

INDIA FOUNDATION JOURNAL



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- Mauritius: An Agenda for Development & Growth
- India-Mauritius Relationship: An Enduring Friendship
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Editor's Note

Dear Readers,

India has traditionally seen herself as a land power, but increasingly, its focus on maritime affairs is growing by the day as its national and economic interests are inseparably linked to the Indian Ocean. Writing as far back as the 1940s, KM Pannikar was prescient when he stated "while to other countries the Indian Ocean is only one of the important oceanic areas, to India it is a vital sea. Her lifelines are concentrated in that area, her freedom is dependent on the freedom of that water surface. No industrial development, no commercial growth, no stable political structure is possible for her unless her shores are protected."

The Indian Ocean Region (IOR) remains conflict prone and since the end of the Cold War, it is this region which has seen most of the world's conflicts. This has led to the militarisation of the Indian Ocean, with almost all the world's major powers deploying substantial military forces in the IOR. The economic importance of the Indian Ocean is also immense as through its choke points, transit more than 80 percent of the world's seaborne trade in oil, with 40 percent passing through the Strait of Hormuz, 35 percent through the Strait of Malacca and 8 percent through the Bab el-Mandab Strait.

Besides the economic and military considerations, another pressing and potentially inflammatory issue in the Indian Ocean is the largely unregulated overexploitation of its fishery resources. In 2005, the FAO admitted that 75 percent of fishery resources in the south-western Indian Ocean had been fished to their limits, while the remaining 25 percent had been harvested beyond ecological sustainment. The consequences of over fishing, which is actually largely a result of activity by countries outside the region, could eventually have serious consequences for littoral states that depend heavily on maritime resources to feed their populations and also provide valuable export revenues.

The problems associated with resource and strategic issues are only likely to grow more pronounced over the coming decade, especially with the global economy's continued reliance on energy reserves in the Middle East, Central Asia and Africa. For India, peace, progress and prosperity are hence key issues on any deliberation on the IOR. In an interview with Asia Pacific Defence Reporter, Kim Beazley, Australia's ambassador to the United States, said, 'In the long-term the Indian Ocean is going to be massively more significant in global politics than it has ever been before, and that is the function largely of the fact that the Asia-Pacific region is massively more significant.' India accordingly, must focus more on the IOR, in pursuance of its domestic and foreign policy concerns.



IOR: Promoting Peace, Progress and Prosperity

Ranil Wickremesinghe*



India Ocean is destined to define the future of the world. Sri Lanka, located enviably in the centre of the Indian Ocean is well poised to play a significant role in determining this future. Our shores are washed by the waters of this great ocean. It has shaped us as a distinct people. Our future development is intrinsically linked to it and we share responsibility in keeping its waters safe. We believe, as people of the Indian Ocean, “Peace, Progress and Prosperity” are goals that need to be pursued together. We will continue to take a leading role, in bringing our partners in the Indian Ocean together to deliberate on issues of importance to all of us.

We are meeting at a time when global and financial economic power shifts point towards

Asia. The global economic power rebalance - away from the established advanced economies in North America, Europe and Japan, will continue well into the latter part of the century. Economic dominance, technology and military might, the basis of political power in the West has eroded to a significant extent by the extraordinary economic development of Asia in the last 50 years. The ‘HSBC World in Forecast 2050’ forecasts 19 countries from Asia to be the largest economies by 2050. By 2030 Asia is expected to surpass the West in terms of global power, based on population, GDP, technology and military spending. It is also estimated that, by that time, the unipolar world would be replaced by a multipolar one with USA, China, India, Germany,

**This article is a summary of the speech delivered by Shri Ranil Wickremesinghe, Prime Minister of Sri Lanka on 31st August, 2017 at the 2nd Indian Ocean Conference at Colombo, Sri Lanka organised by India Foundation.*

Japan and Russia positioned as key players.

These predictions are reassured by the recent Price Water House Coopers (PWC) Report: World in 2050. It concludes that 13 (Vietnam, Bangladesh, India, Philippines, Indonesia, Pakistan, Malaysia, Thailand, China, Saudi Arabia, Australia, Iran) out of 32 countries predicted to be leading economies of the world, will be from the Indian Ocean Region. This reality will increase our strategic importance in the globe.

In practical terms, some countries in Asia have already taken over the advanced Western countries in purchasing power parity. Despite projected slowdown, it is predicted that the Chinese economy will supersede the US economy by 2028. India has shown great potential to become the second largest economy in the world in terms of Purchasing Power Parity by 2050. Indonesia, Malaysia and Vietnam are also predicted to achieve remarkable rates in economic growth and to have great potential to take over some of the western countries in the Purchasing Power Parity by 2030. As a region, ASEAN is poised to cover thirty percent of the global GDP, once the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement among the ASEAN countries is concluded.

Despite these promising predictions, intra trade in the Indian Ocean and the Bay of Bengal as well as East Asia remains historically low. South Asia remains the least economically integrated region in the world. Intra-regional trade accounts for only 5 percent of South Asia's total trade, compared to 25 percent in ASEAN. Intra-regional investment is smaller than 1 percent of overall investment. There are several reasons for this setback. They stem from gaps in our policy infrastructure, mistrust and political tension

among major countries, and mindset of certain communities. The Bay of Bengal will be in the strategic spotlight as one of the key transit zones between the Indian and Pacific regions and the pivotal points for maritime security across the Indo Pacific littorals. However, if we could overcome these challenges, the current trade volume of USD 28 billion could grow up to USD 100 billion only in South Asia. In future, the South East Asia economies put together, its minimum viable economic power and its trade volume will be bigger than that of North American Free Trade Agreement.

Regrettably, we are yet to workout multilateral agreements to promote trade in this region. In the circumstances, bilateral trade agreements between littoral countries will substitute Regional Intra Trade. The Government of Sri Lanka has decided to enter into bilateral agreements with the neighboring littoral states without waiting for regional arrangements to be finalized.

We have already entered into Free Trade Agreements with India and Pakistan. We are in the process of deepening our FTA with India to enable greater cooperation. We will finalize a FTA with Singapore and commence negotiations with other littoral states. We are also planning to engage with other countries in the Bay of Bengal Region through Free Trade Agreements so that we reap the benefits of economic potential of the Bay in the future. We will also expand the FTA with Pakistan.

Sri Lanka's development as a shipping, air and business hub will contribute to the development of intra regional trade. I trust that the Economic growth in our region can only be accelerated by increasing intra regional trade and infrastructure development for connectivity. It should aim at

creating a route to enter into global value chain by creating a regional value chain. This will provide the opportunity for countries such as Sri Lanka to indentify tradable factors in our national economy. Development of infrastructure and connectivity will not be sufficient for Sri Lanka to enhance its trade. We need our governments to commit fully to multilateral trading in order to enhance intra regional trade development. These include:

- preventing protectionist trade measures
- implementing ease of doing business measures
- commitment to the WTO Trade Facilitation Agreement
- removing high tariffs – para tariffs and non tariff barriers over agreed time period.

As Indian Ocean partners we can build a policy infrastructure to improve the regional intra trade. We invite one of the Indian Ocean littoral States to host the first meeting of interested littoral states on developing a “Policy framework to promote Intra Regional Trade within an agreed time period.”

Businesses in the Region must grow for intra-regional trade to develop. These Businesses require capital for expansion, which is a scarce commodity. The establishment of an Indian Ocean Development Fund will make such financing available. The Fund will make financial facilities available to National Development Banks which promote growth and expansion by providing capital. To this end, one of the options is to establish a Development Financing Institute for business expansion in the region.

China’s One Belt One Road Initiative (OBOR) is a tool for our development. China announced

the concept back in 2013, and we see after four years it has gained significant economic momentum. OBOR connects Asia, Europe and Africa, and passes through more than 65 countries and regions with a population of about 4.4 billion and a third of the global economy. In Sri Lanka’s view this initiative serves as a platform for member countries of OBOR to contribute to the global value chain. The OBOR has added fresh impetus to China and the rest of the world to promote regional cooperation and presented numerous opportunities for foreign companies to be involved.

Japan’s “Free and Open Indo-Pacific Strategy”, which is an evolution and development of the idea of the “Confluence of the Two Seas”, will also be a channel for creating a broad region. The “Free and Open Indo-Pacific Strategy” foresees a broad region connecting two oceans – the Pacific and Indian Oceans, will include both Asia and Africa. It is designed to promote stability and prosperity of this region as a whole. Sri Lanka sees growing convergence of ideas in terms of maritime cooperation between the Indo-Pacific regions will also derive economic benefits to the Indian Ocean region.

The vital Sea Lanes of Communication in the Indian Ocean that fuels the global economy needs to be open for all and must be used for mutual benefit in a sustainable manner. It is essential to maintain peace and stability in the Indian Ocean Region which will ensure rights of all states to the freedom of navigation and over flight and unhindered lawful maritime commerce are conducted in keeping with current international laws and regulations. In terms of Maritime build up taking place in the Indian Ocean, we see major players such as India, Australia, USA, China, and

Japan envisaging various projects ranging from ocean excavation to placing remote sensors for ocean research. The latter three having their forward naval presence, will play a greater role in maritime affairs. This will also lead to Naval power competitions, which will foresee sea control as well as denials on navigation.

There are 10 critical choke points in the Indian Ocean that remain vulnerable to air and maritime encounters and possible terrorist attacks by non-state actors. Given the rising conflicts in the Middle East and West Asia, world's major powers have deployed substantial military forces in the Indian Ocean Region. This trend will continue to be same at least for some more decades until such time that the world community gets together and resolve causes for these conflicts.

These traditional and modern security concerns are yet to be addressed internationally. Articles 34 – 56 of UNCLOS are insufficient to deal with the concerns that are related to freedom of navigation in the Indian ocean. Therefore, Sri Lanka intends working with all its partners in creating a shared vision for economic and security engagement. A code of conduct that ensures the freedom of navigation in this Ocean will be an essential component of this vision. In this regard, Sri Lanka will soon commence exploratory discussions on convening a meeting to deliberate on a stable legal order on freedom of navigation and over flight in the Indian Ocean. Taking such a course of action will enable the littoral states to take the initiative to manage competition and determine our own fate.

Maintaining the freedom of navigation is of paramount importance for Sri Lanka to become

the hub in the Indian Ocean. It is only then that this country will be able to reap the full benefits of strategic location as well as the availability of ports on all coasts and two international airports with good land connectivity. The air and sea connectivity will naturally promote logistics. Colombo will also be a center for offshore finance and business. Finally Sri Lanka will offer a platform as a manufacturing and service hub enjoying preferential access to the EU markets.

Sri Lanka decided to develop the ports, especially the Hambantota port which some claim to be a military base. Sri Lanka does not enter into military alliances with any country or make bases available to foreign countries in its ports or airports. It will continue military cooperation such as training, supply of equipment and taking part in joint exercises with friendly countries. Only the Sri Lanka Armed Forces have the responsibility for military activity in its ports and airports. We are also working with foreign private investors on the commercial development of our ports.

Sri Lanka is open to trade with all its partners. We aim to become as in the past, a destination of choice for all those looking to tap in to the potential of the Indian Ocean. I look forward to engaging with all interested littoral states in creating a “policy framework to promote intra regional trade within a time line” so that economic activity in the Indian Ocean region can be enhanced. We intend taking leading role in initiating a legal order in the Indian Ocean to ensure freedom of navigation. It is our belief that if we all work for these common objectives, sustainable peace and prosperity in our region can be undoubtedly achieved.



SAGAR – India’s Vision for the Indian Ocean Region

Sushma Swaraj*



Over the millenia, the Indian Ocean and the monsoons have not only shaped the destiny of India, but of all countries in the Indian Ocean Region (IOR). India is, and has always been, a maritime nation. It is home to some of the oldest seaports in the world and historically has had extensive maritime links with Africa, Gulf, Mediterranean, South East Asia and the Far East. The waters of the Indian Ocean have not only carried commerce but have borne India’s culture, religion, and ideas far and wide. India’s location at the very centre of the Indian Ocean has linked us with other cultures, shaped our maritime trade routes, and influenced our strategic thought.

Today, the Indian Ocean is one of the busiest and most critical maritime transportation links in the world. Almost a hundred thousand ships a year pass through these waters, carrying about half of

the world’s container shipments, one-third of the world’s bulk cargo traffic and two-thirds of the oil shipments. The fact that three quarters of this traffic is headed for destinations beyond the region underlines the fact that the Indian Ocean is of vital importance well beyond the shores of the littoral states.

The economies of many of the littoral countries depend heavily on the ports, the shipping, and most importantly, the vast natural resources that enrich these waters with an abundance of marine life. For India, of course, the Indian Ocean is of vital importance - we have an extensive coastline of 7,500 km and several hundred islands between Lakshadweep in the west and the Andaman and Nicobar islands in the east. Our southernmost tip is just 90 nautical miles from Indonesia. Our Exclusive Economic Zone is 2.4

**This article is a summary of the inaugural address delivered by Smt. Sushma Swaraj, Minister of External Affairs, Government of India, on 31st August, 2017 at the 2nd Indian Ocean Conference at Colombo, Sri Lanka organised by India Foundation.*

million square kilometres and 90% of our trade by volume and almost all of our oil imports come through the sea. Clearly, it is but natural that India's role as the key pivot in the Indian Ocean region is a given, not only geographically but by virtue of a shared historical and cultural heritage that binds us all across these waters.

Our vision for the Indian Ocean Region, therefore, is to preserve its organic unity while advancing cooperation. We will use our capabilities for the collective well being, and the mutual benefit of our maritime neighbours and island states in building their capabilities. As we envisage the Indian Ocean as an engine for growth and prosperity in our region and beyond, it is of utmost importance that these waters remain safe and secure. We consider it an imperative that those who live in this region bear the primary responsibility for the peace, stability and prosperity of the Indian Ocean.

This vision was enunciated by Prime Minister Modi in March 2015 when he put forward the concept of SAGAR – “Security and Growth for All in the Region”. This is a clear, high-level articulation of India's vision for the Indian Ocean. SAGAR has distinct but inter-related elements and underscore India's engagement in the Indian Ocean. These are enhancing capacities to safeguard land and maritime territories & interests; deepening economic and security cooperation in the littoral; promoting collective action to deal with natural disasters and maritime threats like piracy, terrorism and emergent non-state actors; working towards sustainable regional development through enhanced collaboration; and, engaging with countries beyond our shores with the aim of building greater trust and promoting respect for maritime rules, norms and peaceful

resolution of disputes. The principles enshrined in SAGAR provide us with a coherent framework to address some of the challenges relating to economic revival, connectivity, security, culture and identity, and India's own evolving approach to these issues. The challenge before us is to ensure intra-ocean trade and investment, and the sustainable harnessing of the wealth of the seas, including food, medicines and clean energy.

A related aspect is the emergence of the ‘Blue Economy’ as a promising new pillar of prosperity in the region, with immense economic and employment potential. We are already engaging our neighbours in Blue Economy initiatives, particularly in the areas of marine bio-technology, exploration and sustainable exploitation of ocean mineral resources, sustainable fishing practices, and harnessing of ocean energy.

In India, we are implementing targeted programmes for re-energising economic activity in our islands and our coastal areas. There is also a renewed focus on strengthening marine research, developing eco-friendly marine industrial technologies, promoting sustainable fisheries and, ensuring the protection of the maritime environment. We remain committed to extending port connectivity among the littoral states of the Indian Ocean and beyond. This is the objective behind the Sagarmala initiative, which aims to establish new ports and modernise old ones.

It is only natural, therefore, that connectivity is one of the major themes of Prime Minister Modi's ‘Neighbourhood First’ policy. We continue to work on a range of projects to improve maritime logistics in Sri Lanka, Maldives, Mauritius and Seychelles. Our other initiatives include the Kaladan transport project leading to Sittwe port in Myanmar; the Trilateral Highway to

Thailand; and, the Chabahar port project in Iran.

