty. Crash in prices of natural

resources has unleashed a crisis in Russia and Brazil. China is grappling with a slowdown for the first time in three decades and its debt problem could lead the next cycle of global economic recession. This puts at the risk the future of a billion plus people who are on the brink of poverty. However, India appears to be an outlier. This article throws light on the holistic efforts undertaken by India to ensure inclusive growth.

India's economic liberalisation began 25 years ago owing to the extraordinary leadership skills of the then Prime Minister, P.V. Narasimha Rao. He unleashed market linked reforms and reduced the power of the state despite strong opposition within his own party. A decade down the line, Atal Behari Vajpayee as the Prime Minister undertook sector wise reforms, from telecom to infrastructure. This enabled India's growth, spearheaded by forces of financial, technological and trade globalisation. India's corporate sector rose up to the challenge and took on global giants, even acquiring assets in developed economies. As a result, a strong middle class emerged in the country. With the growth in revenues, governments introduced several pro-poor schemes. In 2014, Narendra Modi won the General Elections with a promise of running an administration that cares for the interests of both rich and poor alike. 'Sabka Saath, Sabka Vikas' was the election slogan. The effort has been to

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¹This is an adapted excerpt of a talk delivered at the One Day National Seminar on 'Brick-Upon-Brick, For a Stronger 'BRICS': Challenges and Opportunities', hosted by the Centre for Latin American Studies, Goa University with the International Centre, Goa on August 12, 2016.

plan and implement welfare schemes efficiently. This presents interesting lessons in inclusive growth and sustainable development for the societies and economies of BRICS countries.

J-A-M Trinity

One of the most important aspects of development is financial inclusion. A cash economy hurts the poor the most. For masses to reap the benefits of economic growth, access to formal banking is an absolute necessity. India embarked on achieving this via bank nationalisation in 1969, but the goal of a bank account for all has been achieved only now in 2016.

Financial inclusion was attempted through a targeted drive by the Union Government under the banner of 'Pradhan Mantri Jan Dhan Yojana'. The task was to enrol 75 million households under the ambit of formal banking. The bank accounts opened under this scheme came with a zero balance facility, a life insurance cover and a debit card. This meant that people at the bottom of the economic pyramid - micro entrepreneurs and daily wage labourers - could safely deposit their money, avail government schemes and apply for a loan at a lower interest rate than charged by local money-lenders. Also, the Accidental Insurance Cover at a cost of 1 Rupee a month comes across as a major safety net for the poor. Beginning with near zero deposits in 'Jan Dhan' accounts, in May 2016, India had around \$6 Billion in these accounts.

The second initiative towards financial inclusion was 'AADHAR', a Unique Identity Number and Card that contained all the details of every resident of India. Aadhar was started in 2009 under the

leadership of Ex-CEO of Infosys, Nandan Nilenkani, who was keen on harnessing technology for socio-economic development. Having understood its importance, the Government, in 2016, legislated it as an Act, thereby granting it legal sanctity. The Act itself is named '*THE AADHAAR (TARGETED DELIVERY OF FINANCIAL AND OTHER SUBSIDIES, BENEFITS AND SERVICES) ACT*'. With a fool-proof identification system in place, the Government has begun to seamlessly transfer subsidies directly into the bank accounts of beneficiaries. The distribution of LPG Cylinder subsidy is now completely on this platform. Prime Minister Modi even made a clarion call to rich/middle-class people to give up that subsidy. Millions responded positively. These efforts have resulted in annual saving of more than \$2 Billion for the Government.

The third pillar of growth has been 'Mobile'. There are close to a billion active mobile connections in India. Tele-density is over 80%. Around 400 Million people are already using internet on mobile. Half of them use it on smart phones. These statistics reveal the plethora of opportunities for achieving financial inclusion and e-governance. National Payments Corporation of India has developed Unified Payments Interface which would take the power of smart phones to its next level, making instant money transfers an every-minute possibility. Moreover, many start-ups are building financial products specifically aimed at the lower middle class and the poor. Whether it is through keeping gold as collateral or assessing the credit worthiness of a customer using digital

data, millions at the bottom of the pyramid are being provided with timely finance by private lenders swiftly and at affordable rates. The Reserve Bank of India has also granted license for Payments Bank. No surprises that PayTM, a mobile wallet platform, has usurped the market.

With majority of people in formal banking system and the power of technology, India is in a position to go ahead with Direct Cash Transfer across a host of sectors and regions. With subsidies costing around 3% of the GDP, and historically billions being lost to corruption, J-A-M is setting the foundation for a robust future.

Agriculture

Since independence, agriculture was subjected to the most minimal reforms. While cruising on the backbone of growth in manufacturing and services, governments generally neglected agriculture. Over 50% of India's population is dependent on a sector that contributes just around 16% of the GDP. To overcome the problems, the Finance Minister in the Union Budget for the year 2016-17 assured to double agriculture income by 2022. A slew of measures have been initiated.

First, Minimum Support Prices are being increased each year. This is a major incentive. Secondly, for products which government does not procure, farmers have been given direct access to consumers by doing away with the compulsion to sell their produce via controlled markets only. This has resulted in higher earnings for the farmers and lower prices for the consumers. Third, insurance for crops have been introduced at bare minimum prices. Fourth, irrigation facilities have been

expanded. With many states in the country being drought prone, crop insurance and better irrigation are extremely important for marginal farmers. Finally, network of cold storage units have been strengthened, allowing farmers to store their produce and sell at opportune times.

These measures have been supplemented with the use of technology. Updates on weather and crop prices help farmers to make informed choices. With a normal monsoon this year, Indian farmers are already staring at a bumper harvest. Most importantly, the sowing of pulses has increased at a staggering rate. This proves that incentives and information provided by the government are working, and will further reduce inflation.

Micro and Small Medium Enterprises

There are around 58 Million Micro Enterprises in India. They along with the informal sector generate 9 out of every 10 jobs. Yet, they were denied credit by mainstream banks. Hence, the government introduced the MUDRA Bank. While 'Banking for the Unbanked' was achieved through 'Jan Dhan', MUDRA Bank was about 'Funding the Unfunded'. A "Made in India" innovation for funding micro business, it registers, regulates and refines all small business finance institutions. With close to \$20 Billion being disbursed each year to small entrepreneurs and self employed, MUDRA Bank is unleashing inclusive growth better than anything else.

Labour

India has the unenviable task of improving the

status of present workers and generating 500 million jobs over the next decade. The government is using a multi-pronged approach to achieve the targets. Firstly, it has emphasised the need for growth in the manufacturing sector in the GDP through 'Make in India'. While promoting Indian entrepreneurs to grow, MNCs are also being lured to invest in India and transfer technology. Secondly, a separate Skill Development Ministry has been formed to facilitate the training of a million plus youth each year. All types of skills and trades are being encouraged. Third, workers in the informal sector are being ushered in to a safety net through voluntary pension and healthcare schemes. Fourthly, apprenticeships are being pushed in the corporate sector.

Slowly, yet steadily, draconian labour laws are being amended to enable the creation of enterprises that employ hundreds of workers in a single unit. For decades, India has been home to millions of companies that are merely dwarfs.

Infrastructure

When the new regime took over in 2014, 18000+ villages in India were yet to experience electricity. So far almost 25% of those villages have received power and by 2020 every home in the country would get electricity. Rural roads are being laid at a fast-pace alongside the network of national highways. Railway services are being extended to the remotest part of the country. The number of trains and their speed is being systematically increased.

With close to 40% of the population now living in urban areas, housing for poor remains a concern.

It is being addressed through large scale affordable real estate development subsidised by the government. Also, through the new Land Acquisition Policy, owners are compensated with at least 3 times the market price by the government. This trade-off gives the state land for infrastructure development and earns a hefty sum to those who wish to exit agriculture.

The government is ushering in a bottom-up revolution rather than simply pursuing the easier top-down approach. Prime Minister Modi has stated on record that he does not follow any particular economic ideology and has made pragmatism the *mantra* of his regime. This means that the government is ready to accept suggestions from all sections of the intellectual spectrum and pursues policies because it benefits the masses. For inclusive growth, this ideological flexibility is an absolute necessity.

India and BRICS

When BRICS was first conceptualised as a bloc that would lead the global economic growth march, and subsequently became a multilateral platform for cooperation across sectors, it seemed natural for India to be a part of it. With each country in the group, India shared a strong bond already. India borrowed the idea of socialism from erstwhile Soviet Union. Over the years it became a major supplier of defence products. Despite being a founder of NAM, India tilted towards the Soviet Union during the Cold War. Close ties with Russia have continued. Brazil is a gateway to Latin America.

China being a neighbour became an inseparable

part of national discourse in India. Its miraculous growth led to a deluge of manufactured goods exports to India. Though miniscule in comparison, India in turn exported natural resources such as iron ore to support the massive infrastructural development in China. Cricket, Commonwealth, Migration, Trade, Sea-Route and the message of peace championed by Gandhi-Mandela have strengthened India-South Africa relations ever since independence.

With the growth of internet and global capital flows, India's ties with BRICS blossomed. India's trade with China stands at \$60 Billion Dollars, second only to the United States which is at about \$100 Billion Dollars. Even though the 'Make in India' campaign seeks to change the dynamics, as of now almost every smart phone bought in India is manufactured in China. Chinese exports of products, ranging from steel to firecrackers, at ultra-cheap rates are a cause of major concern for Indian policymakers and corporates. In the case of Brazil, the growth is significant. Major Indian multinationals such as Infosys, Wipro, Mahindra, Birla Corp, Reliance Industries, etc have set up base in the country. India is now gaining confidence that it can do business in Latin America, courtesy the success in Brazil. There are similar story repeats in the case of South Africa and Russia.

The relations between India and the other countries of BRICS do not stop at trade and business. There is the governance and people angle as well. Tourism is rising at an exponential rate between the countries. Russia, South Africa and China are today favoured destinations for Indians. The drastic fall in air fares and increased

connectivity via West Asia is enabling Indians to consider travelling to Brazil for leisure. It is reciprocated by growth in tourists visiting India as well. At the same time, inter-governmental coordination is improving. China presents a role-model for development of infrastructure, especially in urban areas. India's Smart-City Mission is relying heavily on the Chinese success stories. So is the case with the ease of doing business. And the learning is quick. India saw the fastest rise among BRICS nations in WEF's latest Global Competiveness Index. '*Bolsa Familia*' and other similar programs in Brazil were used to make a case for cash transfers in India. Sports is another area of cooperation gaining attention.

Finally, China and Russia being permanent members of UNSC, and significant geo-political powers individually, India has used the BRICS platform to further its cause on important matters such as the Anti-Terrorism agenda and nuclear policies. India's attempt to lead the Climate Change negotiations and International Solar Alliance too gathered momentum owing to its presence in BRICS. India also won the right to Presidency for the first six years of BRICS New Development Bank, signalling a major shift in global economic diplomacy.

Conclusion

Questions will be raised as to how India sets an example in ensuring inclusive growth when its per-capita income is significantly less than the rest of BRICS and it still grapples with a lot of challenges. The answer is in the foundation of the success of BRICS nations. Russia's per-capita

income rose 10 times in the decade beginning 2000. This was possible solely on account of oil exports. With oil prices falling to levels below \$50, it spells doomsday for the Russian economy. Despite not having nurtured globally competitive manufacturing companies, Russia boasts of a high number of billionaires. Similar story repeats itself with Brazil which grew due to boom in prices of all natural resources. Today it is experiencing political crisis and inflation is unsustainably high.

Leaders of both the countries assumed that the boom would continue forever and framed welfare policies accordingly. The macro-economic uncertainty hits the poor people the hardest. ANC's vote share in local elections in South Africa was the lowest since the end of Apartheid. This is a sign of growing disenchantment with the government on account of unsatisfactory economic performance.

China's story though has been miraculous. Thirty years of consistent boom in the economy is a new benchmark in economic growth. However, it has been led by a Communist State which does not believe in transparency. As a result, no foreign agency can certify its financial health. China has always spent its way out of misery. This is no longer possible as excess infrastructure expenditure has led to creation of ghost cities. Rising wages are prompting investors to relocate factories elsewhere. Inflation and unemployment can lead to social unrest. When China's authentic debt data

is published, it could spiral into another global crisis. China cannot take its growth for granted anymore.

