

## Doctrine under deceit—national security

**By Dr Prabhakaran Paleri**

Dr. Paleri is former director general of Indian Coast Guard.

Pakistan's documented National Security Policy (NSP<sub>pak</sub>) for 2022-261, released for public distribution on 14 January 2022, is interesting on many counts. The first is whether it is trustworthy even for the citizens. According to a media report<sup>2</sup> the nation expects the policy will guide it in the right direction. Is there an admission here that the country finally understood it was on a wrong course? The policy needs to be viewed from the intention of the authorities behind the publication. Such doctrinal policies may originate on various grounds. One is when the system feels it's not even catching up on the track of minimum progress. The policy then becomes a way out to take in the stakeholders in the national and global space. Even an organisation follows doctrinal path when claustrophobic awareness sets in that it hasn't done much to claim a space of identity or has gathered much flak from all and sundry for inaction on ground. It could also be with the urgency of intention to reorganise the desired cohesion within the system environment. A published doctrinal policy can divert attention from many unfinished jobs and could also bolster negotiations. This is especially so for governments without strategic plans for governance by national security (GBNS) (Paleri, 2022). The policy thereby becomes the plan. Pragmatism doesn't matter.

Pakistan has been experimenting with various security policies intermittently. The NSP therefore cannot be said as the first effort. It could also meet the fate of others. Besides, it is bound to 4 years (2022-26). It is an extremely short-term policy from the national security point of view. Such policies are not generally time bound, but change adaptable through effective and inbuilt feedback mechanism. The interventional goals, the end objectives of interventions, could be fixed by time. An example is the 15-year sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (2015-30) of the United Nations.

The media hype on the Pak policy in India was rather lukewarm with added props such as Pak wants peace with India for 100 years and so on. In fact, India is projected more so as Pakistan's agony (author) for its desired peaceful existence. There are 17 direct references to India or Indian in the document. There are repeat statements on the desire of Pakistan to coexist peacefully with others including India. Pakistan seemingly wants to say it will be happy the Kashmir they failed to occupy is handed over to it peacefully. It is similar to asking for Texas to United States by Mexico or Alaska by Russia. No, it is not similar to China seeking Taiwan or Tibetans expecting Tibet from China one day. They are different geogames. Kashmir is referred to as a pending issue in the NSP. The idea that Kashmir is not an issue but there are issues in Kashmir and a large portion of it is occupied by Pakistan is still not sinking and probably will never. This fact alone will deny Pakistan the rewards, of eternal peace with the neighbour. One of the issues related to Kashmir for India is the forceful occupation of part of it by Pakistan. India will have to decide on its future in its approach to national security.

The concept of national security itself is not seemingly understood by the people and their governments. The compound term originated as an American concept which was appreciated as physical security ab initio. But the fact that national security is more than mere physical security or rather military security of a nation was appreciated as early as 1789 (Paleri, 2002) and put into practice in governance. National security is about the overall well-being of the people of a nation as defined (Paleri, 2002). The job of a government is to achieve human well-being by maximisation through governance. Well-being is a moving target (Paleri, 2022). It can never be achieved to the utmost satisfaction of all as human personality vacillates. But it can be maximised by GBNS.

Under this context there is no need for a nation to set its own designer goal or goals in a policy in national security. Goal is the end objective. The goal in GBNS is maximising human well-being. It is common to all nations, the largest human systems in the world. It is the approach path or style of governance that will differ based on the elements and terrain specificity. That is the job of the governments. It is highly competitive. The governments may succeed differently in it. That is why there are no failed nations; there are only failed governments. Nation is much superior to its mortal people and their sliding governments. It is an entity by itself that demands respect from all. Every nation is equal and mutually responsible towards the Planet. It took centuries to understand this fact through introduction of sustainable development goals aimed at future generations. The new development came in the 21st century of the accepted common era which is about two million years (take or leave a million) since humans started inhabiting the Planet without being aware that their real estate belongs equally to all. But they cling on precariously to their caves in differing forms and shapes. Even Flintstones were more aware and orderly than the present-day human compared to their period.