But most of all, for the Indian Ocean economic revival to be sustainable, the waters must not only be better connected but they should remain free from non-traditional and traditional threats that could impede the seamless movement of goods, people and ideas. Security is fundamental to the ‘SAGAR’ vision. If the revitalized maritime economy of the Indian Ocean region is to be a force for global economic growth in the coming years, it is essential that the waters remain peaceful, stable and secure. It is imperative too, that all stake holders abide by a rules-based global order. The Indian Ocean is prone to non-traditional security threats like piracy, smuggling, maritime terrorism, illegal fishing, and trafficking of humans and narcotics. We realize that to effectively combat transnational security challenges across the Indian Ocean, including those posed by non-state actors, it is important to develop a security architecture that strengthens the culture of cooperation and collective action.

The success of maritime cooperative action against piracy in the Gulf of Aden is an example of the benefits of a cooperative approach which resulted in a dramatic decline in piracy incidents in the region. India is prepared to bear its share of responsibility in this regard. Our response to security challenges in the Indian Ocean will be based on our national capabilities, complemented by participation in relevant regional platforms.

India is a founding member of the Contact Group on Piracy and has actively participated in anti-piracy patrols in the Gulf of Aden and off the Horn of Africa; and, undertaken joint EEZ patrols off the waters of Maldives, Seychelles, and Mauritius.

An effective response mechanism to address humanitarian crises and natural disasters is perhaps the most visible element of the evolving Indian Ocean security strategy. In recent years, India has promptly responded to humanitarian crisis, whether man-made or natural, in its neighbourhood. Humanitarian assistance and disaster relief (HADR) form an important part of our outreach efforts.

Indian ships were involved in the safe evacuation of over 2,000 Indian expatriates and over 1,300 foreign nationals from Yemen in April 2015. We carried out rescue missions in Libya, Lebanon and Somalia. India has been the “first responder” to calls of assistance - providing relief supplies and medical assistance to flood ravaged peoples of Sri Lanka in June 2017 or to rescuing Bangladeshis swept off the coast due to cyclone Mora or to alleviating the acute drinking water crisis in Maldives in 2014 when we airlifted 1,000 tonnes of fresh water to Male. India also dispatched cyclone relief materials to Fiji in February 2016.

Indian Ocean Conference provides an opportunity to deepen our understanding of the economic and strategic importance of the Indian Ocean. An understanding of the myriad synergies that bring this region together and connect it to the world beyond is not just an academic exercise, but an imperative if we are to succeed in evolving a meaningful cooperative strategy for ensuring peace, progress and prosperity in this region.

This underlies India’s own approach to its maritime neighborhood – we see the Indian Ocean as not just a water body, but a global stage for continued economic, social, and cultural dialogue.



Economic & Strategic Importance of the Indian Ocean

Vivian Balakrishnan*



Singapore is the Southern-most tip of continental Asia, one and a half degrees north of equator. And if you try to connect the Indian Ocean to the Pacific Ocean, chances are you will pass by Singapore. So the Indian Ocean is an area of major interest to us.

Singapore had the privilege of hosting the inaugural Indian Ocean Conference in 2016, which was well-received, with participants from 22 countries attending. The theme of the inaugural Indian Ocean Conference (IOC) was “Comity, Culture and Commerce”. The theme of IOC-2017 is “Peace, Progress and Prosperity.”

Peace

It is remarkable that the Indian Ocean, which

has been a stage for the exchange of knowledge, culture and religion across the enormous diversity of all our states, for the past 4,000 years, has been marked by peace. If you think about the Pacific or Atlantic Oceans, even the Mediterranean Sea, what makes the Indian Ocean outstanding over the past 4,000 years is the remarkable presence of peace in almost its entire history. And perhaps we should ask ourselves, why is it that the Indian Ocean was an area of peace for so many years? Why is it that we could have merchants from many independent states coming from a very wide diversity of ethnic and cultural backgrounds being able to transact, travel, exchange and trade peacefully?

If you think about it, the first wave of

**This article is a summary of the address delivered by Dr. Vivian Balakrishnan, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Singapore on 31st August, 2017 at the 2nd Indian Ocean Conference at Colombo, Sri Lanka organized by India Foundation.*

globalisation was conducted in this part of the world. The early civilisations in ancient Egypt, Sumer and Indus Valley arguably owe much of their prosperity to the trade in the Indian Ocean. Over time, we saw increasingly complex trade routes linking the East African coast to the Arabian Peninsula, South Asia, Southeast Asia and South China. In the 13th and 14th century, this thriving trade was witnessed by chroniclers such as Marco Polo and Ibn Battuta.

Arab merchants facilitated the widespread and peaceful adoption of an authentic and tolerant form of Islam in Southeast Asia. In fact, Islam in Southeast Asia was achieved through trade and persuasion but never through the sword. The point here is that continued prosperity in the Indian Ocean is contingent on the Indian Ocean remaining peaceful. Therefore, the converse is that if the stability in the Indian Ocean comes under threat, so does our prosperity. For a small trading nation like Singapore where trade is three and a half times our GDP, this is an existential issue.

Progress

We all know that trade in the Indian Ocean helped to vastly improve the quality of life of all those who participated in it. While the fabled overland Silk Route was far more famous, when you think about it, far more people benefitted from the maritime trade in the Indian Ocean.

With seaborne trade, you could trade in bulk goods including cotton cloth, foodstuffs, timber, which could not be loaded onto camels or mules. So for instance, we see wood, or timber, being shipped from Africa to the Arabian Peninsula, where timber is scarce but needed for the

construction of buildings. Sri Lanka provided high quality peppers and spices that were valued the world over.

This was a form of democratisation of trade. For the first time, the mass market consumer benefitted from global trade, and it was not just a question of luxury goods such as silks for the elites which were more commonly transported via the overland Silk Road.

Even today, sea transport is still the most cost-effective way to transport goods. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) estimates that roughly 80 per cent of global trade by volume and 70 per cent by value is transported by sea – and we know that a huge proportion of that flows through the Indian Ocean. And this is also why the 1982 United Nations Conventions on the Law of the Sea, or UNCLOS for short, is of such crucial importance for those of us bordering the Indian Ocean.

The opening up of trade and economies helped to raise the standard of living for all of us. And because this was a democratised form of trade of commodities, it benefitted everyone. It provided a catalyst for the exchange of ideas and technologies, development of infrastructure, and increased prosperity for all of us.

Prosperity

We are now in a new age of uncertainty. You can think of the changing relativities amongst superpowers, or the changing trade patterns. But there is one other factor, and that is what some people have called the Industrial Revolution 4.0.

There is a sense in many countries that middle class wages are stagnating. There is anxiety about

job losses because jobs may become obsolete. The problem is you see it in the political arena. You see a rising tide of protectionism and anti-immigration sentiment worldwide – and this happens in all our societies and the tone of political debate reflects this.

Unfortunately, free and open trade has very often been blamed for this anxiety. But the reality is that we are living through a technological revolution.

There has been near simultaneous advances in pervasive computing, mobile and broadband communications, Artificial Intelligence, robotics, 3D printing, and additive manufacturing and Augmented Reality, in addition to further revolutions in nanotechnology and genomics. All this has completely transformed the way value is created and the way the fruits of these values are distributed. That is why there is this angst and anxiety in our societies.

We need to make the right diagnosis. We need that to come up with the right solution. In Singapore we believe in making sure that our people are equipped with the right skills, with the tools and knowledge that they need. And therefore it is in a sense a new way of focussing and transforming our education and our training systems. This is the only way to close the gap between a skills mismatch and a jobs mismatch.

If we can do so effectively across the Indian Ocean, then we will be able to ride on the historical

advantages of the Indian Ocean as an ocean of peace and as a medium which has transmitted ideas, which has facilitated trade, and which has uplifted all our societies.

Inclusive and sustainable growth is not a zero-sum game. No nation today can succeed in the age of disruption by erecting walls or barriers, protectionism, or insulation. Instead, we need to go back to the ancient philosophy of the Indian Ocean which is to embrace our interdependence as well as an open and inclusive regional architecture, and eschew attempts at domination. Instead we should focus on interdependence, win-win collaboration and the exchange of ideas, tools and technologies in a fair and just way. So if we can achieve globalisation in this difficult environment, it will give us a chance to leapfrog many other parts of the world. I hope, with some reasonable optimism, that we will be the most vibrant and dynamic economic space in the world in decades to come.

The region has a demographic dividend that has not yet been fully harvested. If you look at the Indian Ocean compared to the Pacific or even the Atlantic, we have a significantly younger population hungry for knowledge, able to utilise the latest digital tools and they deserve our support. All of us must commit to creating this future for them when there will be a new golden age for a new middle class equipped with the necessary knowledge, skills, tools and relationships.



IOR: Upholding the Rule of Law

Iwao Horii*

The 21st Century is an era led by the Indo-Pacific region. Last year, Prime Minister Abe introduced the “Free and Open Indo-Pacific Strategy.” Japan believes that a key to stability and prosperity of the international community is dynamism which will be generated by combining the “Two Continents,” Asia and Africa, and the “Two Oceans,” the Indian and Pacific Oceans. Toward this goal, the governments and peoples of all countries in the region must continue to make efforts.

Upholding Order Based on Universal Values

First, in order to bring prosperity to the Indo-Pacific Ocean, we must stand for values shared in Asia, such as freedom, democracy and the rule of law. We must stand firm against attempts to challenge those values and spirit.

The North Korea issue is the utmost priority which requires firm actions of the international community. Since January last year, North Korea has conducted two nuclear tests and launched nearly 40 ballistic missiles. North Korea has been continuing provocative actions, including the intolerable launch of a ballistic missile which flew over the Japanese territory. These actions by North Korea are totally unacceptable as they constitute unprecedented serious and grave threats against the security of the international community. Moreover, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction from North Korea is a serious factor of instability for our region.

The international community must put maximum pressure on North Korea to force it to



take concrete action, towards realizing the verifiable denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula. Japan continues to strongly demand North Korea to refrain from provocative actions, including nuclear tests and ballistic missile launches, and to comply with the Security Council resolutions. Another challenge is the growing threats to the rule of law in the Indo-Pacific region. Whether at sea or on land, we observe unilateral attempts to change the status quo by force without respecting dialogue and international law. On the South China Sea issue, in particular, it is essential to pursue peaceful settlement of disputes based on international law, including the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, and demilitarization of disputed features.

To realize free and open Indo-Pacific region based on the rule of law, it is important for all countries in this region to have serious concerns and raise voice against all activities that violate the rule of law.

** This article is a summary of the address delivered by Mr. Iwao Horii, Parliamentary Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, Government of Japan on 31st August, 2017, at the 2nd Indian Ocean Conference at Colombo, Sri Lanka organized by India Foundation.*

Enhancing Regional Connectivity

The second important point is enhancing the regional connectivity in a free, open and transparent manner. In order to fully unleash the potential of this region, it is vitally important to connect Japan, Southeast and Southwest Asia by land and ocean. It is to lay a foundation for further smooth flows of people and goods. Japan's cooperation is not just building roads, railways and ports with its high technology. We also support improvement of cross-border customs procedures and development of areas around economic corridors including Special Economic Zones. In this way, we realize "vibrant and effective connectivity" whereby infrastructure is better utilized.

In particular, Sri Lanka, situated in a strategic point in the Indian Ocean, has huge potential. Japan is ready to cooperate for further development of the Port of Colombo through partnership between the government and private companies that have world-class logistics networks. If progress is made in the construction of the light metro system and the improvement of the environment for private-sector investment, Colombo will become more attractive as a commercial center.

Through Public-Private Partnership, Japan will extend its utmost support to help Sri Lanka become a hub of the Indian Ocean which is truly export-competitive. In order to realize regional connectivity, we need sustainable development based on free and open rules. Development which is inconsistent with the principles of fairness and transparency and lacks economic efficiency or sound finances brings no benefit to the local

community. Development based on unfair or non-transparent procedures and fiscally unsound development will leave an enormous burden for future generations and bring no benefits to local communities. It is the people of Sri Lanka who best understand this. Actions that prevent the development and prosperity of Asia must never be accepted.

Capacity Building Assistance

Third, for this purpose, Japan will provide capacity building assistance to the countries in this region. Capacity building to improve the maritime law enforcement capability is particularly important. Japan spares no effort to support coastal states in Asia. To resolve the root causes of piracy, armed robbery at sea, illegal, unreported and unregulated fishing (IUU fishing), maritime crimes and terrorism, Japan will provide seamless support for the countries' efforts to protect seas. Japan will do it through a combination of various measures, including ODA, defense equipment cooperation, and capacity building assistance.

Japan will work to enhance maritime capability of Sri Lanka by providing two patrol ships through ODA, as well as implementing joint training of maritime law enforcement agencies together with India. With the cooperation of all countries concerned, "Free and Open Indo-Pacific Ocean" will surely be realized.

We, as citizens of the Indo-Pacific region, possess the potential of becoming a role model of the world. The key to unleashing the potential is freedom, democracy and the rule of law. Japan will work together with the international community to champion these important values.



USA's Vision for Indian Ocean

Alice G. Wells*



A long-standing facet of U.S. foreign policy is that the United States is - and will continue to be - an Indo-Pacific power. For more than seven decades, we have embraced the responsibilities this distinction requires across this vast expanse, from the shores of East Africa to the western coast of the Americas. This will not change in the decades to come.

America's connection to this dynamic region is not new; more than two centuries ago, ships from New England sailed along trade routes in the Indian Ocean carrying spices, tea, and even ice between Boston and Kolkata. Fast forwarding

to today, USA's partnerships and shared strategic interests in this region remain as compelling as ever. I want to share USA's vision for the Indian Ocean, as well as the precepts guiding U.S. engagement and diplomacy.

First, we must have a common vision for the Indian Ocean that enhances economic growth, transparent development, and regional integration. Regional initiatives that prioritize accountability, open markets, and delivery of tangible benefits to citizens of the region will be the most sustainable.

Second, countries must be able to effectively counter security threats in the Indian Ocean as well

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as respond to humanitarian and environmental disasters. Through joint capacity building and exercises, we can share the security burden in this increasingly complex region.

Finally, we must support a principled regional architecture that unites us to support international standards, including freedom of navigation and the peaceful resolution of disputes. All nations have the right to freely fly, sail, and operate wherever international law allows.

Let's start with the economic imperatives. The Indian Ocean is at the fulcrum of global trade and commerce, with nearly half of the world's 90,000 commercial vessels and two thirds of global oil trade traveling through its sea lanes. The region boasts some of the fastest-growing economies on Earth, and is home to a quarter of the world's population, 500 million of whom still lack access to reliable power. Bolstering economic integration will lead to sustainable and inclusive growth. For example, if South and Southeast Asia reduced non-tariff barriers by 50 percent — an ambitious but attainable goal — increased intra-region trade would net \$568 billion in increased GDP by 2030.

Already, American companies operate across the region, supplying everything from bottled drinks to airplane parts. In India alone, over 600 American companies have contributed to a 500 percent increase in FDI over the past two years. The United States plans to deliver over \$600 million dollars of investment into Nepal's transportation and energy sectors, yet another sign that its commercial ties to the Indian Ocean are growing deeper by the day.

USA is partnering with South Asian countries to develop legal and regulatory regimes that encourage transparent FDI, build resilient energy infrastructure, and connect budding entrepreneurs with the resources they need to develop their ideas. As President Trump and Prime Minister Modi underscored during their June summit, both India and the United States are committed to bolstering regional economic connectivity through transparent infrastructure development and responsible debt financing practices.

The U.S. is building partnerships through the Safe Ocean Network to combat illegal, unreported, and unregulated fishing, an issue threatening maritime economies around the world. This initiative encourages coordinated action to detect violations, enforce laws, and prosecute those engaged in illegal activities. More than 40 partners from around the world have joined the Safe Ocean Network, and we welcome every nation here to join.

In South Asia, USA's regional partners are doing their part. India is forging stronger trade and infrastructure ties with its neighbors through its Act East policy. In one example, Bangladesh, India, and Nepal are implementing a Motor Vehicle Agreement to allow free movement of goods and people across their borders. USA also commends progress in BIMSTEC and hope agreements on electricity grid connectivity and transport can be finalized before the next BIMSTEC Summit.

While the region offers unprecedented opportunity, it is also confronting a myriad of

security challenges, including terrorism, transnational crime, trafficking-in-persons, and illicit drugs. To combat these challenges, the United States has sought to improve intelligence-sharing among regional partners and improve capacity-building in areas like community policing, counter-narcotics, aviation security, and forensics analysis. There is also a critical need to expand engagement on maritime domain awareness. In the increasingly crowded maritime environment, the sharing of reliable information is the foundation for greater cooperation.

