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गणराज्य दिन



Dedicated to the Fond Memory of
Late Dharmaveer Dr. B. S. Moonje
The founder of
Central Hindu Military Education Society

Central Hindu Military Education Society

Our founder, Dr Balkrishna Shivram Moonje, a social reformer and a great visionary, understood the importance of Military Education before independence. He was a firm believer in Indianisation of armed forces and indispensability of Military Training to Indian youth for building up a strong nation. He was a pioneer of military education in India. He believed that unless the nation becomes militarily strong, it cannot hold its head high amongst other nations. His vision was to provide young and able officers to arm our nation. His vision was to provide young and able officers to armed forces through rigorous training. His motto for military education was *'Power of Knowledge and Knowledge of Power.'* He believed that the responsibility of defending motherland has to be borne by everybody.

All the units of CHME Society are the logical extension of his thoughts on Military Education. As an educational institution, we impart regular formal education, but the hallmark of our institution is to instill our core values and imbibe the fervour of patriotism, leadership, and discipline in our students.

Apart from this, securing borders and honour of motherland requires able officers as well as strategic thinkers. That is what CHME Society does. Strategic thinking is a mindset and it should be developed in the society at large. We cultivate and nurture an attitude in our students to serve the nation. We also create security consciousness in the society.

We have gradually evolved a formidable system which imparts preparatory military training. Through this, we inculcate a habit of subordinating self-interest to national interest. We inspire our students to lead and be equipped to face the challenges before the nation and fight for the honour of our country.

Bhonsala Military College

Bhonsala Military College is a pioneer educational institution devoted to promoting military education. In the year 1986, the Bhonsala Military College came into existence. It is privately supported and partially residential co-educational institute. The primary objective of the institute is to provide for, and otherwise promote, education and research in the fields of Science, Humanities, Commerce, and Defence and Strategic Studies.

Vision

Bhonsala Military College is a pioneering institution which promotes academics with a perfect blend of military values in a caring, value based environment, which encourages students to be energetic, purposeful, creative, service oriented, responsible, dignified and integrated citizens to make a notable contribution to the armed forces and civil services.

Mission

With learning as its central mission, Bhonsala Military College responds to the needs of diverse students' community by offering high quality, affordable, and accessible learning opportunities for all round development of mental, physical and spiritual faculties through inculcation of strong value system culminating into national development.

Objectives

- To prepare students for the relevant University examinations
- To develop their personality by intellectual and physical activities
- To encourage students to take up careers in the Armed Forces of the country
- To prepare students for different competitive examinations conducted by M.P.S.C. and U.P.S.C.

Bhonsala Research Centre for Conflict & Peace

Bhonsala Military College is affiliated to the Savitribai Phule Pune University. The college is one of the few institutions in the country conducting courses in Defence and Strategic Studies up to the post graduation level. As an extension to the Post Graduate Department, a research centre has also been opened under the banner, ***“Bhonsala Research Centre for Conflict and Peace”***.

Objective

The main objective of this centre is to promote consciousness about National Security and identify solutions to conflicting issues at National and International Level.

Activities

The Centre conducts various activities such as Guest Lecture, Seminars, and Symposia. In addition, a quarterly publication named “Daksh” is a regular feature covering the research articles on a wide range of issues on National, Regional and International Security and Strategic affairs.

Daksh

Daksh is Quarterly publication of Bhonsala Research Centre for Conflict and Peace. It is the extension of other academic activities taken up by the post-graduate department of Bhonsala Military College based on the ideal Concept of the late Dharmaveer Dr. B. S. Moonje, founder of the Central Hindu Military Education Society.

To translate the noble ideas of Dr. B. S. Moonje into practice, in the light of contemporary security environments in large perspective, Daksh aims at projecting and analysing issues pertaining to security, and other related issues in the national, regional and global arena, and evaluate through interdisciplinary angles.

Each issue would feature idea, perception and thought from the scholars of various backgrounds on problems-past and present.

Instructions for Contributors

Original articles are invited in two double-spaced electronic copies (one PDF and one word file) of article/paper not exceeding 3000 words. The articles must be typed in Times New Roman with Font Size 12. The figures, graphs, charts, tables and other info-graphic representation should be numbered and must be in jpeg form. The paper must contain an abstract, keywords with proper reference/ footnotes at the end of the article/ paper. The paper must be accompanied with a brief Personal Bio-Data of the author. The paper should be mailed to the following email address: daksh@bmc.bhonsala.in. It is the sole responsibility of the author(s) to ensure the originality of the research paper. The Editorial committee or institution will not be held responsible for any consequences arising from plagiarism. Editorial committee reserves all the rights to accept or decline the submitted research paper. Authors should also ensure that the articles have not been published elsewhere prior to submission for Daksh. Reproduction of article/ paper in any form for other publication can be made with prior permission from the Principal, Bhonsala Military College, Rambhoomi, Dr. Moonje Path, Nashik-422005.

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From the Desk of Chief Editor

Concept of comprehensive security goes beyond the traditional understanding of national security and includes human, economic and environmental dimensions as well as a subjective feeling of security or insecurity of individuals. Comprehensive security seeks to find answers at three levels: First, for whom is security intended to be provided for – an individual, a group, a community, an ideology or a state; second, from what kind of threat they need to be secured from; and, finally, by what means the security is to be obtained. Hence, national security is a condition in which states consider that there is no danger of external military aggression, political pressure or economic coercion, so that they are able to pursue freely their own developmental activities. Therefore, there is a need for comprehensively addressing all external and internal security issues, military and non-military challenges to India's security through an academic churning.

In the above context, publication of 18th issue of the “DAKSH”, a quarterly security studies journal, under the roof of Bhonsala Research Center of Conflict and Peace (B.R.C.C.P.), independent branch of Defence and Strategic Studies Department, is very positive step at projecting and analyzing issues related to security and other spheres in the national, regional and global arena and evaluate them through inter –disciplinary approaches. Each issue would feature idea, perception and thought from the scholars of various backgrounds on problems –past and present and also creating awareness amongst students.

It is my privilege to express my sincere thanks to all society officials and principal of the college, for their constant support, guidance and encouragement towards publication of this issue and without their support and encouragement this would not have been possible. I also would like to express my sincere thanks to all the contributors of this issue. It is pertinent to mention that the journal named ‘DAKSH’ is multi disciplinary in approach which is aimed at objective analyses on a host of subjects related to India's and international security management studies that form the core of strategy in different areas. Filling the existing vacuum on the subject, the collection provides access to matured thoughts with a strong and convincing narrative. I am sure the journal would appeal to scholars, students' fraternity and those interested in India's national security studies and international affairs of worldwide

Dr. Priyanath A Ghosh

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China-Pakistan Strategic Partnership: India as a Factor

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Introduction:

The territorial disputes and diplomatic failures of India with Pakistan and China have led to a major wars and major factor while framing its State's policy. The necessity of China for Pakistan and vice versa has become vital to counter India, strategically. In 1951 the two countries officially established their diplomatic relations. Pakistan was one of the first countries to recognize the People's Republic of China. Sharing such relation has implies the two countries to witnessed a smooth development of friendly and neighborly relations as well as mutually beneficial cooperation.¹

Since the 1950's there has been a significant change of strategic partnership between China and Pakistan. The strategic partnership with these two countries has strongly rooted that the two would glue the relationship even stronger when either of them fought wars with India, for example, the following year of Sino-Indian war of 1962, China and Pakistan signed the first formal trade pact, the same year they signed border agreement and Pakistan cited Shaksgam Valley to China. In the 1965 war between India and Pakistan, China diplomatically supported Pakistan. In the 1970's China has supported Pakistan morally, psychologically and physically. Chinese assessment of Pakistan Nuclear program has provided a greater impetus to their strategic partnership.

Despite that China muted on Kargil war for her own reason and despite the uncomfortability with the tension of Pakistani's Islamic militants, the economic and military cooperation of Sino-Pakistan proceeds unabated. And China continues to invest heavily on Pakistan as to China, Pakistan provides a geostrategic importance. The development of China's 'one belt one road', Pakistan gave a route in assisting her neighboring countries and to the west, north and south, and most favorably to Arabian Sea and to Indian Ocean. About their partnership status Chinese premier Xi Jinping has stated that, "Pakistan is a hardcore friends and all-weather strategic partner".² Likewise, often both the leaders openly complement each other about their deeply ties relationship.

In this article, several reasons for China and Pakistan strategic relations against India is examined, also the complex relations between China-Pakistan with India is analyzed and the article attempted to recommend in finding peaceful solution to their complex relations.

Border Disputes and Common Strategic

The border disputes of India with China and Pakistan continue to be the grave concerned, militarily and politically. The huge investment on security and defence expenditures by the two countries creates mistrust with India and vice versa. Cynically, India has suffered from the two countries with occasional incursion into India's claimed territory, by the Chinese Army into Indian-controlled territory despite of the joint military exercise, and on the other hand the complex border with Pakistan whose militants often infiltrated into Indian Territory to carry out skirmishes.

Since independence India and Pakistan has fought major three wars on border issues and engaged in numerous exchange of fire or skirmishes. The unresolved territory between them has led to rivalry. This rivalry had occupied a great deal in India's strategic focus and limits its limitation to broaden its regional and global influence. Beyond that, India has experienced an internal instability from the issues of rivalry. This bitter rivalry has escalated to use Nuclear weapon for strategic interest. The rivalry between them is so complex that, one cannot really understand the overall rivalry of India-Pakistan without considering it to be subsumed within the larger China-India-Pakistan triad, in which Chinese military and diplomatic support to Pakistan which has a long-standing feature of regional security.³

The lack of willingness by China and India to arrive at a diplomatic resolution has led to war in 1962 in which India experienced a decisive defeat from China. Aftermath, there were some skirmishes and often the conflicts escalate between the two countries on border issues. The development in the border region like construction of highways and railways, China seems to use its strategy on the border issues to counter India. The development on the border region by the Chinese government and the increase of military activities at India's border region in recent times indicates its willingness to engage in conflict rather than amending the relations through diplomatic resolution. There seems to be no results of forthcoming of any substances from the Sino-Indian border negotiations even if talks continue endlessly and the momentum of the talks itself seems to have flagged.⁴

The legacy of the border wars had taught India a great lesson, 'one of the most important lessons that India drew from the border conflict was that it would be extremely damaging for India to let down its guard. India assumes that, while Pakistan represents the more immediate short-term threat, only China possesses the ability to threaten India's vital interest'.⁵ To balance border issues, India realized that nuclear power status needs to improve to a relative strategic position vis-à-vis China as well as Pakistan.

The provocation carried out by China and Pakistan to destabilize in Jammu & Kashmir and North East region of India has caused India a stern security challenge for decades. Their appraisal in Political uprising in these regions has troubled India internally and externally. And the activities carried out beyond India's border have impacted as severe as the treatment done in the border. India's disputed border with China and Pakistan has continued to generate insecurity for the country.

China-Pakistan relations in Regional Context

How China sees South Asia can be seen within the spectrum of how it sees the new Asia security architecture and its own role within that. Though China is exempted from South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) members, China holds an important role to South Asian Countries. China's interest in South Asian countries could be seen with the growing economic clout in the region and her geopolitical interest in the Indian Ocean. Although China sees India as a good trading partner, India's active role as a regional security provider and her rapid economic growth has led the Asian giant to consider a threat to her interest. So, China has to content with India, not so much in economic competition but in restricting the latter versus its long-time ally Pakistan, thus maintaining a rough balance of power in South Asia.⁶

During cold war period India played a pivotal role by non-alignment between the two blocs, although India shared a good rapport with Soviet Union. China and Pakistan on the other hand had a thorny relationship with Soviet; this relationship that India enjoyed has persuaded China to alliance with Pakistan to balance in South Asian region. Even after the Soviet Union disintegration, China and Pakistan effectively continues to maintain this policy. And when Soviet invasion of Afghanistan took place, China supported Pakistan militarily and politically with a motive to contain from Soviet influence in South Asia and Central Asia. China supported Pakistan to alliance with US against Soviet Union invasion in Afghanistan and strengthens a three-way partner between Pakistan, China and Afghanistan, later which initiated to trilateral strategic dialogue at Kabul.

Pakistan needs China as much as China needs Pakistan to maintain regional balance. By fate China and Pakistan has a common interest towards Afghanistan. The rise of Taliban post 9/11 and the active presents of Islamic militant in the region have triggered a global security concerned. China understands that the threat from this militant could influence the regional disorder especially in South and Central Asia, for such reason China didn't undermined the role of Pakistan. China also believed that Pakistan can maneuver and ensure the stable regional order and also prevent from spreading terrorism to her western province.

The recent development between Sino-Pakistan relations for regional interest is economic cooperation. One of the major landmarks that China has pronounced a cogent new neighborhood policy under President Xi Jinping was, the New Silk Road Economic Belt and Maritime Silk Road, which promote rather vigorously, could be treated as the Chinese methods for implementing its perception of the Asian engagement in the future.⁷

Nuclear nexus

The rise in nuclear rivalry between China, Pakistan and India for supremacy creates a complexity in the region as well as in the world order. Tension has been escalated due to border hostilities and suspicious amongst each other which led to live with mistrust and insecurity. With the new development and frequent sequel test, the three neighbors are inflicting one another in one way or the other. And though nuclear deterrence has impacted to act rationally, the conflict seems to deteriorate with the involvement of non-state actor. Pakistan has long been ambitious about its plan to use nuclear power to counter Indian conventional warfare. With her economic and political instability there is fear that nuclear weapon could land up in the hand of the Islamic militant who actively present in the region.

After India received a decisive defeat from China, India's approach towards nuclear weapon has opened up another dimension by undertaking research with development and production of nuclear weapon and associated technology like missiles and bombs. China's nuclear tests at Lop Nor on 16 October 1964 confirmed India's perceived threat, and added credence to the notion that nuclear weapons were force equalizers that overcame military asymmetries between the states.⁸ India displayed its nuclear capability in 1974, thus balance of terror against China was somehow established. Likewise, Pakistan too perceives threat from India until Pakistan carried out a subcritical test in 1983.

The sequel test of ballistic missile has led to advance in their respective missile technologies, expanding their range and payload capabilities, and thus increasing the susceptibility of Chinese, Indian and Pakistani cities to potential attack.⁹ China has been the keen supporter of Pakistan Nuclear Programmed. In 1988, US officials reported that Pakistan had gained a nuclear design from China, along with related missile technology.¹⁰ With the transfer of sensitive weapons and its related technology, Pakistan and China are sharing deeper ties with each other. Pakistan is the only Islamic country in making nuclear weapon, her military capabilities were fully backed and supported by China. In Andrew Small's book *The China-Pakistan Axis: Asia's New Geopolitical*,

Small has pointed that “if the military relationship lies at the heart of China-Pakistan ties, nuclear weapons lies at the heart of the military relationship”.¹¹

Security dilemma in neighborhood

China maintained the largest active military in the world and Pakistan on the other hand spent huge amount of money on arms and ammunitions. India also stood prominently as far as defence expenditure is concern. All the three countries invested hugely in defence to stabilize its military might. Pakistan and China shares a strong military ties through military project and agreement. According to security commentators, there is fear that the Islamic militant who established a breeding ground in Pakistani's soils could acquire the latest technological weapon obtained from Chinese. The evidence that China assessed its help to Pakistan and the fear that India had on technological transfer to Pakistan's sponsored terrorist group was also pointed out by the then Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee's letter to President Clinton in May 13, 1998:

*“I have been deeply concerned at the deteriorating security environment, specially the nuclear environment, faced by India for some years past. We have an overt nuclear weapon state [China] on our borders, a state which committed armed aggression against India in 1962. [...] To add to the distrust that country has materially helped another neighbour of ours [Pakistan] to become a covert nuclear weapons state. At the hands of this bitter neighbor we have suffered three aggressions in the last 50 years. And for the last ten years we have been the victim of unrelenting terrorism and militancy sponsored by it in several parts of our country, specially Punjab and Jammu & Kashmir.”*¹²

One of the major security concerns that India had with her two counterparts is, the geopolitical interest. The Chinese's strategic encirclement against India evaluates a great security concern for India. China is able to extend its territorial threats along the western boundaries of India, partly through China's commitment of military and financial support to Pakistan, but also partly through the upgrading of the Karakorum highway, which provides a corridor for more rapid and effective projection of Chinese land power.¹³ New Delhi increasingly sees Pakistan as, not so important in its own right, but as offering dangerous opportunities for China's attempt to encircle India, coming, as it were, down from the Himalayas, down the Indus to the Indian Ocean, in effect blocking its India along its north-western flanks.¹⁴

Recent Development between China-Pakistan Relations

China's most ambitious comprehensive regional economic cooperation strategy put forward to date by the Chinese Government was "Belt and Road".¹⁵ China sees Pakistan as an important geographical feature in this economic diplomacy project, due to the very fact that Pakistan is geostrategically located for China to connect Persian Gulf either through land route or sea route and also she occupies an important role to the Islamic world. China's approach and strategy engagement with Pakistan has further deepened in recent time. The huge investment and the trust for Pakistan, China has committed with a new developmental project of China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) which runs from Kashgar in China to Gwadar in Pakistan on the edge of Persian Gulf. The creation of linkage of road, railways and pipeline under CPEC will boost its economic and help to curb chronic power shortage to Pakistan as well as China in large bulk.

For decades, China and Pakistan has a close diplomatic and military ties but major economic link is a recently event. Beijing considered CPEC as an opportunity to expand its trade and commerce, and transport link which will have an economic influence in Central and South Asia. The ambitious projects of Silk Road Economic Belt and Maritime Silk Road in Pakistan have started with an aimed to link with Europe through Central Asia and Russia. This initiative also aims to promote the interconnectivity of Asian, European and African continents and their adjacent seas, established and strengthen partnerships among the countries along the Belt and Road, set-up all dimensional, multi-tiered and composite connectivity networks, and realizes diversified, independent, balanced and sustainable development.¹⁶

The Chinese Premier while visiting Pakistan in April 2015 gave rise to signing of 51 Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) and project worth \$46bn which includes energy, infrastructure, security, and broader economic development.¹⁷ Through this huge investment in Pakistan, China also believed that the Islamic militant will prevent from spreading in China's western region of Xinjiang. As stated by Pakistani's Minister Ashan Iqbal that, "the road and rail links will help us [China and Pakistan] integrate the three engines of growth in Asia: South Asia, Central Asia and China. Pakistan will become the economic hub of the region,".¹⁸ The success of CPEC will possibly give China a golden opportunity to engage actively in Indian Ocean not only in terms of economic activities but also militarily.

In order to successfully carried out Economic Corridor, the two countries have undertaken certain jobs to ensure the project are well protected. In recent time, China has supported Pakistan to strengthen its maritime capabilities and the Pakistan also took an extra effort to ensure that militant

doesn't disturb the project. But with the complex security environment in the region, CPEC has a lot of challenges to ensure the project runs smooth.

How India strategically view at China and Pakistan

Post-Independence India fought five wars with her neighboring countries all this wars were fought against Pakistan or China. And almost every proxy war occurred in the border or within the border China and Pakistan are directly or indirectly involved. Thus, as far as borders are concern India sees both the countries as a major threat to her territory as well as security. However, India has a healthy trading relationship with China and considered Pakistan as an important factor for regional cooperation such as SAARC. With this reciprocation relation India takes relationship with Pakistan and China tactfully.

India understands that, 'China was widely considered as the emerging power for her rapid development and its expanding influence, and military muscle to its growing demand for energy supplies'.¹⁹ China's growing power and aspiration to expand her influences with assertiveness in Asian countries has challenged India's foreign policy. On the other hand, India also aspire to become a security stakeholder in Asia with her foreign policy broaden from west to eastward. Incursions of China into South and Southeast Asia worry Indian policymakers in fear that, Asia under Chinese hegemony would end India's ambitions of becoming a global power and severely curtail its regional influence.²⁰ India considered China as a regional competent and also with its defense might, she appear a very big challenge for India in self-guarding her interest.