This is where India is different. Macro-economic stability is of utmost importance to the Government. There is every effort being made to efficiently deliver welfare schemes. Even though social sector spending is humongous, the fiscal deficit is under control. Government and central bank have together successfully tamed inflation. Private as well the public sectors are strong. Regulations of the financial markets are based on global standards, thus ensuring credibility. Domestic market demand makes up for the dip in export, if any. All sectors of the economy are being promoted, be it agriculture or services.

These measures mean India's economic growth can be sustained at a high level for decades and that growth would be inclusive. With per-capita income just around \$2000, the potential for the future is tremendous. India is celebrating 25 years of reforms and is preparing ground for further liberalisation. It is not basking in the limelight of past successes alone.

Untiring efforts are being put to improve our performance on ease of doing business, competitiveness, innovation, reducing corruption, etc. If BRICS has to be sustained for long, the countries would have to recognise the strengths of their society and economy; rather than being forever dependent purely on foreign factors for growth. This is a new India's story.



National Security Management¹

N. N. Vohra

For too long now there has been a general sense or general understanding amongst the people of India that the security management is the business of the central government or more particularly the Ministries of Defence and Home. But smart border management is not possible unless the whole country is involved in security management. Border is one segment of security management. We often use the words unity and integrity of the country. If we set the connotation that the citizens of India have the enormous responsibility of contributing to the preservation of unity and integrity of India in protection of its territorial integrity, there is a lot that can be done in terms of redefining mindsets. And that is what is needed to secure smart border management. Effective border management is not possible unless the whole country is involved in security management.

We have nearly 23,000 kilometres of land and sea borders. We have on our maritime borders nine little states, two union territories, what I may add to this is we have almost 1200 islands and seven million square kilometres of exclusive economic zones which also need to be guarded just beyond our coastline. We don't discuss our aerial borders; they are managed by the air force.

By the end of the Second World War, the general belief was that the world would be a

peaceful place to live in. The founding fathers of our Constitution did not fathom the extent of aggression and competitiveness that would emerge in all its geo-political implications with respect to border limits. Therefore, the Constitutional ambit of securing the nation and our borders were defined, and rest with specific institutions.

The Constitution stipulates that the defence of India, and all parts thereof, shall be the responsibility of Union or the Government of India. The constitution also enjoins that the Union shall protect the States against war and external aggression and also against internal disturbances.

It is not enough to guard just the border but also the hinterland. If the hinterland is disturbed, guarding the border becomes a far more difficult proposition than it otherwise would be. The Constitution lays down that the States of the Union shall raise, train and maintain an adequate, effective, professional, civil and police service to maintain law and order across the length and breadth of the country.

After the Chinese war, the Parliament decided to set up the Indo-Tibetan Border Police, particularly for guarding of the Himalayan borders. After the 1965 war, the Parliament decided to set up a special force called the Border Security Force for guarding the western frontiers. At the borders, there is a mixture of forces deployed. In the north-

¹This article is the gist of the speech delivered by Mr N. N. Vohra, Hon'ble Governor of Jammu and Kashmir at the Conference on 'Home Land Security 2016 – Smart Border Management' jointly organised by India Foundation and FICCI on 6th September, 2016.

east we have a large scatter of the Assam Rifles, one of the oldest security forces in the country, set up at the time of the British. We have the ITBP and the BSF. We have the Seema Suraksha Bal. At moments of heightened problems, other forces are also used to do border guarding. In terms of the Constitution and administrative arrangements, Army is the final guardian of the frontiers supported by the ITBP, BSF and such other forces. Coastal borders had so far been neglected.

In 1993 I happened to be in the home department. Earlier when we quickly reviewed what happened in Bombay, how did three tons or more of RDX get transported, got landed on the western coast, off loaded and then loaded into vehicles, brought all the way to the Maharashtra capital Bombay, who did it with whose assistance, with whose involvements did all this happen? We found out that we did not have on the coastline, leave aside the maritime police, any kind of force to even see how many fishermen in their boats went out in the sea, when did they go out, how many of them came back or didn't come back, how many got lost or drowned, what other boats were coming and landing on the coast etc. So despite the intelligence coming out with the information that three tons of RDX or more had been brought by boats from Pakistan coast, we could not do much about it. Since then, the maritime police, state maritime police became our focus.

It is significantly important to see that the people living around the borders and behind the borders are taken care of. If we have a satisfied border community that contributes positively to the

work or border force or border management, it goes very long way in extending strong support to the army and BSF in terms of supply of information and logistical support.

During the 1965 war, we did not have a very large army or developed infrastructure. We did not have enough vehicles or enough budget for defence. Hundreds of civilian trucks loaded their goods on the grand trunk road. Ordinary people carried ordnance material to the frontier. Vegetables, fruits were loaded with ammunition consignments. The kindness and support which came from the border communities could not be ignored.

In Jammu and Kashmir, infiltrations are attempted throughout the year across the high, snow mountains, the plains, river beds and drains. Therefore, if the frontline force does not succeed because of the mountain, terrain and geography in apprehending anybody who seeks to come in, highly trained militants and terrorists penetrate the hinterland. It becomes the responsibility of everybody physically present in that area, sector, subsector to offer great amount of coordination and collective effort in order to secure the borders.

Borders need much larger investments, allocations and attention. From 2012 onwards we had four successful attacks from Pakistan into our territories. We have deficiencies along the borders. We need a national security policy which details on security management. We need enormous involvement and cohesive coordinated functioning between the centre and the states on national security management.



Strong Foundations for Nepal-India Friendship¹

Puspa Kamal Dahal 'Prachanda'

I feel honoured for being felicitated amidst this august gathering by the India Foundation on the occasion of my State Visit to India. This is a rare privilege and I do not have words to express my gratitude.

I am equally thankful to the Foundation for giving me the opportunity to share my thoughts on Nepal-India partnership for 21st century at this gathering of intellectuals and luminaries from different walks of life.

It was back in September 2008, I embarked upon my first visit to India as Prime Minister of Nepal. That was a historic visit, a visit from the first Prime Minister of Republican Nepal. The visit provided us with an opportunity to cultivate friendly relations with Indian leaders and to explore the new avenues of cooperation in the context of vastly changed political landscape of Nepal.

The memory of that visit is infused with the affection shown by the friendly people of India; with the assurances of support and cooperation expressed by the leaders of India.

And as I am visiting your country second time as prime minister, exactly after eight years, the affection has got more generous; the assurances have got more genial; enthusiasm is enormous; and hope is high.

My life has been a journey of struggles. Struggles to dismantle the clutches of feudalism,

of autocracy. Struggles to set the democracy free from the shackles of tyranny. Struggle for people and their rights. Struggles against the social discrimination. Struggles against the despotism in all hues.

In my struggles I had always carried two weapons with me. Two most powerful weapons – determination and optimism.

Determination for vibrant present,
Optimism for better future,
Determination for change,
Optimism for development.

These resolves have been tested on many occasions. I have witnessed the setbacks; encountered the hurdles; and experienced the obstacles. However, my hope and enthusiasm could not be shaken up. My determination did not die. My optimism did not succumb to cynicism.

I have faced the ebb and flow of politics. However, my quest for change, my determination for progress, couldn't be drained away.

India is our close neighbour. Our two countries, Nepal and India, have an immemorial history of harmonious co-existence. We are connected by geography as well as history, by our religions as well as culture.

Our relations are sanctified by the wisdom of saints and sages. Our bonds are strengthened by connectivity as well as commerce.

¹This article is the gist of the the speech delivered by Puspa Kamal Dahal 'Prachanda', Hon'ble PM of Nepal on the eve of civic reception in his honour hosted by India Foundation on 11th September, 2016.

Our relations began even before the history began to be recorded; they began in the dawn of human civilization in this part of the world.

Our friendship stands on the bastion of good will – good will emanating from the people of Terai, Pahad, and Himal.

The foundation of relations between our two countries rests on cordiality, goodwill, cooperation and mutual respect for sovereign equality. Peaceful coexistence defines our stable friendship.

As friendly neighbours, our two countries have been aware of each other's concerns and sensitivities. Nepal has not allowed its land to be sued against the sovereign interests of India. We are firm in our resolve to maintain that position. And it is natural that we expect similar assurance from India.

Today, in the 21st century, our age-old relations have emerged as more extensive, and multidimensional. The depth of relations has been enriched and the scope of cooperation has been broadened.

The depth of our relationships cannot be fathomed merely through the formal relations between the two governments. The people-to-people interactions and exchanged are at the core of our relations. The open border between our countries dictates us to share a bond of good friendship forever.

As the world sees new walls and barriers, ours can be an example of free movement of people.

As the world sees new conflicts and animosity, ours can be an example of unique amity.

True, we have seen some intermittent glitches

in our relations. But they are mere aberrations. The transient aberrations have no potency to dilute our relationship.

True, we have seen some misunderstandings on both sides. But they cannot hold our mutual goodwill in hostage.

As the world sees the insular fences that are hostile to dialogues, ours can be an example of open and constant exchanges.

True, we may not agree on all of the issues. But our differences cannot hijack the prospect for collaboration.

And the history implores us to take our relations to newer vistas of opportunities, to newer heights of mutual benefits, to the novel territory that suits the intricacies of 21st century.

India is the land blessed by noble saints and sages, learned *rishis and munis*. It is the land of Gandhi – the apostle of non-violence. It is the land of Swami Vivekananda – the key figure to promote Vedanta as well as inter-faith awareness. It is the land of Tagore – an epitome of art and literature. It is the land that has conceived many other geniuses who inspired the human civilization.

As the largest democracy in the world, India has an important role to play in global affairs to make the world order just and democratic.

This century belongs to Asia. And India has an important role to make the 21st century an Asian century. The astounding strides made in the industrial development; the inspiring examples unleashed in the field of invention and innovation; the pioneering progress in IT; the remarkable growth of the economy all of those are set to put

India on the global forefront.

The illustrious journey of India as a major economic powerhouse is an inspiration for me and my country.

The splendid stride of India as a nation of innovators is an encouragement for me and the people of my country.

The impressive march of India as the global hub of IT and digital economy is a stimulus for the young generation of my country.

It is my belief that the development trajectory of India will further succeed under the able leadership of Prime Minister Modi.

For Nepal, India remains the largest trading partner. However, the problem of bilateral trade deficit looms large. We need to focus our attention to diversify our trade basket and scale up the volume of exports from Nepal.

To increase the flow of good and augment trade, we need to invest in infrastructures and streamline the procedures.

India has extended generous assistance to finance development endeavours of Nepal. It has helped to diversify our economy, build up the infrastructure, and enhance our industrial base. However, there is much to do to scale up our economic cooperation.

To further intensify the economic cooperation, we must create the stories of success; we must translate our pledges into performance.

Nepal and India are endowed with resources, both natural and human. The 21st century should not be the mere century of potential and resources – lying untapped and dormant.

The abundance of resources needs to be transformed into the opulence of wealth. That transformation will trigger the development.

Potential needs to be unleashed for prosperity. That unleashing of potential will propel the prosperity.

And that transformation can excel only at the behest of closer partnership and stronger commitment.

Nepal's hydropower development is an important sector for bilateral partnership. It will benefit the people and industries of both of our countries. It is my belief that Nepal's hydropower, if developed properly, will not only help transform Nepal's economy, but at the same time can contribute to 'Make in India' initiative launched by Modi in September 2014.

To accelerate the investment in hydropower projects, we have to implement the Power Trade Agreement, which we had signed back in 2014. We need to ensure unrestricted market access on both sides in order to convince the investors. We may think of going sub-regional to promote energy cooperation, and I see a better prospect within the framework of BBIN.

The people of Nepal stood by India during its struggle for independence. Today, they are standing by the people of India in their quest for development.

India remains one of the most preferred destinations for students from Nepal. The prestigious institutions, high-quality academic ambience and ever evolving innovative rigor of Indian universities and schools have lured students

from Nepal. This has facilitated the sharing of ideas, connected the minds and has brightened up the prospect for collaborative future.

Thousands of Nepali nationals are working in the Indian job market. They have contributed to the economic development of India. And the remittances they bring home have equally helped the economy of Nepal.