US is also expanding its navy-to-navy relationship with Sri Lanka. With Bangladesh, US values its continued engagement through regular exercises like the Southeast Asia Cooperation and Training series. US hopes that one day in the not too distant future, all the navies of this region can jointly participate in exercises and coordinate maritime activities to build collective capacity and uphold international standards.

In order to realize our shared goal of an Indian Ocean region that is open, principled, and resilient, we will need a robust regional framework for bilateral and multilateral cooperation — one in which all states have a say and are invested in decision-making and outcomes. Regional partners

must adhere to a common vision that:

- Respects international law as reflected in the Law of the Sea Convention;
- Supports an economic, political, and social linkages between South and East Asia;
- Develops the region’s humanitarian and disaster relief capacity through maritime exercises involving all Indian Ocean partners; and
- Encourages Indian Ocean economies to embrace visa liberalization, competitive markets, and accessible medical and educational facilities.

Last Month, President Trump proclaimed that the United States is “committed to pursuing our shared objectives for peace and security in South Asia and the broader Indo-Pacific region.”

This vision builds upon the Indian Ocean principles the President and Prime Minister Modi announced in June. US desire for a common vision signifies its enduring commitment to this region and our shared goals of promoting peace, security, freedom of navigation, and a sustainable and open architecture across the Indian Ocean. US invites every nation in the region to join in this common endeavor. And, through our collective leadership, we can be a model for the rest of the world.



Nurturing Growth and Resurgence in IOR

S. Jaishankar*



A number of noteworthy developments pertaining to the Indian Ocean region have taken place over the last one year. My remarks are broadly aimed at analyzing those contextual happenings, while also explaining India's evolving thinking on this important subject.

Some months ago, at an interaction on this subject in this very city, the significance in geopolitics of oceans in general and the Indian Ocean in particular was raised. It was brought out that we do not think of oceanic spaces as we do of continents and instead regard them more as a neutral, characterless vacuum to be filled by those most active. The granular complexity that a large landmass would present does not automatically extend to equally substantial maritime space. Some of that is understandable because it does not have the same population density. But

somewhere in our thinking is the assumption, probably reinforced by the colonial period, to regard the seas as passages to transit and not an arena of activity by itself. The point I wish to underline is that perhaps the time has come for us to devote more energies and attention to a greater understanding of maritime activities and cultures and not regard them simply as an adjunct to the littoral.

Now, even as oceans go, the Indian Ocean is one that has been particularly disadvantaged in recent history. The irony actually is that it has long had an essential unity that is based on the monsoons. In fact, if anything, it is relatively unique in that regard. No other part of the maritime world has its fundamental economic activities so directly derived from cycles of nature. This unity was expressed over the ages primarily through

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maritime trade rhythms, that then carried over into migration, traditions, practices and faith. As a result, this ocean evolved its own special identity that is based on mobility, acceptance and inter-penetration. This historical inheritance is visible across its expanse, whether it is Hindu temples in Bali and My Son, in fact all the way upto Zhengzhou in Arab communities in Aceh and Eastern Sri Lanka or the Waqwaq settlers in Madagascar. Indeed, there are few more striking examples of global trends being expressed through the region as local presence. Remnants of influence after so many centuries only give us a partial sense of the intensity and vibrancy of what must have been one of the most active economic highways across this enormous geography. That they still tell their tale testifies to the fact that the overall ethos of the Indian Ocean was one of co-existence and adjustment, where respect for diversity was intrinsic to the promotion of trade. If we are to revive a sharper sense of its own identity, it is important to appreciate and foster this multi-chromatic picture of the Indian Ocean.

If pluralism and syncretism are deep historical traits in the recent past, they have been strengthened by liberalism as well. When we stop and think about it, the Indian Ocean is the most populous English speaking lake in the world, larger than the Atlantic. The colonial era did much damage to this ocean community. But it did leave some good behind in institutions, practices and values that today are naturally supportive of international norms and rule of law. My point, therefore, is that a combination of history – both ancient and more recent – provide the foundation today to build a more contemporary region with its own personality.

The reasons why we do not readily appreciate

this unity of the Indian Ocean are complex and worthy of a debate by themselves. In part, it was the effect of the lateral fragmentation of the region by external powers. Colonial powers certainly created artificial firewalls through their administrative jurisdictions that diluted centuries of natural movements and contacts. Their dominance also saw an accentuation in the divisions between the ocean and its littoral societies with a shrinking of local maritime practices and capabilities. As these inherent traditions of sea-faring diminished due to the pressures of European presence, we were left with a less active visualization of this vast global commons. Decolonization and emergence of modern nation states again put such a strong emphasis on territoriality that it further reduced the salience of regional and trans-regional cooperation and flows. The Indian Ocean was thus seen as less intrinsically coherent than, say, the Atlantic or the Pacific. Even its constituents like the Bay of Bengal or the Arabian Sea are not deemed to have a culture like the Mediterranean, the Caribbean or the North Sea. The questions which arise – and are no doubt subjects for this Conference – are whether we should revive the ethos of the Indian Ocean region, whether we can, and if so, how do we do it?

The case for investing more effort into the revival of the identity and community of the Indian Ocean is now gathering greater support. It could be said that our collective presence at Colombo is itself an affirmation of those objectives. There are a number of reasons that explain this trend. To begin with, the littoral countries have generally developed strongly in the last few decades, with higher economic growth, better social indices, greater political influence and more confident

postures. Together, they have lifted the overall region to greater prominence in world affairs. It is their aggregate national development, when combined with the progress of East Asia, that has led to the resurgence of Asia in global politics. The practical consequences of this growth have been a very marked increase – both from the demand and supply side – of goods and commodities through the Indian Ocean. As a result, the Ocean may well be on track to reclaim its historical reputation as the world's primary economic highway.

Now, it is rare for opportunities and benefits to come without challenges or responsibilities and the Indian Ocean is no exception. We have already seen greater threats of piracy at its extremities. There are other factors that could also impede the regular flow of commerce. The Ocean and its littorals are particularly vulnerable to the threats of radicalization and terrorism. They are also feeling the consequences of climate change while being susceptible to pandemics. It is evident that responses must come from the neighbourhood itself. Both natural and man-made disaster and humanitarian situations can and will occur in a part of the world where fault lines of various kinds run deep. From the perspective of Indian experience, we have seen that recently in the civil war in Yemen, in the earthquake in Nepal, water crisis in Maldives and landslides in Sri Lanka. Today, we cannot realistically expect that distant societies that are increasingly engrossed in themselves would react to emergency situations far away. This is an era of dispersed power arrangements that call for self-help and burden sharing. The Indian Ocean, like many other regions, must find more solutions within.

Reconstituting a community identity in the

Indian Ocean will be a painstaking endeavour. In its structured format, it would require oceanic forums like the Indian Ocean Rim Association to acquire greater content and higher profile. But that perhaps is an overly formal way of approaching what is a complex challenge. At the end of the day, getting a large number of countries with distinctive histories and diverse cultures to collect around a shared ocean space requires institutional and informal, regional and global, economic, cultural and civil society solutions. Building blocks do exist, once we start thinking of them in that manner. From the security perspective, the Indian Ocean Naval Symposium offers a broad-based platform for exchange of views. We have initiatives like ReCAAP and SOMS in South East Asia and CGPCS (Contact Group on Piracy off the Coast of Somalia) and anti-piracy patrols in the Gulf of Aden at the western extremity of this ocean. In addition, there are national, bilateral and plurilateral cooperative endeavours in play in the fields of maritime domain awareness, coastal surveillance and white shipping that contribute to larger oceanic security and safety. In this uncertain world, if there is a point of agreement, it is that the salience of alliances is decreasing. It is equally apparent that old fashioned military rivalries are giving way to more subtle and complicated competitions for influence. The future is to get nations whose interests are aligned or even overlap to work together on global and regional challenges in a non-formal but effective way. That would mean somewhat different agendas and conversations, with a more open mind and an appreciation for what each player can bring to the table. This trend is visible already in naval exercises, strategic consultations or infrastructure projects. Stability and order cannot be built only

on the strength of capabilities. It must be tempered by the discipline of law, in this case respect for UNCLOS which was recognized by IORA as the constitution for the oceans. Freedom of navigation and over flight must be a given.

At the same time, let us not forget that this region boasts of established regional organizations, foremost among them being the ASEAN. The GCC in the Gulf, SADC in Africa or the BIMSTEC in Bay of Bengal can each make their contribution felt towards a larger cause. In fact, it could even be contemplated that larger global organizations like the Commonwealth could collaborate to strengthen capacities in the Indian Ocean region. Another promising avenue of exploration are initiatives like the Asia-Africa Growth Corridor (AAGC) whose vision document was unveiled at the recent meeting of the African Development Bank, or the International North-South Transport Corridor that promises to reduce transit time and costs to Europe. Connecting these many dots and lines to create a greater sense of coherence is a growing necessity.

Clearly, much depends on how the possibilities of connectivity unfold in Asia. There are today various approaches and initiatives that offer choices to the nations of this region. Many would understandably like to make the best of all these opportunities. But the experiences of the last decade underline the importance of making mature and considered decisions in this regard. There is a growing understanding that following universally recognized international norms, good governance, rule of law, transparency, openness and equality are essential for better outcomes. Even more critical is observing principles of financial responsibility, ensuring transfer of technology and promoting a sense of local

ownership. The ethos of the Indian Ocean is a consultative one and in the long run, it is the people-centric initiatives and projects that are likely to be more sustainable. While we tend to think of connectivity in physical terms, let us not forget that it has its softer aspects that are actually no less important. People-to-people contacts, religious travel and exchanges, heritage conservation and cultural promotion are all enabling factors that can contribute to a greater sense of bonding among societies. It is, therefore, essential that we approach the connectivity challenge with a holistic perspective – community centered not transactional - that has a purpose of common good as its primary driving force.

India's particular contribution to the prospects of the Indian Ocean region was spelt out in detail by the External Affairs Minister yesterday. I would categorize them into four broad themes: (a) hinterland linkages and strengthening regionalism (b) maritime contributions and support (c) linking South Asia to South East Asia through an Act East policy and to the Gulf through a Think West approach, and (d) assume larger responsibilities as a net security provider with an integrated approach, reflected in the SAGAR (Security and Growth for All in the Region) vision. Each of these aspects is by now sufficiently advanced to be appreciated by those who have an interest in this region's future. I would particularly emphasise that India is today devoting greater resources and energy and assigning greater priority to building connectivity, contacts and cooperation at the heart of its Neighbourhood First policy. This is evident in progress in areas like power generation and transmission, rail and road transport, port and waterways transport and in educational and health exchanges with virtually all its neighbours. In

parallel, we have endeavoured to ensure the safety and security of maritime traffic through the ocean by strengthening skills and logistics of our southern neighbours like Sri Lanka, Maldives, Mauritius and Seychelles. In this context, let me also emphasise that states with necessary capabilities have an obligation to ensure that smaller states are made more secure through EEZ surveillance and that their full rights are established through hydrographic cooperation. We will be guided by the development and security priorities of our partners and our approach will focus on the big picture, rather than be driven by narrower reciprocal considerations.

No analysis of the Indian Ocean would be complete without capturing the development at its extremities, be they the eastern coast of Africa or the Pacific islands. The holding of Pacific Islands Summits and the enhancement of our engagements and development projects is as important a development as our shared goal of climate justice. The story of India's development assistance to Africa has similarly not got the attention it deserves, partly because it does not play to the gallery. On the contrary, its focus on people-centric economic and social activities has given it a lower profile though broader support. In the last few years alone, projects financed and built by India span a wide range of sectors across this vast geography. They include water projects from Tanzania to Sierra Leone, hydel and thermal power plants in Congo and Zambia to Sudan, rural electricity networks in Mozambique and Gambia, sugar factories in Malawi and Ethiopia and IT projects and vocational training centres across the continent. We are today closely engaged with the

East African countries on the Indian Ocean periphery with whom we have longer historical contact and closer proximity.

A few words about the IORA. In 2011, we had proposed at the 11th Council of Ministers Meeting at Bengaluru that cooperation focus on maritime safety and security, trade and investment facilitation, fisheries management, disaster risk management, academics and S&T, and tourism and cultural exchange. Our focus currently is to ensure that initiatives announced at the 2016 Bali COM meeting are expeditiously implemented. Five of them – the Blue Economy dialogue, the Indian Ocean seminar, the International Relations conference, the SME workshop and the initiative to set up a centre for medicinal plants – have progressed. Plans are underway to deliver on commitments on water, science and technology, water security and sustainability, women's entrepreneurship, innovation exposition, maritime safety and security, media exchanges and renewable energy.

The Indian Ocean is about people, culture and commerce. Appreciating its complex texture and intricate nuances is essential to nurture its growth and resurgence. It must be approached with empathy, not as a business. It must be treated as a partner, not as an arena. The goal must be interdependence, not dominance. An authoritative account of this region noted that while the monsoons may no longer dictate when ships can travel, yet its rhythms still pervade the lives of billions of people. The Indian Ocean is renewing its status as a zone of encounters and a cross-roads of culture. The time is approaching for it to come back into its own.



Nepal-India Relations: From the Perspective of Democracy and Development

Sher Bahadur Deuba*



India completed 70 years of its independence. The progress that India has made in various sectors is an exemplary story of our times. India's achievements in the fields of science, technology, and social innovation have been a particular inspiration.

India has also proved that it is democracy that binds diverse societies together while promoting tolerance and individual dignity. By showing one can achieve these high ideals even at low national incomes; democracy has been India's gift to developing world.

We hope for a strong, stable, peaceful, democratic and prosperous Nepal. We know this is also in the interest of our neighbours. On our part, Nepal has made it clear that under no

circumstances would it allow its soil to be used against its neighbours. Beyond solidarity India is also one of Nepal's most important partners in development. It has been a reliable friend and neighbour in need and hardship.

We are grateful for India's generous support towards socio-economic change, and humanitarian assistance in Nepal going back decades. We also share several regional and global platforms. It is our firm conviction that international cooperation is not a choice but a compulsion. Nepal aspires to grow together with SAARC and BIMSTEC countries.

Our main priority is better connectivity of infrastructure, technology, energy, markets, ideas and high culture. We also seek meaningful

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cooperation in trade, investment, tourism and finance.

Transnational challenges such as terrorism, climate change, natural disasters and food security pose a new genre of challenges. Nepal condemns terrorism in all its forms and manifestations. We call for concerted efforts to combat this menace wherever it is seen. In addition to natural hazards like the earthquakes of 2015, Nepal is also bearing the brunt of climate change despite negligible contribution to greenhouse gas emissions.

We recall with pride the active participation of great Nepali leaders like B.P. Koirala in India's freedom movement. They responded to the call of Gandhiji, boycotted government schools and joined the Quit India Movement in 1942. B.P. Koirala taught us, "Democracy is indivisible, if you want democracy at home, you cannot afford to neglect all struggles for it." He believed that when the British rule ends in India, it would be Nepal's turn for democracy. He was prophetic. In seven decades of struggle, democracy has seen ups and downs in Nepal. We are grateful to the people and the Government of India for their goodwill and moral support for all democratic movements in Nepal since the 1950s.

After the historic people's movement in 2006, Nepal today is in midst of a profound transformation. The constitution we promulgated in 2015 was written in the most democratic and inclusive manner. It accommodates aspirations of diverse ethnic groups. It guarantees every woman right to lineage and right to property without discrimination. All full and fair gender balance is ensured in all high offices of state.

Still, we consider our constitution to be a living and dynamic document that is open to

revisions as and when required. Just three days ago, we voted on an important amendment to address the concerns raised by people from Tarai-Madhesh. Though the amendment did not muster the two-thirds majority of votes required, the process brought to the forefront the wider acceptance and importance of the issue raised. It showed the commitment of parties like the Nepali Congress to redress grievances of its citizens.

As all of us know, politics is process. For our democracy to mature, we have realized that it is necessary to overcome the legacy of the past. We will take everybody along on the journey towards greater prosperity, inclusion and dignity. Democracies must deliver to stay relevant in a world that is deeply inter-connected. Today's citizens demand better governance to advance their rising aspirations.