It is not a doctrine or policy but an open-ended dialogue with the intended audience that Pakistan or any other country needs in the present geostrategic scenario for improving quality of life and making it worth living for the citizens now and to come. It is possible under the changing scenario of human awareness. The concept of national security, altered to extend beyond military security, could be the guiding path for interested and forward-looking governments of sapien humans (Paleri, 2022), though still restricted to physical security attributed to military in common usage.

This is where the humans need to eliminate deception. Deception is a deadly vice and a scourge exhibited by the weak and the less confident. Some call them wily. A nation may have it as a fundamental foundation policy by the conditioned and acquired social thinking and system. India is different and Indians generally consider deception as a forbidden value system not only in interpersonal relations but also in intersystem engagements. There are sufficient details on it. Deception is a survival mechanism of the downtrodden mindset that obviously suffers from various limitations. It should not be mistaken for surprise which is a tactical approach. Deception is unethical and wily tactics. India and Indians had been pushed to the edge for centuries. They did come out of such agonies without having to use menial survival techniques. For this reason, India can be seen as one of the leading nations required to balance and sustain the global human system. It also means India is the best friend Pakistan could ever consider for its development.

A senior diplomat in Pak embassy elsewhere once mentioned to the author that it was quite unfortunate the two countries had to get into such a situation. The author agreed but had not understood the cause. The normal suspects are power play and ethnicity on differing counts. It doesn't seem so. Maximum they could be catalysts to the original cause. But this article is not interested in mapping them though clearly visible.

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# India Merger of The Flames at Amar Jawan Jyoti And National War Memorial

**By Lt Gen VA Bhat**

Gen Bhat served as the Director-General of Quality Assurance (DGQA) at the Department of Defence Production (Ministry of Defence) affairs.

As part of the Central Vista Development, the two flames, one at Eternal Amar Jawan Jyoti and National War Memorial are being merged. India Gate, formerly, known as the All-India War Memorial was designed by Sir Edwin Lutyens (Architect of New Delhi) and inaugurated by Lord Erwin in 1931 then Viceroy of India. It was erected as a memorial to the 90000 odd Indian Soldiers of the British India Army who died in the various campaigns till then. Names of about 13000 soldiers are mentioned in this 42-meter-tall memorial often compared with the Arc de Triomphe situated in Paris. The Canopy which is now vacant had a statue of King George V. After Independence there was widespread opposition to the statue of George V still being in the Canopy. In 1968 this statue was relocated to the Coronation Park. Coronation Park was the venue of the Delhi Durbar where Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India in 1811. A statue of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose will now fill the vacant space as announced by PM Shri Modi.

The Amar Jawan Jyoti located at India Gate was inaugurated by Late Prime Minister Smt Indira Gandhi to mark India's victory over Pakistan in 1971 which resulted in the creation of a new nation 'Bangladesh'. It was a grateful nation's tribute to the Armed Forces Personnel who laid down their lives for the defence of the Nation. The Amar Jawan Jyoti included a black marble pedestal and a cenotaph that served as a grave for the unnamed soldier. A soldier's combat helmet was placed on top of an inverted L1A1 self-loading weapon with a bayonet on the pedestal.

The flame at the Amar Jawan Jyoti is kept ablaze throughout the year. On each side of the cenotaph, there are four flames. Maj Somnath Sharma First PVC laid down his life defending Kashmir in 1947. Since then many times, a soldier who has made supreme sacrifice is brought to his home as a hero draped in a Tricolour leaving behind a grieving Family. Reminds me of the Famous quote of Late Capt Batra "Either I will come back after hoisting the tricolour (Indian flag), or I will come back wrapped in it, but I will be back for sure." unquote. For years neither the Media- Print or Electronic nor the Political leaders paid any attention to our Veterans demand to have a National War Memorial for the Armed Forces personnel who laid down their lives. It was a shame that there are 5 War Memorials for Indian Soldiers That Show Their Immense Courage Around the Globe (WW1 & WW2). These are in Brighton UK, Germany, France, Malta and Haifa Israel. Salt was added to the wounds when Sri Lanka made a beautiful monument to honour those Indian Soldiers who died in the IPKF operation.