Similarly, a sizeable Indian workforce is in Nepal. Some are engaged in semi-skilled sectors. Some are employed in skilled sectors. Their contribution is mutually rewarding to both our countries.

This exchange of workforce is not just the exchange of people. It is the exchange of skills and exchange of experiences.

This flow of remittances is not just the flow of incomes. It is the flow that links our two economies; it is the flow that feeds several thousands of families in both countries.

Nepal is an attractive destination for Indian tourists. Attracted by the natural heritage as well as religious sites, Indian tourists have contributed to Nepal's economy.

Similarly, India is an attractive destination for Nepali tourists and pilgrims too. The beautiful heritages of this large country and its pious shrines have enticed a large number of Nepalese.

These phenomenon of visits, for vacation as well as veneration, have been the vehicles of familiarization with each other's countries, interaction among the people. The air connectivity, direct bus services and open border have augmented this exchange.

To enhance the flow of people, for enterprise as well as tourism – we need to further expand air connectivity and road linkage.

To infuse our relations with more substance; to imbue our friendship with more harmony; to make our relations mutually rewarding; and to contextualize our relations as per the needs of 21st century.

We need to build on our commonalities.

We need to engage in dialogues to enhance understanding.

We need to synergize our engagements.

And, we need to capitalize on our strengths.

When the devastating earthquake struck Nepal last year, India acted promptly and spontaneously for the rescue and relief of victims. At the difficult hour of national tragedy, people of India stood by us. That reflected the closeness of our relations.

I once again express my thankfulness to the Government and people of India for the generous assistance they extended in times of crisis.

I also thank the Government of India for its generous pledge for the reconstruction works. This gesture of fraternity is fresh in our memories and will remain so for many years to come.

For the last two decades, Nepal has undergone unprecedented political transformation. People's movements and struggles for democracy succeeded to usher the nation into the new era of democracy and inclusiveness, new era of federalism and decentralization.

A decade-long armed conflict came to an end, when we signed the Comprehensive peace Accord in 2006. Yearning to charter their own constitution,

Nepali people elected their representatives and formed the Constituent Assembly.

This gave way for the end of feudal era and the establishment of the republican government, where the sovereignty rests with people, where human rights and fundamental freedoms are guaranteed to all Nepalis without any discrimination.

In all these epoch making events – from the people’s war and people’s movement to the promulgation of the constitution – my own party, CPN Maoist Centre, was on the forefront. Support and solidarity received from the international community including India in our home grown political transformation and peace process were definitely of great importance.

Our quest for democratic polity, inclusive governance and federalism was materialized last year when the second Constituent Assembly promulgated the Constitution of Nepal. The new constitution has embraced the system of inclusive democracy, federalism, rule of law, and respect for human rights as per the aspirations of diverse communities in the country.

Within the last two decades, many epoch-making changes have occurred; significant political achievements have been made. And the responsibility lies on our leadership to institutionalize these changes through the effective implementation of the constitution.

Therefore, the present Government has prioritized the implementation of the Constitution by bringing all segments of Nepali society on board.

I would like to mention that the dialogue with Terai-Madhes-based political parties has already started. I believe that this dialogue will soon bring about tangible result.

Concluding the remaining task of the peace process is equally important priority for the present Government. The Government is committed to concluding the remaining tasks, including the transitional justice, as envisaged in the Peace Accord and according to the spirit of the peace process.

Political transformation remains fragile in the absence of socio-economic transformation. Creation of inclusive and right-based society remains elusive without economic development. Peace cannot prosper if society starves in poverty.

Aware of this reality, socio-economic transformation is high on our agenda.

The world in this century is interconnected like never before. The scale of globalization is unprecedented. The scale of interdependence is extraordinary.

In this globalized and interconnected century, individual efforts alone will not be sufficient to achieve the objective of development. It demands collaboration and cooperation at bilateral, sub-regional, regional and multilateral levels.

Nepal and India share the collaborative platforms in various regional and sub-regional forums. Our countries have vital role in the SAARC and BIMSTEC. In the pursuits of regional development, we have engaged closely in these forums. BBIN initiative provides yet another important platform for sub-regional collaboration.

The tremendous growth performance of our two neighbours comes with plethora of opportunities for growth and development. And, as both of these economic giants are engaging in large volume of trade and investment, those opportunities are getting more pronounced. We need to capitalize on unfolding opportunities to forge a productive partnership for development.

I had a very friendly and fruitful meeting with Prime Minister Narendra Modi. We covered a wide range of areas of mutual interest in our discussions. Our deliberations were substantive and positive.

We are ready to inject new dynamics into our relation, without letting the misunderstandings of the past derail our friendship.

To embark upon the path of closer partnership, we should buttress trust and enhance understanding.

To inoculate understanding of higher order, we

should not be dragged down by the unpleasant experiences.

The enablers for cordial friendship, collaborative partnership and mutually rewarding relations are there. We must build on those enablers to boost our relations. We must seize the opportunities to make our relations fruitful to the lives of our peoples. As close neighbours, we share a common destiny which demands collective pursuit of prosperity.

I firmly believe, and hope you all would agree, a peaceful, stable, prosperous and democratic Nepal is in the interest of India as well as that of our larger neighbourhood. This reality must inform our thoughts and actions in forging a partnership for 21st century. A partnership that befits our intimacy and shared destiny.

I Finally, reiterate my hope for closer and mutually rewarding relations between our two countries in this 21st century.



Deconstructing the Law of Sedition in India

*Guru Prakash and Raghav Pandey

Needless to say the controversy in JNU incited the essential law student inside us to do some research and come out with a comprehensive article on the Law of Sedition in India. The present discourse on the issue is unfortunately dominated by parochial groups and the race is to prove that my idea is better than yours.

According to the Oxford Dictionary of Law, sedition is:

The speaking or writing of words that is likely to incite ordinary people to public disorder or insurrection. Sedition is a common-law offence (known as seditious libel if the words are written) if it is committed with the intention of (1) arousing hatred, contempt, or disaffection against the sovereign or her successors (but not the monarchy as such), the government of the UK, or either House of Parliament or the administration of justice; (2) encouraging any change of the law by unlawful means; or (3) raising discontent among Her Majesty's subjects or promoting ill-will and hostility between different classes of subjects. There must be an intention to achieve these consequences by violence and disorder. An agreement to carry out an act to further any of these intentions is a criminal conspiracy or

the speaking or writing of words that are likely to incite ordinary people to public disorder or insurrection.

The above stated definition clearly outlines the nature of the offence.

'Law of Sedition' in India

The British first introduced the provision relating to sedition into the Indian legal system. The establishment of the East India Company in India led to them bringing in their own laws for the sake of convenience. Gradually, English law was brought into the English settlements in India. This system started affecting the life and liberty of the people in India as these laws considered to be 'foreign' and 'alien' were interfering with the personal lives of the people, which was not really accepted. Although the extent to which the English law applied in India could not be definitely ascertained, the Presidency towns were subjected to the stringent restrictions of the early English law and did not have the benefit of the later statutory and judicial liberalization in England. Over time, there were many uprisings including mass movements against the British rule in India. A need was felt to enact a law that would act as deterrence for the people trying to revolt.

Eventually, a Bill was drafted on the lines of

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Section 113 of the Draft Penal Code. It was piloted by Stephen, the legendary criminal law jurist, and was passed as section 124-A of the Penal Code as a part of the Act XXVII of 1870.

Section 124-A was re-enacted by the Act IV of 1898. It read as follows:

“Whoever by words, either spoken or written, or by signs or visible representations or otherwise, brings or attempts to bring into hatred or contempt, or excited or attempts to excite disaffection towards the Government established by law in India shall be punished with transportation for life or any shorter term to which fine may be added, or with imprisonment which may extend to three years, to which fine may be added, or with fine.”

Explanation 1: The expression “disaffection” includes disloyalty and all feelings of enmity.

Explanation 2: Comments expressing disapprobation of the measures of the Government with a view to obtain their alteration by lawful means without exciting or attempting to excite hatred, contempt or disaffection, do not constitute an offence under this section.”

The Slippery Slope: Law of Sedition & Freedom of Speech and Expression

The Individual versus State Debate

On achieving independence, India adopted its own Constitution, which guarantees to all its citizens the ‘freedom of speech and expression’

under Article 19(1) (a). All citizens under this fundamental right are guaranteed the right to express their convictions and opinions freely. A democratic form of government attaches a lot of importance to the freedom of speech and expression as it lays the foundations to a truly democratic form of governance. The freedom of speech and expression ensures a healthy participation of the citizens in the governance of the country.¹

At the same time, Article 19(2) imposes ‘reasonable restrictions’ on the freedom of speech and expression. The perpetual problem it seems to raise is that of striking a balance between individual freedom of expression and the security of the State. Thus, the freedom of speech and expression are not absolute in nature. The collective interests or the interests of the State have been given more importance than the individual’s freedom of speech and expression. But the imposition of restrictions does not mean that the right to speech and that of expressing oneself are restricted always. Whatever restrictions are imposed should not be unreasonable and arbitrary in nature.

While discussing sedition and the freedom of speech and expression, it can be said that sedition under section 124-A does impose certain restrictions on this fundamental right of the citizens, even though it has not been made a part of the ‘reasonable restrictions’ under Article 124-A. Such words or expressions that are capable of causing hatred in the minds of the people against the government should be avoided. The State too has

to have certain provisions in its hands to prevent any person from causing hindrance to the peaceful working of the State machinery, which is something that is wished by all the citizens. **Thus, in certain cases the individual rights have to give way to the State, which is working for the welfare of the citizens as a whole.**

Some Initial Experiences

There came up two cases, which challenged section 124-A on the ground that it violated the freedom of speech and expression.

In *Romesh Thapar v. State of Madras*², the validity of section 9 (I-A) of the Madras Maintenance Public Order Act, 1949, which empowered the Madras government to impose restrictions on the circulation of a publication in the interests of public safety and the maintenance of public order was in question. The majority of the Court declared that the provision of the Madras Maintenance Public Order Act, 1949 that imposed restrictions on the fundamental right of freedom of speech, to be in excess of Article 19 (2) and was thus held void and unconstitutional.

In *Brij Bhushan v. State of Delhi*³, section 7 (1) (c) of the East Punjab Public Safety Act, 1949, which authorized the imposition of restrictions on the freedom of speech and expression for preventing or combating any activity prejudicial to the public safety or the maintenance of public order. The Court held the provision to be in excess of Article 19 (2).

In the aforementioned two cases, Justice Fazal Ali gave his dissent. Augmenting difficulties about

the use of the word 'sedition', he said that the framers of the Constitution must have found themselves face to face with the dilemma as to whether the word 'sedition' should be used in Article 19(2) or not and if at all it was to be used, in what sense it was to be used. He referred to the probabilities that on one hand the framers must have been possessed with the view that sedition was essentially an offence against public tranquillity and on the other hand with the pronouncement of the judicial committee that sedition as defined under the Indian Penal Code did not necessarily imply any intention or tendency to incite disorder. Thus, finally the framers decided to drop the word 'sedition'.

Some Recent Experiences

•Cases of Arundhati Roy and Syed Ali Shah Geelani

A conference on the "Kashmir deadlock" in New Delhi was held titled "*Azadi: the Only Way*" in October. It was organized by a Committee for the release of political prisoners. The conference was supported and attended by Naxal organizations and some rights activists and journalists. The prominent figures among the participants and speakers were: Chairman, Hurriyat Conference Syed Ali Shah Geelani, Writer and Social activist Arundhati Roy, Prof. S A R Geelani, Dr Aparna, CPI-ML- New Democracy, Revolutionary poet Varvara Rao and Sujata Bhadra among others. A case of sedition was been filed in a local court against noted writer Arundhati Roy for her controversial remarks on Kashmir. The complaint

was lodged by one Ashish Kumar Singh. A Delhi court ordered registration of FIR against hard-line Hurriyat leader Syed Ali Shah Geelani, writer Arundhati Roy and five others for allegedly making anti-India speeches.

JNU, Sedition and Freedom of Speech and Expression

Earlier this year, a group of students held protests in the JNU campus who *inter alia* demanded independence of Kashmir from the Indian state. Among many slogans used in the protests, some slogans called for the dismemberment of the Indian state into pieces. This incident became the genesis of the present debate on the law of sedition, when the students who indulged into the protests were booked under Section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code.