Our foreign policy is dictated by the interest of the Nepali people and the principles of Panchsheel. The five principles of peaceful co-existence that are derived from the teachings of Siddhartha Gautam – the enlightened son of Nepal. Nepal's foreign policy priority begins with its neighbouring countries. We consider trust as a prerequisite to an enduring relationship. Nepal-India relations are unique and unparalleled in character. People of the two countries share special bonds and affinity. From Janakpur to Ayodhya, Lumbini to Bodhgaya, or Pashupatinath to Vishwanath, we share a common set of values, culture and civilization.

The advent of democracy has further honed people-to-people contacts and deepened mutual trust across a wide spectrum. But my emphasis is on the fact that the more policy challenges become complex, the greater the salience of democracy to garner consensus and mediate likely conflicts.



The world watches Asia with great interest today. While this region is the world's brightest spot in the 21st century, there are also major challenges staring at us. We need to work together to make the most of existing opportunities. A shared vision of prosperity based on the foundation of peace, stability and democracy, we hope, will uplift us all.

And we believe that Nepal and India - as one of the closest neighbours in the world - have a vital bearing on this march towards greater freedoms and progress. No country, however big and powerful, can deal with these transnational challenges alone. This demands stronger partnership and deeper collaboration among us all.

In November 2016, I had the honour of delivering the 12th Nehru Memorial Lecture at Jawaharlal Nehru University. There, I argued that a vision of economic prosperity and political freedoms must go hand in hand in the 21st century. I had raised a few development challenges that we must all confront together.

The *first* is about our young demography, and the challenge of finding decent, well-paying jobs on a mass scale at a time when the world is witnessing the fourth industrial revolution.

The *second* is about harnessing renewable resources, such as hydro-power, and mitigating climate change. How do we manage our common natural resources?

The *third* is probably the biggest generational challenge of our times. It is about ending absolute poverty by 2030, narrowing inequality within and across countries, and reducing vulnerabilities.

The *fourth* issue is to grapple with both the challenges and opportunities that come with intense urbanization. How do we build sustainable cities and prosperous villages?

And the *fifth* development challenge of our times will be to adapt to new patterns of production, trade and employment that are being disrupted by technological breakthroughs. How do we manage dislocation of established patterns of livelihood? I am only flagging these issues.



Mauritius: An Agenda for Development & Growth

Pravind Kumar Jugnath*



India and Mauritius have nurtured a very special relationship for decades – a relationship that keeps growing from strength to strength.

Mauritius as you may know has come a long way as a small island nation. We have diversified our economy significantly from a sugar based mono-crop economy since independence on the 12th of March 1968 to a modern service economy only two decades later. Today, as we stand at the dawn of the 50th anniversary of our independence we also stand proud of our achievements. The helping hand of India has been significant in achieving this progress. We could not have reached to where we are now without the help of friendly nations and India has always been by our side.

Since Independence, our country has had to weather many storms and even black swan events. But we have against all the odds raised the standard of living of our people through free education to one and all. All along we have seen

our relationship with India grow and evolve – from one which was centered on cultural cooperation in the early days of independence to one that became more and more focused on economic cooperation in the eighties and late nineties.

And now with Prime Minister Modi I can say that the relationship between our two nations is extending to areas like technology, innovation, digitalisation and also to coming together to reach out to Africa. In fact, Indo-Mauritian relations have never been so deep and so strong. India, as has been the case all the time, still strikes a very emotional chord in the hearts of Mauritians.

On the other hand, we are very happy to see that India is now one of the most prominent players on the world economic and political front. The world around us keeps changing very fast. Just a few years ago we were talking about globalisation and free trade and all the good that it meant to the whole world. Many countries like Mauritius were condemned to adapt. We have changed our development paradigm to become more open to trade, to investment and to foreign expertise when under pressure to join the free trade we totally liberalised our trade and economy. In fact, Mauritius is almost a duty-free island now. And we are among the most liberalised economies in the world. When Reaganomics and Thatcherism swept the world, we deregulated extensively. Today, we fear that the world may go back to the policies of the sixties and seventies where protectionism was the order of the day.

One cannot help but think that it was the protectionist policies of the then developed countries, in particular their hostile attitude to

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manufacturing products from developing countries – that had stifled the industrialisation efforts of countries in Africa, Latin America, and also Asia. And this includes countries like India, Brazil and Mauritius amongst many others.

Today we must seriously ask ourselves whether these days will be back. And if they are back – how will the world order unfold in the next few years? Looking at the world today, retrospectively to the start of the great recession, with the benefit of hindsight, we can seriously put into question the ability of traditional fiscal and monetary policies to take economies out of recessions and put them on a recovery path.

Is the fear of deflation behind us? There are so many questions that need to be answered so that we can as policy makers make the right choices and implement the right policies. But there are also so many events at the geopolitical level, the rise of terrorism and even normal political events that are resulting in surprises that development considerations are fast moving to backstage.

Mauritius is nevertheless doing its very best to adapt. We are a small nation – what we would call a price taker and not a price setter. I have decided that the next lap of our development will have to be innovation driven. We are fast losing our competitiveness against the low wage export platforms and our global competitiveness will therefore be determined by our ability to innovate.

We also realise that we are experiencing a demographic shift in our country that will constrain our development. The fertility rate is falling and our population is ageing fast. This means that our population will start decreasing in the coming decades. With an already exiguous domestic market we are condemned to be an export dependent nation, unlike countries like India that

can also leverage its domestic market to fuel growth.

That is why we are pursuing policies to broaden our economic space through a New Africa Strategy and the Ocean Economy. The new Africa Strategy opens a market of some 1 billion people and with good prospects for growth in the future. This is an endeavour that we know we will not be able to do alone. We are expecting the collaboration of India and Indian investors for mutual benefits.

And as regards the Ocean Economy, it opens up some 2.3 million square kilometers of maritime economic space. In fact, Mauritius has one of the largest exclusive economic zones in the world. This offers immense opportunity for long term and even very long-term development. In fact, our ocean economy, including our seafood hub, fisheries, port activities and tourism already contributes around 10 percent to our GDP.

We are also investing massively in infrastructure because we believe that such investments will bring in hefty dividends in the medium and long-term. Thanks to support from India we will have a sophisticated light railway system to modernise our public transport system. And we are also investing to transform our port into a maritime hub for the region, expanding our airport capacity, and extending our road networks.

There will thus be vast opportunities for further strengthening ties between our two governments, our entrepreneurs and investors and indeed our nation. The rapid conclusion of CECPA negotiations is of high priority to our two nations.

I hope that India will continue its march to greatness and to continue in its endeavour to shape a better world for all of us. Mauritius has made its choice under my Prime-ministership - India is our strategic partner. Thank you India.



India-Mauritius Relationship: An Enduring Friendship

Sumitra Mahajan*



Our sincere felicitations to Shri Pravind Jugnauth, the Hon'ble Prime Minister of Mauritius on his assumption of the august office of the Prime Minister of Mauritius since January 2017. We are happy that he had chosen India for his first visit abroad after taking over as the Prime Minister. Such visits assume significance as they strengthen the special bilateral relationship between India and Mauritius.

Eminent thinker Mark Twain has once said about Mauritius, "You gather the idea that Mauritius was made first, and then heaven, and that heaven was copied after Mauritius." Mauritius is a very beautiful country. The Diaspora linkages between Mauritius and India are amongst the strongest so much so that Indian Ocean does not separate us but actually connects us. Our relationship is growing from strength to strength as the years go by. Mauritius enjoys the unbound

love, unlimited affection and unconditional support of India and this is a sentiment that cuts across party lines. I am sure the feeling is mutual and the same love exists on Mauritian side also.

India-Mauritius relations are not based on regional geo-polity but their foundation lies in strong social and cultural bonds, historical traditions and our shared rich heritage. The people who went to Mauritius from India took their language, customs, traditions, religious beliefs with them to their new abode. As a result our ties are deep rooted and identities so common that culturally we cannot be separated from each other.

The brief stopover by Mahatma Gandhi *en route* to India from South Africa in 1901 is still etched in the consciousness of Mauritius. The visit of Barrister Manilal Doctor in 1907 on the suggestions of Gandhiji helped the Mauritian Indian community to organize themselves and laid

**This article is a summary of the speech delivered by Smt. Sumitra Mahajan, Speaker of Lok Sabha at the civic reception in honour of Shri Pravind Jugnauth, Prime Minister of Mauritius, hosted by India Foundation at New Delhi on 27th May, 2017.*

the foundation of the struggle for political and social rights. As a tribute to Gandhiji and the Indian freedom struggle, the national day of Mauritius is celebrated on March 12 (the day Dandi March was started by Gandhi ji.). It is an excellent gesture on the part of Mauritius to honour Gandhiji's work and influence.

The Indian Diaspora, today, has grown into an energetic and confident community of over 30 million that has given India a presence in all the continents of the world. It makes all Indians proud when the overseas Indian community is recognized for its work culture, discipline, social values and capacity to integrate successfully with the local community and respect their traditions.

Since 1948, diplomatic relations between India and Mauritius have continually deepened and today they touch diverse areas of cooperation. The rich bilateral relations could be seen from our wide range of agreements and MoUs which include vivid areas including taxation, Air Services, science and technology, tourism, environment, traditional system of medicine, among others. It is a matter of satisfaction that India is largest trading partner of Mauritius and has been the largest exporter of goods and services to Mauritius since 2007. India and Mauritius also enjoy close cultural and educational ties. India is one among the most favourite destinations of Mauritian students for higher education. It is also encouraging to note that several Indian educational institutions have also started functioning in Mauritius.

We recall how Mauritius had made great strides in economic development by a set of sound policies since the times of Sir Anerood Jugnauth. He has been a friend of India who rendered continued support for India's causes and concerns

and was instrumental in strengthening our relations, particularly in creating technology-based projects. Today, we are confident that the Hon. Prime Minister will carry forward that vision and the Mauritian economy will receive further growth and all round development under his able and dynamic leadership.

We all appreciate President Dr Ameenah Gurib-Fakim, the first woman elected President of Mauritius, for her work in the areas of biodiversity, traditional medicine and development of small and medium enterprises. In Indore and Maheshwar, I have also made an effort to connect traditional medicines with learning of Sanskrit text.

Today the concept of Blue Economy as part of the framework of Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA) is emerging as a new narrative on productive and sustainable engagement with the vast development opportunities that oceanic resources offer. Blue Economy has great potential for sustainable development, particularly from the point of view of the Sustainable Development Goals. The words of our Hon'ble Prime Minister Shri Narendra Modi echo the national sentiment that "the Blue Chakra – or the wheel – in our National Flag, represents the potential of the Blue Economy".

Another point that needs to be highlighted is that of Asia-Africa Growth Corridor that our Prime Minister alluded to while inaugurating the recent Annual meeting of the African Development Bank in Ahmedabad. I am sure India and Mauritius can explore the possibilities of working together for achievements of the goals envisaged in the AAGC.

Under the able leadership of Shri Pravind Jugnauth and mentorship of Shri Anerood Jugnauth Mauritius will prosper with dynamism, modernity and witness all-round development.



Civilisational Foundations of Indian State

Ram Madhav*

Since the time we became independent about seven decades ago, the Indian state has evolved into a successful institution. The whole evolution of this statecraft - in the form of states, our political establishment, managing the diverse demographics - all this has a very solid foundation. That foundation is the ancient nationhood of this nation. The reason to evolve into a successful democracy is not because we have adopted any great theory in 1947 and that theory has brought us to a situation where well blossomed democratic institutions flourish in this country today. In fact we had a very solid national foundation in this country and over that this institution has flowered into a successful one.

The biggest challenge before our leadership at the time of independence was to integrate multiple political entities that existed at that time in the form of princely states. But the Indian experience was different from the experiences elsewhere like in USA or the former USSR. The journey of United States of America as a nation began in 1776 when they first created one state called USA when 13 British Colonies decided to come together and formed into one nation. That journey is yet to conclude. There are still serious fault lines and raging debates on the national identity of USA. Texas joined in United States in 1845. Whether it joined conditionally or fully is a

debate that rages to this day. There are people in Texas and elsewhere who say Texas reserved the right to secede from America anytime it feels its interests are not protected. There was a case in California wherein it was argued if Texas had that right why not California. When Obama got reelected to the presidency in America, several online petitions were set off by people who believed that it was an insult to America's so-called racist identity. And some of the petitions received considerably high support to the tune of 100 thousand signatories and 75 thousand signatories. Their whole argument was that it was a defeat of their identity and therefore they should secede from America. USSR, which was formed in 1922, could not live beyond 70 years.

In 1947, when we got independence, British provinces naturally formed part of independent India. We needed to use several tactics to bring all the princely states into the Indian Union and to make them accept the paramountcy of Indian Union. Nehru had to issue threats, Patel had to be more diplomatic, and Rajagopalachari had to be logical. Of all the top leaders, it was Rajagopalachari, who had the most profound argument at that time. He simply said, Indian paramountcy is not based on any agreement, it is based on a fact. In USA it was based on agreement, in case of USSR, it was by force. Whereas here in

** This article is a summary of the inaugural address delivered by Shri Ram Madhav, National General Secretary of BJP and Director of India Foundation at the national conference on State Politics in India and launch of the book with the same title organized by Nehru Memorial Museum and Library at New Delhi on 17th May, 2017.*

India, it was neither force nor agreement, but a fact. That we are a paramount sovereign entity is a fact. Rajagopalachari had to emphasize on that part.

The important fact is that barring some four important princely states – Hyderabad, Junagad, Bhopal, Jammu and Kashmir - largely the princely states of India, were not inimical to the idea of accepting Indian paramountacy and joining Indian Union. They only wanted some concessions. Looking at the experience of the other nations, it seemed to be such an easy thing that it happened in three months time. It all began in May 1947 and ended by the time we became independent in August 1947. In three months, except for about four, all other princely states agreed to join Indian Union.

We began the building of Indian state on a rather solid foundation. In the system we have adopted, we have shared the powers between Union and the States. Seventh Schedule of the Constitution deals with the Union List, State List and the Concurrent List. I belong to a school of thought, which always believed, we should have a strong union. Because India being such a large country, with so much diversity, in order for it to be kept intact, united, in order to ward off any threats to its sovereign entity, we needed to have a strong Union, a strong central government. But the experience shows, there is nothing to be feared.

The devolution of powers further down the units has happened as a process in the last seven decades. We speak of giving powers to the local panchayats. Unfortunately, States are very greedy and they do not want further delegation of powers to the panchayats. When we brought in Panchayat

Raj, all that we did was to give money directly to panchayats and not powers. Today power still remains with district collector, then of course with the secretariat at the state capital. We are advocates of further strong devolution of powers to local panchayats. We must allow them to handle their own affairs. How many cowsheds they should have need not be decided in Hyderabad or Patna. That should be decided in their village. The local bodies must be given more powers. Today financial devolution has happened. But this has happened as a process. Having closely watched it, I sincerely feel that as long as we keep the foundation of one common national identity based on civilisational and historical experience strong in this country, you can do any number of experiments with Indian state craft.

As part of my political duty, I deal with states that are remote from Delhi. Remoteness causes problems in States like Nagaland, Manipur, Arunachal Pradesh, etc. Many efforts were made not just to hit at the state, but to hit at the nationhood of this country. But they have not succeeded. Any number of attempts to wean the people away from the foundation, have not succeeded in these states.

Finally those who wanted to challenge the sovereignty also, had to come down to the view, sovereignty is one and that is Indian sovereignty. Under that, one can demand the moon. This is the experience of the last seven decades. The lesson here is, rather than worrying too much about what will happen to this country if we devolve more powers to the states down the line, do not worry about it as long as you have enough institutions in

place to keep your national consciousness intact.

National consciousness can be built around several things, even on things like insecurity. You can create a narrative of insecurity and try to keep national identity as one. That is how Pakistan does. For them to keep their nation one and intact, only thing is to show that there is a neighbor on their eastern side which would destroy them. That keeps them as one. Economic interests keep 51 entities of United States as one entity. Whereas in case of India, it is the civilisational and cultural oneness of this nation that keeps it intact. Once this foundation is intact and solid, you can do any number of experiments in statecraft.

