

Is ante-QUAD coming? Calling the Ukraine bluff

By Dr Prabhakaran Paleri

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The term ante-Quad doesn't mean anti-Quad, where Quad is the quadrilateral security dialogue initiated by Australia, Japan, India and the United States in 2007. Ante derives from anteforce (Paleri, 2002) which has no opposite. Anteforces are permanent in any human system. They oppose what is considered normal or regular or in vogue. Anteforce is not illegal or unlawful but can be a pain-in-the-neck for unrestricted governance. Handling the anteforces is one of the challenges of governance. Rule of law is not the appropriate remedy for anteforce being the other pole that acts as a flux inducer in the bipolar human system. The anteforce in human system can be exploited in governance by conversion as proforce (Paleri, 2002) by competent governance. It is yet to be tried out seriously. Ante-force cannot be eliminated from the system. It is the counter force that balances the flux in system polarities. It is simple physics. The explication so far is for reflecting this paper sans semantic dissonance (Paleri, 2022) to the readers. This also transacts that the present Ukraine conundrum will continue without escalating into an all out war, unlike projected under anxiety, thanks to the 21st century advanced human stasis. The world has surged forward a bit more from Saddam's time in awareness. War is over, rather, should be over if those at the helms can appreciate. War is no more an instrument of state policy in resolving differences in an advanced world where economics rides governance, human-wellbeing is the goal of governance, and diplomacy is not selective but compatible to people on both sides. But, humans can be still stupid when idealism lap dissolves into realism.

There is no thought about ante-Quad yet though China had expressed that Quad is Asian NATO. It is not, because NATO is a different alliance weathered through time and action. NATO, evolved from the Dunkirk Treaty (1947) between France and the UK against Germany (before the split) and Soviet Union, should have been a vestige once the Warsaw Pact had gone (1991) in a disciplined world where everyone was supposed to love thy neighbours and their money. But NATO intends to expand. It is the most powerful military alliance in the world that is going to stay and expand. NATO's agenda 2030 finalised in 2021 is quite ambitious and confident under huge budget. Ironically it runs parallel to the UN Agenda 2030 of sustainable development goals (SDGs) with the same D-date. The intention of NATO is to lead a forward looking reflection to make it ready, strong and united for a "new era" of increased global competition. It means there will be identified target entities external to it. That again is natural to a bipolar system but is not supportive of system sustainability as desired through the SDGs. Competition using military machinery will cause sufferings to people that SDGs cannot erase. The US feels the results will be horrific if Russia invades Ukraine. Washington and Kyiv are paranoid about it at this moment in spite of Russian assurances. The US is committed to helping Ukraine defend itself. The paranoia was caused by the annexation of the Crimean Peninsula by Russia from Ukraine in 2014. It is yet to get all out consent. It is considered part of Ukraine.

Meanwhile Russia established two federal entities there—Republic of Crimea and the federal city of Sevastopol. The trends point out to more turbulence, the tremors of which will be felt much beyond.

NATO will thrive to execute its reflection through its members and partners across the globe including Pakistan in all terrains including space and cyberspace. India is part of Quad, but has no intention to be with NATO as a partner except in common cooperation. India intends to retain its strategic autonomy. It's capable of defending it. The prospectus of Quad is bleak but for a few naval exercises which of course has cooperative yield. Quad is not likely to remain dynamically anchored in the overall geostrategic context for various reasons. Already it has assumed the shape of Quad2 subsequent to Australia's pullout between 2008 and 2017. In between Quad lost momentum. There are added follies too. Comparatively AUKUS1 seems to be preferred for geostrategic symmetry between East and West. But east and west are terms that exist only by reference usage in a world that is round. Differentiating the world nations under categories of geographical convenience need not lead to the desired harmony in modern times. It is more ridiculous than dividing the unitary ocean which is stated for convenience in ocean governance. Times have changed. Or governments should change them at least now leading to a unified (not collective) world under differences. Sustainable development goals cannot usher such stability when United Nations itself is a collective that needs a refreshed charter urgently. Mere collection of bones can't make a skeletal system. The world is too much into the past. The ghosts of the past block forward thinking. It's time to change into a no-war world even though it will be riddled with conflicts. The time is now, 2022. Conflicts other-than-war will remain, but wars can be erased from a sapient human system, the next level. Peace is an abstraction. The term is other-than-war situation under conflict. Conflicts are part of human interactions that are manageable by governance. Yes, people will die; there is a default bias called "life by death" in all life forms. The author calls it LBD. That's a different take.