The courts on various occasions have registered strict objections to the unhindered use of freedom of speech and expression. Any law or a conceptual sanction needs to evolve with changing time and circumstances. Freedom of expression has had a long tryst with reasonable restrictions that accompanies it in the Constitution of India. The authors are of the opinion that the

observations of judiciary on the interface of sedition and freedom of speech and expression reflect pragmatism and evolving dynamics of our society. The belligerent sloganeering at the JNU campus clearly amounted to an act potentially causing disruption, disrespect and disaffection to the idea of India as a nation. In our humble opinion, no one institution or individual can legitimately claim to represent the idea of India. India is a land of diversity and there will be diverse perspectives on the idea of nationhood. The uprising in JNU is plagued by the idea of exclusivism and an element of intolerance towards different viewpoints has corrupted the institutional discourse to the core.

Hence, it can be averred here that the form and purport of the law of sedition in which the British enacted the law has definitely changed. The law at the time of enactment prohibited the criticism of government, which certainly is now an integral part of the democratic process. If we examine the recent judgements on the law of sedition it can be seen that the courts only uphold those prosecutions where the accused has acted in contempt of the Indian state and not the government alone. This stand is definitely in harmony with our Constitutional values and established norms of democracy.

References:

¹ V.N. Shukla, *Constitution of India*, 105 (Eastern Book Company, Allahabad, 10th edn., 2006)

² AIR 1950 SC 124

³ AIR 1950 SC 129



Indian Ocean Conference 2016

Deeksha Goel

The India Foundation in association with S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Singapore; Bangladesh Institute of International and Strategic Studies (BIISS), Dhaka and Institute of Policy Studies (IPS), Colombo hosted a two day “Indian Ocean Conference 2016” from 1-2 September 2016 at Singapore.

The Conference witnessed a participation of over 300 delegates from 22 countries including ministers, politicians, diplomats, strategic thinkers, eminent personalities from academics and media.

Day one of the Conference started with parallel workshop sessions on the three sub-themes of Comity, Commerce and Culture followed by the Inaugural Session and Welcome Dinner. The **first parallel workshop on Comity** chaired by **Ambassador Parthasarathy** (India), had a panel of five speakers. The first speaker **Ambassador Munshi Faiz Ahmad**, Chairman, BIISS in his intervention stated that “India being the great country that it is, should naturally lead the initiative of a dialogue in the Indian Ocean Region with responsibility, taking everyone else along in a fully inclusive effort”. He went on to talk about military security of the region and stressed on the need to move away from rivalry and towards co-operation. He touched upon different aspects of maritime co-operation like the challenges of piracy and trafficking in maritime navigation, the problem of unsecured and closed trade routes, exploitation of resources, dealing with natural disasters and strengthening of SAARC for a prosperous South Asia.

The second speaker **Mr Bertil Lintner**, renowned Author and Journalist listed four factors that make the Eastern Border the most important one for India. They were: Trade, Energy, National Security (Cross border terrorism and arms smuggling) and geopolitical considerations like the rise of China. Mr Lintner’s remarks were followed by an intervention by Mr Wang Xiaowei, Director, Center for Peace and Development Studies in which he talked in detail about China’s One Belt One Road initiative.

Dr Nicolas Regaud spoke about the challenges faced by the nations of the region and the need to boost national and regional capacities. He expressed concern about the insufficiency of natural resources, rapid growth of illegal and criminal activity, and the growing dispute between countries over extraction rights. He also appreciated the Heads of Asian Coast guard meeting being held annually since 2004 and termed it to be a useful forum.

Mr Lee Cordner termed Indian Ocean Region to be a region of common risks and shared vulnerabilities. He used cartographic references to highlight the importance of the region in maritime domain, oil and gas security and to mitigate risks.

Wrapping up the session Ambassador Parthasarathy highlighted the fact that 40% of the world’s oil supplies, 60% of world’s oil trade and 80% of Japan’s oil requirement flow through the Indian Ocean. Also, 95% of India’s trade is through Indian Ocean and 80% of India’s requirements

come through the same route. He concluded by saying that “Indian Ocean belongs to all of us, it belongs to humanity”.

In the Q&A round that followed, Ambassador Antonio A. Morales, Ambassador of Philippines to Singapore questioned the importance of United Nations Convention on Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) in ensuring maritime security, environmental protection and the steps to be taken to strengthen the rule of law if certain countries choose not to observe/ignore the ruling of the international tribunal. Mr Cordner in his reply commended the work done by UNCLOS and called it a watershed convention. He held the international system to be fundamentally anarchic and said that it was up to the nation states of the world through entities like UN and its agencies and other regional associations to strengthen the rule of law. Dr Regaud agreed with Mr Cordner and called UNCLOS a fundamentally important convention. Amb Faiz pointed out the ambiguities and multiple interpretations of the rulings that existed in the pre-UNCLOS era.

Workshop Session 2: Commerce (Trade)

The workshop session on Commerce (Trade) which was chaired by **Ambassador Ashok Kantha (India)**, and on the panel were: **Dr Sanjaya Baru (India)**, Distinguished Fellow, International Institute of Strategic Studies, **Mr Philip Green**, High Commissioner of Australia to Singapore, **Dr Razeen Sally**, Chairman, IPS, Sri Lanka, **Dr Pradumna Bickram Rana**, Associate Professor and Coordinator of International Political Economy Programme, RSIS and **Mr Ravi Velloor**, Associate Editor, Global Affairs, The Strait Times.

In his introductory remarks, Amb Kantha highlighted the fact that only 20% of the trade traffic through the Indian Ocean is intra-regional in character and 80% of it goes to other regions.

Dr Baru spoke about India’s experience as a trading nation, the problem of trade deficit and the fundamental shift in India’s trade direction from the West to the East. He briefly touched upon the movement of people across the region and the cultural linkages amongst the Gujarati Community in East Africa, Tamil community in South-East Asia and Bihari community in Mauritius among others. He also termed the movement of people as an economic phenomenon.

The session in general focussed on the centrality of Indian Ocean to global trade. It was pointed out that the Indian Ocean Region includes the largest energy producers as well as consumers. Yet, there is more wealth that passes through the Indian Ocean than remains. This lack of wealth is an impediment to deepen regional integration and in the fight against the challenges of inequality, poverty and food crisis in the region. The need to promote blue economy and impart dynamism to IORA-ARC as an international forum was stressed.

All the speakers unanimously felt that intra-regional trade should increase and simultaneously work be done to promote an ecosystem which respects international laws and conventions. Nations of the Indian Ocean region also need to identify the direction their economies should take to ensure growth. With the rise in intra-regional trade there would be an increase in job creation, economic opportunities and movement of people. Various speakers also mentioned the persistence of inward looking tendencies related to trade in

South Asia. But with the economic rise of India this is set to change. Australia too has invested heavily in its western coast and has recognized the Indo-Pacific region as the region for strategic importance. Speakers also recognized the importance of trade for not only economic well-being but also for global peace.

Workshop Session 3: Commerce (Investment)

The third workshop session was on the theme of Commerce (Investments). The panel comprised of: **Mr Ralph L. (Skip) Boyce**, President, Boeing Southeast Asia, **Mr Manraj Sekhon**, CEO and CIO, Fullerton Fund Management, **Dr Leslie Teo Eng Sipp**, Chief Economist and Director, Economics and Investment Strategy, GIC and **Mr N K Singh**, Former Member of Parliament, India. The session was chaired by **Amb Ong Keng Yong**, Executive Deputy Chairman, RSIS, Singapore.

Mr Boyce in his opening remarks of the session called India an obvious partner and shared his aim of being able to quadruple sourcing from India in the next four years. He spoke of the changing investment environment in India in terms of ease of doing business, tax issues, legal obstacles, talent availability and the scale of demand. Mr Boyce while concluding reiterated his commitment of developing a globally competitive aerospace supply chain in the India Ocean Region. He also lauded the Prime Minister's Make in India initiative, and termed it to be a very important part of Boeing's strategy for India and highlighted the fact that his company's priorities for the countries of the region were aligned with that of India.

The second speaker **Mr Manraj Sekhon** described the Indian Ocean Region from an

investor's point of view and said that there was once a time when investors would say "You invest in China because of government's policies and invest in India in spite of government's policies". He elaborated on the demographics of the region and how India was at an advantage when compared to countries of East Asia which were ageing. He also mentioned the three key challenges that India is facing at the moment, which were: demographic dividend changing into demographic disaster if not dealt with properly, corruption which was going down but was still a concern and the state of balance sheets of both the private and public sector banks. He expressed his concern about the over-leveraging by private banks and need for recapitalisation of public sector banks. While concluding, he lauded the government of India for initiatives like inflation targeting, bankruptcy code, initiation of the process of recapitalisation and the passage of Goods and Service Tax Bill.

Mr N K Singh in his intervention expressed concern over Europe's struggle to cope with multiple challenges. There were grave uncertainties on how it was going to manage to remain one entity while dealing with the problems of migration. He also pointed out that recovery in the US was exceedingly tentative and while the US may remain an important technology leader and the leader in multiple ways, the European growth engines may or may not be what they have been historically. He listed five ingredients that were driving the Indian state. They were: (a) Redefining the role of the State (b) Macro fundamentals of the Indian Economy (c) Infrastructure – Quality, Cost and Competitiveness (d) new partnerships being sketched between centre and states, and (e)



states competing with each other on various indices. He concluded by saying that jobs, education, skills and orderly urbanisation were going to be the major challenges for the Modi government in this term and the next. However, he also expressed satisfaction about the course of government's preparation for these challenges.

The fourth speaker of the panel **Dr Leslie Teo Eng Sipp** highlighted five challenges that the region was facing: Exit from unconventional monetary policy, High level of debt in the region, Lower growth prospects in the OECD countries, Infrastructure investments and Technological disruption. He then elaborated on each of the points individually. He concluded by saying that technology could actually be a great enabler for most of our countries, technology could solve major infrastructure problems, technology could make one person in one small country influential globally, but how could we use it to benefit our citizens was a huge political and social challenge.

In the Q&A round that followed, Dr Hari

Bansh Jha questioned Mr Singh on the way ahead for technological upgradation without hampering the job market; Mr Singh's reply was that technology should not be seen as a threat but an opportunity and to be able to align new skills with the opportunities that were coming up. Further, there were discussions on India's labour laws and labour reforms, India's investment strategy abroad and the introduction of Goods and Service Tax in India. In his concluding remarks, Ambassador Ong called India to be the anchor of the region and said that "We need India to grow for the region to grow". He went on to quote Harvard's Atlas of Economic Complexity report which said that Indian Ocean basin was the hottest spot on the planet where economic growth was expected to be the highest in the coming decade, with a leading role for India.

Workshop Session 4: Culture

The workshop session on Culture was chaired by **Dr Patrick French**, renowned Writer,

Biographer and Historian. In the panel were Dr **S Kalyanaraman**, Co-Director, Saraswati Research Center, **Mr Tissa Jayatilaka**, Executive Director of the Sri Lanka Fulbright Commission, **Ms Moe Thuzar**, Fellow Lead Researcher (Socio-Cultural Affairs), ASEAN studies centre, ISEAS and **Mr Kwa Chong Guan**, Senior Fellow, RSIS.

The chair **Dr French** quoted evidences from history to highlight the historical relevance of the region. He was followed by Mr Kwa Chong Guan who described how the Indian Ocean was once part of the ancient maritime Silk Road. He noted that the centres of power and politics have been present from the 1st century onwards on the Indian Subcontinent and Southeast Asia, resulting in the adoption of the Sanskrit language and the formation of a “Sanskrit Cosmopolis”.

Mr Tissa Jayatilaka spoke on the significance of art and culture in shaping the history of the Indian Ocean Region. He said that culture can play a role in the re-imagination of the IOR and went on to talk about the three phases of the history of the region: pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial. He concluded by proposing that “We should also seek to breathe new life and revitalised energy into institutions such as IOR-ARC and even SAARC and ASEAN so as to create a new diplomacy based on our history and civilizational bonds, improving connectivity within IOR and rebuilding people to people links which are crucial for our common future prosperity”.