One need not worry about the rise of regional parties in India. They espouse regional interests. India is a vast country with distances and distances matter. Somebody sitting in Chennai, may think his interests are different from the interests of somebody sitting in Delhi. He might develop his own political narrative based on those interests. Let us not deride it as regionalism. In our country regional politics took centre stage for a period of about two decades between transmission from Congress dominated politics to the BJP dominated.

Initially, the dominant force in this country was Congress Party, for a very natural reason that Congress had essentially tried to take entire credit for independence movement to themselves. They said we were the people who got independence to this country. In fact, Congress was just a platform to right from Hindu Mahasabha to a non-Muslim league Muslim party member, or Krishak Praja Party member. It was a platform for Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Madan Mohan Malviya together.

Congress was a platform to even people like Dr. Hedgewar and Savarkar. The founder of RSS Dr. Hedgewar, actually participated in Congress led independence movement. Not only was Congress a political party, it was a united platform for all the Indians to fight against the British rule.

Ideally, Congress should have listened to Gandhiji. On 27th January 1948, three days before his unfortunate death, Gandhiji dictated to his Secretary, a new constitution for the Congress wherein he stated, "Congress having achieved its objective of independence although truncated, should abandon the form of a political entity and become Lok Sevak Sangh." But Congress leaders at that time wanted to make Congress into a party and sell the idea that they were the people who brought freedom to this country. Naturally, because Congress movement was such a powerful movement, people have so much faith in it, people supported Congress as a political party also.

First two decades of the narrative in post-independent India was Congress centered because there was no scope for alternative political narrative. By seventies, the alternative narratives came up. The only alternative narrative available then was the left narrative, the communist narrative, which did not suit the genius of this land. It never grew substantially in this country except in some universities and in some states. After the political narrative remaining dominated by Congress for the first two decades, then came the effort of all the smaller parties joining hands to take on the Congress. That led to a phase of coalitions at centre and number of states. That is in seventies and eighties. Then gradually the other

alternative national narrative in the form of BJP has grown in strength. By mid nineties the second alternative narrative, is in place.

Some said it was communalism verses secularism and that Congress represented secular forces and BJP represented communal forces. The narrative used to be that, but that was not true. There is a narrative that Congress was representing. There was alternative narrative BJP has come up with. And the real politics of these two opposite narratives began some time in nineties, which you witness to this day. In this competition of two different narratives, now BJP has got the upper hand.

The phase today is where the BJP's narrative, narrative of national oneness, its own narrative of secularism is the dominant narrative in the country. It doesn't mean all the others are going to be washed away. BJP formed a government in Assam. It had around 30% popular vote and Congress had around 31%. In first past the post system, it is not necessary that ruling party or alliance must have more votes, but it should have more seats. In Manipur, Congress had only 35% popular vote, BJP had 36.5%. Congress got 28 seats, but BJP had only 21 seats. Genuine multi party democracy has evolved in this country where regional parties also had a good place. The dominant narrative today is a narrative of hope and aspiration.

Parties today are struggling to come up with a coherent narrative to attract and get the support of the people. We have entered into a phase of politics of hope and aspiration. If one is seen as somebody who can deliver, is capable, people are with him. It is no longer based on regionalism or

caste. Caste as an institution has not yet disappeared. But there is a bigger narrative today. In last state elections in Bihar and UP, there were two different verdicts. Yet, one common feature in both the verdicts is, that the verdicts were based on that one narrative of hope and aspiration, not on caste, not on any regional sentiment, not on any other extraneous factor.

The Bahubalis, the goondas, the criminals find it increasingly difficult in electoral arena. It is a remarkable change that has happened in our political system. Indian state has evolved and Indian electorate has largely matured. Prior to independence, people like Mahatma Gandhi used to have skepticism about bringing democratic model of government in India. Literacy rate in India at that time was just 17%, today it is above 80%. His concern and fear used to be, for a country with such a low literacy rate, if you give them democracy, it could become mobocracy. Mobocracy meaning, somebody who can mislead a mob, mobs whether they are in Kashmir or Kanyakumari, they are mostly misled. Somebody can mislead them. This used to be the fear. But one need not have that fear anymore.

The advent of social media has transformed political discourse in this country. An educated young man can challenge a mighty powerful MLA publically. A politician, when he speaks, need to be careful. One tweet can damage his political discourse. Today's politics is very challenging and it is good for the country. Regionalism, casteism, communalism are no more dominant narratives. Many have a weakness of interpreting election results to suit their own thinking. Some had

jumped to the conclusion that the UP result was because of communal polarization. But in fact, UP's result was an outcome of the politics of hope and aspiration. The youth, irrespective of their religion, caste, had deserted their traditional political parties to vote for a leader or a party which they believed, represents their hope. So, we should not misread into this situation, misinterpret it. Writing on the wall today is, a politician has to be a responsible politician. He has to be capable, able to deliver. That gives hope that Indian democracy has evolved.

Even in recent past, there were TV debates whether we should have presidential form of government or continue to have parliamentary form of government as we practiced in last seven decades. But it would hardly matter for this country now as there is an evolved and matured electorate, and main stream media and social media can check political activism and ensure that

one can no longer take people for a ride. As long as we have these institutions intact, forms hardly matter. Every form has its good and bad. If tomorrow all Indians decide to migrate to presidential form of democracy, there will be a change. We will still have our MPs to elect. We will still have our parliament. But one thing will happen. In a presidential form, it would be very difficult for Gujrals and Deva Gowdas to become Prime Ministers.

The challenge for us today is to keep the national foundation intact. No effort should be made to weaken the fabric of this nation. When there is a discourse on Kashmir, it cannot be to weaken the national foundation of this country. Do not weaken that, but over that foundation, let hundred types of politics flourish. Let there be moon as a demand, let sky be the limit. But the basis is Indian nationhood, which is defined by Indian constitution.



Blood-Buddhas: Link between Global Terror and Heritage Theft

Anuraag Saxena*

How much does a terrorist attack cost? Where does the money come from? How does the money get through to terror groups? How are far-off countries like India, an integral part of the terror-funding network?

While Indian media was busy justifying and communalising the issue; international agencies like the UNSC and Antiques Coalition published some shocking data on terror-funding and its linkage to heritage-theft. Media's penchant for pseudo-news and malleable narratives ensured that this critical topic got no coverage whatsoever, in India.

How Much Does a Terrorist Attack Cost?

Here is what we know. It is surprisingly cheap to orchestrate a terror-attack; even one large enough to shake the world. The 2015 terror-attacks in Paris, as an example, cost only \$88,160 (Rs 56 lakh). Interestingly, only \$22,570 (Rs 14 lakh) was spent on patently criminal activities (like making false IDs and acquiring weapons). The rest of it, about \$65,590 (Rs 42 lakh), went towards phone calls, car-rentals, travel... the seemingly harmless simple stuff. ISIS took 130 lives for the price of a small flat in Delhi.

Where Does the Money Come From?

Now, this is where it gets really interesting.

Terror-funding sources like oil, money-laundering, and narcotics have dominated the public perception and media-narrative. This image fits in well with the optics of a Bollywood-ish villain, that funds an evil empire through 'traditional' ill-gotten gains.

What doesn't fit into that image though, is the "villain" selling stolen rag-tag antiquities to fund terror. That is how we miss what is right before our eyes. The United Nations Security Council passed resolution 2199 saying exactly that. That ISIS was stealing and smuggling heritage artifacts to fund their terror-operations. USA quickly followed suit passing "H.R.2285 - Prevent Trafficking in Cultural Property Act," recognising "trafficking of cultural property" as a "homeland security" issue; not an art or heritage concern limited to cocktail evenings at museums and high-society dinners.

In short, heritage from across the world is being peddled, so that bombs can be thrown back at us.

How Does India Fit In?

Between 2011 and 2016, the declared imports of antiquities into USA grew by almost 50 percent. That sure is a phenomenal growth rate. More so, for a product or market that is not new or fancy. Of the \$147 million worth arts/antiquities traded

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in 2016, \$79 million worth came from India. Compare that to Iraq at only \$2.5 million.

In short, more than half of USA's arts/antiquities imports had their origins in India.

When you view this in the context of India's CAG report (India's official review and audit agency); commenting on ASI (India's official agency responsible for preventing heritage-crimes); they chose to not mince words and describe the agency's efforts as "completely ineffective".

To add to this, a recent High Court ruling in India had "not come across even a single case, where the persons involved in smuggling the Idols out of the country have been independently prosecuted...".

The team at India Pride Project posts regular updates on heritage-thefts. Interestingly, most of those thefts are not even officially reported by the local police. No wonder multinational-terror groups chose India for its ripe, repercussion-free, pickings.

The National Security Conundrum

Heritage-destruction has been an integral part of civilisational conquests. Nazis destroyed Jewish art; and we all know what happened with the Bamiyan Buddhas. What is new though, is where new age terrorists are taking this deplorable act.

Well-organised crimes, their operational mechanics, and terror-funding are such complicated, intertwined networks, that it takes a while to comprehend the very complexity of their nature. Heritage crimes, treasonous non-state actors, the deep state, and international terror-

networks; are all part of the same venn-diagram, with non-linear intersections.

Take the example of Partha Pratim Roy Burman's kidnapping. The ransom money of Rs 4 crores was diverted towards planning the 9/11 attack in New York. What looked like a simple case of kidnapping, was later found to involve Mohammad Atta, Aftab Ansari, ISI and the Jihadi network.

As Lt Gen. Ata Hasnain puts it, "Protecting the nation, is not just about placing armies on our borders any more". The termite-like enemy within, is now as dangerous as the enemy outside. India needs to recognise marks of hybrid-warfare right before our eyes.

Major General Dhruv Katoch, in a slightly unrelated context said, "If you can target them, when they are targeting you, then you have achieved some sort of a deterrent stability." Unfortunately, India has not been able to target or successfully prosecute even one significant heritage-criminal to date. There goes our ability to create a deterrent; for the very criminals that are selling away our heritage, so they can throw bombs at us.

The biggest Psy Ops (psychological operations) success our opponents have had, is making us believe that the "heritage-crimes" issue is (a) Localised, and (b) a Ministry-of-Culture issue. Fact is, it is not limited to either. (Case in point — the Directorate of Revenue Intelligence (DRI) has been prosecuting these international networks, not the ASI, as one would have traditionally assumed.)

The model is so simplistic in its brilliance,

that people find it hard to believe someone could pull it off –

- (A) Criminals and insurgents loot away our temples (puncturing the social-fabric locally), and
- (B) ISIS helps with the international segment of the sale (generating revenues for terror operations).

We know each of these statements to be true in isolation. We've just not stitched them together; and evaluated the implication.

Why We All are Wrong?

The collective consciousness has gotten two facts drastically wrong. So let me correct them for you:

1. It actually is quite inexpensive to fund a terror-attack; and
2. It actually is very lucrative, and risk-free, to trade in stolen heritage.

Once you put these two together, you have a potent, dangerous, flammable mix, ready to explode in your face. Antiques Coalition suggests an example. With the gains from selling one Buddha sculpture (stolen from Mathura, illicitly sold for \$ 1 million); terrorists could literally fund

a dozen Paris-type attacks.

To put that in an extrapolated perspective — That's 1,500 lives that could be lost, by smuggling out ONE piece of Indian heritage.

Let that sink in for a minute!

So paradoxically, though Lord Buddha spent every waking minute spreading the world of peace and co-existence; terrorists today, are using his very image to fund quite the opposite.

In Conclusion

You and I are regular people. We don't think like the ISIS; we don't get into their heads; and that's exactly what encourages them. National security agencies are still chasing only narcotics and counterfeit currency operations, conveniently barking up the wrong tree, just because it fits into a traditional, comfortable construct.

Make no mistake. Just because we have our heads in the sand, doesn't mean that terrorists do too. Collective ignorance and Government apathy, acts like a pep-pill for them to push the pedal (on funding terror through heritage-crimes).

Unfortunately, that pedal is in a van that's headed straight at us.



Guru-Shishya Tradition of India Vs. the Fake Baba Phenomenon

Nidhi Bharti*

Amidst the debate and criticism of the 'Baba' phenomenon (referring to pseudo gurus), the concept that got tarnished is the Vedic Guru-Shishya tradition of India. In the present times, the situations are igniting wide-spread examination of the Babas and their instrumentality. Being infuriated by the shocking revelations unfolding from the fictitious cover of spirituality and religion, almost everybody has jumped in to hold opinions on the subject of faith, belief, and the mode of access to God. The whistle-blowers are on their way to paint every institution and religious leader with the same brush. The westernised intelligentsia has been fast to coin words such as 'self-styled Godmen' and 'Dera Heads'.

It's true and appreciated that through advanced communication means, falsity and ill deeds throbbing in the garb of fake babas are getting exposed. However, by generalising it for the entire fraternity of Spiritual Gurus and going to the extent of questioning as to why a person needs any mediator between him and God at all, is alarming. The intelligentsia is hell bent on proving that either devotees do not have brains or they don't use it while following the Babas, as in their view all Gurus are fake. However, by mocking and ruling out the very need of Guru and one's attempt towards seeking refuge of the Guru, a serious damage is being done to the "Guru-Shishya Parampara" – the age old Guru-disciple tradition of 'Bharat.'

India is a land of seers and saints like Adiguru Shankaracharya, Maharishi Aurobindo,

Ramakrishna Paramhansa, Yogananda Paramhansa, Swami Ram Tirtha, Chaitanya Mahaprabhu, Gautama Buddha, Mahavira Swami, and alike. Open any Hindu scripture and it starts with salutations to the revered Gurus. All sacred texts of wisdom, which are in fact the repositories of supremely advanced life sciences, hail and hold the sages in high esteem.

In this purview, can we actually bury the tradition of enlightened Gurus and their disciples just because many fake Babas have cropped up to exploit the tradition? Or, do we have the complete basis to label that '*Brahmveta Satgurus*' (Spiritual Masters established in Brahman, the Supreme) were only an occurrence in the past? However, the majority of saints named above belong to the current era. For instance, Maharishi Aurobindo has been named as the lead crusader in the struggle for India's independence.

Here is an excerpt from the foreword written by the former Chief Justice of India, Shri Ranganath Mishra on May 13, 1991 for the book 'The Guru Tradition' by Adiguru Dakshinamurthi – "*Guru according to Hindu way of thinking is an incarnation of God in human form for the Shishya (disciple). God is universal; the Guru is personal in relationship. Education in the true sense enlightens the person undergoing the process. The inner eye does not open and learning does not get transformed into knowledge until the blessings of the Guru are showered.*"

Such is the belief and practice of the Guru-

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tradition of India. No parallels can be drawn between fake Babas and genuine preceptors or the 'Brahmveta Satgurus'. Therefore, it is important to understand that, as per the Hindu philosophy, who is a true Guru and why do we need one.

According to the Hindu philosophy, a true Guru is a seer, i.e. the one who has the direct perception of the Soul or pure Consciousness and can open the Third Eye of the seeker and show him/her as well the divine Lord within. This definition is well-recorded and emphasised repeatedly in all authentic scriptures worldwide. A few references are cited as follows –

*Akhand mandalaakaaram, vyaaptamyena charaacharam
Tatpadam darshitamyena, tasmaishri guravenamaha
(The Guru Gita)*

Meaning, I offer my salutations to the Guru who enables me to “perceive” (darshitam) the hidden yet predominant God element in the cosmos.

*Gharmeinghar dekhaayi de, so Satgurpurakhsujaan
(Sri Guru Granth Sahib)*

- Hail the one as the true Spiritual Guru, who “shows” the Supreme Lord within the human garb. The Bible also highlights the need and role of the Guru. It says–

*I am the gate; whoever enters through me will
be saved. (John 10:9)*

First seek the counsel of the Lord. (1 Kings 22:5)
And, when an aspirant seeks refuge of such a counsel, then–

*Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see
God. (Matthew 5:8)*

Highlighting “perception or realisation” as the underlying basis of spirituality, Swami Vivekananda has unequivocally stated, “*If there is a God we must see Him; if there is a soul we must perceive it; otherwise it is better not to be-*

lieve. It is better to be an outspoken atheist than a hypocrite.”

