

## Our History Decides our Destiny, Should India Ever Trust China?

**By Lt Gen (Dr) D B Shekatkar, PVSM, AVSM, VSM**

Author, a highly decorated soldier is renowned Strategic analyst. He is well respected expert in psychological warfare. Presently he is President of FINS and Chancellor of Sikkim University.

1. If we study Indian History critically after Independence, we will realise that for one reason or the other successive governments have put tremendous faith in conventional wisdom and conventional diplomacy. We have not developed "out of the box" thinking and diplomacy. Track two diplomacy led us nowhere. We totally ignored the wisdom and advice of the Indian Armed Forces, while dealing with "Integrated National Defense and Integrated National Security." We placed undue trust and faith both in Pakistan and more so in China.
2. For some unexplained reasons, best known to the successive government and governing mechanism by design or default, India did not formulate, our "Defense and National Security Doctrine." Entire nation has suffered due to absence of a well-conceived, formulated and projected "National Security Doctrine." The formulation of National Security Doctrine the process has to go through successive Geo-Political, Geo-strategic and Geo- Economic considerations,
3. First of all we need to have a National Vision; as to what India would like to be at least in next 50 years.....? A progressive, stable, well developed, well defended, prosperous and influential nation, to ensure development, wellbeing, stability, prosperity and progress of our coming generations, and India as a "Trust worthy Nation" useful to the world. Would India be satisfied and happy to be a "developed nation only"? On the basis of India first, arrogant, greedy, expansionist nation like China? Would India be happy to be a "developing nation" or India will be happy to be branded as under developed nation? This we have witnessed and experienced in the past 60 years of our post-independence journey. This vision of India will lead us to the next stage of the formulation of "National Philosophy", which will encourage us to focus on "Grand Strategy and Road map" for time bound action. In the absence of any of these, we cannot have a well-conceived, formulated national doctrine. There are many countries in the world which have their National Security Doctrine and they keep revising it periodically keeping in view the world events. Take for example the successive doctrinal and mission statements made by Mr. Xi Jinping, the President of China since assumed leadership and power in China. Some examples are "One China Policy"; China will regain all its territories at Land and sea which China perceives to be Chinese. .... .., by 2021 China will recapture, regain territories including India. By 2049, when China will complete 100 years of its Independence; China will be the lone super power in the world. There is a long list of Chinese national ambitions and road map.

4. Ever since our independence and more so in last 60 years, government of India duly assisted by Indian Diplomacy and Governing mechanism have not made any firm commitment, road map to retake Indian territory under adverse possession of Pakistan and China. Why?? What does this indicate and what does this prove? India is being ruined due to "Status Quo Syndrome" in Geo-strategic, Geo-geographic and Geo-political field. We must accept the harsh reality from history that no nation in the world has taken back its lost territory without use of force; armed power. Armed forces of India make their plan based on the directions given by the political leadership which rules India.
5. It is because of the absence of the National Security Doctrine, India has been suffering since our Independence. Our leadership committed blunders after blunders. The glaring examples are :-
  - When Indian Army was about to capture POK Indian Leadership took the issue in the united Nation in 1948.
  - Despite being betrayed by China, India Signed Panchasheel Agreement with China in 1954 and accepted Tibet as part of China.
  - Since 1959 our failure to read in between the lines, and carry out "Anticipatory and Predictability Threat analysis" of future course of adventures action by China.
  - Signing of Indus Water Treaty, depriving water to our agriculture based region of Jammu, Punjab, Haryana and Rajasthan due to our over kindness to Pakistan
  - Failure to anticipate Chinese attack on India in 1962, despite adequate warning by Indian Army and Military Leadership.
  - In 1965 signing of Tashkent Agreement despite our Victory against Pakistan in 1965 war. Indian Army was ordered to vacate captured territory of Pakistan. We should have bargained for return of Indian Territory and POK by Pakistan.
  - In 1972 signing of Shimla Agreement and return of over 90000 prisons of war of Pakistan, vacation Pakistan's territory captured by India in Pakistan's Punjab Province and elsewhere and India should have insisted vacation of POK by Pakistan.
  - 1993 – 1995 Signing of Peace and Tranquility Agreement on the dotted lines as demanded by China.
  - From 1993 to 2014, India's failure to seek perception of China on the map and on the ground on the Line of Actual Control (LAC). We have signed five agreements with China to appease China. China has violated all the agreements. Not one paragraph of any agreement since 1993 onwards has been honestly followed by China.
6. Despite our honest intentions to establish peace on our borders with our neighbors we have always been betrayed by both China and Pakistan. The worst is that we as a nation do not want to learn from our past mistakes. We continue to suffer from "Panipat Syndrome", which is, that the rulers at Delhi will wake up when the invader, aggressor, enemy has reached Panipat (in Haryana), and was about to threaten survival of ruler at Delhi.
7. From March 2020 till today the history is repeating itself with multi thrust aggression by China on India. China has betrayed India, India's Prime Minister and Indian Citizens. China has cleverly employed deception, concealment, and surprise to stab India. Even in observance of Peace and Tranquility Agreements.
8. We fail to observe one cardinal principle of Governance, National Security at National Defense as suggested in MAHABHARAT and CHANAKYA NITI, that is :-  
"If you wish to prevent a war be prepared for it. (Do not be eager to go to war.) If you are not prepared for war you will get sucked into war at a place, time and circumstances, which will not be of your choosing ". You will face defeat.
9. India got sucked into war with China in 1962, with Pakistan in 1965, again in Kargil in 1999. Since 2013 to 2020 Chinese intrusions and ingress in Ladakh continues.
10. Forum for integrated National Security (FINS) continue to make a sincere effort to generate public awareness and concern on National strategic Issues.