Ms Moe Thuzar focussed her address on the importance of connectivity amongst the countries of the Indian Ocean Region. She

highlighted three areas of people-to-people connectivity: Tourism, Education and Culture. During the course of her address she made references to Mekong-India Economic corridor, ASEAN-India engagement, and regional under-exploitation of cultural connections.

Inaugural Session and Welcome Dinner

Delivering the welcome address **Mr M J Akbar**, Minister of State for External Affairs of India, defined oceans to be the “most powerful and creative force , a gift of nature and a source of prosperity”. Talking about the geographical position of India in the middle of the Indian Ocean, Mr Akbar called India the western frontier of peace and the eastern frontier of war. He concluded by saying that India’s policy objectives were transparent and that India seeks measures that would facilitate the natural flow of peaceful interactions and consequent growth through cooperation.

Addressing the gathering via video link, **Minister of External Affairs of India Smt. Sushma Swaraj** focussed on the significance of the Ocean in the history of ancient trade routes, cultural linkages and common heritage. She reiterated India’s commitment of working with its littoral neighbours to fully develop the blue economy, and of working with IORA for sustainable growth and development. **Dr Vivian Balakrishnan**, Foreign Minister of Singapore spoke about the Indian Ocean being a conduit of cultural exchange and trade historically. He spoke about the common history of colonialism that all the countries of the region had shared and how in the last seventy years



shackles of colonialism had been broken. He then went on to talk about the future of the region over fifty years.

In his address, **Mr Nitin Gadkari**, Minister of Road, Transport and Highways of India, spelled the Modi Government's policy on port development and revival to link coastal and island territories. He elaborated on the objectives of Sagarmala Project and briefly touched upon the Special purpose Vehicle on maritime projects overseas, India's coastal shipping agreement with Bangladesh and about developing the Chabahar port in Iran. He concluded by saying "India is committed to use its capabilities and central location in the region to ensure a safe, secure and stable Indian Ocean Region that takes us all to the shore of prosperity".

Delivering the Inaugural Address of the Conference, Prime Minister of Sri Lanka **H.E. Mr Ranil Wickremesinghe** spoke about

the balance of power shifting towards Asia and the reduction of western dominance in the global markets. He traced this transition in global power to the economic awakening of China and other ASEAN countries. He had also briefly touched upon the cultural diversity of Asia and quoted political scientist Francis Fukuyama in describing the multi polarity of the region. He noted that Indian Ocean had emerged as one of the world's busiest and most critical trade corridors surpassing the Pacific and Atlantic oceans. He concluded by proposing the establishment of an Indian Ocean Assembly. "An Assembly which will bring together inter alia Heads of State and Governments, leaders of political parties, officials, academics, intellectuals, non-governmental sectors, cultural and commercial leaders, media representatives and youth groups in order to recommend measures for consideration by the Indian Ocean Region".



Day 2: Conference Keynote Session

The Conference Keynote Session was chaired by **Dr Dng Dinh Quy**, Deputy Foreign Minister of Vietnam with **Dr S Jaishankar**, Foreign Secretary, Government of India delivering the Conference Keynote Address.

In his remarks, **Dr Dng** highlighted the strategic importance of the ocean's geographical location and how the peace, stability and prosperity of the world were dependent on the peace, stability and prosperity of the region. He co-related the development of ASEAN with IOR and expressed optimism about the consolidation and development of relations with IOR as a component in the ASEAN member state's development strategy. He reaffirmed Vietnam's pledge to play a role in the maintenance of peace and stability in the region with the countries in IOR.

Dr S Jaishankar in his address said that India supported freedom of navigation and overflight, and unimpeded commerce, based on the principles of international law, as reflected notably in the

UNCLOS. He further added "As a State Party to the UNCLOS, India urges all parties to show utmost respect for the UNCLOS, which establishes the international legal order of the seas and oceans". He then drew the attention of the audience to Project Mausam and said that "The very nomenclature based on the distinctive wind system of the Indian Ocean signifies our interest in the characteristics of the region. The project promotes archaeological and historical research on cultural, commercial and religious interactions. It has become a vehicle for knowledge exchanges, networking and publications".

In the Q&A round that followed both Dr Dng and Dr Jaishankar answered questions on the role of regional groupings like ASEAN, reconciliation and revival of littoral states of the Indian Ocean Region and the future of IORA.

Plenary 1: Comity

The first plenary session of the Conference on Comity was chaired by **Mr Abul Hassan**



Mahmood Ali, Foreign Minister of Bangladesh; the Keynote address of the session was delivered by **Mr Maumoon Abdul Gayoom**, Former President of Maldives. The panel of speakers comprised Mr **Nobuo Kishi**, State Minister of Foreign Affairs of Japan and **Datuk Nur Jazlan Mohamed**, Deputy Minister of Home Affairs of Malaysia. Delivering his introductory remarks the **Foreign Minister of Bangladesh** said that 66% of the world's oil shipments, 33% of its bulk cargo and 50% of the world's container traffic passes through the waters of the Indian Ocean, thus making it the most prominent global economic highway. He spoke about the growing interests among countries in developing new infrastructures in the Indian Ocean.

The keynote speaker of the session **Mr Maumoon Abdul Gayoom** presented Maldives's perspective and spoke of the island nation's co-existence with other littoral states of the region. He called the ocean a faithful provider and protector of the nationals of Maldives and how

the nation was dependent on the waters of this ocean for trade and sustenance. He expressed his concern about the rapid pace of climate change which had put the life of the nationals of the island nations in danger. He concluded by saying that "Work must be done to ensure domestic stability in our countries and democratic values must be instilled in our societies".

Mr Nobuo Kishi in his address said that "The key of the stability and prosperity of the international community is the dynamism created by the synergy between the "two continents" Asia, which is recording remarkable growth, and Africa, which is full with potentials and two free and open seas – the Pacific and the Indian Oceans". He expressed hope about the full and effective implementation of the Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea (DOC) and the early establishment of a code of conduct in the South China Sea (COC). He reaffirmed Japan's role in putting up a fight against the challenges of piracy in the region.



Datuk Nur Jazlan Mohamed said that Indian Ocean had played an important role in the formation of his nation 'Malaysia' as historically most of the rulers had used these waters to set foot on the land of Malaysia. He made references to the role of Malaysia and coming together of the littoral nations during times of crisis like the search of missing MH370 or the Tsunami of 2004 which had brought life to a standstill. He reassured that the Indian Ocean would continue to be a factor in the security policies of his nation.

In his concluding remarks **Mr Abul Hassan Mahmood Ali**, summarised the session in six points. He noted that the centre of gravity had shifted towards Asia and that International Relations were in a state of dynamic transition. Secondly, he said that strategic equations in the Indian Ocean were increasingly becoming complex with major powers competing amongst each other for more prominence and visibility. He

then went on to talk about adequately managing the maritime borders to harness the potential of the ocean and the importance of maritime security in enhancing trade and economic cooperation. He concluded by making brief remarks on the issues of climate change, utilization of the oceanic resources and the need to maintain ocean health by striking a balance between conservation, exploitation and utilisation of marine resources.

Plenary 2: Comity

The second plenary on the theme of Comity was chaired by **Ambassador Hardeep Singh Puri**. The panel of speakers comprised Rear **Admiral Sanjay Jasjit Singh**, Assistant Chief of Naval Staff, India and **Rear Admiral Donald Gabrielson**, Commander, Logistics Group Western Pacific, USA.

Delivering the chair's address **Ambassador Puri** said that climate change was a serious threat

to existence. He advocated greater collaboration in trade, tourism, infrastructure, marine science and technology and protection of marine environment for the overall development of blue economy. He called for concerted actions and greater collaboration to fight climate change. He called IORA an important instrument in pursuing our vision of a sustainable and prosperous future of the region.

In his presentation, **Rear Admiral Singh** said that this ocean as a whole had been a benign medium which had fostered cultural, commercial, linguistic and religious linkages and progress. The region was also the prime facilitator of regional economic growth and prosperity. He then went on to elaborate on Prime Minister Modi's vision behind project SAGAR and concluded by calling the 21st century to be the century of seas.

In his remarks **Rear Admiral Gabrielson** spoke about the impact of climate change on the region and its impact thereafter. He went on to talk about the significance of Naval Cooperation exercises with reference to national and international security and the need for the littoral nations of the region to work together. He also spoke on the importance of the stability of the Indo-Pacific region and the vitality of the safety of sea lanes for the USA.

In the Q&A round that followed, both speakers the answered questions on the Indian Ocean tsunami of 2004 and on the code of conduct of the navies of the region.

Plenary 3: Commerce

The third session of the day was on the theme of Commerce and was chaired by **Mr M J**

Akbar, Minister of State for External Affairs of India accompanied by a panel of speakers comprising **Dr Hung-Mao Tien**, Chairman of the Board, Institute for National Policy Research of Taiwan, **Ms Nisha Biswal**, Assistant Secretary of State for South and Central Asia, US Department of State and **Mr Baijayant 'Jay' Panda**, Member of Parliament of India.

In his opening remarks, **Mr Akbar** touched upon the historical aspects of trade of the Indian Ocean Region. Taking the cue further, Dr Tien spoke on the trade and security related aspects of the Indian Ocean Region.

In her intervention, **Ms Biswal** stated that the United States supported greater economic connectivity in the Indian Ocean Region not only in terms of its commercial interests but also because the United States was aware that prosperity was linked to security and stability. She further spoke on the importance of economic connectivity in determining the region's success and expressed hope that the Indo-Pacific Economic Corridor would be a success. She concluded by saying that "We'll continue to strengthen and expand our work to promote regional connectivity in the Indo-Pacific, and we believe that it can create fair, broad, and sustainable growth, underpinning the region's prosperity, security and stability".

Delivering his address **Mr Jay Panda** said that re-engagement with Indian Ocean Region was necessary for India to rise from being a low-middle income country to a middle income country. He further spoke on the improving indices in terms of ease of doing business, competitiveness, innovation and FDI. Terming the passage of the GST Bill to be bigger than the 1991 reforms, he concluded by



saying that “India will work to ensure a safe, secure and stable Indian Ocean Region that delivers us all to the shores of prosperity and India will help strengthen regional mechanisms in combating terrorism, piracy and respond to natural disasters”.

Plenary 4 –Culture

The final plenary of IOC 2016 was on the theme of Culture and was chaired by **Shri Lokesh Chandra**, Chairman, Indian Council for Cultural Relations. The panel saw participation from 5 countries in the region with **Mr Vira Rojpojchanarat** (Hon’ble Minister for Culture, Thailand) delivering the Keynote Address. **Mr S B Navinna** (Minister of Internal Affairs, Wayamba Development and Cultural Affairs, Sri Lanka), **Dr. Shashi Tharoor** (Former Minister of State, External Affairs, India), **Mr Santaram Baboo** (Minister of Arts and Culture, Mauritius) and **Mr A. Kohilan Pillay** (Former Deputy Foreign Minister,

Malaysia) were the speakers for the session.

Mr R Vira highlighted India’s linguistic and cultural contribution to Southeast Asian people. Through examples from Buddhist art, interpretation of the Ramayana, cuisine, costumes, commerce and royal ceremonies he explained how Indic philosophy, beliefs and religions (especially Buddhism and Hinduism) had become the basis of many Southeast Asian cultural expressions. He emphasized that “Indianisation process” in Southeast Asia was not through force, imposition, or colonisation. Rather, ‘Indian influences’ offered inspirations to the local population and were thus selected and adapted to suit the local contexts of pre-existing and well-developed cultural bases in the sub-region. He ended by reaffirming his commitment to strengthen and further enhance cultural relations with India and celebrate the shared heritage.

Dr. Tharoor reiterated the role of individual traders, travellers and teachers in exporting Indian-

ness to South-east Asia and importing South-east Asian culture into India throughout colonial times. Long before modern governments initiated the “Look East” policy, Dr. Tharoor explained that Indian peninsular kingdoms treated Simhapura (modern-day Singapore) with special attention given its strategic location on India-China trade route. He underlined that India has become far less important to the countries that still bear the stamp of “Indic” influence. He called for pouring far more resources into India’s cultural diplomacy, to project the richness of our composite culture into lands that already have a predisposition for it. Quoting Joseph Nye, he said that in the information age the side which has the better story wins and he underlined that India must remain the “land of the better story.”