If separation exists in convenient globalism, India could be called the legendary middle earth by geolocation. That explains its hybridity through interactiveness of inliers and outliers in the longest continuum. India can do a lot for the world. It was visible during the corona invasion. India has been tested in peacekeeping operations. India is not a peace breaker but a peace broker by nature. It is not in the Aukus triad. That is not the place for the middle earth. Aukus is an assembly of acceptable convenience for the three members in it. They prefer it that way for quick response in their style and habit. Barring such wayward assessments, the question is about the shape of ante-Quad, even if virtual or an abstraction. Will it be against Quad or NATO? The Warsaw Pact (1955-1991) was dissolved premonitorily about six months before the dissolution of Soviet Union leaving the world for NATO to expand. But Quad is different. So, who will be the members of the ante-Quad even if formed virtually? Calibration is easy if the fourth member is identified. The three are almost visible through the veil of fog. Or will it be a triad similar to Aukus? There are more such questions that will impact India and make it meander geostrategically as there are pointers of such changes in future when governments change in the Republic.

The formal devolution of Soviet Union (1922-1991) on 25 December 1991 has been expressed in different ways by the strategic society: breakup, implosion, fusion, fragmentation, containment aftermath, Gorbachev dilemma, disintegration, destruction, collapse, finish... The terms project the semanticists' strategic outlook besides deep desires and wish lists that can distort reality in decision making. For the author, what ensued was micronisation of the erstwhile Soviet Union. Micronisation could come about to any geoentity. Micronisation of Soviet Union impacted every geoentity and global population in different ways. It was not a sensation of any kind if one believes in the natural processes of a human system—family to nation. The causes do not matter. Russia was a giant nation in the Soviet Union. It still is as Russian Federation.

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Robert Peel and Police Reforms

By Uday Verma

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"The police are the public and the public are the police; the police being only members of the public who are paid to give full-time attention to duties which are incumbent on every citizen in the interests of community welfare and existence." ~ Robert Peel

Perhaps one of the most discussed public issues of all times is the interplay of Police, state and citizenry. Equally intriguing is one of the most abiding and enduring contradictions of our time, which is that while everyone wants -the state, the judiciary, the common man- an efficient, independent and honest police force, an equally compelling convenience for us is to treat and mould the police as suits our interests- legitimate or otherwise. This dichotomy seems to characterize our national character. While we denounce from rooftops the perniciousness and perversity of graft and corruption in society, we equally easily and without the slightest compunction give and accept bribes when it suits us.

Given the challenges that modern policing faces today and the apparently diminishing prospect of it getting addressed any time soon, it may be interesting and revealing to recall a leader and statesman Robert Peel who is credited with introducing the policing system that we follow today.

Born on 5 February 1788 to a wealthy textile manufacturer, he became a Member of Parliament when he was just 21. He rose on to become one of the most distinguished Prime Ministers of Britain. He served twice as Prime Minister of Britain (1834-1835, 1841-1846) as also the Home Secretary (1822-1827, 1828-30)

While the first term of Peel as Prime Minister was merely for six months, it was the second term that became remarkable in many respects. No prime minister enjoys the distinction of introducing such path-breaking and lasting legislation as Peel. The milestone legislations included the Mines and Collieries Act 1842, the Income Tax Act 1842, the Factories Act 1844 and the Railway Regulation Act 1844. Each one is revolutionary, ahead of time and carrying everlasting implications and application.

The London Metropolitan Police

But the contribution for which Peel will be eternally commemorated is the introduction of a specialised body of men to be known as 'police'. In the 18th century of then London, there was no professional police force. The major crime was usually handled by the army. Curiously, a novelist by the name of Henry Fielding set up a volunteer group of parish constables. He called them Bow Street Runners.

In 1812, when he was just 24, the maverick, impulsive and impatient Robert Peel was appointed Chief Secretary for Ireland. Against all conventional wisdom and prevailing practice, he gambled with a radical concept, to set up a dedicated force to keep order in the society. The gamble paid off. 'Peace Preservation Force' that he set up to keep order, turned out to be a great success and was promptly made into a permanent Royal Irish Constabulary.