While identifying the relations with Pakistan there are various challenges that were linked to the bitter partition and colonial legacy left behind. The hostile relation often comes from territorial disputes. The tension on Kashmir issues is deeply rooted and there seems to be clueless about conflict resolution between the two countries. Due to this nature of dispute the the problem of terrorism and the involvement of non-state actor has become major security concern not only to India but also to other part of the region. For such reason, the potential of progressive regional cooperation in South Asia that India had a long interest has been adversely affected from time to time. It is likely expected that the relation between the two nuclear countries of South Asia could improve, not because the two country's leader are not interested in finding means and solution to their age-old conflict but because the interest shown by world major power like China and US with Pakistan for promoting the geopolitical interest in the region. Another major concern is the nuclear hegemony, which has already paved for catastrophe consequences as India and Pakistan seek for strategic stability.

Conclusion

Ever since the diplomatic relation starts from 1950s, the Sino-Pakistan relation remained strong allies. Both the countries gave considerable support to each other in times of crisis, especially to hurt India. The frequent exchange of compliment about the relationship status between the two countries and exchange of high-level visit has become regular. The promising cooperation and assistance in terms of economy, military and technology in recent time signified the close strategy ally even today. China sees Pakistan as a geopolitical important to Beijing's 'one belt, one road', due to this reason huge financial investment were invested in Beijing's China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). The Chinese ambitious project of CPEC is also understood as an interest towards dominancy and strategic interest in Persian Gulf.

The China-Pakistan strategic relations also extend beyond their domestic interest, their relationship could be understood on international strategic perspective. Pakistan plays a crucial role by interlocking geopolitical relations with US, China, Russia, India and the Arab countries. And since Islamic terrorism has become a serious global security concern, Pakistan became a major factor in response to terrorism.

The reciprocal need between China and Pakistan has strengthened their ties. The China-Pakistan strategic relations have been a major obsession with India's policy maker. India's aspiration for regional security provider and regional stability, and on the other hand China with better achievement in her economic and strategic mammoth against India and Pakistan's core foreign policy focus on India has created a critical strategic triangle. As the two Asian giants- India and China rise to become economic powerhouse and with reticence to become a global power, India is liable to be impacted by the strong bilateral ties of Sino-Pakistan in a long run.

In conclusion, as India attempt to find regional stability, she need more trade to exist and find more possible connectivity for growth in the region. To rise as a regional power and to place at a global power, India needs good relationship with Pakistan and China. Good neighborhood is required to maintain a stable and strong country. As famously stated by Former Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee in the Parliament in May 2003, "You can change friends but not neighbors", India Vis-à-vis China and Pakistan must realize such valuable relations they all share. In order to promote peace in the region, it is required to find relations that can foster development and economic growth.

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India's Act East Policy: a security dimension

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Introduction

The development in Asia drew global attention post-cold war. The rise of China as an economic great power, the strengthening of ASEAN for economic and security prosperity, the keen vigilance and interest of United State in Asia especially in the countries in Asia-Pacific Region and the India's paradigm shift in her foreign policy towards Southeast and East Asian countries, signifies a geostrategic importance in Asia. With the rapid economic growth and growing interest for peace and security in Asia, the 21st century was often cited as the 'Asian Century'. And with globalization, there is a growing interest for greater engagement within the Asian continent. No doubt, India was also drifted by these global radical changes.

During the Cold War period, India was looked up as a core leader in non-alignment movement but she felt to necessitate 'a great power diplomatic service'¹ with the Asian countries. Post-Cold War, India brought radical changes to meet the need of the population and poster as a prominent leader globally. This has led India to paradigm shift in her foreign policy focusing towards Southeast Asia for greater partnership. Thus India's 'Look East Policy'² was launched in terms of domestic issues, and predominantly regional and global issues hold a significant place in this Policy.

Security alternative from South Asia

India has played an eminent role for its regional integration in South Asia for, India knew that only then she will be able to play a prominent global actor. But the efforts didn't go well for the reason that 'some fundamental contradictions characterize the core values and strategic interests in the states of South Asia'³ Hence, in South Asian countries, especially India and Pakistan, has not been able to compromise their national values for the prosperity in the region. The bitter partition and the existing border disputes have marked the benevolent in the regional integration.

The very objective of South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) clearly reflected as to promote economic growth, strengthen collective self-reliance and to contribute mutual trust and understanding and to strengthen cooperation for the welfare of the region.⁴ However, due to the magnificent geographical size and population, and its geographical location

of India, there is a misconception amongst the lesser groups for dominance in terms of power. And predominantly there seems to be always differences in national security, especially with the two Nuclear armed country-India and Pakistan, in which the very foundation of national identity of the state was built. These differences have created animosity thus, its legitimacy couldn't consolidate its nation-states for greater regional integration. Another difficulty in the success of SAARC is the interferences of external forces- the keen interest of two powerful countries- US and China on Pakistan. India has been furious about their interference.

‘The SAARC process offers an important vehicle for achievement of a peaceful, prosperous and stable South Asian region’.⁵ For such reason India has been working for cooperation but India cannot keep fighting for its role in South Asia for ‘no country in this region formulates its security policy to play in global role’.⁶

The consequences of Soviet Union disintegration

The ideological campaign by Moscow could not hold firmly in Southeast Asia due to belligerently anti-communist states. Thus Soviet Union has withdrawn financial and military assistance in this region towards its disintegration. The resistance of non-interference was the hallmark that southeast has become known as ‘the ASEAN Way’. With the strong embodiment of commitment to resist external interferences in their own individual existence, has successfully boosted their economic development. Thus at the threshold of two great power rivalries during cold war, ASEAN eventually developed a high profile in economic performances. Things continue to improve at the end of cold war, ASEAN merged with rising self-confidence to generate a flurry of activity and initiatives that would have a profound impact on ASEAN's status and its role within the security architecture of Southeast Asia.⁷

Whereas for India, the collapse of Soviet Union was a significant turning point in her foreign policy due to her domestic needs. India faces a huge gap in her defense due to lag in the procurement process and a massive escalation in the costs of spares.⁸ The disintegration of Soviet Union led to the closing down of various defence plants in the former republics of the Soviet Union for this India consequently faced a severe shortage of spares and consumables.⁹ India was adversely impacted by the disintegration of Soviet Union because India was not self-reliance in defence. Following with defence unreliability in the 1990s, India undertook a number of Confidential Building Measures (CBMs) to allay the Cold War fears of certain Southeast Asian states regarding, India's growing naval capabilities in the Indian Ocean region.¹⁰

The benchmark of Indian foreign policy post-Soviet Union disintegration was the economic liberalization and reform, which led India to become an attractive ‘strategic partner’ to the Association of South East Asia Nations (ASEAN).¹¹ India’s Look East Policy was initially launched for economic ties with the Southeast and East Asia countries but this policy was also interpreted as the restoration of her traditional linkages, hence this policy requires in maintaining a strategy and security relation to cater a successful linkage.

India considered ASEAN countries as an economic promising region and moreover ASEAN didn’t see India as a threat to their existence. For the above reasons, ASEAN become the favorite destiny for India and vice versa. Also, the understanding of both the elites goes to the experienced of campaigning Non-alignment movement during cold war, all this has paved way for collaborative efforts of security in dealing closer ties.

India in trial with Asia-Pacific Countries

By the end of cold war, the focus on security was seems to have prioritized by economics. Even US was seen as to concentrate more on economics just after the two great power rivalries. This transactional period was seen as if military deterrence and security politics would take back seat because of the economics in demand; Clinton visit to Japan in 1993 was an indication of how the future of US-Japan security relationship appeared to have figured only in a minor role.¹² However, it was during this transactional period that a multilateral security cooperation, to establish a pan-regional official security dialogue arrangement, was initiated in the Asia-Pacific region, later which culminated as ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF).

The Asian Relations Conference in 1947 was attended by representatives of most of the Asian states, primarily to exchange views on economic and cultural matters. The provisional council was headed by Nehru as the president and headquarter was in New Delhi. The organization never expanded beyond its skeleton status, although it has issued some publications and participates in a few conferences.¹³ Pacific Pacts was seen as a strong front to the menace of communism in Asia and presumably these pacts were envisioned as the first steps in a widening network of pacific security arrangements.¹⁴ Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) which was primarily agreed to consider measures for concerted resistance to possible aggression or subversion in Southeast Asia couldn’t flourish as a strong regional organization. It has been severely criticized by leaders of the “neutralist” states, including the major states of South and Southeast Asia, India and Indonesia and Pakistan which had clearly been veering away from the SEATO alliance for some time and had been drawing closer to Communist China.¹⁵

The development in Asia's Pacific invites the 'great powers'¹⁶ to accumulate the interest in this region. Country like India and China are keenly interested in maintaining a good partnership with Southeast and East Asian countries, despite China territorial disputes with some of these two regional countries. Russia's interest in Asia's Pacific countries could be in terms of the efforts to counterbalance the western hegemony in Asia, and this could bring out the status of the partnership, especially with the 'Asiangiants'. To Russia, India is a good partner and China was also considered as unique partner, hence the development in Asia especially in Asia's Pacific countries will testify who stands for who. About the role of US in Asia Pacific is not a new thing, 'though US is not an Asian Power, it is a maritime power that, if it is to have major influence in the region'.¹⁷ Thus, India will have to find its way to establish a partnership with Asia's Pacific countries to poster as a prominent global role and that her interests are safeguarded by doing so.

The development from 'Look' to 'Act'

Initially, India looking east was looked with an economic lens but the policy cultivates more interest in the progress. India became a Sectoral Dialogue Partner of ASEAN in 1992, and then a Full Dialogue Partner in 1995. India joined the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) in 1996, and the relationship was further upgraded to Strategic Partnership in 2012.

Enrolment of ASEAN membership also plays a significant role in this policy, for example after Myanmar became the member of ASEAN, physical connectivity was looked with meaningful linkages. As far as physical connectivity is concerned, India's North East region are the most favorably beneficial region. This landlocked region of India has often cited as the deprived region in terms of economics, politics and security development. The region consisting of eight states, connected with the rest of the country by a small piece of land faced with poor connectivity with the rest of the country, and even there is no proper connectivity set up with the neighboring countries nor within amongst the states in the region. Thus, proper connectivity became an important eminent feature for the region to prosper. However, while setting up a proper connectivity in this region, security has a great role play.

After India's change of guard in May 2014, just after five months in the office the new government has reoriented the 'Look East Policy' into 'Act East Policy'. This reorientation signifies that India is cultivating more interest with Southeast and East Asian countries. The change of terminology implies India's interest for this policy to grow for greater relations. According to Minister of state for the External Affairs Gen. V. K. Singh 'Act East Policy' focuses on the extended neighborhood in the Asia-Pacific region.¹⁸ Prime Minister, Narendra Modi also stated that,

“For too long, India and United States have looked at each other across Europe and the Atlantic. When I look towards the East, I see the western shores of the United States.”¹⁹ Thus according to the remarks, Act East Policy reflects a broad strategic interest, also this policy has broadened its aspects and security imperative.

Common Security Challenges

In the 1990s a new set of security has emerged as a new challenge in regional and international- terrorist, organized crime cartels, environmental issues and human security became an important issue. To meet these new challenges there is a requirement by every country to work together collaboratively. India and ASEAN countries also affected by this new security challenges. The non-conventional threats to security in the form of regional and international terrorist networks, organized crime cartels and drugs trafficking (especially the Golden Triangle) are common concerned for India as well as for the ASEAN countries. With the porous border, law and order in the state were often hampered.

Primarily when India's Act East Policy was launched it was on economic issues, however security issues have also become common issues to address. In the 1994, ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) as a security dialogue was began and numerous confidential-building measures (CBMs) were implemented. In 1996, India became a full Dialogue partner of ASEAN. Then External Minister, Inder Kumar Gujral remarked at the first ASEAN-India Dialogue meeting that, “partner with the ASEAN will have an impact on India's economic, political and security related involvement in these larger, concentric coalitions around ASEAN, in East Asia and in the Asia-Pacific”.²⁰ But multilateral security processes were severely damaged by the 1997-98 Asian financial crises and this lead to suffer in part of regional defence budgets which were funded for training and exercise activities.²¹

India sees this foreign policy as a geostrategic importance. As India has look to the Asian Tiger as a promising and suitable partner for economic ties. India also had an experienced with Southeast Asian countries during non-alignment movement and India believe that the support from Southeast Asian countries will escalate India to play as a responsible global actor.

China's complex role

As far as economic is concern China has a stronghold in Southeast Asian, and even in South Asia she stood a prominent figure in economic activities. This economic activity with two regions along with East Asia has pave China to layout the strategic engagement with the host country in

terms of security. For this, many countries in Asia avoid assigning to China the role of aggressive nation, at least in public, since there is a well-founded apprehension that such an approach would hamper, rather than foster, the solution of disputes.²²

China has alarmed India by maritime strategy which is indicated by the commercial and construction of ports in her neighboring countries; this strategy was often cited as ‘string of pearls’. Moreover, the conflict with the Southeast Asian countries over maritime dispute has often triggered the need for strategic partnership between India and Southeast Asian nations. China’s strategic interest in Indian Ocean Rim (IOR) and disputes in Asia Pacific region has often questioned the liability of China economic role. As, though the image of a China threat is very complex, and involves military factors, but also apprehensions about the future weight of China’s economy and its global effects.²³ Therefore, India needs to find its opportunity if India considered China as her competitor, but nonetheless if India seeks to evolve as a prominent global leader, India needs to affirm its celebrated foreign policy more vigorously.

Connectivity and possible solution

The word ‘connectivity’ can be postulated in different aspects, but the connectivity discussed here will be looked from security perspective. As long as the regions are secured, there cannot be trust for development and even if development is taken place the region cannot prosper. Thus, how can the establishment of proper connectivity be the solution to security problem faced in India’s Act East Policy? Proper connectivity became an important tool in bringing development in any region.

Issues of porous border amongst the Southeast countries especially with countries located in ‘Golden Triangle’ and with that of India’s North East region prompts the question of security and development. Poor security development in this region has led to pass the illegal goods and porous border become an important geostrategic advantage for the insurgent, for their safe haven. Although ethnic problems remain a big issue in this region, development was one major thrust in this region.

India in its Act East Policy tries to embrace the Asian Highway, Trans-Asian Highway, Kaladan Multimodal Transit Transport project, Mekong-Ganga Cooperation (MGC), Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC), Bangladesh-China-India-Myanmar regional Economic Forum (BCIM), India-Myanmar-Thailand trilateral highway and Tamu-Kalewa-Kalemyo highway and to revive Stillwell Road, all these efforts will bring closer to the solution for greater connectivity. Connectivity should be the solution

for the region to check the illegal migration, human and drug trafficking, illegal trade banned goods and substances, easier movement of insurgents across the borders.

Conclusion

In conclusion one cannot ignore the fact that India engaging with Southeast Asia was in terms of an important notch- a nuclear power country. However, historically, India's ties with Southeast Asia have an eminent relationship. For this reason, India's action, unlike those of China and America, could not possibly be seen as threatening by the countries of Southeast Asia.²⁴ Opportunity of special relations that India had in the past, especially with the ASEAN countries, should not fall out if India is looking for economic opportunity. India needs to embrace 'connectivity' from different aspects to maintain special relations.

As India look towards east through 'Act East Policy', India's interest should not hamper because of the lack of strategic vision. Resolving or finding a solution for common security challenges will enhance meaningful and lasting relation. India requires to 'act' as a reliable partnership. In times of security or economic crisis India should not just 'look' but rather 'act', as India also had rhetorically improvised its policy from 'Look East' to 'Act East'.

There cannot be meaningful policy in India's Act East if security does not go hand in hand with that of the economic interest. The former Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh in his speech at the ASEAN-India commemorative Summit Claimed that, "with the partnership with the ASEAN not merely as a reaffirmation of ties with neighboring countries or as an instrument of economic development, but also as an integral part of our vision of a stable, secure and prosperous Asia and its surrounding Indian Ocean and Pacific regions"²⁵ Thus, India has much to perform to claimed as a prominent global actor and as a reliable actor in its 'Act' towards east.

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Piracy Threats to India's Maritime Security in the 21st Century

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Introduction:

The paper analyses the challenging threats posed by sea piracy to India's maritime security in the 21st century. Unlike the land borders protection, maritime protection of the sea has for a long period been neglected. With growing awareness about the need to protect sea, maritime piracy has received significant attention among the policy makers, security analysts and strategic experts with a view to tackle the issues.¹

Maritime security is concerned with the maritime integrity of all the elements that form the key features of the maritime domain and the safety of all foreign objects existing in or making use of the maritime domain. Maritime security may, therefore, be defined as those measures employed by owners, operators, and administration of vessels, port facilities, offshore installations, or other marine organizations and establishments to protect against seizure, sabotage, piracy, theft, terrorism activities and hostile interference with lawful operations.²

For the last many decades or so, maritime piracy was the most imminent security issue that made the shipping business suffer greatly both economically and in terms of life at sea. Political and socio-economic factors led to the renaissance of piracy as a security threat during the 1970s. However, by mid 80s, the problem became alarming, leading to the adoption of antipiracy measures by the international community. For India too, shipping vessels, cargo, passenger and fishing vessels come under attacks many a times by pirates seeking to gain revenue by hijacking and ransoming crew.