Mr Baboo said that a common oceanic culture was created in Indian Ocean Region through transnational deployment of human beings across the region from India. The cultural component of the good traded by merchants was value-addition as well as profit-making and the role of the merchant as cultural broker enabled engagement and plurality. He gave several examples of tangible and intangible cultural heritage from Mauritius and mentioned that his government was keen to have Bhojpuri Geet Gawai on list of UNESCO’s Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. He also highlighted several initiatives his ministry was taking to improve the economic well-being of artists and creative workers in Mauritius. Finally, he said that Indian Ocean needed a geo-cultural strategy that could integrate culture with development to improve the quality of lives of people.

Mr Navinna spoke about the importance of platforms like IOC to educated Indian Ocean countries about each other’s cultural heritage and to use this knowledge to create a shared identity for the region. He highlighted that Indian Ocean has been a treasure house of tangible and intangible cultural heritage since time immemorial which attracted foreigners. Culture informs trade and strategic outlook of countries and it was important that culture gets centre-stage once again to promote regional well-being. He ended by saying that the primary challenge for people in this region was to safeguard their unique cultural traits while opening up to the world.

Mr Pillay started by reminding the audience that South Asia got a head-start because it was home to one of the oldest civilisations in the world. Hinduism and Buddhism created a common linkage in the region to promote trading and cultural exchange. While Western colonial powers brought development to this region, they also gave us their philosophy and culture. He then spoke about the deep bilateral relations between Malaysia and India. Culture has played an important role in cementing this relationship with PM Modi inaugurating the Torana Gate in Kuala Lumpur’s Little India project. The world, according to Mr Pillay, would be a more peaceful place if every nation could leverage its soft power to find a common ground.

In his Chairman remarks, **Prof. Lokesh Chandra** narrated the influence of Indian culture through its export of cotton to Roman Empire. He said that there were goods (which were also cultural artefacts) that were India’s contribution to global culture: cotton, sugar and vegetable oil. The Indian



Ocean had inherited cultural institutions from all parts of the world including Europe in the last two centuries and so sharing of ideas was intrinsic to people and societies in the region. The energization of Indian Ocean region started with the whole process of civilisation, acculturation, commercialisation, creation of languages and scripts. Indian Ocean Region provides a template for how other regions of the world would also be shaped in the future to create a major human revolution.

Valedictory Session

The Valedictory Session of the Conference was chaired by former Foreign Secretary of India **Amb Kanwal Sibal** with the Valedictory Address being delivered by **His Holiness Sri Sri Ravi Shankar**, Founder, Art of Living Foundation.

Delivering the Valedictory Address of the 2-Day Conference, H.H. Sri Sri Ravishankar appreciated the idea of confluence of Culture and Commerce at this point in time when both of them were moving in opposite directions. He said that while our Culture was moving eastwards, commerce was towards the west. He highlighted the importance of 'education of peace' for a prosperous and happy world and further termed the Indian Ocean Region to be an example of culture of peace.

He further went on to talk about the significance of dialogue in being able to reconcile the existing situation of turmoil. He concluded by expressing hope that there would be a wave of happiness in the region as the ultimate goal of Comity, Commerce and Culture was to achieve happiness.



Homeland Security 2016 – Smart Border Management



The eighth edition of FICCI's Homeland Security programme was organised in partnership with the India Foundation. It was inaugurated by Mr. N. N. Vohra, Hon'ble Governor of Jammu & Kashmir, Govt. of India. The two-day conference was held on September 6-7, 2016 at FICCI, New Delhi. The theme of this year's program was *Smart Border Management*.

The conference brought together experts from the Government, Central Armed Police Forces, Indian Navy, Coast Guard, State Marine Police, the Border Communities and the Industry to discuss and debate issues posed by various types of borders and to delineate strategies, systems and solutions to tackle specific problems. The

conference focused on: Challenges, threats and peculiarities of borders; Emerging technologies for perimeter security; Coastal & maritime security; Infrastructure for border communities; Significance & aspirations of public participation in border security; Economic benefits from border management; and, Role of UAVs and drones in border security.

In his inaugural address, Governor Vohra said that it is incorrect to believe that the Central Government alone is responsible for the effective and efficient border security. Maintenance of security of the hinterland is extremely important and because of threats such as infiltration, proxy wars and insurgency, it is crucial to see that welfare



and needs of the people living along the borders are attended to. This approach, said Mr. Vohra, would go a long way in providing strong support to the Border Security Force and the Army by way of information on border incursion and logistics support.

Mr. Vohra underlined the need to create dedicated forces trained specially for national security management. He asserted that such a force should comprise technologists, IIT, IIM-graduates - not just officers – in order to tackle and prevent illegal cross-overs.

Governor Vohra also called for much greater Centre-State understanding in border security management so that both the Central Government and the State Governments are on the same page insofar as issues such as the need, timing and

magnitude of deployment of forces for border security is concerned.

On the occasion, the Governor released the FICCI & PwC report titled ‘Smart Border Management-An *Indian Perspective*’.

The conference witnessed the participation of over 350 delegates and provided a platform for business discussions, engagement and interaction. Other than the inaugural and valedictory sessions, the two-day conference had 7 thematic sessions on various aspects of Smart Border Management in which more than 40 eminent speakers including Mr. R. N. Ravi, Chairman, Joint Intelligence Committee, Govt. of India; Dr. G. Satheesh Reddy, Distinguished Scientist, DRDO & Scientific Advisor to Raksha Mantri, Govt. of India; Mr. Y.S. Sehrawat, Chairman, Land Port Authority of India;

ADG V. S. R. Murthy, PTM, TM, Additional Director General, Indian Coast Guard; Rear Admiral Sanjay Singh, NM, Director General Naval Operations (DGNO), Indian Navy; Lt. Gen. S. A. Hasnain, PVSM, UYSM, AVSM, SM, VSM & Bar, (Retd.), Former General Officer Commanding 15 Corps; Mr. R. R. Bhatnagar, Director General, Narcotics Control Bureau; Mr. A. P. Maheshwari, Additional Director General, Border Security Force; Mr. S. S. Deswal, Additional Director General, Sashastra Seema Bal; Mr. Anand Swaroop, IG-Provisioning, Indo-Tibetan Border Police, amongst others deliberated and shared their perspectives on Smart Border Management.

Delivering the Keynote Address on day two of the conference, Mr. Kiren Rijju, Hon'ble Minister of State for Home Affairs said that India's security apparatus can be strengthened only by promoting trade and commerce on both sides of the border which will enable the border communities to develop. The minister said that it is borne out of the fact that people living on the Atari border with Pakistan were quite well off as they were actively involved in physical trade of goods.

Mr. Rijju further said that development and security go hand in hand and mere physical delineation of territories will not suffice, adding that although India had fenced borders with Pakistan and Bangladesh and the Government was trying to make the security mechanism foolproof yet drug trafficking, illegal crossing and infiltration remain the order of the day. Referring to the pre-1998 era, Mr. Rijju pointed out that India's border policy

was misplaced as development in terms of roads were ignored on the pretext that it was being done to prevent the enemy from using the roads to foment trouble. This, he said, was a defeatist approach as a developed border means a developed and secured country.

Post his keynote, the Hon'ble Minister of State for Home Affairs also chaired the session 'Significance & Aspirations of Public Participation in Border Security' where the panellists, who were from border villages, apprised the delegates about some of the issues faced by border communities and how the community could serve as a force multiplier in border management.

While delivering the Keynote Address during the valedictory session on September 7, 2016, Mr. Ram Madhav Varanasi, National General Secretary, Bharatiya Janata Party, said that India needs to develop a national security doctrine and strategic culture in dealing with the issues related to its homeland security where border management is a critical aspect. The country faced a great dilemma, he said, because in order to promote commerce there is a need to open borders but for ensuring security, a closed border is favored. Hence, there is need to find a way to reconcile the two situations.

To strengthen the security of the country, Mr. Madhav said that the Government is addressing the issues such as lack of infrastructure in the border areas, amending the laws, infusing more funds for acquiring modern weapons and arming the forces with required capabilities. However, there is still a need to provide civilians on the border with facilities



such as well-constructed roads, telecommunication and houses in order to win their trust and support.

Mr. Madhav also touched upon the issue of coordination among various security forces deployed along the borders and the ministries and departments in the Government. He said that it is a gigantic task to build a consensus among the varied forces and departments, which at times result in unnecessary delays.

Mr. Rajiv Mehrishi, Union Home Secretary, in his special address said that India's vast land and maritime borders with six countries dictate the use of technology, infrastructure development, setting up of additional border out posts and use of interceptor boats for effectively guarding India's

border. He further mentioned that gainful economic opportunities needs to be provided to spur economic growth and promote internal security. Mr. Mehrishi said that there are many security challenges such as new and increasing number of crimes; threat of terrorism & insurgency; increasing law and order situations; and management of disasters. The Union Home Secretary shared that there is a need for new and enhanced legal frameworks to deal with challenges such as those related to cyber security and to regulate unmanned aerial vehicles. Besides, constant reviews and updates to the legal framework were needed to deal with frequent changes in technology.



Felicitation to Prime Minister of Nepal

Varsha Gupta



India Foundation hosted a civic reception in the honour of the visiting Prime Minister of Nepal His Excellency Shri Puspa Kamal Dahal 'Prachanda' on 17th September, 2016 at The Taj Palace, New Delhi.

The Prime Minister was accompanied by his wife along with the Foreign Minister of Nepal, Minister of Physical Infrastructure and Transport and a delegation of Members of Parliament from across the party lines. The dinner was also attended by Shri Suresh Prabhu, Minister of Railways, Government of India, Shri Najeeb Jung, Lt.

Governor of NCT of Delhi and Shri Sharad Yadav, MP (Rajya Sabha) among other select invitees. Speaking at the occasion, the visiting Prime Minister elaborated on the journey of Indo-Nepal ties and thanked India for its support in helping Nepal recover from the effects of the devastating earthquake. He expressed joy on having conducted a fruitful meeting with the Indian Prime Minister and exuded optimism on the road ahead.

Full text of the speech of Hon'ble Prime Minister of Nepal is carried in the Opinions section of this issue.

National Seminar on Integral Humanism in Indian Thought

Siddhartha



India Foundation organized a two-day National Seminar on ‘Integral Humanism in Indian Thought’ at the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi on 19-20 September, 2016. The seminar saw attendance from noted academicians, activists and students. The event started with floral tributes to Deendayal Upadhyay on the occasion of his centenary birth anniversary.

Deendayal was born on 25 September, 1916 at a small village in the Mathura district of Uttar Pradesh in North India. He was a social worker, educationist, economist, journalist, orator and above all a masterful organizer of men committed to the cause of nation-building in those turbulent days.

The Inaugural Session of the Conference was addressed by key thinkers of the day. Shri Mukul Kanitkar spoke of how Deendayal’s Integral Humanism is a holistic philosophy of our times and not merely an ideology meant to be used in a

particular time and situation. He distinguished Deendayal’s Integral Humanism from M.N. Roy’s conception of Radical Humanism. He noted that the latter is bereft of any shade of spiritualism – something that cannot be divorced from humanism in the long run.

Highlighting the role of Integral Humanism in shaping India’s Education Policy for the 21st century, he observed that Deendayal’s vision accorded full space to diversity of views and opinions. Much in the same way that no two men look the same, none should be expected to think the same per force or compulsion. He also observed that this vision was not only relevant during the days of struggle but also in times when the people alighted by this thought have assumed power to change India for better.

Dr. Mahesh Chandra Sharma started his address by equating Integral Humanism with the

entirety of the Indian political thought. He quoted from the Vedas to our contemporary times. He noted that Vedic invocations of '*ekam sat vipra bahuda vadanti*' meaning 'truth is one, sages call it by various names' and '*mata bhumi putro ham prithiviyah*' meaning that 'Earth is my mother and I am her son' are the essence of Indian thought and that they inform every corner of Deendayal's Integral Humanism. He also noted that this branch of sociological research eschews the false binaries of good or bad, thereby, opening a wide field for ideas that are both good and bad. This grey area is the plane where we have to find out our path of consensus through debates and discussions. Indian society, he shared, operates on the model of consensus.