# **Bhima Koregaon case - Highlights of National Investigation Agency Charge sheet.**

## **By Capt Smita Gaikwad**

Author is a former Army Officer with sixteen years of diverse experience in corporate (Human Resource), social, research and education sector. She is a thought leader and internal security expert.

NIA Filed supplementary charge-sheet in Elgar Parishad Case at Mumbai against eight accused persons on Oct 9, 2020. The Pune Police had earlier filed two charge-sheets in this case on Nov 15, 2018, and Feb 21, 2019, against fifteen accused persons. The case was transferred to NIA from Pune Police on Jan 24, 2020, due to the scope of the investigation. So far sixteen people are arrested in reference to this case. The tentacles of the conspiracy are said to have spread nationally and internationally. Through meticulous, scientific and detailed analysis of more than 10,000 pages of communications made by various accused, reliable oral, documentary and material evidence were brought on record by NIA.

The eight accused in the supplementary charge sheet are Anand Teltumbade, Gautam Navlakha, Hany Babu, Sagar Gorkhe, Ramesh Gaichor, Jyoti Jagtap, Stan Swamy and Milind Teltumbade.

The highlights from the charge sheet are as follows:

- The case arose out of Vishram Baug P.S. Pune C.R. No. 04/2018 regarding inciting people and giving provocative speeches during Elgar Parishad organized at Shaniwarwada, Pune by the activists of Kabir Kala Manch on 31.12.2017, which promoted enmity between various caste groups and led to violence resulting in loss of life & property in the State of Maharashtra. During the investigation, it was revealed that senior leaders of CPI (Maoist), a proscribed terrorist organisation were in contact with the organizers of Elgar Parishad as well as the accused arrested in the case to spread the ideology of Maoism/Naxalism and encourage unlawful activities.
- The incriminating documents recovered from the accused include their discreet communications with other Maoist cadres regarding conspiracy related to a violent incident of Bhima Koregaon as a part of their well chalked-out strategy. It also included various documents regarding mobilisation against the Constitutionally established Government by the Maoist cadres, information about the movement of the security forces with an intention to cause heavy damage to the State. Discreet codes were used for secret communication amongst themselves to avoid detection by security forces regarding their conspiracy and planning.
- The investigation also revealed a systematic network of Maoists operating for the supply of arms & ammunitions having close nexus with other banned proscribed organisation within & outside India. The Strategy & Tactics adopted by Maoists to carry out a so-called urban revolution with their frontal outfits have also been revealed during the investigation. Besides this, funding activities of Maoist cadres & their sympathisers to carry out Maoist work in rural as well as urban areas came to the fore.
- NIA investigation revealed that the accused persons viz. Anand Teltumbde, Gautam Navlakha, Hany Babu, Sagar Gorkhe, Ramesh Gaichor, Jyoti Jagtap and Stan Swamy conspired with other accused persons to further the ideology of terrorist organisation CPI (Maoist) and abetted violence, brought into hatred & incited disaffection towards the Government established by law and promoted enmity between different groups on grounds of religion, caste and community. The absconding accused Milind Teltumbde also organised training camps for imparting weapons training to other accused persons.