Against this background in the 2014 General election, the BJP made making a national Monument for our Veer Jawans an Election Manifesto. This was seen as a big relief and brought smiles to the age-old Veterans. As the first tenure of the Modi Government came to an end there were murmurs that this government has also like many others have paid only lip service to the pledge of building a war memorial. The Monuments necessity was accepted in 2015 at the C Hexagon in India Gate and the design was chosen in a public competition. The architecture of the memorial is based on four concentric circles. The largest is the Raksha Chakra or the Circle of Protection, which is marked by a row of trees, each of which Globe (WW soldiers, who protect the country. The Tyag Chakra, the Circle of Sacrifice, has circular concentric walls of honour based on the Chakravyuh. The walls have independent granite tablets for each of the soldiers who have died for the country since Independence. As of today, there are 26,466 names of such

soldiers on these granite tablets etched in golden letters. A tablet is added every time a soldier is killed in the line of duty.

This Veerta Chakra, the Circle of Bravery, has a covered gallery with six bronze crafted murals depicting the battles and actions of our Armed Forces.

The final is the Amar Chakra, the Circle of Immortality, which has an obelisk, and the Eternal Flame. The flame from the Amar Jawan Jyoti at the India Gate will be merged with this flame, which has been kept burning since 2019 when the memorial was unveiled. The flame is a symbol of the immortality of the spirit of the fallen soldiers, and a mark that the country will not forget their sacrifice.

Busts of the 21 soldiers who have been conferred with the highest gallantry award of the country, Param Vir Chakra, are also installed at the memorial. This NWM was dedicated to the Nation by PM Modi in February 2019 just a few months before the general election as told in the Manifesto in 2014. Ever since this NWM was thrown to the public in 2019 all visiting Dignitaries, Heads of State, and even on Republic Day of our country tributes are paid at the NWM and not at AAJ. Regiments have been given new colours and the old colours retired in the archives with full honour. New Regiments have been carved out of old ones. (Regiment Of Artillery was split into Air Defence, Aviation, Corps of Ordnance was bifurcated and EME was born Armoured Corps into Armoured Corps and Mech Infantry.). The Nation should remember and acknowledge the sacrifices of the Armed Forces is the bottom line. In any case, the Government has said the flame at AAJ will not be extinguished.

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## India's expanding presence in Latin America

**By Arnab Chakrabarty**

Author is a Research Fellow at the ICWA (Indian Council of World Affairs) specializing in Latin America.

Divided by distance which also includes cultural and linguistic differences, India and the Latin American region have often found it difficult to maintain close contact with one another. Apart from a few visits which did bear some fruits in terms of trade and commerce, when it comes to Latin America, India has always encountered difficulties to surmount the gaps in fomenting stronger ties. A shared colonial past did aid in bringing both of them closer, former Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru's visit to Mexico in 1961, Indira Gandhi's 8 nation tours also brought Latin America into India's foreign policy radar.

### **A reappraisal**

Despite similarities in terms of nature and objectives, the relations between both the regions did not achieve its full potential due to a variety of reasons. India's tendency to remain boxed within the neighbourhood and Latin America's myriad of socio-economic problems remained as a constant reminder of perpetual challenges. Added to it the distance, logistical impediments and a general lack of awareness placed an otherwise thriving relationship in the backburner. That should however not entail that no attempts were made to create a fruitful relationship. Both the regions are complementary in nature as India's economic growth will see a significant requirement for energy and food which may be obtained from Latin America, complementarily the latter will require India's skill and expertise in managing its resources and attaining a higher degree of self-sufficiency. Diplomatic engagements have also been modest, considering the logistical issues at hand. Between 1947 till 2019 11 diplomatic missions were opened by India in Latin America, while 21 missions from various Latin American states found a home in India. High-level visits from Latin America to India stood at 24 while India reciprocated with 11 such visits.