Prof S.R. Bhatt delivered his presidential remarks to mark out that the idea of Integral Humanism is a holistic philosophy relevant not only in the past but also in present times. He said that chains of time and age do not bind this thought. Hence, he said that it isn't a mere ideology represented by an 'ism' like many contemporary thoughts.

Prof Bhatt further remarked that Deendayal was both a thinker and a practitioner whose thought had both an ideological as well as a practical panache. On the front of ideology, Prof Bhatt noted, he was open to new ideas and on his practical side, he visualized that all the material creation is to be understood as human achievement. This, Prof Bhatt argued, does not mean that man is the measure of everything as encapsulated in the western thought.

Instead, the Indian mind comprehends the human being as '*purusha*' who is all encompassing, Prof Bhatt said. It is man who

makes society, which later becomes a nation. It is these nations, Prof Bhatt said, that finally constitute the world. *Purusha* is the best embodiment of Indian thought that identifies with unity in diversity and diversity in unity, Prof Bhatt argued. He asserted that integrity of human existence is what constitutes the essence of Integral Humanism of Deendayal.

Prof Bhatt further observed that all struggle, violence, hatred and jealousy are artificial and have no place in Indian thought. He further noted that Modi government's programs like *Jan Dhan Yojna*, *Swachh Bharat Abhiyan*, *Beti Bachao Beti Padhao Yojna*, *Krishi Sinchai Yojna*, *Kaushal Vikas Yojna*, *Mudra Yojna*, etc. are being implemented with this thought process in mind.

Prof. S.P. Mani gave his address a fitting start by recalling the Vedic dictums of '*sarve bhavantu sukhina, sarve santu niramaya*' and '*ten takten bhunjitah*' as the core or the foundational principles of Integral Humanism. He observed that balance is the key to success, whether in material pursuits or in the spiritual world. He outlined that Deendayal used *sangam sanskriti* to give India her *swaroop*. He argued that the essential features of India's *swaroop* include acceptance, validation, celebration, gender justice and sustainable development.

In his remarks Prof. K.B. Pandya raised the question, "What is India's '*chiti*'?" He urged to locate the answer to this question in India's own store house of wisdom- Ramayana and Mahabharata. Dr. Ashok Modak in his enlightening remarks took up the task of identifying the key

features of Deendayal's conception of Integral Humanism and noted that service to motherland, optimism of the Indian mind, spirituality, integrity, openness to change and the holistic approach to deal with issues are key themes within that thought strain.

Prof. K.C. Pandey spoke on 'Integral Humanism and Ancient Indian Thought'. His address was focused on how consciousness is the foundation of all that exists. Mr. Govardhan Bhatt elaborated on the need of synergy between science and spirituality. He also remarked that Deendayal was a true follower of the *advaita* tradition of Shri Adi Shankaracharya.

Mr. Krishore Dere spoke of Deendayal's insistence on self-reliance in economy and predominance of agriculture as the hallmarks of Indian independence. Ms. Shikha Sharma observed that a solid foundation of society could be built on the foundations of *advaita vedanata*. Mr. Shubham Verma spoke about the recent trend of discarding all that is indigenous in India as unworthy of possession and observed that India will take its rightful place in the world community only when we stay true to our roots.

Mr. Rajiv Dubey spoke on 'Integral Humanism and Education in India Today' and observed that the scene is both full of hope and despair at the same time. He explained that hope is reflected in the ideas of Deendayal and despair is reflected in the illusive dream of Nehruvian consensus. Shri Ashok Pandurang spoke about the need to reignite the flames of cultural nationalism in India. He reminded the guests that India is not merely a country but also a mother for all of us. Shri Raghav

Pandey spoke on the theme of 'Integral Humanism and the Sustainable Way of Life' and observed that going by the present rate of consumption of resources in rich and affluent sectors of the society we would require two and a half earths to meet the global development needs. He highlighted that in Indic thought man and nature are integral to each other unlike the West where man is sovereign over nature and all that exists is made for his consumption. In an interesting analogy he observed that even Kyoto Protocol fails to acknowledge that trees have spiritual value and focuses excessively on their economic value alone.

Shri Rambahadur Rai observed that ideas of Deendayal are in line with the basic texts of Gandhiji's *Hind Swaraj* and Bal Gangadhar Tilak's *Geeta Rashaya*. In a way, Deendayalji's exposition of Integral Humanism in the course of his four lectures is a logical extension of the line of thinking as expounded in *Hind Swaraj*, Mr. Rai said.

The second day of the Conference began with Shri Guru Prakash's talk on 'Integral Humanism and Social Justice in India Today'. He pointed at the empirical data to argue that social disparities between the rich and the poor and those between castes and communities are widening day by day. He said that Deendayal's vision of Integral Humanism seeks to redress the malady by ensuring equitable distribution of resources. He also pointed out that it is neither possible nor wise to adopt foreign '-isms' in India and that the need of hour is to abandon the artificial constructs of right and left in order to ensure the ultimate goal of *antnyodaya*. He also observed that most post-



colonial academic researches on social justice have focused on caste system's divisive and oppressive features extensively but have erred in failing to take stock of Hinduism's continuous and unending processes of course correction. In this regard he pointed out at the example of hundreds of Dalit saints in India like Sant Chokhamela, Sant Janabai, Sant Ravidas and Guru Ghasi Das, etc.

Shri Digvijay Singh emphasized on Integral Humanism being an alternative to contemporary discourse. Ms. Chandani Sengupta spoke on 'Integral Humanism and Swami Vivekananda' highlighting that Swami Vivekananda was always

clear that the only true humanism is the one that involves dignity and fraternity of all, thereby making it incumbent on our rich to care for the poor and the under-privileged. She said that both Vivekananda and Deendayal thought of service to mankind as the best way of man making.

Dr. Apoorv Mishra spoke on a comparative study of Danndayal's Integral Humanism and Jacques Maritain's Integral Christian Humanism. He pointed out that both scholars agree in their rejection of capitalism, individualism, socialism and communism. He further said that both of them emphasized on the role of religion in shaping

political ideas and in building a society rooted in its culture. But where they disagree, he points out, is the fact that Integral Christian Humanism assumes its thesis to be self-evident as is God in Christian theology while Deendayal follows the Vedantic model of *shastrartha* in the form of debate and discussion.

Dr. Sethuraman Rammohan spoke on 'Integral Humanism in the Light of Quantum Physics' in accordance with the Vedic dictum '*yadpinde tad brahmande*'. He also pointed out that Integral Humanism is a holistic system of total harmony between individual, society and nature and that integral man has a comprehensive view of the four *purusharthas* of *dharma*, *artha*, *kaam* and *moksha*. Prof. Dilip Kumar Mohanta spoke of the need for practical idealism and the relevance of Deendayal's ideas in building a happy and prosperous nation. Mr. Chintamanib Malyiya identified Deendayal's ideas as a continuous stream of thought in harmony with those of Swami Vivekananda, Shri Aurobindo, Gandhiji and Babasaheb Ambedkar.

Valedictory Session

Shri Ram Madhav spoke of quintessential importance of Deendayal's ideas to Indian political thought. He highlighted that soon after independence India embarked upon a mission to build itself on the 'socialistic pattern of society' and asked what we have achieved by socialistic development model apart from bureaucratic five year plans and centralization of power. He said that Deendayal was a firm believer in India centric world view rather than blind aping of the West.

West's political and economic thought considers man as an economic animal. Freud observed that man's ultimate goal is to fulfill his desires. As against these ideas, Integral Humanism as propounded by Deendayal conceives a society that is free from all discrimination, disease and want.

Shri Krishnagopal spoke on the need of consensus building and balanced life as integral traits of Integral Humanism. He believed that democracy in India is not a gift of the West and held a firm view that the Indian polity after independence has been raised upon artificial Western foundations, hence is not rooted in the timeless traditions of India's ancient culture. He was sure that the Indian intellect was getting suffocated by Western theories and ideologies and consequently there was a big roadblock on the growth and expansion of original Bharatiya thought. He hailed modern technology/science but wanted it to be adapted to suit Indian requirements. He believed in a constructive approach. He exhorted his followers to co-operate with the government when it was right and fearlessly oppose it, when it erred. He placed nation's interest above everything else. Another key theme of his philosophy was enlightened self-interest of Indian people which meant that we achieve the best for ourselves without harming the interests of others.

The two day National Seminar came to satisfactory conclusion by generating greater academic awareness about Deendayal's thoughts. True to Deendayal's life and his message, the audience resolved to continue with *shastrartha* on how to implement Deendayal's vision in India today.



1965 India–Pakistan War: The War and How it Shaped India’s Security Architecture

Swathi Pottabathini



The event ‘1965 India–Pakistan War - the War and How it Shaped India’s Security Architecture’ was organized by the India Foundation on 26th September, 2016 in Delhi. The main theme of the event was to understand how 1965 War shaped India’s security architecture by hearing first-hand accounts of the veterans who fought the war. The Chief Guest for the event was Shri Col Rajyavardhan Singh Rathore, Minister of State for Information & Broadcasting, Government of India. The veterans of 1965 war who attended the event include Lt. Col Naresh K. Rastogi, Brig Onkar Singh Goraya, Wg Cdr Vinod Nebb (VrC

and Bar) and Lt Gen. GK Duggal (PVSM, AVSM, VrC).

Captain Alok Bansal, Director, India Foundation welcomed the gathering and noted, “The 1965 India – Pakistan War is a momentous event in India’s history with lot of geo-political significance, and we at India Foundation believe that the story needed to be retold”. He further elaborated on the geopolitical environment prevailing before and during the war.

Major Gen. Dhruv C. Katoch, Secretary General, Indian War Veterans Association was called upon to give a brief overview of the 1965



War. He noted that though he did not take part in the War, he took it upon himself to collect its stories from the veterans who gave first-hand accounts from their notes written 50 years ago. He went on to set a great start to the event by describing the significant events of the war briefly.

Lt Col Naresh Rastogi, who took part in the 1965 operations (Lt. Col. Rastogi served in the Khem Karan Sector as the Signals Officer with 7 Mountain Brigade and later went on to be a part of the 1971 War), was called upon first to share his experiences of 'The Battle of Asal Uttar', the largest tank battle since second world war and arguably the most significant encounter of 1965 war. With the help of a map, he very vividly narrated his journey from Lucknow to Ambala, through congested roads of Punjab which initially contrived

to be a bane, but turned out to be a boon for the Indian side as the enemy's tanks were slowed down due to the roads. With a twinkle in his eye, he recalled the warmth of the villagers who served food to the army when the army was bereft of its rations. Though officially he wasn't a direct participant of the war, he called it a 'spectacle' that he had witnessed.

Second in the line to share the experiences was Brig Onkar Singh Goraya. Brig. Goraya served actively in the 1965 War (Sialkot Sector) as GSO3 (Ops) and in 1971 War as BM 57 Artillery Brigade. He has written books such as 'Operation Blue Star and After' and 'Leap Across Meghna-Blitzkreig of 4 Corps in 1971'. He explained how Indian forces took down 51 Pakistani tanks and one helicopter and forced the enemy to withdraw. He

also recalled that he was very adept at reading maps which was a very crucial asset during the war time. In an attempt to bring some old memories alive, he enraptured the audience with his authentic photographs from the War which included one with the then Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri.

Wg Cdr Vinod Nebb was the next to share his story. Wg. Cdr Nebb was still under training as a fighter pilot when the 1965 War broke out, but on his insistence, he was allowed to do Combat Air Patrol (CAP). He showed the signs of a patriotic fighter who went on to win two Vir Chakras (1965, 1971). He began with an interesting explanation of his reasons behind joining the air-force, which portrayed his zeal for flying since childhood and his pride in calling himself “an NCC product and not an NDA product”. Calling himself a *Rookie Pilot* and titling his presentation so, he described how at a young age of 22 he displayed a great sense of intelligence, steadfastness and valor in striking the enemy’s F86 Sabre Jet aircraft.