It is for this direct perception of the spirit within the human body, i.e. the realisation of the Soul, that one needs a Guru. As a corollary, it goes to say that the one who does not give this direct perception or entangles an aspirant in plethora of theories or outward performances and rituals is not a true Guru. Swami Vivekananda also exposed fake Gurus of his time, while carrying out his search for a genuine one. The basis of those exposes was the core question of the Vedanta philosophy – ‘Can you show me God?’ Verily, it is categorically this experience of the element of divinity, i.e. the Soul within the frame of one’s body that makes a true Guru stand higher and distinct from the fake and fraud ones.

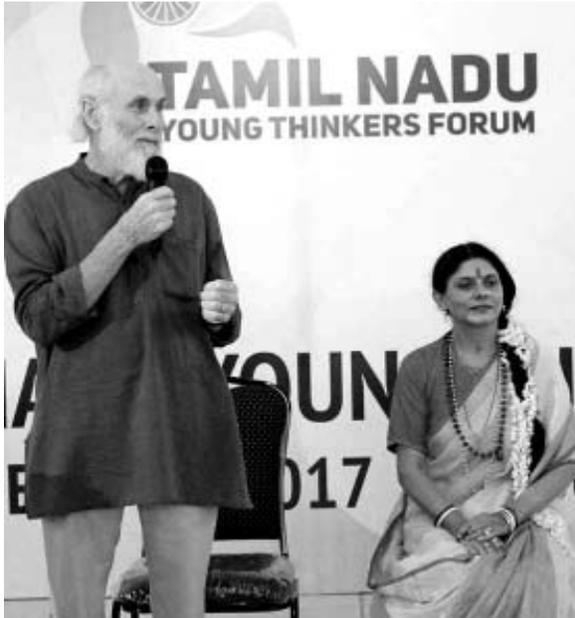
Therefore, while we expose the fake religious leaders and their unlawful activities, we also need to sensitise masses and make them aware of the true and genuine ones. As we uphold the tenets of unbiased analysts and expose the frauds done in the name of religion, we must also inform people as to what the true religion is.

Subsequently, if we lack the understanding of true spirituality or religion, then we must refrain from generalising on these subjects. Those who are taking upon the duty to tell the reality of the fake babas must also go into the detail of the Guru-Shishya tradition and tell people that true and genuine Gurus also exist and how one must differentiate between the two. If we neglect this balance and paint every saint as a fake one, we would do a serious disservice to the spiritual identity and glory of India, which is known for its spiritual Gurus, the mystics, and the enlightened masters.



Tamil Nadu Young Thinkers Meet 2017

Sudarshan Ramabadrans



The second edition of the Tamil Nadu Young Thinkers Meet (TNYTM) was organized by Tamil Nadu Young Thinkers Forum (TNYTF) in association with India Foundation and Indic Academy at Puducherry on 7th and 8th October 2017. Over 50 participants from various parts of Tamil Nadu came together for a candid exchange of ideas on a wide spectrum of topics such as the importance of Tamil culture, the need for academic rigour, foreign policy, understanding social exploitation & integration, spirituality and development, the role of media in enabling quality public discourse, and the significance of Jammu and Kashmir to the rest of India.

The speakers included Dr. Kiran Bedi, Lieutenant Governor of Puducherry; Shri Ila Ganesan, Member of Parliament, Rajya Sabha; Prof. Makarand R. Paranjape, Jawaharlal Nehru

University; Prof. P. Puneeth, Associate Professor, Jawaharlal Nehru University; Dr. David Frawley, Author and Columnist; Shri Hari Kiran V, Founder, Indic Academy; Shri Abhijeet Iyer Mitra, Senior Research Fellow, Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies; Shri Anand Ranganathan, Consulting Editor and Columnist, News Laundry; Ms. Aarti Tikoo Singh, Senior Assistant Editor, Times of India and Shri Ma Venkatesan, Author and Historian. Rohini Manohar of Chennai Yoga Studio conducted a calming yoga session. As a part of the guest talk series, Prof Madhusudhanan Kalaichelvan, Associate Professor at the Mohammed Sathak AJ Academy of Architecture spoke on the need to enhance public participation to conserve temples. Dr. Rohini Rau spoke on how much India has enabled her to pursue her goals as a doctor cum sailor.

The participants at the Meet were young thinkers between the ages of 25 and 40 years, from varied professional backgrounds such as IT, social studies, law, sports, education, media, cybersecurity, medicine, social entrepreneurship, government etc. There was also representation from socio-spiritual organizations and grass-root leaders from the subaltern communities in Tamil Nadu. It was a gathering of young minds engaging on thought-provoking topics of relevance not just to Tamil Nadu but to the entire nation. The Meet enabled participants to develop a holistic perspective to understand these topics. The group had the opportunity to not only listen to experts and practitioners from the field but also to interact with them via open, healthy and forthright discussions.



UNCLOS: Solutions for Managing the Maritime Global Commons

Siddharth Singh



Maritime issues have emerged as one of the most important security issues in the Indo-Pacific, driving major powers to strategically adjust their policies towards the region. During the past decade, maritime disputes have escalated to the point where the regional order is being affected and the risk of subsequent armed conflict cannot be entirely ruled out.

Considering the strategic significance of Andaman & Nicobar Islands and their proximity to countries of Southeast Asia, India Foundation organised a three-day conference in Port Blair on “UNCLOS: Solutions for Managing the Maritime Global Commons” on 4-6 October, 2017. The Conference highlighted the importance of rule based international order especially in the maritime domain. The conference witnessed

participation from 14 Countries. It was inaugurated by Shri Jagdish Mukhi, Lt Governor, Andaman & Nicobar Islands. Shri M. J. Akbar, Minister of State for External Affairs delivered the Inaugural Address and Vice Admiral Vinay Badhwar, Chief Hydrographer to Government of India delivered the special address in the inaugural session. Ambassadors, diplomats, a former ITLOS judge, experts from academia and Think Tanks attended the conference.

Shri M. J. Akbar highlighted the importance of freedom of navigation in sea and importance of rule based order like UNCLOS in 21st Century. He said that seas must be a shared space for prosperity because conflict for resources will ultimately lead to conflict in the region. This century will be energised by new ideas and new

technological innovations. He said that India was going to be a major player regarding technology. He also explained as to why India is also emerging as a naval power. He pointed out that 21st Century was going to be the era of seas, skies & space and not of land. Seas, skies and space have no boundaries. He said that we need to shift our focus from land based approach to sea based strategic thinking because if we see India from land based map then we only look at its size but if we see India from sea then we realize the potential of its outreach with various other continents. India's outreach through seas to the outer world is significantly different from its territorial size. India's reach extends from Gulf of Aden in west to Malacca Strait in east and it encompasses far bigger outreach in terms of strategic space.

Shri Jagdish Mukhi, Lt. Governor, Andaman

& Nicobar Islands, was the Chief Guest in the inaugural session. He stated that United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) is widely referred to as the 'Constitution of the Oceans'. It sets out the legal framework within which all activities in the oceans and seas must be carried out, including conservation and sustainable use of the oceans and their resources. He highlighted how UNCLOS also sets forth the legal framework for the sustainable development of the oceans and seas which aims at balancing the rights and obligations of coastal States with those of other States. He also pointed out that abiding all the International laws and decisions of International Tribunals by each country of the world is very essential for global peace. He expressed hope that the maturity exhibited by the littoral states in the Bay of Bengal will also be





exhibited by all modern nation states, especially to resolve the outstanding maritime disputes in Indo-Pacific region. He said, “The international community must renew and intensify its efforts to strengthen capacity building with a view to protecting oceans and providing an opportunity for all States to use their resources peacefully, equitably and sustainably for generations to come. To that end, an increased awareness and understanding of the inter-linkages between global legal and policy frameworks and how they can support national and local frameworks, and addressing capacity-needs is also essential. Effective cooperation and coordination, as well as partnerships across all levels and sectors will be critical in that regard. Such cooperation can also be facilitated and stimulated by global-level dialogue and experience-sharing across regions.”

Vice Admiral Vinay Badhwar, Chief Hydrographer, Govt. of India, emphasised the relevance of UNCLOS and its continuing vitality in today’s era. He stressed that in today’s time the warfare between traditional States vs States has been intruded by non-State actors which has also threatened the maritime trade and international commerce in the important sea lanes of communications.

Shri Ram Madhav, Director, India Foundation, chaired the session in which keynote address was delivered by Dr. C. Raja Mohan. Shri Madhav said, “All nations must abide by the law of the sea. Just as constitution of land must be understood by citizens in order for it to be better implemented, similarly Law of the Seas must also be understood by people.” He added, “In last few years specially, India has started looking eastwards in its foreign

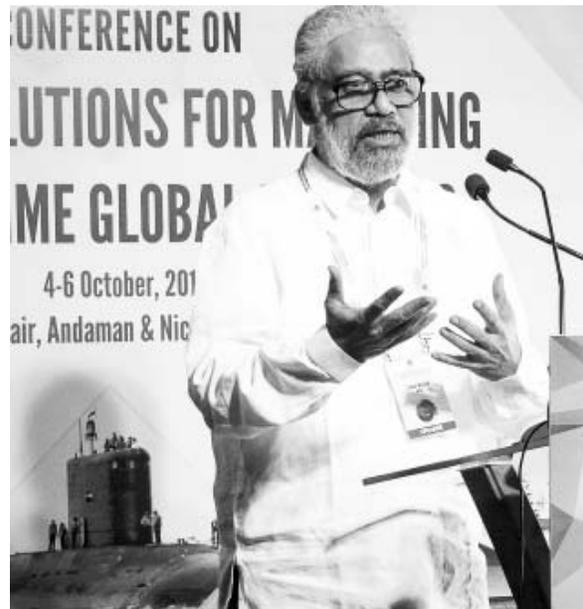


policy approach as is evident in the “Act East” policy. Seaward or ocean-ward thinking in the strategic thought process of Indian minds has started. India as a country has always reiterated its commitment on freedom of navigation and over-flights in the shared space of seas. So in this context UNCLOS becomes very important and thus UNCLOS needs to be strictly adhered by all nations in the region. At a time when global power axis is shifting from Pacific-Atlantic to Indo-Pacific region, the countries in the Indo-Pacific region also need to have a greater say in the evolution and modification of UNCLOS based on present day regional order.”

Dr C Raja Mohan, Director, Carnegie India, in his keynote address spoke of the centrality that the islands of the region will occupy when India realises its maritime destiny. He touched upon the intangibility of the connection between law and power, tensions in the South China Sea, and freedom of navigation. He spoke of the vast

expanse that international law has been able to occupy in the last century. He spoke of the enduring tension between law and power, potential pathway to rules based order and concluded by focussing on creating a cooperative framework in the Bay of Bengal.

Dr. Martin Ney, Ambassador of Germany to India, participated in the panel discussion on the ‘Enduring legitimacy of UNCLOS and its Continuing Vitality in 21st Century’, and reiterated that UNCLOS continues to be valid as the all-encompassing reference point concerning any activity in maritime areas, as the single most important source of legitimacy. Ambassador Dr. Ney said, “This concept of UNCLOS being a legal order is still valid today. However, it does need to be upheld and defended. The UN General Assembly Resolution on the Law of the Sea stipulates that: “The convention sets out the legal framework within which all activities in the oceans



and seas must be carried out.” Even though we have seen challenges to this notion in recent years, we have to ask: If we were not to accept this convention to be the central framework for all activities, what would be alternatives? I know of none.” Supporting the Tribunal’s award in the South China Sea arbitration, Ambassador Dr. Ney pointed out, “I think that the award of the Tribunal is an excellent example to show the continued legitimacy of UNCLOS and that the Tribunal accomplished a great deal to support its continuing relevance in the 21st century... Any claim saying that mentioned issues concerning the South China Sea only concern adjacent countries and not more distant parties are simply false. Why do they concern all state parties to UNCLOS? Because what is at stake is also the freedom of the high sea. Trading nations like India and Germany have a huge stake in keeping shipping lines open.”

Mr Ton Sinh Thanh, Ambassador of Vietnam to India, underscored the importance of the South China Sea in terms of its strategic location and natural resources. He noted two types of disputes in the South China Sea at present which are territorial disputes over islands and disputes over maritime boundary, and they are related to each other. He pointed out that The Hague Tribunal’s verdict over the Philippines’ lawsuit against China is a foundation to solve not only issues between the Philippines and China but also disputes between parties with sovereign claims in the South China Sea. Ambassador Thanh said that the South China Sea situation remains complicated and the only solution to this problem is peaceful negotiation in line with international law,

especially the UNCLOS. He urged parties with sovereign claims in the South China Sea to avoid complicating the situation by not altering the status quo of this area and respecting the Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the Sea. Ambassador Thanh also stressed the role of the collective strength of regional nations and powerful countries in the world, including India.

Vice Admiral, Bimal Verma, AVSM, Commander-in-Chief, Andaman & Nicobar Command, Indian Navy, spoke in the valedictory session of the conference. He focussed on the terrorism threats in the maritime domain, ways to promote stability across the Indo-Pacific region, increasing free and fair trade and strengthening energy linkages. He suggested that there is a need to enhance understanding of the crucial maritime issues of freedom of navigation, good order at sea and the legitimate use of the maritime global commons.

Delivering the valedictory address Dr Harsha De Silva articulated the vision of the Sri Lankan government pertaining to the seas and the laws of the sea. He spoke of the opportunities that lie in the ocean for the growth of Sri Lanka and also the region at large. He spoke of the significance of the security of the seas to keep the inter and intra-regional trade going. GDPs of the countries like Bangladesh, Vietnam and Sri Lanka are on an upswing, there is economic transformation in the region along with infra structural development owing to the growing trade in the region. He concluded with an appeal to all the stakeholders of the region to commit themselves to strengthen UNCLOS and work for the development and prosperity of the region.



Centennial Commemoration of the Battle of Haifa

Rohit Kumar



Many battles have been fought but there are some battles that have changed the course of history and human destiny. One such battle was the Battle of Haifa fought on the slopes of the sacred Mount Carmel in present day Israel on 23 September 1918. In the wake of the 100 Years of the Battle of Haifa, the Centennial Commemoration was organised by India Foundation in association with Nehru Memorial Museum and Library (NMML) and Indian War Veterans Association on 20 September 2017 at NMML, New Delhi.

The Battle of Haifa was a great victory for Indian Cavalry (then in British Imperial Service), led by the Indian Officers, who displayed unmatched valour, courage and devotion to duty. The Indian troops faced opposing camps of Ottoman empire in large numbers and the victory

of the Indian troops subsequently led to the demise of the mighty Ottoman Empire. It also saved the life of Abdul Baha, the spiritual head of the Baha'is, whose message was that of universal brotherhood and equality.

In the commemoration speakers gave insights of the history of the Battle of Haifa and also shared the information about the officers of the Indian troops who fought the battle. Recently during the visit of Prime Minister Narendra Modi to Israel, he paid homage to the Indian heroes of the war.

Shri Ram Madhav, National General Secretary of the BJP and Director, India Foundation, in his inaugural address said, "Battle of Haifa is an epitome of a war to achieve peace and restore the natural stability." He also remembered the unmatched valour of the Indian officers in the troop who laid down their lives to free Abdul Baha

and bring victory to the Bahai Community. He stressed on the peace centric element of the war and said “History should not be about fighting in wars and winning it but it should be more about the peace centric element of the war.” He also reminded that the battle of Haifa is considered to be a landmark battle not only because of its outcome but also because it was the last true cavalry charge in the annals of history as thereafter aircraft, tanks and armoured cars had made their appearance in the battle field, leaving no role for horsed cavalry.

Maj. Chandrakant Singh, VrC, Secretary, Indian War Veterans Association, shared significant facts about the battle. He said, “Before the occurrence of the Battle of Haifa, India already had its footprints in sands of time in the Middle East.” He shared glimpses of temples found in those areas. He recalled the role of Sir Pratap Singh who was a part of the battle of Haifa and

how he took the responsibility of funding the war requirements of the Indian troops. An unintended though important consequence of the battle of Haifa was the induction of Indians as officers in the British Indian Army.