Trade between both the regions has also seen an upsurge, especially after the economic liberalization policies adopted by India, and Latin America's departure from its ISI model which attracted foreign investments. From a modest few million in the early 2000s to 27 billion in 2020 both the stakeholders are now engaging in robust trading. Brazil remains as India's primary trade partner with others such as Mexico, Colombia, Chile, Peru, Argentina, Venezuela and Ecuador following suit. India's Focus LAC Programme that was initiated in 1997 identified key sectors for cooperation and plans to work upon them.

### **A few visible Lacunae**

Questions arise regarding India's inability to foment far robust ties with the region despite registering such improvement in trade and commercial activities. Under the NDA government since 2014, there has been more expectations regarding India- Latin American ties which should have materialized on a larger scale. In this regard Indian policymakers should also remember that the PRC has already spread its tentacles over the region which may tend to become a challenge in the near future, considering the PRC's less than benign intentions. Under the Modi government, India- Latin America ties not only received a boost in terms of trade but the Prime Minister's personal interest in expanding India's footprints in the region. Visits in 2013, 2014, 2016 and in 2018 were important after a long hiatus. Similarly, according to such high-level visits from Latin American states were important to foster better ties. Despite such high-level interactions, the proposed ties between both the regions have not quite taken off. India continues to be boxed within the neighbourhood, dealing with a belligerent Pakistan and now with the PRC. Such an approach puts a serious amount of strain on its diplomatic resources to offer better attention to Latin America. India's relations with Latin America should not be mistaken as a bilateral relation as Latin America comprises of various states, each with its own dynamics and hence the focus has traditionally been always on the larger and economically important states with Brazil, Mexico, Argentina, Chile, Peru and Venezuela receiving most of the attention. Additionally, the lack of Preferential Trade Agreements with the exception of Chile and the Mercosur, in addition to high tariffs are also causes for concern. The lack of concern regarding Latin America within the Indian academia is also glaring as there are not many dedicated centres to the study of Latin America as a region. Perhaps, the distance and the logistical issues are too far to overcome within a short span of time.

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## **Macron takes own path, seeks dialogue with Russia**

There's still room for diplomacy in the Ukrainian crisis. At least that's the conviction of French President Emmanuel Macron, who continues to push for dialogue with Russia despite signs pointing to a potential war. His stance reflects France's post-World War II tradition of carving its own geopolitical path, refusing to line up blindly behind the U.S. It's also part of Macron's domestic political strategy amid campaigning for April's presidential election, where nationalists are setting the agenda and a war in Ukraine could prove an unwelcome distraction. Macron is preparing to talk Friday with Vladimir Putin, and Macron's presidential palace hosted marathon talks Wednesday between Russian and Ukrainian advisers, the first such face-to-face negotiations since Russia has massed troops near Ukraine in recent weeks.

Wednesday's talks among Russian, Ukrainian, French and German advisers appeared to buy all sides more time, as they agreed to meet again in two weeks. But France's diplomacy-focused strategy complicates efforts by the U.S. and NATO to show a tough, united front against Russia. And experts question whether it will be enough to deter a Russian invasion of Ukraine.



Macron's call with Putin on Friday morning has two goals, French government spokesman Gabriel Attal said: "to continue dialogue" and to "push Russia to clarify its position and the aim of (military) maneuvering." Moscow has denied it is planning an assault, but it has moved an estimated 100,000 troops near Ukraine in recent weeks and is holding military drills at multiple locations in Russia. That has led the United States and its NATO allies to prepare for the worst.

Macron "is at the heart of efforts towards de-escalation" and will also speak to Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy in the coming days, Attal said. French expert on geopolitics Dominique Moïsi told The Associated Press that Macron has tried since in power "to reset the relation between France and Russia, and to do it based on a mix of being open and being firm... This is very laudable, but did it work? Will it work this time? That's the challenge."

European diplomacy has helped cool tensions in the past. Wednesday's talks took place in the so-called "Normandy format," which helped to ease hostilities in 2015, a year after Putin ordered the annexation of Ukraine's Crimean Peninsula and the Russia-backed insurgency began in eastern Ukraine.