The phenomenon of piracy is as old as the history of mankind. Currently, the pirated attacks are no longer confined to high seas, but takes place at ports and in territorial seas posing a serious threat to sea fearers and to the shipping industry. Piracy has seen a rise in recent years in areas of maritime interest of our country.³ Pirate tends to operate in regions with large coastal areas, high levels of commercial activity, small national naval forces and weak regional security cooperation mechanisms. Piracy off the coast of Somalia in the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean region are a key maritime security threats. The increasing number of such attacks as a result of failure of Somali

government to tackle its internal problem drew the attention of international community who lent a drastic response thereby curtailing the number of such incidents significantly now.⁴ Initially, pirate activities occur at a very low level, mainly concentrated in the Gulf of Aden. Later, the scope of pirate activities expanded to include a much higher frequency of attacks carried out off Somalia's Indian Ocean coast by larger and more organized pirate groups.⁵ India in particular is seriously concerned about the protection of sea against the threats posed by maritime terrorism and piracy. India, being the most important economic player and economic giant among the countries in Asia, engages in a large volume of maritime trade with major global and regional powers in the world. It is the thirteenth largest importer in the world with approximately 90 per cent of its total trade by volume, and 70 per cent by value, transported by sea.⁶

Conceptualising Piracy

There is no such universally accepted definition on piracy. The word pirate has its root from the Latin word '*pirata*' where the notion of '*sea robber*' originated and from the Greek word "*peirátēs*" which means 'attacker' or 'marauder' as a noun originating from the verb "*peiran*" signifying 'attempt' or 'attack'. Therefore, a pirate is etymologically a person who undertakes an attempt of attack or an actual attack on someone.⁷

Piracy is a crime with international character and is governed under international law. It is traditionally regarded as *hostis humani generis*, meaning the enemy of the human race. They commit acts of murder, robbery, plunder, rape or other villainous deeds at sea, cruelly against humanity. Because of such nature of its offense, it is punishable wherever encountered. The law of piracy is directed to eliminate and suppress all acts of piracy in the world. Since piracy is *sui generis*, the law is to some extent very special in comparison with other laws.⁸

From a historical perspective, problem relating to piracy has been legally dealt with by each littoral state according to their traditional municipal law.⁹ Piracy is an illegal act of violence committed for private, rather than political ends by the crew or passengers of a ship against another ship outside state's territorial waters.¹⁰ It is an act of boarding or attempting to board any ship with the apparent intent to commit theft or any other crime and with the apparent intent or capability to use force in furtherance of that act.¹¹ The term piracy is usually referred to a broad range of violent acts at sea. Both the United Nations (UN)'s International Maritime Organization (IMO) and the International Maritime Bureau (IMB) currently use the definition of piracy as described in the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS). In article 101 of the 1982 United

Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), Piracy is said to be comprised of the following acts:

- a) any illegal acts of violence or detention, or any act of depredation, committed for private ends by the crew or the passengers of a private ship or a private aircraft, and directed:
 - on the high seas, against another ship or aircraft, or against persons or property on board such ship or aircraft;
 - against a ship, aircraft, persons or property in a place outside the jurisdiction of any State;
- b) any act of voluntary participation in the operation of a ship or of an aircraft with knowledge of facts making it a pirate ship or aircraft;
- c) any act of inciting or of intentionally facilitating an act described in subparagraph a or b.¹²

Martin N. Murphy defines piracy as “unlawful depredation at sea involving the use or threat of violence possibly, but not necessarily, involving robbery... Piracy, while not a political crime, has invariably been linked to politics and the expression of state power, or more commonly weakness...”.¹³ Maritime piracy is a maritime transport issue that directly affects ships, ports, terminals, cargo and seafarers. Above all, piracy is associated with considerable human costs, as seafarers are the first to be affected by piracy attacks. They are usually held hostage and may be injured or killed. There are different forms of piracy ranging - maritime and coastal piracy, capers and corsairs. The piracy occurs on the high seas where no state is sovereign. Piracy is indiscriminate, meaning that any vessel originating from any state is fair game. The fact that piracy occurs in an ungoverned space and has the potential to impact all states has made piracy a problem “of the commons” requiring a collective solution.¹⁴

Categorisation of Piracy

Piracy is considered to be comprised of the following main forms of criminal activity:

- Harbor and anchorage attacks
- Attacks against vessels at sea—(sea) robbery, sometimes also referred to as “Asian piracy”
- Attacks against vessels at sea—hijacking accompanied by the neutralization of the crew (a variation of this can include the permanent seizure of a vessel by pirates)
- Kidnap for ransom.¹⁵

However, S. M. Jones classifies piracy into four different categories depending on the gravity of crime committed by the pirate. They are

- Opportunity Crimes
- Low Level Armed Robbery
- Medium Level Armed Assault and Robbery
- Major Criminal Hi-jacking.¹⁶

Piracy occurs in wide range of forms across the world, with differences in the place of attacks such as ports, coastal waters, high seas and the severity of violence used. In recent years, the pattern of attacks has changed, with a majority of incidents now taking place on the high seas. In many cases, the incidents of piracy are largely simple robberies where the crew's personal belongings, unsecured material on deck and where possible, the contents of containers and crates are taken by the threat of violence. Of the many forms of piracy, the Somali piracy is becoming increasingly sophisticated. By way of extending their operational radius and refining their tactics, Somali pirates have directly reacted to the international presence off the Somali coast - and have thus proven their growing ability to adjust their modus operandi to evade countermeasures taken against them. Piracy of whatever types, carry out attacks on any vessels from any country of origin.¹⁷

The pirate activities are of transnational in character. The transnational character of piracy occurs in the geographical context and the diversity of the affected actors. It is characterised by the involvement of both non-state and state actors from different countries. Both of them create obstacles to the fight against piracy, requiring consensus among the countries to effectively deal with the threat of piracy.¹⁸

Piracy and its Threats to Indian Ocean

With increasing maritime trade, the activities of piracy and maritime terrorism pose a serious threat to the world's Oceans and in particular to the Indian Ocean. Maritime terrorism and piracy have been great threats to the security of the international waters for a long time. Previous incidents have demonstrated that determined maritime terrorists could cause serious damage in any sea borne vessel let it be a defenceless commercial oil tanker or a heavily armoured military cruiser. A well-planned and precisely executed act of sea borne terrorism in any of the strategically important maritime straits, canals or ports could easily bring the regional and global economy to a halt to an extent when specific countries might remain without energy sources for a short period of

time. The economic impact by the terrorist attacks against maritime transport could be extremely disastrous. The maritime transport system is highly vulnerable to being targeted and/or exploited by terrorists. According to the OECD report, the cost of such an attack would likely be measured in the tens of billions of dollars. The international community is well aware of the fact that terrorism and piracy at sea pose a threat to any potential target. In order for policymakers to develop and implement the most effective counter strategy, they must first understand their nature and the conditions that give rise to them.¹⁹

Factors Contributing to the Growing Threats of Piracy

Piracy poses serious threats to maritime security in the region for India and its navy. Piracy as a menace and its global impact can be seen from the convention on the High Seas, 1958 and UNCLOS 1982.²⁰ According to the most recent International Maritime Organization report, the Indian Ocean Region remains the most prevalent area of piracy in the world with the Horn of Africa and Bangladesh being the emergent hotspots.²¹ Several socio-economic and political factors contribute to maritime piracy and acts of armed robbery of ships, such as underdevelopment and political instability, criminality and corruption, and ineffective government and law enforcement agencies.²² Small and ill-equipped navies and coast guards also contribute to the existence of piracy and armed robbery of ships, especially if there is a lack of will to act on reported incidents.²³ All-encompassing poverty, lack of legal employment opportunities combined with the proximity to shipping lines nourished piracy as a ‘thinkable’ alternative way of earning a living. Piracy appears almost the “logical choice” for such fishers as they have the necessary maritime skills, local knowledge of the area, and the required equipment, including boats and long knives. Piracy poses a serious danger not only to shipping companies for their financial loss but also to the safety of millions of seafarers. The activities of piracy raises insurance rates, restricts free trade, and increases tensions between the affected littoral states, their neighbours and the countries whose flagged ships are attacked or hijacked.²⁴

Peter Chalk identified several factors for the increase in piracy/armed robbery cases - increase in commercial maritime traffic corresponding with large number of ports around the world; congested maritime chokepoints; governments emphasis on land-based security initiatives resulting in lack of maritime surveillance systems; sloppy measures on coastal and port-side security that enabled thefts of goods from ships at anchor, etc.²⁵

Somalia Pirates and its Challenges to India’s Maritime Security

The Somalia piracy has deep rooted financial and security implications, reflecting the need for urgent actions among the maritime countries of the world including India. The high cost of piracy has undoubtedly stimulated cooperation. The total cost of piracy off the Horn of Africa, including public and private counter-piracy efforts, is estimated to be around US\$ 7–12 billion annually.²⁶ Piracy has a direct economic impact in terms of fraud, stolen cargos and delayed trips.²⁷

The pirates are equipped with highly sophisticated weapons (AK-47, RPGs) and use small and nimble boats, often with the support of 'mother ships'. They take possession of the ship, keep the crew prisoner, divert the ship from maritime routes toward a friendly port, plunder the vessel and demand ransom for the release of any hostages.²⁸ The threats of piracy looks more vulnerable given the diversity of the crew of the pirate ships and the sophistication of the equipment they use. The specificity of a pirate crew is not in the number of pirates on board, which is often low, but rather in the technicality of its elements.²⁹ Pirate activities have become more widespread and complex, the issue of maritime piracy has developed into a multifaceted transnational security challenge that threatens lives, livelihoods and global welfare. Piracy gives rise to considerable direct and second order costs and has broad repercussions both at a regional and at a global level. Piracy disrupts transport and trade flows as well as other economic activities, such as fisheries and energy production, thus potentially jeopardizing the development prospects of both coastal and landlocked economies in affected regions. Moreover, piracy threatens the safety of navigation and delivery of humanitarian aid and has broader implications for transport and trade across interconnected global supply chains, as well as for energy and food security.

The Somalia piracy is focused on the hijacking of ships and the securing of ransom for their release. The pirates forced the crew to anchor off the Somalia coast and held the vessel, cargo, and 13 crew members captive for 71 days until the owners delivered \$1.7 million in ransom to the pirates.³⁰ During the period between 1999 and 2002, the International Maritime Bureau of the International Chamber of Commerce registered significant number of attacks against vessels. The key target of these attacks included most classes of vessels - bulk/general cargo vessels, tankers, container carriers and chemical and LPG carriers. Such attacks were concentrated in several distinct geographical areas including the Malacca straits, Indonesian and Malaysian waters, the coast of Bangladesh and India, the Red Sea/Horn of Africa and the west coast of Africa.³¹

Between 2000 and May 2013, 4759 incidents of piracy and acts of armed robbery of ships were reported worldwide. Although there was a sharp increase in incidents (attempted and actual attacks) in Somalia in 2009, the number of successful hijackings of ships remained constant and attacks were proportionally less successful, which could be attributed to the presence of a foreign

navy in these waters. In 2010, a ten per cent increase in piracy-related incidents was reported, which was mainly due to an increase in pirate activity in Indonesian waters.³² Attacks by Somalian pirates remained constant, but their success rate increased with 49 ships hijacked and 1016 crew members taken hostage. This indicated that pirates tailored to the higher foreign naval presence by expanding their area of operation more than 1000 NM from the Somali coast into the Eastern Red Sea, Oman in the Arabian Sea and the Indian Ocean as far as the Maldives.³³ Somali pirates continue to dominate the sea area of the region and have become more and better organized as well as more violent in their attack. They have gained significant capability to not just expand the area of action and provide flexibility during attacks, but also to operate almost 1,680 nautical miles far from their Somalia home base thanks to the mothership concept. The Somali based piracy has a regional and a global impact.³⁴

In 2011, Somalia pirates launched 176 attacks during which 25 ships were pirated.³⁵ A total of 75 attacks were attributed to Somalia pirates in 2012, during which 14 hijackings took place and 250 hostages were taken. Attacks were lower in 2012 due to the presence of security teams on board ships, increased ship's hardening, the efforts of naval forces in the area and land-based anti-piracy operations.³⁶ Pirate attacks in Somalia range from unplanned attacks to well-organised attacks with the intention to hijack the ship and to hold both ship and crew for ransom.³⁷ Automatic weapons and rocket-propelled grenade launchers (RPGs) are used during attacks.

According to the information released by Ministry of Shipping, 495 Indian seafarers were held hostages by the Somali pirates since 2007. Of them, 200 were taken captive on board foreign flag ships and 295 from about 20 Indian Motor Support Vehicles (MSVs). Barring 64, the rest of 495 hostages were released safely by March 2011. The 64 sea-farers to be rescued were crew members of 6 ships: MV Iceberg, MV Rak Afrikana, MV Suez, MV Asphalt Venture, MV Savina Caylyn, and MV Sinin that were highjacked in 2010-2011. Two of the foreign flag ships MV Savina Caylyn, and MV Sinin, with 26 Indian hostages were hijacked in January and February 2011.³⁸ Overall, it cannot be denied that piracy represents a significant cost for the international community. It results in direct costs related to ransom, insurance, diversion via the Cape of Good Hope and the cost of safety equipment and other related costs. But also indirect costs that represents the impact on countries in the region. In 2010, the cost of piracy off the coast of Somalia was estimated between USD 4.9 billion to USD 8.3 billion.³⁹

Addressing Piracy in the 21st Century

Since the threats of maritime piracy are global in character, requiring close cooperation and coordination among the maritime countries. To effectively deal with the heinous acts of terrorism and pirate activities at sea, it is imperative for states to cooperate in suppression of piracy and grants certain rights to seize pirate ships and criminals. Article 100 of the UNCLOS calls upon '*all states shall cooperate to the fullest possible extent in the repression of piracy on the high seas or in any other place outside the jurisdiction of any state*'. The Article 105 further informs that, '*on the high seas, or in any other place outside the jurisdiction of any state, every state may seize the pirate ship or aircraft, or a ship or aircraft taken by piracy and under the control of pirates, and arrest the persons and seize the property on board. The courts of the state which carried out the seizure may decide upon the penalties to be imposed, and may also determine the action to be taken with regard to the ships, aircraft or property, subject to the rights of third parties acting in good faith.*'⁴⁰

The rise in transnational threats in the Indian Ocean region has also led to the adoption of enhanced cooperative approaches between navies of various Indian ocean littoral countries in the form of numerous anti-piracy patrols which operate in the area that have resulted in the eventual decrease in the number of piracy attacks. But the challenge remains as attacks continue to take place in further ranges due to the usage of sophisticated technologies by pirates and other non-state actors.

A counter-piracy network is specifically designed to reduce pirate attacks in the Indian Ocean. Piracy off the Horn of Africa rose sharply after 2008, with the number of attacks increasing from 24 in that year to 163 in 2009, reaching a high of 172 in 2011. In 2012, the number of attacks fell to 35, and in 2013, there were only 7. Of the 2013 attacks, none resulted in taking a vessel hostage. In 2014, there were two attacks, neither of which was successful; and in 2015, no attacks took place. This remarkable decline suggests that international naval missions in the Indian Ocean have been effective.⁴¹ In a latest report released by IMB, a total of 180 incidents of piracy and armed robbery against ships were reported in 2017, which is the lowest annual number of incidents since 1995. In 2016, a total of 191 incidents were reported, with 150 vessels boarded and 151 crew members were taken hostage. However, according to the director of IMB, Pottengal Mukundan, Somali pirates still retain the capability and intent to launch attacks against merchant vessels hundreds of miles from their coastline.⁴²

India has a strong interest in ensuring the security of maritime traffic as piracy incurs a tremendous cost on India's maritime trade and threatens its prospects as a trading superpower. India's trade that passes through the Gulf of Aden estimated at about 110 billion dollars annually. And about 24 Indian flagged merchant ships transit the Gulf of Aden every month. While delivering

the keynote address at the Shangrila Dialogue in Singapore in May 2009, Indian Navy Chief Indian Suresh Mehta added that, “We see the Indian Navy as a significant stabilizing force in the Indian Ocean region, which safeguards traffic bound not only for our own ports, but also the flow of hydrocarbons and strategically important cargo to and from rest of the world across the strategic waterways close to our shores.”⁴³

The responses to deal with the threat of piracy in Somalia waters so far have been military and police action. India being an affected nation has been proactive in combating piracy at sea by deploying ships to the area. India on its part will need to employ its navy as a central force to form a regional cooperative group. This would ensure availability of more assets thereby providing security to shipping in the area.⁴⁴ Besides, India has been maintaining a naval presence since 2008 in the piracy prone areas in the Gulf of Aden and has been rendering assistance to merchant ships irrespective of the nationality. India has a 24x7 Communication Centre to coordinate and facilitate prompt anti-piracy action. It has banned operation of Indian Dhows in piracy infested areas and made additional deployments off Eastern and North Eastern Arabian Sea to check the piracy movement west ward. Indian Navy is on patrol in the EEZ of Seychelles and Mauritius and its ships and aircrafts routinely visit waters off the Maldives.⁴⁵

Deployment of Indian Navy and Coast Guard for Maritime Security

Currently, the Indian Navy is the largest and the most balanced navy in the region and the ongoing modernisation only promises to make it more compelling. Other than war fighting, the other two crucial roles includes policing and diplomacy, form the triad supporting the *raison d’etre* of a nation’s navy.⁴⁶ The navy contributes to strengthening of maritime security in the IOR in its diplomatic role, by projecting its capability, posture and national intent. It can thereby deter various actors from undertaking actions that would jeopardise our maritime security.⁴⁷

The growing complexity of maritime threats and the nature of maritime violence have created a new regime of maritime responses. Navies are increasingly playing a dual role of protecting nations in a traditional strategic sense and enforcing law and order, which includes looking more onshore. Naval cooperation is the most preferred, frequent and visible tool of maritime security in the IOR. There is a new scenario of increased inter-navy interaction today compared to previous periods. Navies of the IOR are interacting with external navies in a friendly fashion.⁴⁸ Various bilateral and multilateral exercises involving search and rescue drills, exchange of information and anti terror tactics have been held from time to time by the Indian Navies along with other Navies.

In the coming decades, the challenge of threats such as piracy, gunrunning and drugs smuggling are likely to grow, thus requiring the cooperative use of maritime forces to counter them. Further as majority of the nations in the IOR do not have adequate maritime capabilities to safeguard their interests, they look upon the Indian Navy to ensure stability and tranquility in the maritime domain. The primary task of the Indian Navy towards national security is, therefore, to provide protection from external interference, so that the vital tasks of fostering economic growth and undertaking developmental activities can take place in a secure environment. Commander Shishir Upadhyaya has noted that two-thirds of the Indian Ocean is under the threat of piracy. He identified challenges such as the size of the surveillance area and reaction time that have hindered navies from capturing pirates, while inadequate legal mechanisms for the trial of pirates has been an issue on land. He suggested that cooperation between navies and the shipping industries and using private security measures would deter pirates.⁴⁹

Indian Navy has played a crucial role in securing the Sea Lanes of Communications (SLOCs) in the Indian Ocean. In the post 9/11 attacks in United States, India has agreed to escort the sensitive US cargos through the Straits of Malacca. Besides, Indian Navy has played a crucial a significant role in counter-piracy operations off-Somalia over the last many years.⁵⁰ The former Defence Minister of India Shri. A.K. Antony told on the occasion of 2012 Naval Chiefs Conference that 'India's strategic location in the Indian Ocean and the professional capability of our Navy bestows upon us a natural ability to play a leading role in ensuring peace and stability in the Indian Ocean Region'.⁵¹

In recent years, the Indian Navy has foiled 39 piracy attacks thereby playing a major role in the ongoing international cooperation against the sea brigands off the African coast. Moreover, since October 2008, Indian warships have ensured the safe passage of over 1,700 ships from around 50 countries through the piracy-infested Gulf of Aden.⁵² In appreciation towards the role played by the Indian Navy in meeting in challenges of sea borne threats particularly the Somali's piracy threats, the International Maritime Bureau, Piracy Reporting Centre (PRC), has stated that the Indian Navy's action against the Somalia pirates off the Gulf of Aden has resulted in the seas on the Indian side being declared a safe area for merchant ships and thus many ships have started taking the route in waters off the Indian coast.⁵³

Indian Naval forces are under tremendous pressure to modernise and to upgrade their capabilities to meet contemporary challenges. The government have launch National Command Control Communication and Intelligence System (NC3I) at Gurgaon, which is intended to be the country's backbone of Maritime domain Awareness (MdA). The Information Management and

Analysis Centre (IMAC), the single-point agency linking the newly-formed coastal radar chain is the nodal centre of the NC3I. The NC3I would receive real-time situational inputs from 51 naval stations, 46 doppler radar units along the coast and maritime operational centres of all commands. It will also receive inputs from nearly 40 Indian Coast Guard stations to obtain information about the threat in the 'brown waters'.⁵⁴

Conclusion

The study found that maritime terrorism, piracy, sea robbery, and poaching is causing grave threat to sea business operation such as sea faring, trading, and fishing along the Indian Ocean. The paper discovers that the operators of these businesses are experiencing coastal insecurity, fear and anxiety due to the criminal activities of pirates. If maritime insecurity breeds threats, then the long term goal has to be to work towards de-securitizing the maritime and building regional maritime security communities.