Lt Gen. G. K. Duggal, a veteran of both the 1965 and 1971 Wars and a leader who held several key positions some of which include India’s Defence Attache to Pakistan and Director General Assam Rifles, was invited next to speak. He chose to speak on the ‘Battle of Miajlar’. He commenced with the anecdote of his transfer to the 4th Maratha Light Infantry which was on the move countering skirmishes, his long journey by train and then his travel in an ambulance from ADS (Advanced Dressing Station) to reach his army troop. He described the intricate details of the geography and terrain, and the strategy of the Indian Army in

locating and defeating the enemy by proficient use of maps in an age when technology and communication were not so well advanced.

Thereafter, veterans were felicitated by Shri Col Rajyavardhan Singh Rathore. They were commended and applauded by the audience for their display of bravery during the war and their selfless service in the army.

Chief Guest Shri Col Rajyavardhan Singh Rathore was then called upon to address the audience. He began by humbly gesturing at the veterans on the stage and praised their selfless contribution for India. He further congratulated India Foundation for organizing such an event. Speaking of the stories of the veterans, Col Rathore with great enthusiasm remarked, “If you ever meet such veterans, you should listen to their true stories, which are much more interesting than any other film ever made.”

Stressing the importance of emotions and memories of the army men, he quoted the example of Lt. Gen Duggal who though having commanded 85,000 men later in his life, still very passionately and poignantly reminisced his command of 14 men during the Battle of Miajlar. Col Rathore then spoke of the letter of the then President of Pakistan, Ayub Khan to his army chief Gen Mohammed Musa before 1965 war which read “As a general rule, Hindu morale would not stand for more than a couple of hard blows delivered at the right time and the right place. Such opportunities should therefore be sought and exploited”.

He further elaborated on the dire situation of India during 1965, which included the low morale

of the Indian Army after the 1962 War defeat, the sudden death of a leader like Nehru and the political discontentment which encompassed the country, poverty and famine which were plaguing the nation. Quoting another anecdote in substantiation, he spoke of the visit of the then Indian Defence Minister, Yashwantrao Chavan to Pentagon to request Americans to sell F-104 Starfighter, the most advanced jet fighter of that era, and of the rude remark by the then US Defence Secretary, Robert McNamara which read- “Mr Minister, your air force is like a museum. I wonder whether you are aware of the variety of aircraft in your air force. You are still operating with Hunters, Spitfires, Vampires, Liberators, Harvards – exotic names of World War II vintage. All these aircrafts are only worthy of finding a place in a museum.”

This came at the time when America had supplied the F-104 and the F-86 Sabres in large numbers – virtually free of cost to Pakistan. Moving on, he elucidated the circumstances, shedding light on Pakistan’s intention by encouraging and carrying out Operation Gibraltar and Operation Grand Slam. He also remarked, “it is not the machine, but the man behind the machine who counts.”

Col Rathore then spoke of how the war had affected India and Pakistan. He forthrightly mentioned that Pakistan’s conventional method of resorting to warfare, obsession with Kashmir, and

its own disgruntled population which it is not paying heed to, the idea of “death by a thousand cuts” - is all leading to a ‘boomerang effect’ - on Pakistan itself. He further stressed on the USP of the Indian Army - the selfless dedication and bravery of the Indian soldiers illustrated by Major Ranjit Singh Dyal’s words, “Indian Army can fight even on empty stomachs” - which inspired the US Army to come down and learn counter insurgency from their Indian counterparts.

Bringing into context the recent Inter-Governmental Agreement with France for the purchase of 36 Rafale multirole fighter jets, Col Rathore spoke of the weapons package which included the Beyond Visual Range (BVR) missile - considered the best in the class with range of over 150 km and Scalp long range air to ground missiles. He wittily remarked, “now even if the enemy can’t see us, they’ll get hit by us.”

On a concluding note, Col Rathore assured the audience that he has lived as a soldier and seen such army men all his life, and that all of us are safe under the strong leadership of responsible leaders like the Defense Minister Shri Manohar Parrikar and Prime Minister, Shri Narendra Modi.

Expressing the vote of thanks, Captain Alok Bansal thanked the veterans who took great efforts to make it to the event and congratulated the India Foundation team involved in the organization of the event.



India Foundation Dialogues

19 August, 2016



H.E. Hasanul Haq Inu,
Hon'ble Information Minister, Bangladesh
Theme: India-Bangladesh Relations

10 August, 2016



Gen. John W. Nicholson,
*Commander of Resolute Support Mission;
U.S. Forces Afghanistan (USFOR-A)*
Theme: India-Afghanistan Relations

02 August, 2016



Jatiya Party delegation from Bangladesh
**Theme: Developments in
India-Bangladesh Relations**

19 July, 2016



Sajad Gani Lone
*Hon'ble Minister for Social Welfare, ARI &
Trainings and Science & Tech., Govt. of J&K*
Theme: J&K - The Present Scenario

The Ocean of Churn: How the Indian Ocean Shaped Human History

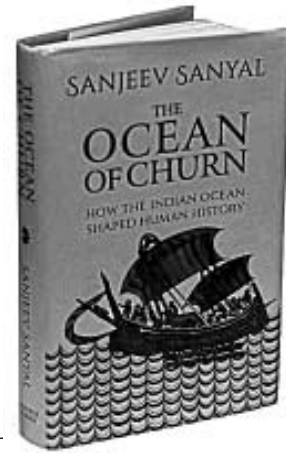
Author: **Sanjeev Sanyal**

Publisher: Penguin Random House India

Price: Rs.599/-

Book Review by:

Rajat Sethi



Casual readers of history always limited the study of oceans to understanding the economics and trade of various epochs. Political power mostly flew through land based empires. Historical gaze traversed from land to sea and not the other way round. Seldom one tried to connect seemingly unconnected historical dots in a well nuanced narration of history that spanned politics, economics and sociology of the times. Breaking free from this mould and sticking true to the adage, ‘well researched facts are more interesting than fiction, author Sanjeev Sanyal has tried to recapture historical facts in his book, *The Ocean of Churn*.

Indian history writing is besieged with colonial and postcolonial biases serving the parochial interests of the sponsors of those studies. Bringing out evidences from archaeology, genetics, popular cultural anecdotes and personal travels to various sites has helped Sanyal break the stranglehold on India’s historical narrative. This is where Sanyal’s book serves a unique purpose. He establishes the

central and dominant role Indian Ocean had in the region’s history.

While reading our own history from the Western colonial or postcolonial eyes, as if it isn’t ours, we have glorified some and lost several other important icons in the narrative. For instance, Tipu Sultan and Ashoka are not the legends they are. Seen from the perspective of the Orissa and Kerala coasts, they appear as mere marauders. Sanyal’s book explains these facts and more.

In the middle of the 18th century, Maratha navy was led by a skillful Admiral Kanhoji Angre. While the British navy were mute spectators on the political happenings on the western coast of India, Angre employed Dutch to command his best vessels and keep British and Portuguese away. He attacked several merchant ships of East India Company. The latter planned an attack on Angre but aborted realising his might in the Konkan coast. To suit their interests, European powers branded Angre a pirate!

While it is attributed that the Russian defeat

at the hands of Japanese in 1905 is generally accepted as the first time when Asians defeated Europeans, Sanyal suggests that the rightful claim should be of Marthanda Varma, king of Travancore. At a time, when Dutch East India Company was way more powerful internationally, as compared to the British one, and took over Indonesia and Sri Lanka and pepper growing areas of Kerala, they looked invincible. Marthanda Varma crushed the Dutch expansionist designs at the Battle of Colachel in 1741. Post this internationally important event, the Dutch power went on a decline.

The book throws light on the initial seeds of growing international diplomacy and power struggle. India systematically lost its leadership as a seafaring nation in the Indian Ocean to Chinese and Arabs starting in the 11th century with the destruction of temples by Turks. The question why India became inward looking suddenly presents a fascinating intellectual inquiry within this context.

An argument floated in the book traces this turn around the collapse of finances due to plundering of temples by the Turks and Mongols. At that time, temples did not just serve cultural functions but were also bankers and financiers to merchants. The systematic destruction of temples not only emasculated cultural life but destroyed the financial structure of ocean-based trade. While the Indians, unable to overcome the Turk and Mongol attacks, decisively became inward looking, they conceded the dominance of the Indian Ocean to Chinese and Arabs. Interestingly, Indian Muslims

continued to trade far longer than the Hindus due to their earlier links to Arabs. Meanwhile, China continued to play its chess moves in the Indian Ocean. However, due to China's domestic policy, there was gradual withdrawal of Chinese which allowed allowing the Europeans to come in.

Sanyal's beautifully stitching together rich anecdotes spread across the history of the Indian Ocean should be lauded. This need to be appreciated because of the richness in the anecdoted with respect to India's exemplary past. To cite an example from his book - that Angkor Wat was the largest urban conglomeration in the world largely controlled by women. In the larger global debate on women and feminism, this historical fact presents the erstwhile 'Orient' (east) in a different light.

Similarly, in the 15th century, there was a sudden decline in the Hindu Buddhist kingdoms of the region. Kingdoms that had lasted for a thousand years, fell like dominos. The reason for the sudden fall of Angkor is attributed to the failure of hydraulics on which rice cultivation depended. Climate change has been the main reason behind the fall of rice based civilizations. This is another cue to reflect on in the wake of the global climate change negotiations.

There are more such interesting stories. Most of the initial western colonisers were really corrupt adventurers who turned up in India. Notable among them was Elihu Yale, who later rose up the ranks of East India Company to become the Governor of Madras. He amassed a huge amount of wealth

through his activities in secret trades, even slavery. A part of this money was used to build the Collegiate School, today known as the Yale University.

Sanyal engrossingly connects the theft of textile technology, beginning of Evangelization in South Asia, the Opium wars and the founding of Singapore. All these activities were carried out at gigantic scales for the nefarious interests of the European criminal enterprise. For instance, Singapore was set up as an attempt to build a naval base for the British so that the Dutch could not shut off their trade route for carrying opium from India to China. Similarly, opium business lay at the heart of building Hong Kong.

The book posits Indians as very outward-looking, risk-taking, and willingly assimilators of experiences from the outside world. This is contrary to the perception of Indians as a race hiding behind the walls of protecting their identity.

Sanyal's own journey for the book mirrors the cosmopolitan outlook he has managed to conjure up for the primitive Indians. He travelled to most of the sites bringing to life several folklore and myths in order to weave an interesting yet complete story replete with facts and speculations. His physical engagement with history from the coasts of Zanzibar to Oman to Kerala to Orissa gives a special touch and feel to his anecdotes.

Indian Ocean mystery is full of over the top characters. Sanyal provides a kaleidoscopic view of these characters in a rich synchronized play narrating the story of their long forgotten churns in the ocean. India was an intrinsic part of this world of churn in several ways. Sanyal's book is a must read for anyone interested in reinterpreting the historical discourse.

The reviewer is a Senior Research Fellow & Project Head at India Foundation.



Upcoming Events

India Ideas Conclave 2016

4-6 November, 2016; Goa

India Foundation organizes India Ideas Conclave that brings together a luminary gathering of policy makers and public intellectuals from India and abroad. Over 350 invited intellectuals including government leaders, corporate leaders, scholars, journalists, politicians and social activists participate in this important conclave where ideas and opinions are exchanged in a candid and scholarly atmosphere.

The first two editions of the conclave saw the participation of scholars from over 25 countries including several Heads of State and other dignitaries. The 3rd India Ideas Conclave is scheduled to take place on November 4-6, 2016 at Goa. The central theme of the Conclave is “**India at 70 – Democracy, Development & Dissent**”.

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

Counter Terrorism Conference 2017

08-10 February, 2017; Jaipur

3rd **Counter Terrorism Conference (CTC 2017)** will be held at **Jaipur** on **08-10 February, 2017**. This Conference will be attended by participants from all over the world, especially from the academia, CT experts, intelligence experts, military and para-military officers, media, politicians and other stake holders in counter-terrorism.

The conference theme will be “**Terrorism in Indian Ocean Region**”. The focus areas include Middle East, Central Asia, SAARC, ASEAN and parts of Pacific.

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

1971 India-Pakistan War: Liberation of Bangladesh

15-16 December, 2016; Delhi

India Foundation is organizing a commemoration programme of the 1971 India – Pakistan war which contributed to the liberation of Bangladesh. The objective of the programme is to acquaint the youth about the war, felicitate those who contributed to the war effort and brainstorm to draw lessons for the future.

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