Peel was appointed UK Home Secretary in 1822 and, encouraged by the success of his Irish venture, founded a civil police force in 1829 to keep law and order in London: The Metropolitan Police.

It was based in Whitehall Place with a back entrance in Great Scotland Yard – soon shortened to Scotland Yard. The force consisted of 8 superintendents, 20 inspectors, 88 sergeants and 895 constables. They worked seven days a week for £1 a week and were allowed five days holiday a year,

although they were not paid when on holiday.

The constables became known as “Bobbies” or “Peelers” after their founder and, dressed in blue tail-coats and top hats, began to patrol the streets of London on September 29, 1829.

They were armed only with a wooden truncheon which was carried in a long pocket in the tail of their coats. The men were also issued with a pair of handcuffs and a wooden rattle to raise alarm if needed. By the 1880s the rattle had been replaced by a whistle.

Anyone wishing to enlist as a Bobby had to comply with strict rules. They had to be male, aged 20–27, at least 5'7" (170cm) tall, fit, literate and have no history of wrongful behaviour. They were not allowed to vote in elections and had to have permission not only to get married but also to simply share a meal with a civilian. They also had to wear their uniforms at all times, both on and off duty.

The Nine Principles and Three Core Ideas

A pitiful £1 a week salary was set at a level so that none would feel “superior to the job”.

If by any remote chance they did so, they could be reminded of the Nine Principles and the three core ideas that Peel had established for their guidance.

Policing Principles:

1. To prevent crime and disorder, as an alternative to their repression by military force and severity of legal punishment.
2. To recognize always that the power of the police to fulfil their functions and duties is dependent on public approval of their existence, actions and behaviour, and on their ability to secure and maintain public respect.
3. To recognize always that to secure and maintain the respect and approval of the public means also the securing of the willing cooperation of the public in the task of securing observance of laws.

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Stand firm at Siachen: No question of glacier retreat

By Abhijit Bhattacharyya

Author is an alumnus of the National Defence College, and the author of *China in India*.

In the light of the suggestions by Gen. M.M. Naravane and a former foreign secretary, let us revisit the entire question of the glacier

When the incumbent Chief of Army Staff and a former foreign secretary talk about the Siachen Glacier, it's time to take note. If India's highest-ranking serving general refers to the possible demilitarisation of the glacier, where the Indian Army has been deployed without any break since 1984, it's a serious matter. A former foreign secretary justified the move to seek a review on the grounds that “Siachen is a most inhospitable theatre and the extraordinary human and material costs it imposes on troops”. So, both are not averse to the withdrawal of Indian troops on account of the “inhospitable theatre”!

Unfortunately, however, it's an idea that is hard to implement as there is no sign yet of peace, harmony and understanding with our neighbours, specifically Pakistan. True, one shouldn't fault the lofty thoughts of two public figures; yet the fact is that 1.4 billion Indians' fate can't depend solely on noble intentions. Those acting in good faith need to do some rethinking.

This is all the more so at a time when our western neighbour, in tandem with the powerful, destructive Dragon to the east, are together plotting all kinds of mischief against India.

In the light of the suggestions by Gen. M.M. Naravane and a former foreign secretary, let us revisit the entire question of the glacier. Where is Siachen? It's a part of the former state of Jammu and Kashmir (now divided into two Union territories — Jammu & Kashmir and Ladakh), which legally acceded to India on October 26-27, 1947 and has since then been its integral part. This was endorsed by every political party in the land, and both Houses of the Indian Parliament passed an unanimous resolution on February 22, 1994 that the (then) "State of Jammu and Kashmir has been, is and shall be an integral part of India"! Has there been any change in this policy?

We can't just "pick and choose" our stand on Siachen, and it simply can't be put on the agenda for a redrawing of boundaries. This is all the more so when those involved are senior politicians, military brass or diplomats. On the contrary, defence and diplomacy must, in tandem, act as protective force multiplier to abort any attempt at withdrawal from a territory which legally, technically and politically has belonged to India since 1947?

Didn't the decisive political-cum-clinical military action of then Prime Minister Indira Gandhi bring the Siachen Glacier back to India in April 1984? Can this rare achievement of India's exemplary act be diminished, diluted, or frittered away?