Although piracy attacks off Somalia may be abating, there is no decline in sea terrorism worldwide. On the contrary, our sea trade routes may never have been more vulnerable and threat to economies through disruption of maritime lines of supply never more relevant. Despite the presence of naval forces along the Gulf of Aden and the adjacent Indian Ocean, merchant vessels are regularly attacked and hijacked. Maritime surveillance is the key to preventing unlawful activities at sea. Maritime security cooperation must encompass cooperation for the suppression of illegal activity at sea, including piracy, maritime terrorism, drug, arms and human trafficking, and ship-sourced marine pollution; and the provision of relevant safety services, especially search and rescue (SAR) operations; and the mitigation of marine natural hazards. Piracy can only be addressed by means of a comprehensive multi-layered approach that involves political, technology and societal measures, to strengthen security capabilities, improve intelligence gathering and sharing, and help bring about more effective law enforcement. It also requires multinational cooperation on land and at sea

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Pakistan and Chinese Joint Military Ventures and Its Implications On India

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Introduction:

China and Pakistan needs no introduction in terms of the major stake holder in context of Indian national security when it comes to safeguarding our western borders. China and Pakistan are not exactly neighbors as they don't share common border. However currently due to POK they share common land border. Neither the notorious relationship between the two nor the malicious intentions are hidden from anyone in the world. The PRC has provided intense economic, military and technical assistance to Pakistan and each considers the other, a close strategic ally. Their diplomatic relations were established in 1950, Scientific and technical co-operation began in 1963, active military assistance in 1966, a strategic alliance was formed in 1972 and economic co-operation began in 1979. Currently China has become Pakistan's largest supplier of arms and its third-largest trading partner.¹

The dangerous combination which they form grew even bleaker when it comes to a joint military technology ventures. China continues to be Pakistan's strongest ally. Their relationship became very close after Sino-Indian war of 1962. Pakistan ceded to China, 5,180 Sq. Km of land in Karakoram region of north Kashmir which actually belongs to India.² In return, China began providing economic and military assistance. After being dismembered in 1971 Pakistan forged a formal strategic alliance with China in 1972. In 1978 Chinese operationalised the Karakoram highway linking northern Pakistan with western China. China later became Pakistan's largest arms supplier and third largest trading partner.

While China supports Pakistan on Kashmir, Pakistan in turn supports China on Tibet, Taiwan and Xinjiang. Pakistan also acts as a link between China and the Muslim world. China's national strategic interest to get port facilities and a highway close to the oil rich middle-east made it commit US\$ 46 Billion in the Gwadar deep-water port and the road and rail corridor leading to it. Long term plan is to lay an oil/gas pipeline from Gwadar to central China. For Pakistan, China is a low-cost-high-value deterrent against India. In spite of getting huge military and financial aid from the USA, Pakistan President Musharraf once called China their "time-tested all-weather friend".

China is today a major arms exporter and for long helped Pakistan build its military-industrial complex.

Military Relations Between Pak and China

The People's Liberation Army (PLA) is the military arm of the Communist Party of China (CPC) and the defacto armed forces of the People's Republic of China, consisting of land, sea, strategic missile and air forces. PLA has also been the rung of ladder in establishing strong military relations with Pakistan. In recent years, the relationship has deepened even further and China has entered several military projects and defence treaties with Pakistan. China has also been a perpetual source of military equipment and has assisted Pakistan in setting up weapon production and modernisation facilities.

Few of the defence deals and joint ventures between both countries are covered below:

- A. **JF-17** The PAC JF-17 is a light-weight, single-engine multi-role combat aircraft developed jointly by the Pakistan Air Force (PAF), Pakistan Aeronautical Complex (PAC) and Chengdu Aircraft Industries Corporation (CAC) of China. Its designation "JF-17 Thunder" by Pakistan is short for "Joint Fighter-17", while the designation "FC-1 Xiaolong" by China means "Fighter China-1 Fierce Dragon".^{footnote} The JF-17 was primarily developed to meet PAF requirement for an affordable, modern multi-role combat aircraft as a replacement for its large fleet of Dassault Mirage III/5 fighters, Nanchang A-5 bombers, and Chengdu F-7 interceptors. The two serial production aircrafts were delivered from China in 2009 and the first Pakistani-manufactured aircraft was delivered to the PAF in a ceremony on 23 November 2009. The first squadron was inducted in the PAF in February 2010 and around 250 units shall be added in the future. The latest models have upgraded JF-17 B avionics, air-to-air refueling capability, data link, enhanced electronic warfare capability and enhanced load carrying capability. The JF-17 can be equipped with air-to-air and air-to-ground ordinance. The aircraft mounts both short-range infra-red air to air missiles along with longer ranged radar-guided BVR missiles, an essential capability for a frontline interceptor.
- B. **ZDK-03 AEW&C** The induction of Airborne Early Warning and Control System (AEW&C) aircraft was added in the PAF inventory. On October 7, 2011, the first aircraft arrived at PAF Base Masroor. PAF plans to induct a total of four such types of aircraft in its inventory. The PAF and Chinese aviation industries have mutually agreed for long term collaboration and co-development in the fields of aircraft manufacturing and other related

fields including AEW&C. An MOU was signed in Islamabad between the PAF and the Chinese Aviation Company, CETC, for the improvement and further development of Chinese AEW&C which will be delivered to Pakistan in coming years.

- C. **FC-20 / J-10B Fighter Jet** PAF is also in process of receiving its first FC-20 / J-10B fighter jet which is powered by indigenously developed WS-10 engine.
- D. **K-8 (Karakorum Advance Training Aircraft)** The Karakorum-8 (K-8) is a single-engine, advanced jet trainer and light attack aircraft designed and manufactured jointly by Hongdu Aviation Industry Corporation (HAIC) of China and PAC to replace the ageing Cessna T-37 Tweet jet trainers currently in service with the PAF.
- E. **Al Khalid Tank** The Al-Khalid tank is jointly developed variants of a modern Main Battle Tank (MBT) by Pakistan and China during the 1990s. The first production models entered service with the Pakistan Army in 2001 whereas currently about 300 tanks are in service.
- F. **UAV** Islamabad and Beijing inked two new military procurements contracts during the visit of Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao to Islamabad last year, which included the procurement of 20 CH-3 Unmanned Combat Aerial Vehicles (UCAV) developed by the China Aerospace Science and Technology Corp (CASC). The CH-3 is a Medium-Altitude Long Endurance (MALE) unmanned platform and is capable of battlefield reconnaissance, fire adjustment, data relay, intelligence collection, ground-strike missions and electronic warfare missions.
- G. **Type 054A Jiangkai Stealth Frigate** China has agreed to assist for the purchase of the Chinese 4400 ton frigate. This agreement will clear the financial problems of the Pakistan Navy and it will be able to purchase the new generation Stealth Type 054A Jiangkai II Multi-Role frigate which is equipped with the HQ-16 medium-range air defence missiles.
- H. **Submarines** China has also agreed to provide training to the personnel of the Pakistan Navy on the Chinese submarines. Pakistan and China have already agreed earlier this year to jointly develop and co-produce diesel electric submarines fitted with the Air Independent Propulsion to meet Pakistan Navy's long standing requirement of six new generations of submarines.
- I. **Al-Khalid II** Pakistan and China have recently signed a contract to manufacture an upgraded version of the jointly developed Al-Khalid-I tanks with a name of Al Khalid-II. The contract was signed by Pakistan's Heavy Industries Taxila and China's NORINCO at the Ministry of Defence Production. The joint marketing of the Al-Khalid tank with China would open up potential markets.

Chinese Military Aircraft Industry

PLA is the world's largest standing military. China Aviation Industry employs over 4,00,000 engineers and workers. China has state-of-the-art aircraft programs include two stealth fighters (J-20 and J-31), large military transport aircraft Y-20, and AWACS KJ-2000. H-8 is a secret Chinese Strategic bomber started flight trials in 2007. J-11 is a Chinese version of Sukhoi Su-27 SK air-superiority fighter. J-11B is an upgraded airframe with Chinese radar, avionics and weapons. J-15 is carrier version of Su-33. J-16 was the Chinese version of Su-30MKK sold to them by Russia earlier. J-20 first flew in January 2011. China thus became the third nation in the world to develop and fly a full-size stealth combat aircraft, after the United States and Russia. J-31 first flew in October 2012. This aircraft featured a different radome, speculated to house AESA radar. The Chinese are touting it to be an equivalent of the Lockheed Martin F-35 and are offering to those who cannot get/afford the expensive F-35. China's indigenous Y-20 transport aircraft can carry payload 66 tons. China also has two attack helicopter programs in Z-10 and a smaller Z-19 attack helicopter. China has an aggressive UAV production program with over 1500 of 40 different types. 'Anjian' (Dark Sword) is a Global Hawk class HALE UAV. WZ-2000 is a twin-jet powered delta winged high-altitude long-endurance UAV similar in size to the U.S. General Atomics MQ-9 Reaper. China is also almost world leader in Cyber-warfare.

Sino-Pak Military Aviation Ties

Aerospace cooperation has been the lynch-pin of the Sino-Pak relationship. However it started when China initially helped Pakistan set up munitions factories and upgrading the ordnance factory at Wah near Rawalpindi. China also allowed license production of MBT-2000 (Al-Khalid) tank which was essentially a Chinese variant of Russian T-90. China has also built a turnkey ballistic missile manufacturing facility near Rawalpindi. China will also construct four submarines for the Pakistan Navy. Significant, all these involve transfer of technology to Pakistan. China reportedly supplied Pakistan with nuclear technology including perhaps the blueprint for Pakistan's nuclear bomb. After India secured a nuclear deal with USA, China agreed to set up two nuclear power stations in Pakistan.

China helped establish Pakistan Aeronautical Complex at Kamra in 1973. The Pakistan Air Force (PAF) is the 7th largest Air Force in the world and the largest in the Islamic world with 400 combat and over 200 other support aircraft.³ China started supplying PAF F-6 aircraft (Air Defence version of MiG-19) in 1965. A squadron of Harbin H-5, a Chinese version of Russian Ilyushin IL-28

was formed in early 70s. In mid 1980s PAF received 55 A-5Cs (Chinese MiG-19 ground attack variants) and 186 Chengdu F-7s (Chinese MiG-21).

After freezing of F-16 deliveries and stoppage of spares for many years as a result of Pressler amendment, Pakistan went whole hog to China for all its aerospace needs. In 2007, as a part of a joint-venture project, China rolled-out a ‘designed for Pakistan’ Fighter JF-17 ‘Thunder’. Currently PAF has 150 aircraft, and numbers will increase to 300 later. 36 Chengdu J-10 ‘Vigorous Dragon’ fighters (PAF designation FC-20) are under supply. This tail-less delta wing with canards is being compared by the Chinese with JAS 39 and Dassault Rafale. J-10B will one day have the AESA radar, and be equipped with the improved version of the failed Chinese WS-10A engine which is a copy of AL-31FN.

Short range Air-to-air missiles PL-8 and PL-9, medium-range radar-guided air-to-air missiles PL-11 and PL-12, precision guided munitions including laser-guided bombs, anti-ship missiles YJ-9K and anti-radiation missiles PJ-9 are part of the package. 6 ZDK-03 Chinese AWACS have been inducted. 60 Chinese designed K-8 Karakorum intermediate jet trainers are currently in service and more are on order. PAF has also received four CH-4 Recce-cum-strike drones which can carry up to 4 PGMs and reportedly have endurance of 30 hours. Chinese SD-10 air-to-air missiles are arming the JF-17 fleet. PAF has bought Chinese SD-10 (ShanDian-10) mid-range homing missiles to equip the JF-17 fighters. The SD-10 is a radar-guided air-to-air missile developed by China. China has transferred 34 M-11 missiles with related technology, and manufacturing capability to Pakistan.

Despite Chinese pledges to the contrary, it has continued to provide Pakistan with specialty steels, guidance systems and technical expertise in the latter’s effort to develop long-range ballistic missiles. Hatf, Shaheen and Anza series of missiles have been built using Chinese assistance. China helped Pakistan develop nuclear warheads that directly contributed to Pakistan having nearly 100 nuclear warheads by 2011. Military related technology, infrastructure and equipment continue to be the major portion of \$ 10 billion trade between the two countries

China’s Pakistan Approach

Pakistan schoolchildren are taught that the China-Pakistan partnership is “as high as the mountains and as deep as the seas and sweet as honey”. 90% Pakistanis trust China much more than USA. Pakistan continues to be a key element of China’s ‘string of pearls’ policy to create sphere of influence around India. Mega economic projects like the \$46 billion, 2000 km China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) connecting the Pakistani port of Gwadar with Kashgar in Xinjiang

region of China to convey Chinese goods to the open seas. Prime Minister Sharif has introduced a 'China cell' in his office to speed up development projects in the country. In 2015 Pakistan began circulating the Rs. 20 coin with the Pakistan and China flags to commemorate the countries' lasting friendship.

A recent survey by the United States-based Pew Research Centre suggests that Pakistan is not only a universally disliked country, but 52 percent of Chinese see Pakistan unfavourably. Sino-US convergence in stopping Islamic terrorism could act as a dampener for Pakistan. China's much greater economic interest in the large Indian market also acts as a counter balance. China-India trade is now larger than both trade between China and Pakistan and trade between India and the United States.

The JF-17 outwardly appears combination of Chinese fighter F-7P and the American F-16 both of which were used as a platform to evolve the JF-17. The costs were kept low by borrowing technologies developed for Chinese J-10 fighter. This fly-by-wire Mach 1.6 fighter is powered by Russian RD-93 turbofan engine which is a variant of RD 33 used on MiG 29. Russia has cleared upto 400 engines to be supplied to Pakistan. Aircraft has Wide angle Head Up Display, aerial refueling, a data-link, Thales RC-400 multi-mode radar, MICA Air-to-air missiles, and host of air-to-ground weapons and an electronic warfare suite. Aircraft can carry external load of 6,700 lb (3100 Kg). PAF is seeking fifth-generation Close Combat missiles such as IRIS-T and A Darter. China and Pakistan are aggressively trying to find possible export customers. Targeted contenders are Algeria, Argentina, Bangladesh, Myanmar, Egypt, Iran, Malaysia, Morocco, Nigeria, Sudan, Zimbabwe and Sri Lanka. Given the reasonable price, no technology-transfer strings attached, attractive offers could be made.

As China and India emerge as global powers, comparisons are being drawn between the JF-17 and India's Light Combat Aircraft 'Tejas' LCA MkI in terms of performance. Both aircraft use a foreign engine and airborne radar. JF-17 will be Pakistan's main fighter accompanied by their upgraded F-16s, whereas LCA Tejas will be India's additional aircraft for medium role combat missions after SU-30 MKI, Rafale, Indo-Russian FGFA, and under-development indigenous 5th Gen AMCA (Advanced Medium Combat Aircraft). The Tejas uses many new technologies including large amounts of composite materials, advanced avionics and a unique aerodynamic configuration. LCA has a good potential to be expanded into variants. A ship-based version of the aircraft has already been released. JF-17 is a third-generation aircraft designed for international market. It can be summed up that LCA has definite edge over JF-17.

Aerospace Implications for India

China-Pak tie-up gives India a potential two-front theatre in the event of war with either country. India thus needs to re-look at the force structure. PLAAF is the world's second largest Air Force, with 330,000 active personnel and 2500-plus aircraft.⁴ PLAAF has been under aggressive modernization. Combined with 450 aircraft of the Chinese Navy, and the soon to be inducted state-of-the art aircraft carriers, makes it a great air power for IAF to contend. IAF, the world's fourth largest Air Force is down to 34 squadrons, and it is reportedly the bottom of the numbers curve. PAF has plans to increase from 22 towards its target of 28 squadrons. Current IAF: PAF ratio of 1.5:1 is a far cry from the once 3:1 dominance. The Force ratio edge of IAF over PAF is thus at an all-time low.

The IAF immediately requires advanced fighters, sophisticated support platforms and smart long-range weapons. IAF has also been trying to convince the Indian government that there was a need to eventually increase combat squadrons from currently targeted 42, to around 50 squadrons. To achieve this, the defence budget must be increased as per modern requirements. Also we need to hasten procurement processes. The Defence R&D and Indian aircraft industry too would have to get their act right. IAF's long list of acquisitions Rafale, LCA, FGFA, additional Boeing Globemaster III C-17s and Lockheed Martin Super Hercules C-130Js, Boeing CH-47F Chinook heavy-lift, Boeing AH-64D Apache attack helicopter, and the various other force multipliers need to unfold quickly. With new DPP 2016 and make-in-India drive India's private industry may find some encouragement to enter in a bigger way. India need more operational airfields in the eastern sector to counter the dragon; deploy more Surface-to-Air missiles of S-400 class; accelerate induction of mountain radars; and create an independent Cyber Command. There is a need for IAF to build up force levels quickly lest IAF gets left too far behind PLAAF and PAF bridges the gap. National security cannot be left open-ended and on chance.

Conclusion

Pakistan and china share a long history of military tie ups and which is certainly is not very good news for India. The rate with which the dangerous nexus is growing is definitely a concern for India. In future India could find herself strangle between a two front war, if not directly then indirectly. Not only China and Pakistan but in times of crisis even Sri Lanka and Nepal may also prove unreliable, so to counter this dangerous combination India needs to increase its capabilities initially by deterrence, then by firepower if so be needed; but best is to do it with intimidation. Secondly India needs to increase primarily indigenous aviation industry capability and increase self

reliance in terms of fighting platforms and weapon production. Thirdly India need to keep on raising human rights violation issues in Pakistan's Baluchistan area and china's Xinxiang area in various international forums. With Donald Trump being the new head of USA, Chinese people are not very happy with him being against the one china policy, so there is other more reason for India to have better ties with USA. It will also work in favour of USA as currently in Asia there is no other country then India who actually can stand against dragon and stop him bullying the smaller countries by playing regional big brother. India also needs to keep on raising issues of various violations in South China Sea. Last but not the least India needs to increase the ties with Vietnam, Taiwan, South Korea and Japan to counter the Chinese influence directly and to increase the ties with USA to check the influence indirectly.

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भारतातील नक्षलवादी समस्या सोडविण्यातील संयुक्त राष्ट्रसंघटनेचे कार्य एक विश्लेषण

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मो.9923314421

नक्षलवादी चळवळीला ज्या कारणांमुळे जगात किंवा भारतात सुरुवात झाली ती कारणे अद्यापही अस्तित्वात आहेत, हे दुर्दैवच म्हणावे लागेल. पश्चिम बंगालमध्ये दार्जिलिंग जिल्ह्याच्या सिलीगुडी पोटविभागात आणि हिमालयाच्या पायथ्याशी नक्षलबारी हा सुमारे 207 चौ.किमीचा प्रदेश आहे. या भागात एकूण 60 खेड्यांचा अंतर्भाव होतो. तेथील वस्ती बहुतांशी संथाळ, ओराओं, मुंडा आणि राजवंशी या आदिवासी जमातींची आहे. मे 1967 मध्ये मार्क्सिस्ट कम्युनिस्ट पक्षाच्या नक्षलबारी शाखेने मध्यवर्ती पक्षाला डावलून येथे आदिवासींचा सशस्त्र उठाव केला. नक्षलवादी उठावाची ही सुरुवात होती.¹ सशस्त्र क्रांतीने सत्ता संपादन आणि माओ -त्से-तुंग हे आमचे प्रमुख² या त्यांच्या घोषणा आणि चिनी सरहद्दीची समीपता यांमुळे नक्षलवादी उठावाकडे सर्व देशांचे लक्ष वेधले गेले. या उठावामागील विचारप्रणाली नक्षलवादी म्हणून ओळखली जाते. शत्रुचा प्रतिकार करण्याची शक्ती वापरून स्वतःला सुरक्षित ठेवणे, व्यक्ती असो वा राज्या-राज्यांना स्वसंरक्षणाची गरज भासते आणि त्या गरजेच्या स्वरूपावरून त्या त्या समूहाची, राष्ट्राची स्वसंरक्षणाच्या संदर्भात धारणा तयार होते. नक्षलवाद्यांना समाजाच्या मुख्य प्रवाहात आणणे ही एक मोठी समस्या आहे. या नक्षलवादी चळवळीला समाजातील लोक बळी पडू नयेत, समाजाच्या संपत्तीचे रक्षण व्हावे आणि या चळवळीचा बिमोड होवून या चळवळीत गेलेला तरुणवर्ग पुन्हा समाजाच्या मुख्य प्रवाहात यावा यासाठी खूप प्रयत्न करण्याची आवश्यकता आहे.