- Anand Teltumbde, who normally resides in Goa, was one of the Conveners of 'Bhima Koregaon Shaurya Din Prerna Abhiyan' and was present at Shaniwar Wada, Pune on 31/12/2017 i.e. where Elgar Parishad Programme was organized. He played an active role with other Maoist cadres and received funds from them for carrying out the activities. Incriminating documents revealing his deep involvement with CPI (Maoist) activities also came to the fore.
- Gautam Navlakha's active role & involvement also came up in the secret communications with CPI (Maoist) cadres. He was assigned the task to unite intellectuals against the Government. He was part of some fact-finding committees and was assigned the task to recruit cadres for guerrilla activities of CPI (Maoist). His links with Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) also came to fore.
- Hany Babu, an Associate Professor at Delhi University was instrumental in organising visits of foreign Journalists to CPI (Maoist) areas and was assigned present and the future task of Revolutionary Democratic Front (RDF), a banned organisation in Andhra Pradesh & Telangana. He was in contact with banned terrorist organisation Kanglepak Communist Party (KCP) of Manipur and was instrumental in making efforts for the release of convicted accused G. N. Saibaba on the directions of CPI (Maoist) and was raising funds for the same.
- Sagar Gorkhe, Ramesh Gaichor & Jyoti Jagtap, are trained cadres of CPI (Maoist) and members of Kabir Kala Manch, a frontal organisation of CPI (Maoist). They attended meetings for the organisation of Elgar Parishad programme with other co-accused as a part of well chalked out conspiracy. They propagated the agenda of CPI (Maoist) and made planning and co-ordination all over Maharashtra.
- Stan Swamy is CPI (Maoist) cadre and was actively involved in its activities. Stan Swamy was in communication with other CPI (Maoist) cadres. He propagated among cadres that the arrest of urban CPI (Maoist) cadres from different parts of the country, particularly in Maharashtra has caused huge irrevocable damage to CPI (Maoist). He received funds from other Maoist cadres for the furtherance of the activities of CPI (Maoist). He is convenor of PPSC, a frontal organization of CPI (Maoist). The incriminating documents related to communications for furthering the activities of CPI (Maoist) and propaganda material of the CPI (Maoist), as well as literature, were seized from his possession.
- The role of various frontal organizations of CPI (Maoist) has also emerged during investigation. It has been established that the members of CPI (Maoist) were using these organizations to further their agenda.

## Emporer's legacy and Ladakh Dilemma

**By Gopal Dhok**

Author is a researcher with Forum for Integrated National Security.

Chinese political leaders have been often grappled with the question about their legacy. First Chinese Emperor Qin Shi Huangdi was in search of Elixir of immortality. He tried hard to succeed in that pressing enterprise literally by sending his emissaries to find a solution. The Emperor succumbed to death as his trusted lieutenants didn't find the potion to defeat death. However, his legacy survived in terracotta warriors and the Great Wall of China that he built around 221 B.C.

The fear of diminishing legacy has haunted Chinese modern political leaders and emperors alike. Mao felt the same in 1963, as he mentioned to his doctor. He launched the Cultural Revolution and ensured his legacy.

Latter leaders like Deng Xiaoping will remain for rebuilding China economically. Jiang Zemin builds three gorges dam to solve China's water problem and formed the Shanghai Cooperative Organisation.

## **Belt & Road - A legacy project for the new Emperor**

As the most decisive leader only comparable to Mao, Chinese President Xi Jinping is no exception to the above question. In that sense, Belt and Road initiative is the most ambitious enterprise undertaken by any Chinese ruler till date. A modern-day silk route aims to connect continents. It will build a modern-day economic corridor to secure energy and resource supply for China via Central Asia and China Pakistan Economic Corridor. Belt and Road traverse through for half of the world's population via 71 participant countries.

The BRI may exceed \$1 trillion worth of investment with more than \$210 billion in Asia alone. China invested in projects that are white elephants. However, these economically unavailable projects are very well suited for China's debt-trap diplomacy and strategic coercion as in case of various Asian nations. Tajikistan gave up 1158sq. Km. of its territory to avoid debt payment.

President Xi's own words 'BRI is an instrument to achieve policy, infrastructure, trade, financial, people-to-people connectivity and thus build a new platform for international co-operation to create new drivers of shared development'. As a crucial project, Xi incorporated BRI in the Chinese communist party's constitution. President Xi emphasises that BRI is not just an economic and development tool but also an instrument for policy, education, cultural and scientific exchanges.

Simultaneously, Belt and Road also provide a much-needed stimulus for Chinese state-run companies through BRI projects. More than seventy per cent of work contracts are award to Chinese companies. So Chinese investment again goes back to Chinese corporations. Thus, making it a perfect instrument for subjugating tributary states to China's world order.

The economic belt passing through Asian continent (including Pakistan – CPEC) will also circumvent maritime choke-point in the Malacca Strait. Malacca dilemma remains a point of insecurity in China's strategic thinking. China's oil import passes through the strait of malacca. Kazakhstan-China Pipeline, Myanmar-Yunnan Pipelines are China's efforts to reduce dependence on the Strait of Malacca. Gwadar-Xinjiang Pipeline in China Pakistan Economic Corridor is another alternative.