Should India again regret the loss of its own territory at the high table of international politics after shedding soldiers' blood in hot terrain? Must New Delhi forget the January 1966 Tashkent capitulation where at the behest of a third-party host's intervention India surrendered Haji Pir Pass, which was reclaimed after much bloodshed on the battlefield? Isn't the Haji Pir still haunting and bleeding Indian soldiers owing to the "line of sight" disconnect between Uri and Poonch? Can strategic heights on a hilly terrain be handed over to a congenitally hostile neighbour on a platter? Doesn't the Siachen Glacier occupy the "strategic heights" — overlooking both Pakistan and China?

Any move to withdraw from our territory will also be a violation of the Constitution by India's rulers. The reality is, Siachen can't be a discussion point except for its acceptance and recognition as an integral/inviolable part of India. There's absolutely no scope for either kite flying on Siachen or resorting to bilateral diplomacy on, or unilateral withdrawal from, any "inhospitable" ground.

The Constitution only provides for acquisition of territory — as happened with Goa in 1961 and Sikkim in 1975 — and not for any cession of land. Yes, India did cede a small portion of West Bengal land to erstwhile East Pakistan in 1958, but each and every such act requires an amendment of the Constitution under Article 368. The Supreme Court, in the Berubari verdict in 1960, made it clear Parliament doesn't have the power to cede any Indian territory, and in the 1969 Maganbhai Ishwarbhai verdict it spelt out that "a settlement of a boundary dispute cannot be held to be cession of territory".

Siachen is not a "boundary dispute", it has been an integral part of India since 1947. It is in fact New Delhi's duty to try and get back its land which lies beyond Siachen and across the terrain of J&K and Ladakh now under the forcible occupation of Pakistan and China.

India could also profitably draw some lessons from the Chinese dragon in the way it keeps harping on reuniting Taiwan with the mainland. India has lost territory earlier and the prospect of more such losses loom larger than ever before.

Sadly, a large chunk of urban India remains clueless about our border regions. They think India's land is some sort of lucrative commercial plot comprising mainly metropolitan cities and other towns and urban areas that provide lucrative contracts for construction, cash and commerce.

You don't need much imagination to visualise the kind of mischief aimed against this country that Beijing's "wolf warrior" diplomats and its aggressive People's Liberation Army are happily conjuring up. The PLA kidnaps Indians and creates havoc in the hinterland with organised crimes. A Siachen withdrawal should, therefore, never be contemplated. Remember Kargil 1999?

Indians could profitably study each and every statement by the German naval chief, Vice-Adm Kay-Adam Schoenbach, at a New Delhi seminar on China's ceaseless perfidy and treachery against India. (He also spoke at length on President Vladimir Putin and Russia's role in Ukraine, for which he was subsequently sacked.) We should take serious note of the views of the fallen German admiral. Let China try and get some Indians sacked as well for being professional and standing up to its malice.

Post-script: The Army Chief appears to have had a change of heart, as his recent statement of February 3 appears to indicate. "In the present context, the ceasefire line at the Line of Control continues to hold as we negotiated from a position of strength... The northern (China) border also adequately underscored the requirement of ready/capable forces, with optimal components of boots on the ground, backed by modern tech to preserve sovereignty and integrity." A retreat at Siachen is, therefore, completely out of the question.

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STATECRAFT – WILL THE CONVENTIONAL ONE DO?

By Sanjay Sahay IPS

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The art of conducting the affairs of the state is statecraft. Such a simplistic description and within it encompasses the whole of how a state operates end to end. It deals with every aspect of human existence and its totality as well. Over and above, what we can call it as the state matters, which are necessary for the survival and well-being of the nation, in areas of business, trade, technology and diplomacy to name a few. Statecraft brings a synergy to this whole complex exercise which firstly operates in silos and secondly it is extremely difficult to synchronize. Unfortunately, the conventional statecraft is supposed to be one of guile, playing the game of crafty or artful deception. It can also be termed as a tool for political success, where the state itself becomes a tool.

The conventional statecraft talks about managing reality, coupling ends and means in the ways that advance a country's interests. Both diplomacy and military force are complimentary insofar as they serve the same state's interest. The interest of the state can be different for the political interests. Any umbilical cord connection between the two can turn out to be suicidal. The conventional tools include economic sanctions, foreign aid, trade propaganda etc. These tools are an admixture of positive and negative ones. These are the days of defensive measures which we can term as the protective measures like investment screening and export controls. The affairs of the state within the state remains critical to the art of statecraft and conventional mode is breaking down.