भारत, नेपाळ आणि तत्कालीन पूर्व पाकिस्तानच्या सीमावर्ती भागातील नक्षलवादी या लहानशा खेड्यात जमीनदारांविरोधात आदिवासींनी 1967 साली बंड पुकारले होते. या नक्षलवादी खेड्याचे नाव नक्षलवादी चळवळीने घेतले. एखाद्या वणव्याप्रमाणे ही चळवळ देशाच्या विविध भागात पसरली. नवीन जग आणि नवीन समाजरचनेचा ध्यास घेतलेल्या देशातल्या अनेक प्रजावंत विद्यार्थ्यांनी या चळवळीकडे आकृष्ट होवून आपली घरे आणि महाविद्यालये सोडली. देशाला स्वातंत्र्य मिळून 70 उलटून गेली असली तरी शेतकरी, मजूर, कामगार आणि आदिवासींची मोठ्या प्रमाणावर पिळवणूक होत आहे, मात्र या परिस्थितीवर शांततामय राजकीय मार्गाने उपाय शोधणे का शक्य नाही. कारण बड्या उद्योजकांच्या आणि पारंपारिक कृषीआधारित अर्थव्यवस्थेत सरंजामदारांच्या हातात सर्व राजकीय सुत्रे आहेत, त्यामुळे या परिस्थितीवर सशस्त्र लढा हाच एकमेव पर्याय असल्याची या नक्षलवादी आंदोलकांची धारणा आहे.³ नक्षलवादी कारवायांमुळे कित्येक वेळा समाजस्वास्थ्य व सामाजिक विकास या दृष्टीने काही दुष्परिणाम झालेले दिसून येतात. यातून

न्यायसंस्थेविषयीचा अनादर तर होतोच परंतु अप्रमाणिकपणा हाच सदाचार आहे. असहकार वाढीस लागणे व माणूसकीचे अवमूल्यन करणे व क्रौर्य वा हिंसाचार हेच सामाजिक -राजकीय प्रश्न सोडविण्याचे एकमेव साधन मानले जाते की ज्यातून देशातील अधिकृत शासनयंत्रणाच ताब्यात घेण्यासाठी प्रयत्न केला जातो.

नक्षलवाद हा भारतातील माओवाद म्हणून सामान्यः ओळखला जातो. मार्क्सवादी-लेनिनवादी आणि कटटर माओवादी अशी त्यांची विचारप्रणाली आहे, परंतु प्रत्यक्षात नक्षलवादी तंत्र हे माओच्या जनयुद्धाच्या तंत्रापेक्षा फार भिन्न होते. विशेषतः जनसंघटना आणि जनआंदोलन यांचा पुरस्कार, मुख्य शत्रुविरुद्ध दुय्यम शत्रुबरोबर संयुक्त आघाडी करणे, लोकांमध्ये पाण्यातील माशांप्रमाणे मिसळून राहणे, या सर्व बाबतीत नक्षलवादयानी माओची सूत्रे पाळली नाहीत. पक्षसंघटनेच्या बाबतीत त्यांनी लोकशाहीनिष्ठ केंद्रीकरणाचे लेनिनचे तत्व सोडून विकेंद्रित पक्षसंघटना बांधण्याचा प्रयत्न केला. किंबहुना विकेंद्रितच काय पण कोणत्याच प्रकारची संघटना बांधण्यास व समिती पद्धतीने कामकाज करण्यास सुद्धा चारू मजुमदार यांचा विरोध होता. संसदीय पद्धतीवरील संपूर्ण बहिष्कारही मार्क्सवादाशी आणि साम्यवादी पक्षाच्या धोरणाशी सुसंगत नाही. तसेच वर्गशत्रुचे वैयक्तिकरित्या खुन करणे, हे मार्क्सवादी-लेनिनवादी अथवा माओवादी धोरणात बसत नाही. तो निव्वळ वैयक्तिक दहशतवाद आहे असे दिसते. रशियात व चीनमध्ये गनिमी पथकांवर राजकीय पक्षाचे नियंत्रण होते, बंदुकीवर पक्षाचेच नियंत्रण असावे, अशी भुमिका माओने साग्रह मांडलेली आहे, परंतु चारू मजुमदार यांनी त्यांच्या पथकांना पक्षनियंत्रणापासून अलिप्त ठेवले. शेतकऱ्यांच्या संघटना उभारण्यास नकार देवून आणि आर्थिक लढ्यांना विरोध करून मार्क्सवादी-लेनिनवादातील एका मूलभूत सुत्रालाच त्यांनी मुरड घातली.⁴

नक्षलवादी विशेषतः आदिवासी बहूल प्रांतातच दिसून येतात. याचीही कारणे इतर समाजाने समजून घेणे महत्वाचे वाटते कारण आदिवासींना इतरांहून भिन्न मानावयाचे कारण ते केवळ सुसंस्कृत समाजाहून मागासलेले आहेत म्हणूनच नव्हे, तर देश-परिस्थितिपरत्वे त्यांची संस्कृती, आचार, विचार आणि समाज रचना ह्या अतीव भिन्न आहेत किंवा सुसंस्कृत समाजाच्या विरुद्ध टोकाच्या आहेत. भौगोलिक पर्यावरण, त्याचा उपयोग करून घेण्याकरिता अगर त्यापासून उध्दवणा.या अडथळ्यांना तोंड देण्याकरिता आवश्यक आणि उपलब्ध असलेले ज्ञान, मानवी सामर्थ्याला आणि हिमतीला जोड म्हणून असलेली हत्यारे, अवजारे वा इतर साधने या तिन्हीमधून आदिवासी समाजात निर्माण होणारी अर्थव्यवस्था आणि राजव्यवस्था भिन्न असते. शिवाय वरील सर्व गोष्टींना अनुरूप असलेली आणि कालांतराने समाजाच्या अनुभवांतून निश्चित झालेली मूल्ये यांच्या बाबतीतही आदिवासी समाज इतरांपासून भिन्न आहे. आदिवासी हे आपला समाज इतरांपासून वेगळा आहे असे समजतात, आदिवासी जमातींतल्या सर्वांनाच तो प्रदेश आपली जन्मभूमी आहे असे वाटणे, विवाहसंबंध जमातीपुरते मर्यादित असणे, उपजीविकेचे मुख्य साधन अविकसित शेतीवर अगर जंगलात भटकून पिकार करून अगर अन्य रीतीने अन्नसंचय करण्यावर अवलंबून असणे, अर्थव्यवस्थेत असणारा विशिष्टीकरणाचा अभाव, एकाच जमातीपंचायतीचे प्रभुत्व, एकनायकत्व,

जमातीच्या उत्पत्तीविषयी अगर पूर्वजांविषयी असलेली एकवाक्यता, जमातींची अस्मिता जागृत ठेवणाऱ्या दंतकथा, पोवाडे इ.लोकसाहित्य, बाह्यसंपर्काविषयीची उपेक्षा किंवा विरोध, मानववंशदृष्ट्या जमातीच्या सर्व लोकांमध्ये दिसून येणारा सारखेपणा आणि एकाच संस्कृतीचा अंमल ही आदिवासी समाजाची प्रमुख लक्षणे आहेत. तसेच काही आदिवासी जमातीत देवधर्माविषयी वेगळ्याच प्रचलित रितीरिवाज आहे ज्याला निसर्गपूजक असेही मानले जाते. उदा. निसर्गदेवतांची पूजा करतांना मोहाच्या फुलापासून तयार केलेल्या दारूचे नैव्यदय दाखविण्यात येते. अशी लक्षणे प्रगत समाजात दिसून येत नाही.अशा रितीने विचारमुल्ये, आचार, समूह आणि संस्था ही समाजरचनेची अंगे आदिवासी समाजात इतर समाजांहून भिन्न दिसून येतात. म्हणून आदिवासी समाज हा वेगळा समजला जातो.⁵ ही वेगळेपणाची भावना त्यांच्यात दृढ होण्यास भारतातील राजकीय व्यवस्था कारणीभूत ठरली आहे.

विकासापासून आजही कोस दूर असल्याचे दिसून येते. याचेचे भांडवल नक्षलवादी चळवळींना चालणा देणारे नेत्यांनी केलेले आहे. आदिवासीच्या मनावर या नेते मंडळींनी आपल्या हितासाठी आधिराज्य निर्माण केले आहे. त्यामुळेच नक्षलवादी चळवळी संपुष्टात येऊ शकल्या नाहीत.

सध्याच्या काळात आणि भविष्यात अंतर्गत सुरक्षेचे मोठे आव्हान आहे. त्याबरोबर शेजारील राष्ट्राच्या सतत सुरू असणा.या कारवायांमुळे बाह्य सुरक्षेचेही आव्हाने आहेतच. दहशतवाद, नक्षलवाद आणि परंपरागत युध्द हे या भीतीचे सर्वाधिक धोकादायक स्वरूप आहे.⁶ जसजसा काळ लोटत चाललाय तसेच दहशतवादी, नक्षलवादी धोरणे, कलृप्त्या आणि तंत्रज्ञान यामुळे या हल्ल्यांच्या क्षमतेत वाढ झाल्याचे दिसून येते. भारतात एखादया भागात नक्षलवादी घटनेचा उद्रेक झाला की या घटनेचे विप्लेशन आणि राजकीय पत्रकबाजीला उधाण येते. नक्षलवादयाच्या क्षमतेत जशी वाढ होत आहे. तशी या प्रत्येक घटनेनंतर भाकितांनाही सुरूवात होते. या घटनेनंतर काही बदल घडतील नक्षलवादाचा समर्थपणे मुकाबला करता यावा यासाठी सरकारकडून नव्या उपाययोजना आणि धोरणे जाहीर होतील, अशी भविश्यवाणी होते. त्यानंतर काही काळातच या घटनेचे विस्मरण होते. गेल्या दशकात नक्षलवादाचा मुकाबला करण्याच्या दृष्टीने अगदी क्षुल्लक दखल घेण्याजोगे फरक घडले आहेत.

नक्षलवादाच्या मुद्यावर राजकीय पातळीवर केवळ अयशस्वी प्रयत्न झाले आहेत. आपल्या देशांत क्षुल्लक स्वार्थ आणि पक्षाचा विचार केला जातो. तसा विचार इतर देशांत दिसून येत नाही.⁷ पक्षाचा विचार न करता, स्वतःच्या व्यक्तिगत आणि राजकीय भवितव्यापलीकडे जावून विचार केला जातो. या देशांतील गुप्तचर व्यवस्था आणि प्रशासन यात न्यायव्यस्थेचाही समावेश होतो, त्या लोकशाहीच्या मुलभूत तत्वांप्रती बांधील असतात. या समाजात नक्षलवाद हा नागरी समाजाला सर्वात मोठा धोका समजून त्यानुसार कार्यकारी मंडळ, गुप्तचर व्यवस्था आणि अंमलबजावणी विभागाचे सशक्तीकरण केले जाते. आगामी काळात देशातील बुध्दीजीवी वर्ग आणि सत्ताधा.यांनी हेच उपाय अमलं बण्याची गरज आहे. नक्षलवादाच्या मुद्यावर राजकीय पातळीवर गोंधळाची परिस्थिती असून या परिस्थितीचे आकलन झालेले नसल्याचे दिसून येते. मात्र देशातील राजकीय वर्ग प्रत्येक बाबींचा

राजकीय लाभ उठविण्याचा प्रयत्न करतो. मग ती गोष्ट राष्ट्रहिताच्या दृष्टीने महत्वाची असली तरी त्याची पर्वा केली जात नाही. मात्र नक्षलवादाच्या आणि नक्षलवादविरोधी लढ्याच्या मुद्यावर सर्व पक्षांमध्ये जागृती होणे गरजेचे आहे. नक्षलवादी समाजात सर्वात सरकारी यंत्रणेबद्दल मात्र जनतेच्या मनात अविश्वासाची भावना कायम राहते. पाश्चिमात्य लोकशाहीवादी राष्ट्रांमध्ये नक्षलवादी कृत्ये घडताच त्याबद्दल तात्काळ प्रत्युत्तर देणाऱ्या योजना आखल्या जातात, आवश्यक त्या उपाययोजना केल्या जातात, कायदेमंडळ सक्षम करून अंमलबजावणीसाठी तयार केले जाते तर दुसरीकडे आपल्या देशात दशके उलटून गेली तरी या मुद्यावर गोदळांची परिस्थिती आहे. परस्परांवर दोषारोप करत पत्रकबाजी करण्याचे धोरणे येथे जाणूनबुजून राबवले जाते. कारण या भागाचा विकास इतर राजकीय नेत्यांना मानापासून करायचा नाही व नक्षलवादी नेत्यांना त्याचे भांडवल करायचे आहे त्यामुळे विकास होवू दिला जात नाही. किंवा केला जात नाही. जगभरातील सर्व नक्षलवादी संघटना एकमेकांशी सहकार्यासाठी जाळे उभारत असताना आपल्याकडे मात्र याविरुद्ध लढण्यासाठी राश्ट्रीय प्रतिसादाबाबत साधा करार करू शकलो नाही. अथवा समन्वय साधू शकलो नाही. ही खेदाची बाब आहे.

जेव्हा कधी नक्षलवाद आपले तोंड बाहेर काढतो, तेव्हा देशाच्या विविध संरक्षण दलातील जवानांची त्यात आहूती जाते. याला कारण राज्यांना नक्षलवाद मोडून काढण्यात प्रभावी आणि कार्यक्षम योजना राबविण्यात आलेले अपयश होय. अत्याधुनिक पस्त्रास्त्रे, आधुनिक तंत्रज्ञान आणि आधुनिकतेकडे वाटचाल करणाऱ्या षत्रूच्या हल्यापासून बचाव करण्यासाठी सुरक्षा दलाच्या जवानांना शक्ती प्रदान करणे, या दलांना साधन सामग्री उपलब्ध करून देण्यासाठी वा त्यांच्या हिताचा प्रश्न उपस्थित करण्यासाठी कोणताही नेता प्रयत्न करताना दिसत नाही. तर दुसरीकडे अनेक नेते नक्षलवाद्यांची त्यांच्या पाठिराख्यांची भाशा बोलताना दिसतात⁸ नक्षलवादयाद्यांच्या भूमिकेची मूळ कारणे शोधावीत, असे त्यांचे म्हणणे असते, अनेक निशपापांचे बळी घेणाऱ्या नक्षलवाद्यांना आपली मुलं, भाऊ-बहिणी असे संबोधणारे नेते त्यांचे पाठिराखे आहेत. नक्षलवादाचा शौर्याने मुकाबला करणारे नक्षलवादी संघटना आणि मानवी हक्क संघटनांच्या प्रभावामुळे बहिष्कृत होतात. आज नक्षलवादी आणि त्यांच्या पाठिराख्यांना न्यायव्यवस्था आणि संस्थांकडून संरक्षण मिळते, तर राश्ट्राची संपत्ती असणाऱ्या संस्था आणि निरपराध नागरिकांना क्रूर आणि वारंवार होणाऱ्या अत्याचारांना सामोरे जाण्यासाठी वा.यावर सोडले जाते.

प्राज्य आणि केंद्र सरकारमधील समन्वयातही काही सकारात्मक बाबी केल्या जात आहे. त्याच बरोबर संघर्शाचे क्षेत्रही आहेत. देशातही नक्षलवादाची भीती आणि त्याच्या वाढत्या प्रमाणाबद्दल राजकीय नेते आणि नोकरशहांमध्ये काही प्रमाणात हळूहळू जागृती होत आहे. मात्र नक्षलवादाकडे पाहण्याच्या दृष्टीकोनाबद्दल काही प्रमाणात संभ्रम आहे⁹ तरीही विविध संरक्षण दलं आणि राज्य सरकार व केंद्र सरकार यांच्यात समन्वय साधण्याबाबत अपयश आले आहेच. विविध दलांच्या साहाय्याने नक्षलवाद विरोधी हिंसाचारग्रस्त भागात त्यांची तैनातीही झाली आहे. या ठिकाणी एकत्रित ज्ञानांची आवश्यकता भासते. याषिवाय माओवाद्यांचे प्राबल्य असणाऱ्या आणि लश्कर तैनात

नसणाऱ्या भागातही या दलाची पाठवणी केली गेली आहे. या ठिकाणी राज्यांबरोबर समन्वयाची समस्या निर्माण होते. ही समस्या प्रभावित राज्य आणि केंद्र सरकार यांच्याकडून निर्माण होते. यात समन्वय साधण्यासाठी तुटपुंजा प्रयत्न होतो. केंद्रीय राखीव पोलीस दलाला अद्याप जनमामानसात पसंती मिळवायची असून नवीन भूमिका बजावण्यासाठी तिच्या संस्थात्मक ढाच्यात बदल घडण्याची गरज आहे. ष्टुदैवाने आपली वाटचाल विरूध्द दिषेने होत असून राजकीय नेत्यांकडून षत्रुचेच लांगूलचालन करण्याचे धोरण दिसते¹⁰ यात सुरक्षा दलांचे हात बांधून टाकले असून नक्षलवाद्यांना त्यांच्या कारवायांना रान मोकळे होत आहे. विकास, राजकीय कारणे आणि जमीन क्रांती या विशयावरील प्रश्न वाढताना दिसून येत आहे. परंतु याचवेळी वादाला जन्म देणारा वाढत्या लोकसंख्येचा प्रश्न मात्र विसरला जातो. वाढता नक्षलवाद आणि बंडखोर मोडून काढ्यासाठी विकास हा एकमेव उपाय असल्याचे वारंवार सांगितले जाते. ष्जोवर दारिद्र्य, मागासलेपणा आणि वंचितांचे दुःख दूर होत नाही, तोवर अतिरेकी फौजांना बळ मिळत राहील. वादग्रस्त विभागातील सरकारी यंत्रणेचे जाळे मोळून पाडले आहे. आणि सरकारकडून मिळणाऱ्या निधीला अनेक वाटा फुटतात. विशेषतः नक्षलवाद प्रवण भागात तर हा निधी व्यवस्थेचे एकात्मिकरण न झाल्याने बंडखोरांकडे आणि सरकारविरोधी घटकांकडे पोहोचतो आणि या निधीतील अगदी नगण्य वाटा विकासकामांसाठी वापरण्यात येतो. आधुनिक हिंसाचारग्रस्त भागात मागासलेपणा आणि दुःखावर उपाय षोधण्याचा प्रयत्न करतात. यावेळी या समस्या निर्माण होवू नयेत यासाठी संपूर्ण न्यायिक कक्षेत प्रयत्न करायला हवा. सरकार हिंसाचार प्रवण भागात विकासासाठी निधी उपलब्ध करून देताना अषा हिंसाचाराषिवाय सामाजिक आणि आर्थिक बदल होणार नाहीत अषी कल्पना मांडत असते, आणि त्यामुळे हिंसाचारी मतप्रणालीला वाढीसाठी अधिक वाव मिळतो¹¹ षिक्षण, आरोग्य आणि किमान सामाजिक सुरक्षा यासारख्या सरकार पुरस्कृत बाबी, मोठ्या प्रमाणातील खाजगी गुंतवणूक, ग्रामीण उद्योगांना प्रोत्साहन, हिंसाचारग्रस्त भागाला विविध पॅकेज वितरित करण्यासाठी प्रोत्साहक परिस्थिती नसल्यास त्याचा विपरित परिणाम होवू षकतो. त्यामुळे अषी परिस्थिती निर्माण करण्यासाठी सार्वजनिक निधीचे परिणामकारक रितीने वाटप केले पाहीजे त्यामुळे देशाच्या आदिवासी भागात उत्पादक संपत्ती आणि क्षमता उभारणी करणे षक्य होईल. त्यामुळे या अर्थव्यवस्थेचे नागरी अर्थव्यवस्थेी एकरूप करता येईल. या दृष्टीने कायदा-सुव्यवस्था ही पूर्वअट असणे आवष्यक आहे. कोणत्याही घटनेनंतर ती राखण्याऐवजी ती आधीपासूनच आणि कायम ठेवणे गरजेचे आहे. त्यामुळे जोवर नक्षलवादी कारवाया होत आहेत आणि सुरक्षेची स्थिती बिकट आहे, तोवर अषा क्रांतिकारी सुधारणा होणे षक्य नाही. त्यामुळे भारतासारख्या लोकषाही व्यवस्थेत अषा समस्या सोडवण्यासाठी सैन्याचा वापर म्हणजे अनेकांना लोकषाही तत्वांचे उल्लंघन मानले जाते, त्यामुळे सैन्याच्या वापराशियी गोधळाची परिस्थिती निर्माण होते. असे संयुक्त राष्ट्रसंघटनेच्या मानवी हक्क विभागाचे मत आहे. चर्चेतून वाद किंवा समस्येवर उपाय सुचविण्याचा कायम पुरस्कार केला जातो. या सर्वात महत्वाचे मानला जाणारा कायद्याचे राज्य हा विचारच डावलला जातो आहे असे संयुक्त राष्ट्रसंघटना मानते. दुदैवाने लोकषाहीबदल तावातावाने बोलणाऱ्यांना लोकषाहीची मुळ तत्वेच