Brig M S Jodha, Gp. Cdr, NCC, Tejpur, opined that the outcome of the battle of Haifa laid the foundation for the freedom struggle amongst the Indians against the British. He showcased the aggressiveness and strategy with which the Indian troops fought the battle of Haifa. He said “The Jodhpur and Mysore lancers coordinated in an exemplary manner to attack the position acquired in defence by the Ottoman Empire.” Brig M S Jodha gave a brief account on the state of the battlefield. He said “You had steep tracks, Keshon River which run parallel to Mount Carmel but nothing could stop the Indian troops from sealing the victory.”

Col Bhawani Singh, former Commandant,



President's Body Guard and 61 Cavalry (successor to the Jodhpur Lancers), observed that no more remarkable cavalry action of its scale was fought in the whole course of the campaign. He remarked, "In Palestine, the Jodhpur Lancers demonstrated a regiment being officered entirely by Indians and it was equal to if not better than any other regiment of any army in the world." He also mentioned the role of different Indian officers in the war and how they administered the troops.

Shri Bhaskar Rao, Addl DG, Karnataka Armed Forces, said "Mysore Lancers were positioned behind the Jodhpur Lancers while the Indian troops were attacking the armoured troops of the Ottoman Empire." He added, "Mysore raised its own cavalry which was equally strong when compared to the other regiments."

Shri Wajahat Habibullah, former Chief Information Commissioner and former Chairperson, National Commission for Minorities, said "Huge coordination amongst the troops fighting for the same cause was the major reason behind the victory of the forces in the battle of Haifa." He also said that it was the Indian Officers that played very significant role giving the

command and controlling the major coordination of the troops.

Ms Nazneen Rowhani, President, Bahai Association, in her address narrated who Abdul Baha was and how the Mysore Lancers rescued him. She said, "There was an intelligence report about the threat on the life of Abdul Baha and the Mysore Lancers were given the charge of rescuing Abdul Baha." She added that Abdul Baha praised the Indian Army and said "For two hundred years seven sovereign powers of the world tried to rescue Palestine from the hands of the Turks but the Indian Cavalry rescued the place so speedily and the quickness exhibited by the Indian Troops was breathtaking."

Chief Guest of the programme, Shri Gajendra Singh Shekhawat, Union Minister of State for Ministry of Agriculture & Farmers Welfare, in his valedictory address observed that the history of many battles not only the Battle of Haifa remains untouched by the young brigade of our country and that we need to put in more efforts to recognise the history and veterans of the war. He stated "War is not won only because of the weapons and artileries you have, but instead by bravery and valour."



Smart Border Management Conference 2017

Ngawang D. Hardy



The 2nd edition of the conference on ‘Smart Border Management’ was organised by India Foundation in partnership with FICCI at the FICCI auditorium on 18-19 September 2017. The conference brought various stakeholders together on a common platform to address the fundamental challenge of border management: How to enhance trans-border movement of peoples, goods and ideas while simultaneously restricting all forms of illegal activities across the borders?

Mr. Kiren Rijiju, Minister of State for Home Affairs, Government of India, in his inaugural address underlined the need for enhanced coordination and collaboration among diverse government agencies and stakeholders besides adoption of technology and change in the mindset for stepping up India’s border management system. With respect to mindsets, the Minister said that other countries encourage civilian settlements in border areas and promote trade and commerce there. These areas are well connected by surface

communication means and have all amenities as available in the hinterland. India, on the other hand has isolated its border areas and restricted civilian movement and commerce. He said it was imperative to develop our border areas and promote commercial activity in all such areas.

Mr. Rijiju said that the engagement of multiple agencies in border management was resulting in delay of implementation of policies and adoption of technology. He cited an example where the tedious tender process and other formalities caused unwarranted delay in installing a full body scanner and emphasised the need to address such issues immediately. He said that the government is working towards improving security and infrastructure in border areas and along the coast and that national security cannot be compromised at any cost. Towards this, the government is working towards strengthening marine police to secure India’s long coastal borders. He added that to make India’s border management system robust, secure and well-guarded, it was essential to have

seamless coordination between policy makers and defence and security agencies.

Mr. Rijju informed the audience that for sealing the India-Pakistan border, a smart technology aided fence will be in position by December 2018. He also highlighted the fact that India believes that borders were not for dividing people but for bringing them together and engaging in trade and commercial activities for bringing prosperity.

On the occasion, the Minister released the FICCI-PwC Report ‘Smart Border Management - Indian Coastal & Maritime Security’.

Dr. Subhash Bhamre, Minister of State for Defence, Government of India, said that varying challenges were posed by each border state in India. The major challenges in border security were cross-border terrorism, insurgency, infiltration, narcotics, separatists’ movement and smuggling. There was a need for coordinated and concerted efforts to strengthen policing and guarding of border areas while developing infrastructure. He added that power of technology

was needed to be leveraged for effective border management system.

Speaking about Comprehensive Integrated Border Management System (CIBMS), which has been deployed by the Government of India on a pilot basis on select terrains to boost India’s security systems, Mr. K. K. Sharma, Director General, Border Security Force (BSF), said that the main components of the system were virtual fencing, command and control system, response mechanism, power backup, maintenance and training. He added that with the adoption of CIBMS, India was looking at moving towards network-centric surveillance from human-centric to counter the limitations of human resource. He added that adoption of advanced technology and reduced human resource intervention was needed to strengthen India’s defence systems.

Mr. Rajan Luthra, Co-Chair, FICCI Committee on Homeland Security & Head, Special Projects, Chairman’s Office, Reliance Industries Ltd., said that smart borders on one hand should allow seamless movement of authorised





people and goods, while on the other, minimise cross border security challenges using innovation and technology enablement. Adoption of advanced technologies for border control and surveillance, and the development of integrated systems for capture and exchange of data will facilitate enhanced effectiveness of the operational agencies with enhanced security. He added that over the long term, smart border management will also have to incorporate systems that digitally monitor patterns of activity through and around border areas to root out organised crime and anti-national events.

In his theme presentation, Mr. Dhiraj Mathur, Partner & Leader, Aerospace and Defence, PwC India, said that the FICCI-PwC report elucidates the present status of various programmes that have been undertaken by the government, both in the hinterland and in coastal states. It highlights the efforts required for enhancing coastal and maritime security with support from industry, especially on the technology, infrastructure and capacity building fronts, and for building an integrated and collaborative coastal and maritime security

management framework.

In his special address on ‘Countering Transnational Organised Crime through Effective Border Management,’ Mr. Sergey Kapinos, Representative - The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) Regional Office for South Asia, said that UNODC is formulating an action plan for 2018 - 21 which will spell out the threat assessment of transnational organised crime in South Asia. The details of the plan will be shared with countries of the region to enable them to take effective and timely measures for putting in place an integrated border management system.

Transnational organised crime manifests in many forms, including trafficking in drugs, firearms and even persons. At the same time, organised crime groups exploit human mobility to smuggle migrants and undermine financial systems through money laundering. The vast sums of money involved can compromise legitimate economies and directly impact public processes by ‘buying’ elections through corruption. It yields high profits for its culprits and results in high risks for individuals who fall victim to it. Every year,

countless individuals lose their lives at the hand of criminals involved in organised crime, succumbing to drug-related health problems or injuries inflicted by firearms, or losing their lives as a result of the unscrupulous methods and motives of human traffickers and smugglers of migrants.

Mr. Kapinos said integrated border management needs to be developed as an integral part of the overall national security system in close coordination with neighbouring countries as improving security unilaterally will amount to nothing if not implemented in cooperation with border States. Organised crime has diversified, gone global and reached macro - economic proportions: illicit goods may be sourced from one continent, trafficked across another, and marketed in a third. Transnational organised crime can permeate government agencies and institutions, fuelling corruption, infiltrating business and politics, and hindering economic and social development. And it is undermining governance and democracy by empowering those who operate outside the law.

Mr. Ram Madhav, National General Secretary, Bharatiya Janta Party, while addressing the valedictory session of the conference said that the Government is working towards upgrading the capabilities of security agencies and developing physical infrastructure along with adopting technology for effective management of Indian borders. He said that several border posts of India were still not accessible for maintaining a vigil on the border, but in the next three to four years, the government was committed to connect each

border post with a motorable road. Emphasising the importance of having good diplomatic relations with neighbouring countries to combat cross-border terrorism, Mr. Madhav said that recent example was the diffusing of Doklam situation where India was able to secure its interests without resorting to armed conflict. On the Rohingya issue, Mr. Madhav said that India was dealing with the situation from both the security and humanitarian angle.

Mr. Madhav urged FICCI and India Foundation to assist the government in strengthening relations with neighbouring countries by engaging with them on the economic front. He pointed out that it was expected that by 2025, the Indian Ocean Region would emerge as a strong economic power offering immense opportunities to the private sector. However, this would give rise to security concerns. To address such issues, India was upgrading its naval capabilities.

Dr. Sanjaya Baru, Secretary General, FICCI, said that FICCI had been engaging with ASEAN and BIMSTEC and other neighbouring regions of India and would continue to strengthen ties with them. While the government is building and maintaining progressive diplomatic relations, the private sector was doing its bits to assist the government in this regard.

Maj. Gen Dhruv C. Katoch, Director, India Foundation, said that the two day conference had productive deliberations. The actionable points and outcome would be documented and presented to respective ministries and agencies for consideration and implementation.



Indian Ocean Conference 2017

Deeksha Goel



The second Indian Ocean Conference was organised at Colombo on 31st August and 1st September 2017 by India Foundation in association with S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Singapore and National Institute of Fundamental Studies, Colombo

31st August 2017

Pre-Conference Symposia on Peace, Progress and Prosperity

Symposium on Peace

The symposium on peace was chaired by Vice Admiral Shekhar Sinha, Former C-in-C, Western Naval Command. The speakers were: Mr Rahul Roy Chaudhury, Senior Fellow for South Asia, IISS, London, UK; Mr Frederic Grare, Charge de Mission Asia, Ministry Foreign Affairs, France and Mr Phil Midland, Captain, U.S Navy (Retd.), USA.

Setting the tone for the conference, this session covered the various aspects of maintaining peace in the Indian Ocean Region (IOR) and was concluded with a consensus amongst the experts that the need of the hour was for the littoral nations to unite with each other against the external factors to fight the menace of piracy, climate change, and cyber terror for peace, progress and prosperity of the region.

Symposium on Progress

The symposium was chaired by Mr. G Parthasarthy, former Ambassador. The speakers were Mr. Hardeep Singh Puri, Chairman RIS, India; Dr. Patrick French, Dean of School of Arts and Sciences, Ahmedabad, India; Dr. Wang Pu Qu, Dean, Institute of State Governance Studies, Peking University, China and Dr. Jivanta Schottli, Research Fellow, ISAS, Singapore.

The session focused on the varying degrees of development that could be found in the Indian Ocean countries and how most of them are developing states. Mr. Puri termed democracy, respect for rule of law, and connectivity that respects sentiments of local population as the substantive areas that need attention. Dr. Patrick French began by stating the historical role of the Indian Ocean. He reiterated the importance of the region in global history and spoke at length about the cultural linkages that existed amongst the countries in the region. Dr Jivanta Schottli spoke from a South Asian perspective, and problematised the singular conception of progress and development as enshrined in the western model of liberalism. The last speaker Dr. Wang Pu Qu talked of the vision of China, of its role in the region and conveyed the belief of the Chinese premier, Xi Jinping in working towards peace and development.

Mr. G Parthasarathy summing up the session expressed his faith in the realisation of the dream of having an Indian Ocean Region that is a site for all that the three keywords in the theme of the conference.

Symposium on Prosperity

The symposium was chaired by Mr. Ashok Kantha, Director, Institute of Chinese Studies and the speakers were Mr. Sanjeev Sanyal, Mr. Abdullah Salem Hamad Al Harthi, Mr. Ashish Chauhan and Ms. Mariana Jiang.

Mr. Kantha quoted that 80 percent of trade traffic through the Indian Ocean is destined for other regions and that intra IOR trade is only 20 percent. Quoting the number he raised a question

of how a truly multilateral cooperation could be created in the IOR. Mr. Sanjeev Sanyal presented a vivid history of the Indian Ocean while Mr. Abdullah Salem Hamad Al Harthi went on to present the Omani view of the Indian Ocean region by placing the Sultanate of Oman within the strategic geography of the Indian Ocean. Mr. Ashish Chauhan emphasised on the role of technology in the development of the region where as Ms. Mariana Jiang presented her views on how China will interact with the IOR.

Inaugural Session

The inaugural session of the second edition of the Indian Ocean Conference was addressed by H.E Mr Vincent Meriton, Vice President, Seychelles; Mr. Ranil Wickremesinghe, Prime Minister, Sri Lanka; Dr Vivian Balakrishnan, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Singapore and Smt Sushma Swaraj, External Affairs Minister, India.

Extending gratitude towards India and Sri Lanka, Mr. Vincent Meriton emphasised the importance of conferences like the Indian Ocean Conference, as it presents an opportunity to discuss both problems and solutions facing the IOR. He recognised the fact that when it comes to the IOR, the states form a natural region which is not immune to challenges and must therefore, forge efforts to come together for development. Recognising the importance of the theme 'Peace, Progress and Prosperity', he reiterated the need for the countries of the region to counter organised crimes like piracy, cross-border terrorism etc. He also appealed to the countries to contain their territorial disputes in order to enhance peaceful coexistence of states in the region and also build



an environment of progress and prosperity in terms of economic diversification of resources, sustainable development, investment and industrial growth, food security in the region, etc

Prime Minister of Sri Lanka Mr. Ranil Wickremesinghe thanked the collaborators who made the Indian Ocean Conference 2017 possible. He greeted all on the optimistic note that Indian Ocean is destined to design the future of the world and that Sri Lanka is determined to play a decisive role in the future of this region. He lauded the Indian government for actively working on regional connectivity in the Indian Ocean, which he said, is also vital for Sri Lanka, both politically and economically. The Prime Minister emphasised the need for sustainable use of the resources in Indian Ocean for the development of all. He also reiterated the commitment of Sri Lanka to cooperate and collaborate with all the members in the region for furthering the prosperity and the security of the region.

Dr Vivian Balakrishnan explained the contextual relevance of the budding economy of Singapore by pointing out that it is essential for the development of culture and commerce in the Indian Ocean Region. If one traces the historical trajectories, peace prevailed for most part of the earlier centuries which also exhibit the primordial signs of globalisation in Asia. Raising opposition to immigration, restriction to trade and exchanges, etc. are a consequence of this increased competition. Dr. Balakrishnan thus advocated the need for a diagnosis of these occurrences along with determining solutions to the problems. For instance, skill development among people, utilization of human resources, promotion of the idea of inclusive sustainable growth, etc., can reinstate the level of growth among the states of IOR.

Smt Sushma Swaraj said that the Indian Ocean is one of the busiest and most critical maritime transportation links in the world. Almost a hundred

thousand ships a year pass through these waters, carrying about half of the world's container shipments, one-third of the world's bulk cargo traffic and two-thirds of the oil shipments. She enunciated Prime Minister's vision for the IOR and referred to the concept of SAGAR - "Security and Growth for All in the Region" coined by the Prime Minister of India in March 2015. She went on to term it to be a clear, high-level articulation of India's vision for the Indian Ocean. She talked of the emergence of the 'Blue Economy' as a promising new pillar of prosperity in the region, with immense economic and employment potential and spoke of India's role in it. She concluded her remarks by mentioning some of India's contributions to disaster relief work. Indian ships were involved in the safe evacuation of over 2,000 Indian expatriates and over 1,300 foreign nationals from Yemen in April 2015. India carried out rescue missions in Libya, Lebanon and Somalia. India has been the "first responder" to calls of assistance.

Special Plenary

The Special Plenary session of the Conference was addressed by Mr Tofail Ahmed, Minister for Commerce, Bangladesh; Mr Tilak Marapana, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Sri Lanka; Mr Premdut Koonjoo, Minister of Ocean Economy, Marine Resources, Fishing and Shipping, Mauritius; Mr Iwao Horii, Parliamentary Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs, Japan and Mr To Anh Dzung, Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs, Vietnam.