The players of statecraft and their skills have not considerably changed, and their mindsets have remained fairly static. The lust for bringing politics in literally everything and the whole culture of one upmanship is distinctly coming in the way. This culture also means knee jerk reactions to everything. Given the complexities of today's world and the changed fulcrum and North Star, more often than not even the best practitioners get it wrong. Managing today's reality is a professional game with a variety of skills and not only politics or even an objective conventional statecraft. The rules of the game have changed. The dilution of the geographical areas of nation states and whole era of Conncetography has its own nuances.

Today's statecraft has to be built on the skills on technology and management practices besides the conventional art, as it was supposed to be. These two come handy in every arena of statecraft, from military to diplomacy to development to silencing the critics, when unwarranted, if needed. Two examples can be the hacking of the US Presidential Elections 2016 and the way Pegasus has been used as a tool for statecraft worldwide. Not understanding Blockchain and Crypto currency is certainly coming in the way of statecraft. Data driven, expertise and experts driven statecraft. It cannot be handled by one class. It should not be. The transformed world warrants the formation of new alliances, inducting stakeholders, who represent the modern world. That is the way forward.

STATECRAFT CANNOT STAND IN MID AIR. ECO TECHCRAFT SUPPORT IS A MUST.

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Nation is Indebted to: **Harkela Hajabba** **Man Sold Oranges to Build a School in His Village**



In the dusty village of New Papdu in Harekala, around 25 km from Mangaluru, lives a saint. For his almost miraculous contribution to society, the people of the land have bestowed the title of 'Akshara Santa' or Saint of Letters on Harekala Hajabba.

Growing up as a boy in a very poor family, Hajabba always nurtured the dream of rolling beedis in the city.

"I have never been to school. At a young age, poverty pushed me into taking up a job selling oranges. One day, I encountered two foreigners who wanted to buy a few oranges from me. They started speaking to me in English and asked about the price of the oranges. But I was unable to converse with them and they left. I felt humiliated after this incident and was ashamed that the language barrier made them walk away," he says.

Not wanting anyone else to go through what he had experienced; his life's mission suddenly became clear to him. From that day onwards, Hajabba, worked towards setting up a school so that the poor children in his village had access to education.

Hajabba's dream slowly took shape in 1999, in the form of a school attached to a madrasa in his village. When it started, there were only 28 students. However, as the number of students grew, Hajabba knew he would have to shift the school to a bigger facility. So he continued to accumulate every rupee he earned towards building a proper school and ensuring the education of future generations.

In 2004, Hajabba bought 50 cents of land. However, he realised that his savings would not be enough to build a school. So Hajabba started approaching people for money. From politicians to organisations to rich individuals, he went knocking on every door.

The unwillingness of some people to support him didn't come in the way of his dream. Soon more people came forward, supported and a school was built

Inspiring are those people who wish to build a better life for others than what they have. Harekala Hajabba, is such an illiterate fruit vendor from Mangalore, Karnataka, who used all his savings to build a school in his village for the underprivileged. The selfless fruit vendor has been awarded the 'Padma Shri' by the President of India, Ram Nath Kovind for his noble contributions to society. Read on to know more about his inspiring tale.

65-year-old man, Hajabba is an orange seller in Mangalore. He is an illiterate man who was deprived of education as his village, Newpadapu didn't have a school. In order to not let the children of his village suffer a fate like him, Hajabba used all his savings from selling oranges to build a school in his village in 1995. According to The News Minute, he got approval from the education department, sanction from the Dakshina Kannada Zilla panchayat and finally ensured that kids in his village had access to education. According to ANI, today this school has 175 students with classes going up to the 10th standard.

The selfless fruit seller has been conferred with the Padma Shri Award by the President of India, Ram Nath Kovind in Delhi. His story is indeed a very inspiring one. An illiterate fruit vendor has lit the lives of over a hundred students in his village through his savings.

Today, the school stands proudly on 1.5 acres of land in the village and has as many as 150 children studying there. From being a primary school, it has now become a secondary school.

Hajabba has truly earned the respect of the people in his village and around the country. Many say they look up to him because the recognition and awards haven't gone to his head. Nor have they deterred him from his real purpose — he remains humble to date. When the school was constructed, there was a proposal to name it after him. But Hajabba declined, saying he didn't want to be in the limelight.

It is not necessary to be rich to do good for society, it is the grit and will to do so. Fruit vendor Hajabba has proved it.

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