ठावूकच नाहीत. लोकषाही व्यवस्थेत सैन्य दलाचा वापर करण्यावरून वाद घालणारे राजकीयदृष्ट्या योग्य ठरत असले तरी नक्षलवादी कारवायांत बळ मिळाल्याचा त्यांना विसर पडलेला दिसतो. तर दुसरीकडे या हल्यात लक्ष्य ठरलेल्यांप्रती चिंता आणि तक्रारींचे तुणतुणे वाजवताना दिसतात. त्यामुळे कायदा सुव्यवस्थेचे रक्षण करणाऱ्या संस्थांवरील बंधने काढून टाकायला हवीत. नक्षलवादाचे स्वरूप पाहता त्यावर झटपट, निर्णयात्मक लश्करी कारवाई करायला हवी, यासाठी संस्थात्मक उभारणी आणि प्रतिक्रियात्मक शिष्टाचारांची उभारणी व्हायला हवी. तर नक्षलवादाच्या विरोधात लढण्यासाठी नव्हे, तर नक्षलवादी हल्ल्यांनंतरच्या मदत आणि या हल्ल्यांना नियंत्रित ठेवण्यासाठी हे आवश्यक आहे. यावरून नक्षलवादाला निपटून काढण्यासाठी सैन्यदलाच्या वापरासाठीची स्पष्ट उपाययोजना आणि त्याचे स्वरूप याची कल्पना यावी. दुबळ्या, अकार्यक्षम दलामुळे हिंसाचारालाच प्रोत्साहन मिळते. वस्तुतः राजकीय आणि चर्चेतून प्रश्न सोडविण्याच्या प्रयत्नांमुळे हिंसाचारी प्रवृत्तींना प्रोत्साहन मिळते आणि हे कायद्याचे पालन करणाऱ्या नागरिकांच्या हिताच्या विरोधात त्यामुळे जेव्हा नक्षलवादयांना आपण आपले भाउ-बहिण किंवा मुलं मानतो. तेव्हा त्यांनी मारलेलेही आपले भाउ-बहिण आणि मुलंच आहेत, ही बाब दुर्लक्षित करतो. आपल्या नागरिकांचं रक्षण करणे हे सरकारचे मुख्य बंधनकारक आणि घटनात्मक कर्तव्य आहे. नक्षलवादविरोधी धोरण आणि नक्षलवादाला प्रत्युत्तर हे सरकारसाठी तसे अवघड कर्तव्य आहे. मात्र तरीही कोणत्याही प्रकारची तमा न बाळगता हे कर्तव्य पार पाडायला हवे. लश्कराच्या मदतीनेच जगातील मदतीनेच जगातील राश्ट्रांनी स्वातंत्र्य मिळविले आहे किंवा जतन केले आहे. याला इतिहास साक्षी आहे. दक्षिण आशिय हा अस्थिरतेचा मुख्या केंद्रबिंदू ठरला आहे. भारताच्या प्रत्येक षेजारी राश्ट्र अपयषी ठरले आहे. आपल्या देशात अनेक भागात गुंतागुंतीचे अस्थिरता निर्माण करणारे प्रश्न उपस्थित झाले आहेत. त्यामुळे स्वातंत्र्य रक्षणासाठी सैन्याचा वापर ही केवळ उन्मादक राश्ट्रवाद म्हणून नव्हे तर स्वत्व आणि बुध्दीनिष्ठ टिकवून ठेवण्यासाठी गरजेचे आहे. त्यासाठी नक्षलवादाचे आव्हान समजून घेण्याची आवश्यकत आहे आणि राश्ट्राच्या स्वातंत्र्याला बाधा आणणाऱ्या या षत्रुला ठोस उत्तर देणे गरजेचे आहे.

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जागतिक दहशतवाद: एक आव्हान

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मोबाईल-9819862007

फार प्राचीन काळापासून दहशतवादी की लढवये हा एक वादाचा विषय चर्चिला जात आहे. त्या त्या परिस्थितीनुरूप त्याला योग्य नाव दिले गेलेले आहे. पूर्वीच्या काळातील दहशतवाद आणि 21 व्या शतकापासूनचा दहशतवाद यामध्ये फार मोठा फरक पडलेला दिसून येतो. असा एक समज आहे की जे एकाला अमृत वाटते ते दुसऱ्याला विष वाटते. या धर्तीवर ज्यांना आपण दहशतवादी म्हणतो त्यांना त्यांच्या गटात लढवये असे म्हटले जाते. दुसऱ्या महायुद्धानंतरच्या बदलेल्या काळात, सारे जगच एका संक्रमणावस्थेतून जात आहे. ज्या बाल्यावस्थेत मनावर संस्कार होतात. त्या बाल्यावस्थेतचे दहशतवादाचे संहाराचे चटके तरूण पिढीवर होताना दिसून येत आहे. उद्योग, निराशा, बेरोजगारी, आणि त्याचा परिपाक गुन्हेगारीत होवू लागला आहे. जगप्रसिद्ध रशियन लेखक काउंट लिओ टॉलस्टॉय योन यांनी व्हॉट मेन लिव्ह बाय या आपल्या कथेमध्ये माणसाच्या जगण्याच्या मूळ इप्सिताचा फार मार्मिक अर्थ सांगितलेला आहे. माणसाच्या अतिमहत्वाकांक्षी आणि लवकरात लवकर जास्त श्रीमंत होण्याच्या हव्यासाच्या मागे शेवटी काय कारण आहे हे सांगतांना तो म्हणतो की 'मुळात माणूस जगतो कशासाठी टॉलस्टॉय म्हणतो, माणूस जगतो तो पैशासाठी मानमरातब, प्रतिष्ठा यासाठी मुळीच नाही, तर एकमेकांच्या प्रेमासाठी, नातेसंबंधांसाठी आणि जवळच्या सख्या. सोबत्यांसाठी हे टॉलस्टॉयच्या परिभाषेतील जवळचे नातेवाईक म्हणजेच कुटुंब होय'

'1994 हे वर्ष आंतरराष्ट्रीय कुटुंब वर्ष म्हणून संयुक्त राष्ट्रसंघटनेने घोषित केले होते'. परंतु आजच्या जागतिक दहशतवादी कारवायांमूळे जागतिक कुटुंबाविषयक तत्वज्ञानाची प्रकर्षाने आठवण आल्यावाचून राहत नाही. आजच्या काळात दहशतवाद हा एक फार मोठा जागतिक प्रश्न निर्माण झालेला आहे. राष्ट्रीय पातळीवर दहशतवाद रोखण्यासाठी, नष्ट करण्यासाठी जगातील सर्व देशांनी आता प्रयत्नाला सुरुवात केलेली आहे. 'गौतम बुद्ध आणि महात्मा गांधी यांनी सांगितलेला अहिंसेच्या मार्गाची आता आठवण होत आहे आपल्या मागण्या मान्य करण्यासाठी सविनय कायदेभंगाचा मार्ग हाच खऱ्या अर्थाने सर्वांच्या अस्तित्वासाठी व कल्याणासाठी उपयुक्त मार्ग आहे'. दहशतवादी मार्ग अमानवी असा मार्ग आहे. म्हणून दहशतवादावरील उपाययोजना आखून त्या राबवणे अत्यंत आवश्यक झालेले आहे.

जागतिक दहशतवाद, संयुक्त राष्ट्रसंघटना, जागतिक कुटुंब, जागतिक सुरक्षा

दुसऱ्या जागतिक महायुद्धात अमेरिकेने सर्वप्रथम अणुबॉम्बसारख्या महाशक्तीशाली अशा संहारक अस्त्रांचा वापर केला. जपानची हिरोशिमा आणि नागासाकी ही शहरे उद्ध्वस्त झाली. अणुबॉम्बच्या

प्रलयकारी, विध्वंसकारी परिणामामुळे जग हादरून गेले. त्यावेळी साम्यवादी रशिया, अमेरिकेच्या सोबत मित्रराष्ट्रांचा जोडीने लढत होता. पण या घटनेमुळे रशियालाही अमेरिकेची भीती वाटू लागली 1945 नंतर या दोन राष्ट्रांमध्ये जे प्रचंड तणावाचे आणि संघर्षाचे वातावरण राहिले त्याचे एक प्रमुख कारण म्हणजे अमेरिकेने अणुबॉम्बच्या शोधाबद्दल रशियाला व इतर मित्रराष्ट्रांना माहिती दिली नाही. विश्वासात घेतले नाही हे होते आणि मग रशियाने अल्पावधीतच अणुबॉम्ब आणि इतर महासंहारक अशी शस्त्रास्त्रे निर्माण करण्याची, जवळ बाळगण्याची एक स्पर्धाच सुरू केली. अणू परमाणू, हायड्रोजन बॉम्ब, न्युक्लॉन बॉम्ब ही विश्वविनाशक शस्त्रास्त्रे स्वसंरक्षणाच्या नावाखाली प्रतिस्पर्धी राष्ट्रांच्या भीतीच्या दबावातून निर्माण होवू लागली आणि आज अशी शस्त्रास्त्रे बाळगणाऱ्या राष्ट्रांची संख्या बरीच मोठी झालेली आहे.

ही शस्त्रास्त्रे आज दहशतवादी गटाच्या नियंत्रणाखाली जावू पाहत आहे. आणि संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघटनेपूढील ही एक मोठी समस्या निर्माण झालेली आहे. अण्वस्त्रधारी राष्ट्रांत अमेरिका, इंग्लंड, फ्रान्स, चीन, भारत, रशिया, पाकिस्तान, पूर्व जर्मनी, प. जर्मनी अशी ही राष्ट्रांची संख्या वाढतीच आहे. यामुळे आज संपूर्ण जग अशा विनाशकारी शस्त्रास्त्रांच्या भितीयुक्त वातावरणात जीवन जगत आहे. दुर्दैवाने त्याचा जर स्फोट झाला तर तो पुन्हा आटोक्यात आणणे अतिशय अवघड होईल आणि त्यामुळे होणाऱ्या मानवहानी, जीवितहानी, आर्थिक हानी यांच्या मोजदादीला मानवच शिल्लक राहिल की नाही हे सांगता येणार नाही. इतकी ही गंभीर शस्त्रास्त्र स्पर्धा निर्माण झाली आहे. जागतिक दहशतवाद ही आजच्या जागतिक राजकारणातील एक गंभीर समस्या आहे. दहशतवाद हा राजकारणातील एक घटकपक्ष म्हणून लहान अथवा मोठ्या स्वरूपात प्रत्येक कालखंडात दिसून येतो. पण आजच्या काळातील दहशतवादाचे स्वरूप, त्याची उग्रता आणि पध्दती हे सर्वच भयंकर, अमानुष असे आहे. आजपर्यंतच्या मानवी इतिहासातील दहशतवादापेक्षा हा दहशतवाद अभुतपूर्व असा आहे. म्हणूनच तो सर्वांच्या चिंतेचा विषय झालेला आहे. मानवी संस्कृती, सभ्यता व प्रगतीला नष्ट करणारा हा दहशतवाद आहे. आपल्या देशात तर या दहशतवादाने आजपर्यंत फार मोठी जीवित वित्तीय व नैतिक अशी प्रचंड हानी केलेली आहे. पंतप्रधान श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी, राजीव गांधी यांचे दुःखद निधन हा या भयंकर दहशतवादाचाच परिपाक होय. अशा या राष्ट्रीयजागतिक दहशतवादावर संयुक्त राष्ट्रसंघटनेला 21 व्या शतकात विचार करणे क्रमप्राप्त झालेले आहे.

राजकीय उद्दिष्टांच्या किंवा राजकीय मागण्यांच्या पूर्ततेसाठी हिंसाचाराचा व त्यातून निर्माण होणाऱ्या दबावाचा व दहशतीचा वापर म्हणजे दहशतवाद होय. जेव्हा एखादी राजकीय संघटना आपल्या मागण्या सरकारकडून मंजूर करून घेण्यासाठी किंवा ठळकपणे लोकांच्या नजरेत येण्यासाठी व दहशत निर्माण करण्यासाठी बॉम्बस्फोट, राजकीय नेत्यांचे किंवा सामान्य नागरिकांचे अपहरण इत्यादी हिंसक कारवाया करते. तेव्हा अशा संघटनेला दहशतवादी संघटना म्हटले जाते. दहशतवादी तंत्राने लढाई जिंकता येत नाही किंवा सरकारचा पराभवही करता येत नाही. मात्र सामान्य 'लोकांच्या जीवित व वित्ताला धोका निर्माण झाल्यामुळे त्यांचे मनोधैर्य खचते. त्यातूनच

शासनावर दबाव निर्माण होतो.दहशतवादामागे वसाहतवादाला विरोध,वंशवाद, आक्रमक राष्ट्रवाद, फुटीरवाद, धार्मिक मूलतत्त्ववाद असा कोणताही विचारप्रवाह वा उद्दिष्टय असू शकते' . भारतात पंजाबमध्ये खलिस्तानची निर्मिती करावी असे म्हणणारे गट किंवा जम्मू व काश्मीर राज्यातील स्वतंत्र काश्मीरची मागणी करणाऱ्या संघटना दहशतवादी म्हणून ओळखल्या जातात.अशा अनेक फुटीरवादी संघटना भारताप्रमाणेच जगातील अनेक राष्ट्रांत अस्तित्वात आलेल्या आहेत.

एकविसाव्या शतकात दहशतवादाचे आव्हान संपूर्ण जगाला जाणवत आहे. बैरुतपासून लंडनपर्यंत बगदादपासून न्यूयॉर्कपर्यंत आणि बालीपासून मुंबईपर्यंत सर्व शहरे दहशतवाद्यांची लक्ष्य आहेत.संपूर्ण जगाप्रमाणेच भारतीय उपखंडातही दहशतवादाचे आव्हान दिलेले आहे. गेल्या 15.20 वर्षात भारताला दहशतवादी धमार्ंध दहशतवादी आणि 'आसाममधील उल्फा.बोडो बंडखोरांनी दहशतवादाची एक साखळीच निर्माण केलेली आहे' . त्यांच्याकडून भारताच्या उत्तर आणि ईशान्य सीमाभागात अस्थिरता निर्माण करून दहशतवादी कारवाया घडवून आणल्या जात आहेत. आज जगभर विविध देशांत धार्मिक मुलतत्त्ववादातून विविध प्रकारच्या दहशतवादी संघटना निर्माण झालेल्या आहेत. भारत इराण, युगांडा, कंबोडिया, फिलीपाईन्स, चिली, मध्य अमेरिका, पाकिस्तान इत्यादी देशांत दहशतवादी कारवाया घडून आलेल्या आहेत, घडत आहेत. अशा प्रकारे प्रगत, अप्रगत विकसनशील अशा सर्वच राष्ट्रांना दहशतवादाचा प्रश्न भेडसावू लागलेला आहे. अर्थात दहशतवादी संघटनांच्या हिंसक कारवायांना रोखण्यासाठी सर्वच राष्ट्रांकडून प्रयत्न सुरू आहेत. 'आंतरराष्ट्रीय राजकारणात दहशतवाद हा एक महत्वाचा ज्वलंत प्रश्न बनलेला आहे. दहशतवाद हे जागतिक मानवी संस्कृतीपूढील एक मोठे आव्हान ठरलेले आहे' . कारण दहशतवादामुळे मानवता, अहिंसा सहिष्णुता संपुष्टात येवून जागतिक शांतता धोक्यात आलेली आहे.

आंतरराष्ट्रीय पातळीवर सर्वच राष्ट्रांकडून दहशतवादाच्या निर्मूलनाचे प्रयत्न होवू लागलेले आहेत. तेव्हा दहशतवाद ही संकल्पना समजून घेणे आवश्यक आहे. दहशत जमततवत हा शब्द जमततमतम किंवा कमतमतत या लॅटिन शब्दांपासून निर्माण झालेला आहे. जमततवत म्हणजे थरकाप किंवा घाबरविणे असा अर्थ होतो.'आमुलाग्र राजकीय, सामाजिक किंवा आर्थिक परिवर्तन घडवून आणण्याच्या उद्देशाने शासनावर दबाव आणण्यासाठी हिंसाचाराच्या मार्गाचा अवलंब करणे म्हणजे दहशतवाद होय' राजकीय, सामाजिक वा आर्थिक उद्दिष्टये साध्य करण्यासाठी हिंसा किंवा हिंसेच्या धाकाचा उपयोग करणे म्हणजे दहशतवाद होय. फ्रेंच राज्यक्रांतीच्या काळात जमततवत हा फ्रेंच शब्द दहशतवाद या अर्थाने वापरला जात असे. हिंसेच्या मार्गाने आपले उद्दिष्टये पूर्ण करण्यासाठी किंवा आपले ध्येय साध्य करण्यासाठी व्यक्ती किंवा व्यक्तींच्या गटाकडून केलेला प्रयत्न म्हणजे दहशतवाद होय अशी व्याख्या केली जाते, त्या वेळी जॅकोबिन क्लब हा रॉब्स पायरे यांच्या नेतृत्वाखाली अस्तित्वात होता. जॅकोबियन एक्सरेस या नावाने ते सर्वपरिचित होते. उच्च आणि मध्यमवर्गीय लोकांची हत्या करण्याकडे त्यांचा कल होता. त्याचा नंतर सर्रास उपयोग होवू

लागला. युध्दशास्त्राचा प्रणेता सून झू या चिनी तत्ववेत्याने 2500 वर्षांपूर्वी दहशतवादाचे महत्त्व पृढील शब्दांत व्यक्त केलेले आहे.

‘एकाला मारा, दहा हजारांना भयभीत करा’ युध्द प्रक्रियेत आणि इतर चळवळीत दहशतवादाचा हिंसेचा मार्ग स्वीकारून आपली उद्दिष्टे परिणामकारकपणे साध्य केल्याची अनेक उदाहरणे आढळून येतात.सामाजिक शास्त्रांच्या ज्ञानकोशात दहशतवादाचे स्पष्टीकरण असे दिलेले आहे की, ‘उघडपणे स्वीकारलेल्या उद्दिष्टांच्या प्राप्तीसाठी प्रामुख्याने संघटित समुहाने योजनापूर्वक केलेला हिंसेचा वापर म्हणजे दहशतवाद होय’ . बेंजॉमिन नेतान्यूह या इस्त्रायली नेत्याने जेरुसलेम येथे भरलेल्या आंतरराष्ट्रीय परिषदेत केलेली दहशतवादाची व्याख्या सर्वमान्य झालेली होती. आपले राजकीय उद्दिष्टे साध्य करण्यासाठी निष्पाप लोकांची जाणूनबजून आणि पध्दतशीरपणे केलेली हत्या किंवा ज्यांना जखमी करून त्यांच्या अवयवांची केलेली निघृण तोडमोड आणि त्याव्दारे निर्माण केलेले भीतीचे वातावरण म्हणजे दहशतवाद होय’ राज्याविरूध्द केलेला गुन्हा किंवा अपराध किंवा विशिष्ट व्यक्ती समूह किंवा सर्वसाधारण जनतेच्या मनात हेतूपुरस्पर दहशत निर्माण करण्याच्या दृष्टीने केलेली योजनाबध्द कृती म्हणजे दहशतवाद होय.तर काही विचारवंत दहशतवादाची व्याख्या करतांना म्हणतात जनतेच्या मनात भीती निर्माण करण्यासाठी हिंसेची धमकी, हिंसात्मक कृती किंवा हिंसेच्या प्रचाराच्या योजनाबध्द प्रयत्नातून दहशतवाद अनुभवास येतो.