Mr. Ahmed highlighted the important link between the collective and the individual. He said,

"Collective progress and development depends on individual development and prosperity". Instating ideas for achieving international peace, the Sri Lankan Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Tilak Marapana suggested the need for identifying mutual challenges to development in IOR and responding to it with unity via public-private-partnership. The minister from Mauritius spoke about the threats facing the IOR and Mauritius contribution in the development of this region since the country is heavily reliant on the Ocean for its survival.

Celebrating the second time participation of Japan in the Indian Ocean Conference, the Minister from Japan highlighted the relevance of the venue of the Second Indian Ocean Conference by spelling out the relevance of Sri Lanka in the region. He further spoke of the significance of the values of democracy, freedom and rule of law in bringing prosperity to the region. The Minister from Vietnam spoke of threats to peace such as civil violence, transnational organised crime, poverty - all that can lead to catastrophic consequences.

1st September 2016 Conference Keynote Session

The Keynote Session was chaired by Mr. Prasad Kariyawasam, Foreign Secretary, Sri Lanka and Keynote address was delivered by Mr. S. Jaishankar, Foreign Secretary, India. The session in general focused on reviving the ethos of the Indian Ocean Region. Both the Foreign Secretaries went on to discuss the Challenges in the Indian Ocean: piracy, radicalisation and terrorism in the Ocean littorals, and climate change.



Foreign Secretary of India Dr Jaishankar spelt out the four important areas that India shall focus on in its bid to strengthen the ties of Indian Ocean Region:

- a) Hinterland cooperation
- b) Maritime cooperation and support
- c) South Asia to South east Asia connections
- d) Assuming more responsibility - SAGAR vision

Plenary I – Peace

The first plenary session on peace was addressed by Ms Frances Adamson, Foreign Secretary of Australia; Ms Ina Lepel, Director General for Asia and Pacific Foreign Office, Germany and Ms Alice Wells, Acting Assistant Secretary of State, USA.

Analysing the expeditious competition amongst greater number of successful societies in the Indo-Pacific region than in the 20th century,

Ms. Adamson assessed that the investments made by nation-states in strengthening their economies and developing their military forces have multiplied. She stressed on the importance of the freedom of sea-water navigation lanes, enhancing engagement vis-à-vis energy and oil transportation, developing Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) in the region, etc. to not only improve the relations within IORA but also accentuate the ties with the global economic order.

Extending gratitude towards India Foundation and the Government of Sri Lanka for inviting a German perspective to the platform, Mr. Lepel stated that despite being a consistent contributor in the region, the German position is overlooked by the nation-states in IOR. She spoke of Germany's interest in the IOR and that the European states have encouraged the ideals of 'peace, progress and prosperity' throughout the globe. In conclusion, Ms Lepel said that greater

bilateral, regional and multilateral engagements amongst states in these regions would enhance the pre-eminence of the socio-economic and security ties of the participating countries as well.

Reaffirming the positive assistance of America in IOR, Ms. Wells reiterated the importance of this region as a carrier of regional and international trade. Taking examples from Prime Minister Modi's 'Act East Policy' and 'Neighbourhood First Policy', Ms. Wells exclaims the importance of realising regional priorities. The Acting Assistant Secretary of State proclaimed US' desire to support the endeavour of improvement and peaceful development of region in terms of political, economic, cultural and social footing.

Plenary II – Peace

The second plenary on Peace was addressed

by Mr Md Shahidul Haque, Foreign Secretary, Bangladesh; Mr Cho Byung Jae, Chancellor, Korea National Diplomatic Academy, South Korea and Dr Siswo Promono, Director General, Policy Analysis and Development Agency, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Indonesia.

Speaking for Bangladesh, Mr Haque expressed the relevance and meaning of peace for the country, which he stated was all about cooperation, building alliances for sustainable development. Further, in the light of the visionary leadership of the Prime minister of Bangladesh, Mr. Haque stated that the country is committed to work towards peace and prosperity of the region. During the course of his speech he spoke of the 2030 development agenda and reiterated Bangladesh's commitment towards maintaining freedom of navigation in over flight and overseas



and bays and also the importance that the country attaches to human security when it speaks of security as a discourse.

Mr. Jae began his address by firmly emphasising upon the relevance of the Indian Ocean for South Asia. He spoke of how the Indian Ocean laid foundation for Korean fisheries, the importance of the IOR for Korea's global exports and imports, the movement of the global community away from Asia Pacific to Indo Pacific amongst other issues that he touched upon. Dr. Promono speaking of the history of the Indian Ocean region said that war and peace have long been part of the history of Indian Ocean, and touched upon the existence of economic ties since time immemorial and the 2000 years of connectivity and culture, to mention a few. He went on to speak on how from the very beginning the Indian Ocean has been open for navigation and trade and that is very good for the community of the region. In conclusion, the speaker made an appeal to the countries in the region to work towards enhancing the peace building measures and cooperating with each other to address the non-traditional security threats.

Plenary III – Peace

The third session on Peace was addressed by Admiral Jayantha Perera, Former Chief of Naval Staff, Sri Lanka and Maj Gen James S Hartsell, Mobilisation Assistant to the commander, US Pacific Command, USA.

The session highlighted on the importance of the IOR from the perspective of trade and security, laying emphasis on the rule based international system as the primary reason for peace and progress in the region.

Plenary IV - Progress

The session on Progress was chaired by Ambassador Ong Keng Yong, Executive Director, S Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Singapore. The speakers were: Mr Tan Sri Rastam Mohd Isa, Chairman and Chief Executive, Institute of Strategic and International Studies (ISIS), Malaysia; Ms Ayesha Siddiq, Author, Pakistan and Dr Phongsavath Boupha, Former Minister of Presidential Office, Laos.

Ambassador Ong was of the opinion that the history and culture of a region must be used to improve and modify ties among states. The subjects of a state should be better connected through social media which runs beyond the world of academia. To instil a better sense of identity or belongingness amongst the population of the region, he highlighted the need for higher multilateral and bilateral engagements among the states of the region.

Mr. Isa began his speech with the widely accepted comment for the evening that Progress, which can be secured by Peace in the region is and would be the component of leading Prosperity into the region. The speaker delivered on the possibility of creating a common parliament and a better designed inclusive forum, like that of EU, in order to achieve progress via adopting innovative and transformative policies of collaboration and cooperation among the IOR states.

Ms Ayesha Siddiq stressed that South Asia is a region that would need the IOR at large to solve numerous issues on poverty, development, food shortage, overall economic development, serious natural calamity, climate change, piracy and other shared problems. She spoke of the

increasing global competition and the fact that there is greater need to explore the numerous resources of the sea and harness it for the benefit of people.

Dr Boupoula re-stated the relevance of Indian Ocean - the third largest body of water bounded by Asia, through which 50% regional trade passes through. IOR encompasses 32 countries in all which share historical, economical and cultural relations. The former minister of Laos made an analysis, suggesting that the shift in the development of growth and competition towards the Asian continent, if utilised aptly, can contribute towards peace, progress and prosperity in the region.

Plenary V - Prosperity

The session on Prosperity was addressed by Shri Bajajant Jay Panda, Member of Parliament, India; Mr Ajmal Ahmady, Advisor to President, Afghanistan; Ms Sheikh Noora Bint Khalifa Al Khalifa, Entrepreneur, Bahrain and Mr Ruan

Zongze, Executive Vice President, China Institute of International Studies, China.

Mr. Panda, tracing the trajectory of globalisation, said that the leading powers that brought globalization about were not looking at a zero sum game arrangement. He spoke of the vast and tremendous range of the IOR, which reflect immense potential of those states that have been lagging behind on this range in the region. The five issues that he highlighted in his address were: connectivity, identity, disputes, terrorism and climate and further stated that trade is interlinked to all these issues. Mr. Panda emphasised the need to build an “Indian Ocean Brand” to achieve the target of a better future.

Mr. Ahmady expressed the concerns that plague Afghanistan. He spoke of the many challenges that the country faces including insufficient growth rate and the structural imbalances that hamper the development. Ms. Sheikh’s address to the conference was primarily focused upon the relevance of ‘blue economy’ in





the exchanges between the east and the west. She spoke of the relevance of the deep waters for the countries of the region and also expressed concerns about the need to ensure maritime security, as it is an important factor for the coastal states in the region. She also lauded India for actively engaging with the countries in the region.

Dr. Zongze traced the historical connection of China with the IOR. He spoke of the ties between China and the region in the spheres of history, culture, religion, trade and economics. Further, Dr Zongze argued the case for China being a country of the IOR, contrary to the perception otherwise.

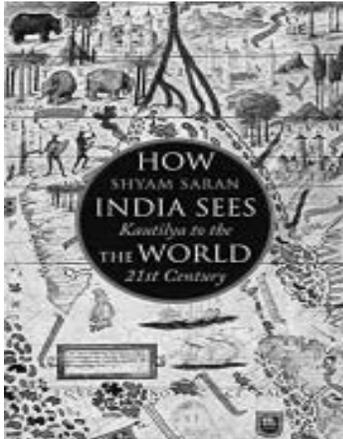
Valedictory Session

Addressing the Valedictory Session of the two days Conference in Colombo, Sri Lankan President Mr. Sirisena said that Indian Ocean plays

a vital role in the international economy, international security, sharing of new technology and modern naval activities while facilitating the strengthening of bilateral economic and trade relations between almost all countries in the world.

Talking of peace in the region he said that peace among different nations, reconciliation among nations, brotherhood and security at international level are of paramount importance and reiterated the Sri Lankan government's commitment to peace. He went on to recall Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike's proposal to the United Nations General Assembly to declare the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. He spoke of Sri Lanka's geographic location in the center of the ocean to be of strategic importance to the region and described it as a focal point that can promote and strengthen the sharing of modern technology, trade and maritime navigation.





How India Sees the World From Kautilya to the 21st Century

Author: Shyam Saran

Publisher: Juggernaut, 2017, pp 312

Price: Rs.599/-

Book Review by: Siddharth Singh

Shyam Saran's book 'How India Sees the World' is a collection of interesting essays which touches upon numerous topics of Indian Foreign Policy. The book covers an extensive period starting with background of India's foreign policy and thereafter narrating the vital foreign policy landmarks, such as the signing of the historic India-US nuclear deal, where the author himself had played a very crucial role. The predominant theme of Shyam Saran's book is an analysis of India's history, culture and worldview. The book presents an overarching picture of India's power and the role that India can perform on the larger world stage. The book is articulate enough for any foreign policy reader who is interested in global politics, and a few chapters do provide new understandings for a foreign affairs expert both in academia and in practice. The book mainly revolves around behind-the-scene consultations and negotiations that led to the Indo-US nuclear deal and the two almost-done deals with Pakistan on Siachen and Sir Creek that eventually could not materialise and fell through.

The author touches upon India's rich sources of traditional literature on statecraft and diplomacy – from Kautilya's Arthashastra to Nitisara of Kamandaki and opines how India can figure out

extrapolations from them to circumnavigate today's complex and multifaceted world. He goes back in time and maps the determinant, thought process and all factors and relevant forces which shaped India's foreign policy in the post-Independence era. Saran defends Nehru's worldview as also India's policy of non-alignment in a Cold War era, which the author posits was borne out of a sense of practicality which primarily served India's strategic interests. He asserts, it was "a policy assuring relative autonomy to a newly emerging country at that time in a polarised international environment."

A major focus of Shyam Saran's book is on India's immediate neighbourhood and its irritable diplomatic relationship with two important neighbors in the region – Pakistan and China. Saran, who is known for his expertise on affairs related to China, has emphasised in his book that there is a lack of familiarity in the mindset of India's academic, policy practitioner and general public at large with respect to Chinese culture and their peculiar worldview. Author narrates in his book that Chinese believe that their downgrading to an underdeveloped country was an irregularity of the last few centuries and that they are destined to reclaim their rightful and just position as a

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global super power. Author suggests that if India has to address the Chinese challenge then it must familiarise itself with the Chinese way of strategic and planned thinking. Author argues that the belief that the world is going to be headed and dominated by China is certainly overblown, given that China is still way behind the United States in every field economically, militarily and in technological advancement.

On India's relationship with Pakistan, Saran opines that the equation between India and Pakistan isn't going to significantly change because of profoundly rooted differing standpoints on both sides in their strategic thinking. He presents an alternative way which is nothing but a series of well thought out modest stepladders which might result in a significant and cumulative result. He asserts that India's future is definitely entwined with the stability and prosperity in its immediate neighbourhood and suggests that the regional economic integration of the Indian subcontinent must be India's highest priority in its foreign policy approach. He points out that the challenges in this endeavor will be to slowly surpass the political divisions among countries in the region and to make borders gradually irrelevant and immaterial in terms of economic trade, while acknowledging that India's border fights and conflicts with Pakistan aren't going to dissipate and resolve anytime soon.

In his book, Shyam Saran has provided an insider's account through thought-provoking narratives of two main negotiations and consultations in which he himself had played a key role – the Indo-US nuclear deal and the negotiations on climate change at Copenhagen. The book narrates some nerve-wracking foreign

policy negotiation tactics which were employed by the Indian envoys to ensure that India was able to gain access to civil nuclear commerce while at the same time keeping intact its nuclear weapons strategy programme. He narrates how India successfully negotiated for an India-specific waiver in NSG grouping with 48 countries, which were part of the Nuclear Suppliers Group so as to allow the civil nuclear deal to materialise and come through successfully as landmark achievement of India's foreign policy negotiator. On climate change negotiations at Copenhagen, Shyam Saran recollects how China's Chief Climate Change negotiator publicly rebuked his own premier and accused him of giving in to the excess demands of the United States.

Finally, Shyam Saran has highlighted in his book on India's role within the new emerging world order because the phase of unipolarity led by USA is slowly coming to an end and the world is moving towards a more multi-polar world where China is challenging the hegemony of USA which has been enjoyed by them for a long period of time. Shyam Saran contends that the process of globalisation has shaped and created interdependence which has led to deeper interconnectedness among countries in the world. Thus, in present times, global challenges can only be countered by a globally-oriented integrated and collaborative world order regime that complements and incorporates the national interests of all countries on an equal footing. He concludes by stating that India possesses the attributes of upholding diversity and plurality which could contribute in accomplishing a new international order.



Upcoming Events

North East Development Summit

21-22 November, 2017; Imphal, Manipur

The Northeast Region is a natural partner in India's 'Act East Policy', being our land bridge to Association for South East Asian Nations (ASEAN). The Act East Policy is a means to strengthen the stability, economy and prospects of our North Eastern region. It can significantly factor in ending the geographical isolation of India's North Eastern Region and transforming it into a bridgehead for India to the booming ASEAN markets and its extended neighbourhood. Given the economic potential as well as the geo-political importance of the region, the North East Region lies at the core of India's Act East Policy. The focus is now on economic development. The aspect of economic linkages should be explored and nurtured to further strengthen ties and contribute in the development of the North-East India. North East Development Summit is an effort to highlight and explore the potential of North East India in further establishing itself as a land hub of India's Act East Policy.

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

India Ideas Conclave 2017

15-17 December, 2017; Goa

India Ideas Conclave 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 conclave where ideas and opinions are exchanged in a candid and scholarly atmosphere. The central theme of the 4th India Ideas Conclave is Leadership in 21st Century.

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

4th International Dharma Dhamma Conference

11-13 January, 2018; Rajgir, Bihar

Centre for Study of Religion & Society, (CSRS), India Foundation in collaboration with Nalanda University, Rajgir is organizing 4th International Dharma Dhamma Conference on the theme "State and Social Order in Dharma Dhamma Traditions". The conference seeks to explore the shared values of the dharmic traditions, which may provide the guiding light to the troubled world today. The conference will focus on the following sub-themes:

- 1) State and Governance in Dharma Traditions
- 2) Social Order in Dharma Traditions
- 3) State in Dhamma Traditions
- 4) Social Order in Dhamma Traditions
- 5) Ecology & Environmental Consciousness in Dharma Dhamma Traditions
- 6) Peace & Conflict in Dharma Dhamma Traditions
- 7) Dharma Dhamma Traditions in Gandhi, Ambedkar, Lohia and Deen Dayal Upadhyaya
- 8) Idea of Rashtra (Nation) in Dharma Dhamma Traditions

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

Foreign Policy Workshop

19-25 January, 2018; Delhi

India Foundation is organising a 5-day Foreign Policy Workshop on the evolution of India's foreign policy.

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