### **Ladakh Dilemma**

After Mao, the border between India and China remained stable. However, after Xi's arrival, that scenario changed with multiple encroachment efforts. While in Mao's era eastern and middle sector of LAC were at the centre stage. With Xi at the helm, the focus has shifted towards the Western Sector (Ladakh).

India fast-tracked infrastructure and connectivity projects in Ladakh such as Col Rinchen Setu, Shayak Daulat Beg Oldie road and an all-weather road connecting Leh with Himachal Pradesh via Atal Tunnel. These project will enhance the logistical capability of defence forces. These project will also help India in building a permanent and fully developed defence base at Daulat Beg Oldie to protect northern territory effectively.

Perhaps, improved logistical capability in the border areas of Union territory of Ladakh could create another strategic dilemma for China's leadership. Ladakh dilemma can be a land-based version of the Malacca dilemma.

A lot is at stake considering the importance of BRI as a legacy project of Xi Jinping. It was also a solution to China's long-held security dilemmas. However, Ladakh can become a spoilsport in Xi's ambition of global dominance and his legacy.

## **Pinaka Weapon System**

### **By Lt Gen VA Bhat**

Author served as the Director-General of Quality Assurance (DGQA) at the Department of Defence Production (Ministry of Defence)

Pinaka is a multi-barrel rocket launcher (MBRL) developed by **Armament Research Development Establishment (ARDE)**. ARDE was responsible for design and development establishment and subsystems and components were in a joint venture with **Tata Power SED, L&T** and **Ordnance Factory Board (OFB)**. The Indian Army had imported **BM-21 Grad** weapon system (a Soviet truck-mounted 122 mm multiple rocket launcher.) in the '80s.

To meet the Indian army's need for long-range artillery the **Ministry of Defence** sanctioned a project for developing a similar system. The qualitative requirement for this platform was frozen in 1983. It took almost 15/16 years for the equipment to be put to user trial and was baptized by fire in 1999 during the Kargil operations. After this, it was decided to induct Pinaka in the Indian Army. As of date, at least two regiments of Pinaka are in service. The existing range of the system is 37-40 km and it can fire 10-12 rockets in 40 seconds.

The prime mover of this system is an 8x8x Tatra vehicle as of now. To decrease the single source dependence of the army on OFB and increase competition ARDE successfully test-fired Pinaka rockets with a private source namely Economics Explosive Ltd. It is a Nagpur based firm and is fully involved in indigenous up-gradation of defence platforms. This rocket has an extended range of about 50km. The range is to be progressively extended to 65-70 km.

Pinaka is a complete MBRL system, each Pinaka battery consists of six launcher vehicles, each with 12 rockets; six loader-replenishment vehicles; three replenishment vehicles; two Command Post vehicle (one stand by) with a Fire Control computer, and the DIGICORA MET radar. A battery of six launchers can neutralise an area of 1,000m x 800m. The System is now been trial evaluated (TECHNICAL TRIALS) for a range of 65-70 kms in the Balasore Range in Odisha. However, it will take some more time to reach the level of Army Acceptance.

Finally, a comparison between the three MBRLs now in service in the **Indian Army**.

System	GRAD BM 21	Pinaka
Range	20-25km	45-50km (It will be progressively extended to about 75km)
Firepower	40 Rockets in 40secs	12 Rockets in 40secs

Comparison Between two MBRLs

## Challenges of Policing a Pandemic

**By Dr Kartikeya Tripathi**

Author is with a diverse academic background with degrees in History, Law, Criminology and Crime Science. He is M.Sc. in Criminal Justice Policy (Oxford University), Ph. D. in Security Science. (University College London, UCL). Presently, he is Asst Professor in Dept. of Security and Criminal Science at UCL.

The global COVID19 pandemic is the first such experience in our lifetime. As governments in both developed and developing countries struggle to respond to it, a major part of enforcing behavioural change in the public has fallen upon the police.

This situation has put police forces all over the world in a very difficult situation. Police officers are neither health experts nor specialists in eliciting behaviour change from the public. We can refer to the lack of success police has had in getting motorcycle riders to wear helmets to understand that police is not an effective agency to get people to take self-preservation measures.

However, the bulk of responsibility has fallen upon the police to safeguard citizens from COVID19 pandemic. This was particularly true in case of Indian urban centres where the government imposed a strict lockdown and asked the police to ensure that the containment measures were followed. An interesting aspect to note is that the police was asked to crack down on what would be considered normal daily behaviour. For example, going for a walk outside your house, or buying groceries are simple routine activities that were suddenly declared illegal.