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## **Nation Is Indebted To: Dr Javaid Rahi**

### **A Relentless Crusader For Reforms In Tribal Communities Of J&K**

Javaid Rahi was born on 01 Sep 1970 in a small village Chanadak in the Poonch district of Jammu and Kashmir, to Babu Noor Mohammad Noor, a Gojri writer and playwright. Rahi is an Indian author, a tribal social reformer, and a researcher of national repute. He did his Doctorate Degree (Ph.D.) from the University of Jammu in 2004. He has worked extensively on the six 'Tribal Languages' of Jammu and Kashmir.

He has done pioneering work in the preservation of the Culture and Heritage of indigenous communities of North-western India focusing on tribal Gujjar-Bakerwal culture. He is a prolific writer of Gujari, Urdu and Punjabi.

As a researcher, he has authored 12 books in Gujari/ Gojri Urdu and English and edited more than 300 books/ magazines highlighting the history, culture, and literature related to communities such as Gujjars, Bakarwals, Gaddis, and Sippis, who are listed in the Constitution of India as Scheduled Tribes. In



addition to this, he has written numerous research papers and contributed to literary and cultural treatises of tribal communities of India.

He is a tribal social reformer and Media influencer among Gujjars and Bakarwals. He enjoys a huge fan following in nomadic groups for his extraordinary services for tribes. In tribal areas, he is known particularly as a cultural icon for his outstanding work in the field of tribal research and social reforms among the tribes of J&K. Dr. Rahi has been awarded by Lieutenant Governor of Jammu and Kashmir on the eve of 'National Tribal Pride Day' on 15th Nov 2021. Further on the eve of Republic Day 2022, the government of Jammu and Kashmir has awarded Javaid Rahi with UT level 'Tribal Award 2022' for his outstanding contribution to Tribal Literature especially to the Gojri language and Gujjar Culture.

In his relentless pursuit for the upliftment of tribals of J&K state, Dr. Rahi started working in the year 2000 for the renaissance of tribal identity, art, literature and besides he made aware tribes about their rights as STs.

During his campaigns spread over 21 years, he, while presiding over tribal conferences, seminars pleaded for the adaptation of a national model to develop the Tribal communities of Jammu and Kashmir educationally, socially, economically and culturally.

In 2019, the Government of India extended all the countrywide laws which empower Scheduled Tribes of Union Territory of Jammu and Kashmir through an Act passed by the Parliament of India titled "Jammu and Kashmir Re-organisation Act, 2019" on 5 August 2019 which were widely hailed by the tribal groups.

From 2019 onwards, Dr. Javaid Rahi started a UT-wide campaign, organized public gatherings to make aware the Scheduled Tribe communities of Constitutional safeguards, and apprised them about Tribal laws extended to J&K to empower tribes culturally, ethnically, educationally, socially, and politically. Under this campaign, he toured across Jammu and Kashmir to guide the nomadic population about newly extended laws about SC/ST Atrocities Act-1989, Forest Rights Act -2006, Delimitation to reserve Constituencies for Tribes-2019, Conservation Act 1980, Amendments in Panchayati Raj Act -which were made applicable to Jammu and Kashmir to pull out the Tribes from marginalization and social exclusions. He also started audio-visual awareness programs for tribes of J&K, during COVID-19, on Social Media platforms including YouTube Channels, Facebook Pages, Radio, and TV programs.

From 1994 to 2021, Dr. Rahi has served in a number of cultural bodies in the Jammu and Kashmir, including All India Radio Jammu/ Srinagar as News Editor/ Reader (till 2000), Jammu and Kashmir Academy of Art, Culture and Languages as Chief Editor-Gojri from 2000 onwards and edited a number of books and compiled the first-ever Gujari dictionary, containing around 70,000 words. This was the fourth dictionary project compiled under his supervision. Prior to this he has compiled Hindi-Gojri Dictionary, Folk-lore Dictionary of Gujjar tribe and Gojri Classic Dictionary.

Dr Rahi is a shining example of a rare human being who with compassion has left no stone unturned for the upliftment of poor marginalised tribes of J&K region.

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Write to us at:  
[bulletin@finsindia.org](mailto:bulletin@finsindia.org)

*Office: 4, Belle View, Lakhamsi Nappu  
Road, Dadar (East), MUMBAI - 400014  
Phone 022 24127274*

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