राजकीय क्षेत्रात जबरदस्ती आणि फसविणे तसेच हिंसात्मक मार्गाने अल्पसंख्यांकांच्या संकल्पाला बहुसंख्यांकांच्या निर्णयाविरूध्द लागू करण्याचे तंत्र दहशतवादी करतांना दिसतात. दहशतवादी त्यांची तात्कालिक उद्दिष्टे साध्य करण्यासाठी बळाचा वापर करून भयाची भावना निर्माण करतात. तसेच दहशतवादाचा वापर कोणत्याही समूदायाकडून होवू शकतो. दहशतवादी आपली राजकीय व सामाजिक उद्दिष्टे साध्य करण्यासाठी व्यक्तीविरूध्द, संपत्तीविरूध्द शासन किंवा जनता यांच्यात दहशत निर्माण करण्यासाठी किंवा त्यांच्यावर जबरदस्ती करण्यासाठी बळाचा, हिंसेचा वापर करतांना दिसतात असे सांगता येईल की राजकीय, सामाजिक किंवा आर्थिक उद्दिष्टे साध्य करण्यासाठी हिंसा किंवा हिंसेच्या धोक्याचा उपयोग दहशतवादी करतात. दहशतवादाची संकल्पना म्हणजे एखादा मान्यताप्राप्त सिध्दात किंवा विशिष्ट विचारधारा नसून केवळ ती एक हिंसात्मक कारवायांची प्रक्रिया आहे. दहशतवादी हे अल्पसंख्यांक असतात. हिंसेच्या मार्गाने ते बहुसंख्यांकांवर आणि शासनावर दबाव, दडपण आणतात. फसविणे,लुटालूट करणे, जाळपोळ करणे, हिंसा करणे वेळप्रसंगी नियोजनबध्द कट करून दहशतवादी हल्ले करणे, घातपात घडवून आणणे अशा हिंसात्मक मार्गाने दहशतवादी कारवाया करून शासनाला जरीस आणले जाते. दहशतवादी कारवाया सैन्य किंवा पोलीस यांच्याबरोबर समोरासमोर होत नसतात. आकस्मिक हल्ले, महत्वाच्या राजकीय व्यक्तींना, प्रवाशंना ओलीस धरणे, महत्वाच्या राजकीय, सांस्कृतिक, ऐतिहासिक स्थळांवर विध्वंसक हल्ले करणे, विमान, बस यांचे अपहरणे करणे, गनिमी कावा करून अप्रत्यक्ष हल्ले करणे

अशा मार्गांनी दहशतवादी अतिरेकी देशांत किंवा विशिष्ट भागात दहशतीचे, भीतीचे वातावरण निर्माण करतात.

‘कोणतीही व्यक्ती दहशतवादी म्हणून जन्माला येत नाही. कोणतीही व्यक्ती स्वतःची स्वतःला किंवा जगाला दहशतवादी अशी ओळख करून देत नाही. कारण अन्य कोणीतरी त्या व्यक्तीला दहशतवादी म्हणून संबोधित असतो’ . संयुक्त राष्ट्रसंघटनेच्या व्यासकपठावर वारंवार ऐकविला जाणारा वाक्प्रचार म्हणजे एका व्यक्तीचा गोरिला ;गनिमी सैनिकद्ध किंवा दहशतवादी हा दुसऱ्या व्यक्तीच्या दृष्टीने स्वातंत्रसेनानी असतो. उदा. ब्रिटिशांच्या दृष्टिकोणातून भगतसिंग दहशतवादी होता. तर भारतीयांच्या दृष्टिकोणातून देशासाठी प्राणर्पण करणारा क्रांतिकारी स्वातंत्रसेनानी होता. भिंद्रनवाले हा भारतीयांच्या दृष्टिकोणातून दहशतवादी आणि खलिस्तान्यांच्या दृष्टिकोणातून बंडखोर, धर्मनिष्ठ, शूर खलिस्तानवारी होता. तामिळी वाघांचा नेता प्रभाकरण हा भारतीयांच्या दृष्टिकोणातून तो नव.तमिळ राष्ट्राचा संस्थापक प्रेरणास्थान, क्रांतिकारक होता.परंतू श्रीलंकेच्या दृष्टिकोणातून तो देशद्रोही, दहशतवादी होता. अलीकडेच जनरल मुशरफ यांनी आग्रा भेटीच्या वेळी पत्रकार परिषदेत काश्मीरमध्ये सीमापार येणारे दहशतवादी हे स्वातंत्रसैनिक आहेत अशी मखलाशी करून आजही पाकिस्तानात कोणतीही दहशतवादी संघटना क्रियाशील नाही अशी ग्वाही दिलेली नाही. परकीय सत्तेच्या जुलुमाखाली पिचलेले, त्रस्त झालेले नागरिक आपले स्वातंत्रप्राप्तीचे उददिष्ट साध्य करण्यासाठी शस्त्र हाती घेवून स्वातंत्रलढा पुकारतात.

आपले स्वातंत्रप्राप्तीचे हक्क सुरक्षित ठेवण्यासाठी ते सत्ताधा.यांना आव्हान देतात. परंतू त्यांच्यातील अल्प लोक हिंसाचाराचा मार्ग वापरून विमानाचे अपहरण करून प्रवाशांना ओलीस ठेवतात. रुग्णालय,शासकीय कचे.यांवर बॉम्ब टाकतात. बस रेल्वेमधील प्रवाशांना जीवे मारतात किंवा सा.या समाजात भयाचे दहशतीचे वातावरण निर्माण करतात. अगदी हाच दहशतवादी आणि स्वातंत्रसैनिक यांच्यातील फरक आहे. या दहशतवादाचा मानसशास्त्रीय दृष्टिकोणातून अभ्यास करणे आवश्यक असते. ‘व्यक्ती जेव्हा दहशतवादी होते तेव्हा ती वेडी किंवा माथेफिरू नसते. पॅलेस्टाईनच्या स्वातंत्र लढयात तरुण अत्यंत शांत डोक्याने,विचारपूर्वक योजनाबद्धत्वा जेरुसलेम येथे जावून स्वतःभोवती गुंडाळलेल्या बॉम्बचा फयुज उडवितात.तमिळ दहशतवादी महिला थानूने राजीव गांधी हत्याकांडत स्वतःभोवती बॉम्ब गुंडाळून नियोजनबद्ध आत्मबलिदान केले होते. वर्ल्ड इंड सेंटरवर हल्ला करणा.या दहशतवाद्यांनीही तसेच योजनाबद्ध आत्मसमर्पण केले होते. आत्मसमर्पणातून आपले उददिष्ट साध्य होईल अशी श्रध्दा बाळगून दहशतवादी व्यक्ती सूड आणि उददिष्ट या दोन्ही गोष्टी मनात ठेवून आत्मसमर्पण करायला तयार होते’ . ‘प्रतिस्पर्धी बलाढया, शक्तीशाली असून त्याचा पराभव करणे अशक्य आहे हे माहित असूनही शत्रूला हवालदिल करणे, निष्प्रभ , हतबल करून जेरीस आणणे शक्य आहे या विश्वासाने दहशतवादी हल्ला करण्यास तयार होतो’ दहशतवादात निघून हिंसा होत असली तरी त्याच्यामागे एक निश्चित आराखडा आणि निर्धारपूर्वक अंमलबजावणी असते.

दहशतवादी हा आपल्या तत्वाला पूर्णपणे बांधील असतो. आणि हेतू साध्य करण्यासाठी कोणताही त्याग करावयास तयार असतो एवढेच नव्हे तर, मृत्यूलाही सामोरे जाण्यास तो मागेपूढे पाहत नाही.तो मनोरुग्ण किंवा मनोविकृत निश्चितच नसतो. तो अत्यंत शिस्तप्रिय असतो. पण निश्चित ठरविलेल्या कार्यात तो इतरांना सहकार्य करण्यास सिध्द असतो. त्याच्या चुकीच्या आदर्श प्रशिक्षणाव्दारे त्याच्या मनात खोलवर बिंबविलेले असतात. त्यामुळे त्याचा त्या आदर्शावर विश्वास टिकून राहतो. दहशतवादी एकाकी, एकलकोंडा नसतो, आपली अस्मिता टिकविण्यासाठी तो मित्रमंडळीचा आदर, प्रेम टिकवितो. आपला राजकीय, सामाजिक प्रभाव टिकवून धरण्याचा प्रयत्न करीत असतो. निष्पाप लोकांचा लक्ष्य म्हणून दहशतवादी प्रामुख्याने उपयोग करून घेतात. निष्पाप लोकांचा बळी घेवून आपल्याकडे लोकांचे लक्ष वेधून घेतात. हत्येमागे जवेदी अमानूषता, भयानकता, भीषणता असते तेवढी त्या घटनेची प्रसिध्दी जास्त होत राहते यावर त्याचा विश्वास असतो. दहशतवादी कारवायांतून लोकांच्या मनामध्ये भय निर्माण करणे आणि शासन अस्थिर करणे हे उद्दिष्ट दहशतवादात गृहीत धरलेले असतात. सामान्यतःदहशतवादी काही उद्दिष्ट्ये साध्य करण्यासाठी कार्यरत असतो. राज्यात पूर्णपणे राजकीय बदल घडवून आणण्यासाठी पूर्णपणे सामाजिक बदल घडवून आणण्यासाठी, विविध प्रश्नांचे त्वरित समाधान मिळावे म्हणून घातपात हिंसक कृत्य केली जाताते, एखाद्या विशिष्ट मागणीकडे लोकांचे शासनाचे लक्ष वेधून घेण्यासाठी हिंसाचार, घातपात घडवून आणणे, धार्मिक मूलतत्त्ववादी संघटनांकडून दहशतवादी हल्ले, हिंसाचार घडवून आणणे,लोकांच्या मनात भितीची भावना निर्माण करणे,दहशतवादी व्यक्ती किंवा व्यक्तिसमूहाची मानसिकता वाढविणे,दहशतवादी कृत्ये, आंदोलने यांचा व्यापक प्रमाणात प्रचार करणे, दहशतवाद्यांना आणि त्यांच्या कृत्यांना विरोध करणे.या घटकांना नष्ट करणे.

दहशतवादी कृत्याव्दारे शासनाला प्रतिक्रिया देण्यास भाग पाडणे ही उद्दिष्ट्ये साध्य करण्यासाठी राष्ट्रीय आणि आंतरराष्ट्रीय दहशतवादी संघटना कार्यरत आहेत. दहशतवादी का निर्माण होतात याचा शोध घेतला असता पूढील कारणे दिसतात.राज्यात विविध राजकीय, सामाजिक,आर्थिक आणि सांस्कृतिक कारणांमुळे दहशतवादाची निर्मिती झालेली आहे. राजकीय सत्ता मिळविण्यासाठी आणि टिकविण्यासाठी राज्यातील काही महत्वाकांक्षी व्यक्ती दहशतवादाचा मार्ग स्वीकारतात. कट्टर धर्मांध लोक आणि मुलतत्त्ववादी दहशतवादाचा मार्ग स्वीकारतात त्याच बरोबर देशात दारिद्र्य, बेकारी वाढल्यास लोक निराशेपोटी दहशतवादाचा मार्ग स्वीकारतांना दिसून आले आहे. सामाजिक सुरक्षिततेचा अभाव असेल तर लोक हिंसाचाराचा, दहशतवादाचा मार्ग स्वीकारतात. सरकारकडून लोकांच्या आशा.आकांक्षा सफल होत नसतील तर लोक शासनाचे लक्ष वेधून घेण्यासाठी हिंसात्मक मार्ग स्वीकारतात. सुडाच्या भावनेने, अपमानाचा बदला घेण्याच्या भावनेने दहशतवादी कृत्ये घडून येतात. मादक द्रव्य, अमली पदार्थ यांची तस्करी करण्याच्या हेतूने दहशतवादी कारवाया घडवून आणल्या जातात. माहिती तंत्रज्ञानाचा विकास झाल्यामुळे दहशतवादी कारवायांसाठी लागणारी साधने सहज उपलब्ध होवू लागली. टाईम बॉम्ब, प्लॅस्टिक बॉम्ब, इन्झिस्टर बॉम्बमुळे घातपाती कृत्ये

घडवून आणणे सहज शक्य झाले आहे. मुलतत्त्ववादातून दहशतवाद निर्माण होतो. जागतिकीकरणामुळे भौतिकवाद, चंगळवाद, यांना प्रोत्साहन मिळत असून धर्म व संस्कृतीची पवित्रता नष्ट होत आहे अशी टीका वाढत्या प्रमाणात केली जात आहे.

जगात असे ओरड करणारे गट संख्यने कमी असून ते दुर्बल आहेत. विविध देशांत विविध धार्मिक दहशतवादी संघटना निर्माण झालेल्या आहेत. उदा. हिजबूल मुझाहिदिन ही लेबनॉन मध्ये सक्रिय आहे तर अल.कायदा ही संघटना अफगाणिस्तानात सक्रिय आहे.तर उल्फा, लष्कर.ए.तोयबा या संघटना भारतात दहशतवादी कृत्य करताना दिसून येतात.जगातील काही बड्या राष्ट्रांचे महासत्तांचे गुंतलेले आर्थिक, राजकीय हितसंबंध दहशतवादास प्रोत्साहन देतात,उदा सोव्हिएत रशियाच्या विघटनानंतर जगात अमेरिका ही एकमेव महासत्ता बनली, आपले राजकीय वर्चस्व प्रस्थापित करून आर्थिक हितसंबंध जोपासण्यासाठी अमेरिकेने आपल्या विरोधातील प्रतिक्रिया संपविण्याचा जोरदार प्रयत्न केलेला दिसतो. भारतात सरकारविरुद्ध प्रतिक्रिया देणारे उल्फा हे अतिरेकी, नागा बंडखोर, आंध्र, ओरिसा किंवा महाराष्ट्रातील पीपल्स ऑफ वॉर ग्रुपचे लोक, काश्मीरमधील अतिरेकी सरकार विरोधी प्रतिक्रिया देतात. नेपाळमधील माओवादी श्रीलंकेतील तमिळी अतिरेकी, रशियातील चेचेन बंडखोर अशी जगभरातील दहशतवादी प्रतिक्रियांची उदाहरणे देता येतील. अमेरिका, रशिया,इस्त्रायल, दक्षिण आफ्रिका या राष्ट्रांच्या राजकीय महत्वाकांक्षेमुळे पॅलेस्टाईन, अफगाणिस्तान, अंगोला, क्यूबा, या देशांत दहशतवाद वाढलेला आहे.

आंतरराष्ट्रीय स्तरावर अमेरिकेन या ना त्या कारणाने दहशतवाद्याला पूर्वी प्रोत्साहन दिले आणि आता त्याचाच भस्मासूर अमेरिका आणि संपूर्ण जगाला होरपळून काढीत आहे. मादक द्रव्ये, अंमली पदार्थ, स्फोटके अशा वस्तूंच्या तस्करी चालू ठेवून काही देश दहशतवाद्याला प्रोत्साहन देत आहेत. उद. नायजेरियातून दहशतवाद्यांसाठी स्फोटकांची चोरटी निर्यात केली जाते. त्यांनी पाठविलेला स्फोटकांचा चोरटा साठा भारतात जप्त करण्यात येतो. अंमली पदार्थांचा चोरटा व्यापार नायजेरियातून काश्मीरमधील दहशतवाद्यांपर्यंत पोहचतो याचा अर्थ दहशतवादी नियोजनपूर्वक हे कार्य करतात. आधुनिक तंत्रज्ञानामुळे आणि जनसंपर्काच्या अद्ययावत संसूचनांच्या साधनांतील प्रगतीमुळे दहशतवाद्यांना अनाठायी व अवास्तव महत्व प्राप्त झालेले आहे.त्यांना घातपात, हिंसाचार घडवून आणण्यासाठी अद्ययावत साधने सहजपणे उपलब्ध होवू लागलेली आहेत.11 सप्टेंबर 2001 रोजी अमेरिकेच्या जागतिक व्यापार केंद्रावर आणि पेटॅगॉनवर केलेल्या नियोजनबद्ध हल्याचे उदाहरण बोलके आहे.हीच संयुक्त राष्ट्रसंघटनेपूढील मोठी आव्हाने आहेत.

आज जगात धार्मिक दहशतवादाने उग्र स्वरूप धारण केले आहे. धार्मिक किंवा जातीय दहशतवाद;बवउउनदंस जमततवतपेउद्ध आंतरराष्ट्रीय दहशतवादाच्या कारवायांच्या पाठीमागे प्रमुख कारण म्हणजे धार्मिक मुलतत्त्ववाद होय. 'धार्मिक मूलतत्त्ववाद म्हणजे धार्मिक तत्वाचे कडक रीतीने पालन करणे होय. आधुनिक राष्ट्रांज्यातून झालेल्या वंशवादी व धार्मिक चळवळी ह्या धार्मिक

मूलतत्त्ववादातून निर्माण झालेल्या आहेत' . उदा 1971 साली इराणमध्ये धार्मिक क्रांती झाली. अल्जेरिया, इजिप्त, अफगाणिस्तान, जॉर्डन, इराण, इराक इत्यादी देशांत मुलतत्त्ववादी चळवळी अधिक उग्र बनलेल्या असून तेथील सामाजिक व राजकीय पुनर्घटन धार्मिक तत्वावर आधारलेले दिसते उदा. 'अफगाणिस्तानातील तालिबान शासन धार्मिक मूलतत्त्वावर आधारलेले आहे तेथील लोकांमध्ये श्रेष्ठत्वाची भावना जागृत केल्यामुळे धार्मिक संघर्ष घडून येतात.

संघर्ष हे संस्कृतीमधील असतील किंवा धर्माच्या आधारावर परस्परविरोधी असतील त्यातून संघटना निर्माण होतात. 'पश्चिमी संस्कृती व इस्लामी संस्कृती यांच्यात मूलभूत स्वरूपात विरोध असून इस्लामी संस्कृतीला पश्चिमी संस्कृतीपासून मुक्त केल्याशिवाय आपल्या समाजाची पुर्नबांधणी अशक्य आहे असे जहाल पंथीय गटाला वाटते' . ओसामा.बिन लादेन याच प्रवृत्तीचा असल्यामुळे त्याने अमेरिकेवर दहशवादी सशस्त्र हल्ले चढविले. वर्ल्ड ट्रेड सेंटर आणि पेंटॉगॉनवर केलेल्या हल्ल्यामुळेच इतिहास अजुन संपलेला नाही. हे सिध्द झाले. संस्कृतीमधील संघर्ष, न्याय . अन्याय, श्रेष्ठ कनिष्ठ यांविषयी लोकांच्या काही विशिष्ट कल्पना ग्रह.पूर्वग्रह, समजूती मग त्या चूकीच्या असल्या तरीही केवळ आर्थिक प्रगती करून यावर उत्तर मिळत नाही. धार्मिक विध्वेषाचे जहर अतिरेकी दहशतवादयाच्या नसांनासात भिनलेले असते. त्यामुळे इतिहास, संस्कृती यांची तोडमोड करून मुलतत्त्ववाद जन्मला संशय, संतापाची भावना प्रखरपणे उफाळून येते. अशी प्रकारचा मुलतत्त्ववाद ख्रिश्चन, हिंदू, मुस्लीम, शीख,तमिळी ,ज्यू अशा सर्व धर्माच्या लोकांत आढळून येतो. थोडक्यात, धार्मिक मूलतत्त्ववादातून दहशतवादी संघटना निर्माण झालेल्या आहेत. भारत, पाकिस्तान, अल्जेरिया, आयलँड, इजिप्त, इराण, लेबनॉन, श्रीलंका, फिलिपीन्स, लिबिया, इत्यादी देशांत धार्मिक मुलतत्त्ववादावर आधारलेल्या दहशतवादी संघटना निर्माण झालेल्या आहेत.