It is no surprise that police struggled to impose the lockdown. No police force in any country, including India, had the resources to micro manage the life of the whole population. Police had to resort to threats and use of force to confine citizens to their homes. It had to do the same to stop people from carrying out even simple business activities. That has serious ramifications for police-public relationship in a democratic society.

On the other hand, police also paid a high price for doing what was never meant to be its job. As we have got better understanding of how COVID19 virus behaves, it has become clear that long exposure to viral load significantly increases the risk and severity of infection. Police officers at frontline of pandemic control were exposed to long hours of duty in public. Thousands of them were infected and hundreds lost their lives.

Seen in this light, it become obvious that COVID19 has created an unprecedented problem for the police. It has ended up doing a thankless job which has negligible impact on the spread of the disease. That throws up an interesting question for us: if we think that COVID19 will remain a problem for the foreseeable future, then how can we channelize police resources to respond to it.

Firstly, policy makers need to acknowledge that the effective way forward is to bring about behavioural change in the public through awareness campaigns. Secondly, these changes could take a long time. The last major pandemic that the world dealt with was HIV where it took decades of hard work from governments and NGOs to get people to safeguard against risky behaviour.

The above aspect of COVID19 response is entirely out of the policing domain. Effective utilization of police resources requires an understanding of the actual crime opportunities the pandemic has created. These include fraud, black-marketing of essential goods and medical services and cybercrime.

Crime data from all major countries shows a sharp decline in traditional crimes such as burglary and assault after the start of the pandemic. However, as police forces got overwhelmed with responding to the pandemic, other opportunistic crimes increased. For example, data and experience shows that there has been a sharp increase in cases of domestic violence.

Once a vaccine is released in the market there are enough reasons to believe that criminal elements will try to push fake specimens in the market to dupe desperate people. With more and more people spending a majority of their time indoors and online, cybercriminals are finding it easy to identify victims.

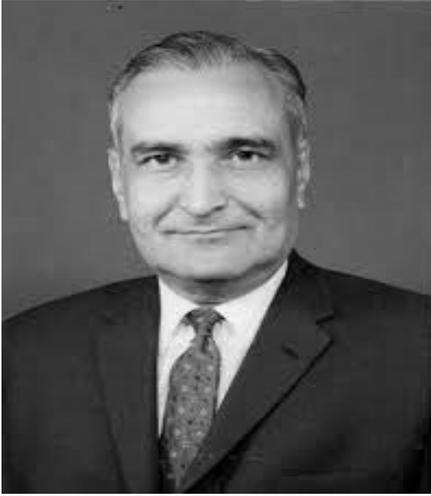
Police needs to reconfigure its response and thinking to a COVID19 world. In the immediate aftermath of the pandemic, police shouldered the short-term response of enforcing strict lockdowns. That was only partially successful and not a long-term solution. Moving forward police needs to step back from the role it has been playing and indulge in strategic thinking with other experts, policy makers and academics to fine tune its role in safeguarding the public and society in what is being described as the 'new normal'.

**Disclaimer: The opinions expressed in this publication are those of the authors. They do not purport to reflect the opinions or views of the FINS or its members.**

# Nation is Indebted to:

**Dr Nautam Bhatt, Padma Shri**

**1909 - 2005**



This Padma Shri physicist's name rarely features in the list of top Indian scientists though his contribution continues to inspire, influence and aid present-day physics research in India.

The founding director of Solid State Physics Laboratory, Delhi, attained unprecedented heights in defence research in India by designing the Variable Time Fuse for missiles as well as spearheading the development of helium-neon lasers, solar cells, semiconductor chips etc. which revolutionised India's defence domain.

Born in 1909 in Gujarat's Jamnagar, Bhatt obtained his Master's degree in Physics under the supervision of the great Sir C V Raman at Indian Institute of Science (IISc). After earning his doctorate at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, he returned to India and served as a professor in IISc.

Just after Independence, in 1949, he was inducted into the Defence Science Organisation in Delhi, where he presented his most fascinating innovations.

Although most of his work is under the wraps owing to the strict confidentiality protocols of Defence Science Organization, his active contribution to acoustics in India must be mentioned.

A patron and practitioner of Hindustani Classical Music, Dr Bhatt designed the acoustical features of 70 mm theatres in India like the Sheila and Odeon in Delhi and Birla Matushri Sabhagruha in Mumbai, to capture the perfect natural listening essence of Indian classical music, thereby negating the need for loudspeakers and amplifiers.

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