जेव्हा दहशतवादी कारवायांचे क्षेत्र विशिष्ट राज्यापुरते मर्यादित असते तेव्हा त्यास राज्यपातळीवरील दहशतवाद असे संबोधण्यात येते. दहशतवादी संघटना आपल्या मागण्यांच्या पूर्ततेसाठी देशातील जनतेत हिंसक हल्ले घडवून आणतात. उदा. नेपाळमधील माओवाद्यांच्या कारवाया. भारतातील नक्षलवादी संघटनांच्या कारवाया इंग्लंडमधील आयरिश रिपब्लिकन आर्मीचा दहशतवाद ही राष्ट्रीय व सामाजिक परिवर्तन घडवून आणण्याच्या उद्देशाने सरकारवर दबाव आणण्यासाठी हिंसाचाराचा मार्ग अवलंब केला जातो. जेव्हा राज्यातील शासकीय अधिकारी लोकांवर किंवा लोकसमुहांवर सत्तारूढ नेत्यांच्या विचारांच्या मतांचे दडपण आणले जाते तेव्हा लोकांकडून किंवा त्यांच्या संघटनांकडून प्रतिक्रियात्मक विरोध, हिंसक कृत्ये होतात. राष्ट्रीय पातळीवरील दहशतवादी कारवाया दोन प्रकारच्या परिस्थितीत घडून येतात. युध्दकाळातील दहशतवादी कारवाया यात योद्धे तुरुंगातील कैदी यांच्या संबंधातील दहशतवादी कारवाया युध्दकाळात नागरिकांवर अन्याय, जुलूम, हिंसक हल्ले होतात, लष्करी क्रांतीमुळे नागरीकांवर अन्याय अत्याचार होतात युध्द काळातील दहशतवादी कारवायांवर प्रतिबंध घालण्यासाठी आंतरराष्ट्रीय सैनिक.न्यायाधीकरणाची सनद,

जिनिव्हा करार, 1949 चा हेग करार, 1954 चा मानवी हक्कावर आक्रमण करणा.या गुन्ह्यांना प्रतिबंध घालणारा करार 1968 असे उपाय योजण्यात आले.

भारत,इराण, युगांडा, कांबोडिया, फिलिपाईन्स, चिली, मध्य अमेरिका, पाकिस्तान इत्यादी देशांत शांततेच्या काळात दहशतवादी कारवाया घडून आल्या खोमेनी, याहयाखान, इदि अमिन यांच्या कारकिर्दीत नागरिकांवर अन्याय अत्याचार झाले तेथे दहशतवादी कारवायांमुळे मानवी हक्कांची पायमल्ली झाली.वसाहतीच्या राज्यांतील नागरिकांनी प्रस्थापित सत्ताधा.यांविरूद्ध स्वातंत्रप्राप्तीसाठी केलेली उग्र व हिंसक आंदोलने ही याच प्रकारात समाविष्ट केली जातात. माओवादी गटाच्या नेपाळ सरकारच्या विरोधात चालू असलेल्या दहशतवादी कारवाया. पश्चिम बंगालमध्ये नक्षलवाद्यांनी सुरू केलेली आंदोलने, पुढे सरकारने नक्षलवाद्यांवर बंदी घातल्यामुळे या गटाचे पिपल्स वॉर ग्रुप हे नाव धारण केलेली संघटना आंध्र प्रदेशापासून महाराष्ट्र, मध्य प्रदेश छत्तीसग, झारखंड, बिहार ते नेपाळ अशा या जंगलग्रस्त प्रदेशांत नक्षलवाद्यांच्या हिंसक कारवाया चालू असलेल्या दिसतात. आसाममधील उल्फा.बोडो बंडखोरांनी वेळोवेळी केलेले हिंसाचाराचे हल्ले हे राज्यपातळीवरील दहशतवादाचे प्रकार होते.

श्रीलंकेमध्ये तामिळवाद्यांच्या दहशतवादी कारवाया ह्या तेथील सरकार आणि नागरिकांविरूद्धच्या दहशतवादी कारवायाच होत. खलिस्तानवादी संघटनांनी पंजाब.हरयाणामध्ये केलेल्या हिंसक आंदोलनात हजारो नागरिकांचा बळी गेला. खलिस्तानवाद्यांचा दहशतवाद हा भारतपुरता मर्यादित नसून अनेक राज्यात असे प्रयत्न केले जात आहेत. जेव्हा दहशतवादी संघटना एका देशात निर्माण झालेली असते. आणि तिच्या हिंसक कारवाया दुस.या देशात घडतात तेव्हा त्यास सीमापार दहशतवाद असे संबोधण्यात येते काही वेळा दहशतवादी संघटना एका देशात असते आणि तिच्या सदस्यांना दुस.या देशात दहशतवादी प्रशिक्षण मिळते. काही देशांतून दुस.या देशांतील दहशतवादी संघटनाना शस्त्रास्त्रे, स्फोटके गुप्त पध्दतीने पोहोचविली जातात. काही दहशतवादी संघटना विविध देशांत विखुरलेल्या असतात. अशा संघटनातील मध्यवर्ती संघटना आपल्या शाखांना आवश्यक ती माहिती. आणि मार्गदर्शन देण्याचे कार्य करतात. उदा. पाकिस्तानात जौश.ए.मोहम्मद, हरकत.उल.अन्सर आणि हिजबूल मुजाहिदीन अशा दहशतवादी संघटना निर्माण झाल्या असून त्यांच्या हिंसक कारवाया भारतात जम्मू काश्मीरमध्ये होताना दिसतात.

भारत हा सीमापार दहशतवादाचा बळी ठरलेला आहे. त्याचाप्रमाणे श्रीलंकेतील एलटीईच्या आत्मघातकी पथकाच्या हल्ल्यात भारताचे माजी पंतप्रधान राजीव गांधीची तामिळनाडूत हत्या घडवून आणली.‘अल.कायदा’ ही दहशतवादी संघटना जगभर पसरलेली आहे. तेव्हा अफगाणिस्तानात स्थापन झालेल्या अल.कायदा संघटनेच्या हिंसक व विध्वंसक कारवाया जगभर चालू असलेल्या दिसतात. 11 सप्टेंबर 2001 रोजी अल.कायदा संघटनेच्या ओसामा बिन लादेनच्या अतिरेक्यांकडून

धडक विमान हल्ला करून अमेरिकेतील वर्ल्ड ट्रेड सेंटर व पेंटॅगॉन या इमारती जमीनदोस्त करून हजारो लोकांच्या बळी घेण्यात आला. हे जागतिक दहशतवादाचे ज्वलंत उदाहरण मानावे लागेल.

सीमापार दहशतवाद हा आंतरराष्ट्रीय दहशतवादाचाच एक प्रकार मानवा लागेल. व्यापक अर्थाने आंतरराष्ट्रीय दहशतवादाचा आपण जेव्हा विचार करतो तेव्हा जगातील हिंसात्मक कारवाया विध्वंसक कृत्ये, अमानुष हिंसाचार आणि फसवणूक, महत्वाच्या राजकीय व्यक्तींच्या हत्या, महत्वाच्या इमारती, स्मारके यांच्यावरील हल्ले, विमान, रेल्वे बस यांतील प्रवाशांचे अपहरण आणि हत्याकांड वाहतूकीची व्यवस्था, टेलिफोन नभोवाणी, दूरदर्शन, दूरसंचार, सॅटेलाईट यंत्रणा अशा माध्यमांचा विध्वंस, नायनाट करण्यासाठी दहशतवाद्यांनी केलेल्या कारवायांचा समावेश आंतरराष्ट्रीय दहशतवादात केला जातो. शस्त्रास्त्रांची चोरटी निर्यात, स्फोटके, बॉम्ब यांचा गुप्तपध्दतीने पुरवठा, मादक द्रव्यांची चोरटी निर्यात यांचाही समावेश आंतरराष्ट्रीय दहशतवादात केला जातो. एका देशातील दहशतवादी संघटना दुसऱ्या देशाच्या नागरिकांविरुद्ध आणि तेथील सरकारविरुद्ध जेव्हा हिंसक, देशविरोधी कारवाया करतात तेव्हा त्यास आंतरराष्ट्रीय दहशतवादाचे स्वरूप प्राप्त होते.

11 सप्टेंबर 2001 रोजी अमेरिकेत अल.कायदा दहशतवादी संघटनेने भीषण हल्ला केल्यानंतर अमेरिकेने दहशतवादविरुद्ध तीव्र लढा सुरू केलेला आहे. दहशतवादाचा भारतीय सार्वभौमत्वाला आणि राष्ट्रीय एकात्मतेला आव्हान देणारा एक महत्वाचा अडसर म्हणून विचार करणे आवश्यक ठरते. भारतात धार्मिक संघर्ष वाढवून देशाची तुकडे पाडण्याच्या उद्देशाने दहशतवादी अतिरेक्यांचे हल्ले वारंवार होत आहेत. गेल्या वीस वर्षात शेकडो दहशतवादी हल्ले आणि कारवाया होवून पन्नास हजारांहून अधिक लोकांचे बळी गेलेले आहेत. या दहशतवादी कारवायांमागे पाकिस्तानचा हात आहे हे आता स्पष्ट झाले आहे. पाकिस्तानातील लष्कर.ए.तोयबा, जैश.ए.मोहंमद, तहरिक.ए.कसाक अशा दहशतवादी संघटनांनी भारतात अतिरेकी कारवाया घडवून आणल्या आहेत. पाकिस्तानने आपल्या आयएसआय या संघटनेच्या दहशतवादी अतिरेक्यांकडून भारतात घातपाती कारवाया घडवून आणल्या आहेत. त्यामुळे देशाच्या एकात्मतेला धोका निर्माण झालेला आहे. भारतातील दहशतवादाचे स्वरूप जाणून घेण्यासाठी प्रथम देशात घडवून आणलेल्या दहशतवादी कारवायांचे अवलोकन करणे क्रमप्राप्त ठरते. गेल्या 25 वर्षात अनेक दहशतवादी कारवाया घडून आलेल्या आहेत. जम्मू-काश्मीरमध्ये अतिरेक्यांकडून सतत हिंसक हल्ले, कारवाया होत आहेत. आतापर्यंत तेथे हजारो नागरिक आणि सुरक्षा सैनिक ठार झालेले आहेत. दहशतवादी संघटना हिंसक व अतिरेकी मार्गाने समाजात भीतीचे वातावरण निर्माण करतात आणि काही निष्पाप सामान्य नागरिकांचे बळी घेतात.

दहशतवादी संघटना अधिकृत नोंदणी झालेल्या मान्यताप्राप्त संघटना नसते. काश्मीरमधील हिंदूंचे अलीकडे झालेले हत्याकांड तालिबानमध्ये भारतीय अभियंता सूर्यानारायण यांचे शिर छाटण्याचा अमानुष प्रकार आणि काश्मीर खोऱ्यात दहशतवादी कारवायांसाठी सुरू असलेले प्रयत्न

यांचा विचार केला तर दहशतवादी अतिरेक्यांच्या हिंसाचार प्रवृत्तीचा धोका वाढत चाललेला आहे. असा निष्कर्ष काढणे योग्य ठरेल. पाकिस्तानने गेल्या 25 वर्षांत दहशतवादी संघटनांमार्फत जम्मू, काश्मीर, श्रीनगर येथे अनेक वेळा हिंसाचाराचे प्रयत्न केलेले आहे. भारत-पाकिस्तान फाळणीनंतर 50 वर्षांच्या काळात जम्मू, काश्मीरमधील हिंसाचार थांबलेला नाही. काश्मीरमधील या नेहमीच्या हिंसाचाराला प्रतिबंध घालण्यासाठी मोठ्या प्रमाणात लष्कर तैनात उभी करण्यात आलेली असली तरी तेथील दहशतवादयांना सीमेपलीकडून मिळणारी मदत मोठी आहे. ही बाब दुर्लक्षून चालणार नाही. कुविख्यात दहशतवादी संघटना 'अल कायदा' या संघटनेने आता आपले लक्ष्य भारत बनविले असून त्या दृष्टिने जम्मू, काश्मीरमध्ये आपले बस्तान बसविण्याचा युध्दपातळीवर प्रयत्न सुरू केलेला आहे. भारताच्या ईशान्य सीमाभागात दहशतवादाद्यांच्या कारवाया वाढून अस्थिरतेची आणि अशांततेची स्थिती निर्माण झालेली आहे. आसाम हे ईशान्य भारतातील अशांत बनलेले मोठे राज्य होय. पाकिस्तानच्या आयएसआय संघटनेने पंजाबनंतर काश्मीर आणि ईशान्य भारत ही क्षेत्रे दहशतवादी कारवायांसाठी निवडली होती.

आसाम, मिझोरम, मणिपूर अशा राज्यांतील भारताच्या विरोधात असणाऱ्या अशांत तरूणांना हाताशी धरून त्यांना आंमली पदाथारचे व्यसन लावणे. आंमली पदाथारच्या तस्करीत भरमसाठ वाढ करणे आणि अराजकता माजविणे ही ध्येय नजरेसमोर ठेवून आयएसआय संघटनेने प्रथम आसामची निवड केली होती. 20 सप्टेंबर 1992 रोजी आसाममध्ये अचानक हिंसाचार घडून आला. त्या वेळी दहशतवादी संघटनांनी संपूर्ण काचार जिल्हाच आपल्या केंजात ठेवला होता. पाकिस्तानच्या आयएसआय संघटनेने हमार व्हलेंटियर्स सेल आणि नॅशनल सोशॉलिस्ट कौन्सिल ऑफ नागालॅंड या संघटनांना मोठ्या प्रमाणात अत्याधुनिक शस्त्रे पुरविली होती. या दोन्ही दहशतवादी संघटनांचा हिंसाचार मोडून काढण्यासाठी भारत सरकारने ऑपरेशन ब्लड हाउंड ही योजना राबविली होती. नागालॅंडमध्ये नागा, कुकी या दोन प्रमुख जमाती असून त्या नेहमी परस्परांत संघर्ष करीत असतात. आयएसआय संघटनांनी नागालॅंड, मणिपूर, आणि मिझोरामध्ये हिंसाचार माजवून संपूर्ण ईशान्य भारत अशांत बनविलेला आहे. वास्तविक दहशतवाद हा कोणताही वाद किंवा विचारप्रणाली नाही. ती फक्त हिंसाचाराची आचारप्रणाली आहे. हिंसक, भयानक कृत्ये, कारवाया करून शासनाला जेरीस आणणे. नागरिकांत घाबराट, भीती निर्माण करणे या उद्देशाने दहशतवादी संघटना कारवाया करीत असतात.

देशातील सामाजिक, राजकीय आणि आर्थिक परिस्थितीही दहशतवादास कारणीभूत ठरते. धर्म, वंश, भाषा, संस्कृती अशा सामाजिक परिस्थितीतून जेव्हा हिंसाचार होतो तेव्हा तो दहशतवाद मर्यादित स्वरूपाचा होतो काहीवेळा राजकीय सत्तास्पर्धेसाठी स्वतंत्र राष्ट्रनिर्मितीसाठी हिंसाचार, हत्या यांना राजकीय परिस्थिती कारणीभूत ठरते त्यातूनच महत्वाच्या राजकीय नेत्यांच्या हत्येचे प्रयत्न होतात. प्रस्थापित राजकीय सत्तेविरुद्ध नागरिकांना चेतविणे, भडकविणे असे प्रकार दहशतवादी संघटनांकडून होत असतात. आर्थिक संघर्ष वाढले असता दहशतवादी हिंसाचाराचा मार्ग स्वीकारून

राजकीय सत्ता अस्थिर करण्याचा प्रयत्न होतो. उदा. अमेरिकने सीआयए या गुप्तहेर संघटनेमार्फत जगातील विविध दहशतवादी संघटनांना सर्व प्रकारची मदत करून आपले आर्थिक हितसंबंध जोपासण्याचे प्रयत्न चालू ठेवलेले आहेत. पाकिस्तानची आयएसआय ही संघटना दहशतवादी संघटनांना शस्त्रास्त्रे स्फोटके, दहशतवादाचे प्रशिक्षण आणि पैसा देवून भारतात हिंसाचाराच्या कारवाया घडवून आणताना दिसते.

गेल्या सहा दशकांपासून ही संघटना भारतात अस्थिरता व अशांतता निर्माण करीत आहे. जेव्हा आपण दहशतवादाचा विचार सामाजिक दृष्टिकोनातून करतो तेव्हा धर्म, वंश, भाषा, संस्कृती या सामाजिक घटकांचा अभ्यास करणे क्रमप्राप्त ठरते. भारतीय समाजात हिंदू, मुस्लीम, शीख पारशी असे विविध धर्माचे लोक राहतात. भारतीय समाजावर धर्माचा पगडा अधिक आहे. आपण कोणत्या धर्माचे, वंशाचे, संस्कृतीचे आहोत याचा अभिमान भारतीय लोकांना अधिक आहे. भारतीय समाजात धर्माधता अधिक प्रमाणात आहे. त्यामुळे भारतात धार्मिक संघर्ष वाढलेले आहेत. स्वातंत्र्यपूर्व काळापासून भारतात हिंदू, मुस्लीम संघर्ष चालू आहे या संघर्षाचा उद्रेक अनेक वेळा धार्मिक दंगली याव्दारे झालेला आहे.

भारतीय दहशतवादी संघटनांनी धार्मिक मूलतत्तवाचा आधार घेवूनच हिंसक कृत्ये केलेली आहेत. धर्मांध, धर्मनिष्ठ, व्यक्तीच्या नसानसात धार्मिक भेदभावाचे विष भिनलेले असते. त्यामुळे त्या व्यक्तीला अन्य धर्माविषयी अनादर, व्देष आणि तिरस्कार वाटतो. आपल्या धर्मश्रद्धेवर आघात होत असल्याची भावना त्यांच्यात मूळ धरू लागते. आणि भीती, संशय आणि संतापाची भावना उफाळून येते. त्यातूनच हिंदूत्ववादी, पॅन इस्लामिझम, खलिस्तानवादी अशा प्रवृत्ती उदयाला आलेल्या आहेत. आपल्याच धर्माचे राज्य असले पाहिजे ही भावना भारतीय समाजात बळावत चाललेली आहे.

दहशतवादाचे सर्व प्रश्न मुळात सांस्कृतिकच असतात. जम्मू, काश्मीर, आसाम, नागालँड, ओरिसा, आंध्रप्रदेश, पश्चिम बंगालचा उत्तर भाग, महाराष्ट्र, झारखंड इत्यादी राज्यांत ज्या दहशतवादी, नक्षलवादी, अतिरेकी चळवळी आणि हिंसाचाराच्या कारवाया चालू आहेत त्यांच्या निर्मितीचे कारण सांस्कृतिकच आहे. दहशतवादी कारवायांमुळे अस्थैर्य, अशांतता निर्माण होते. त्यामुळे राष्ट्राच्या सार्वभौमत्वाला आणि एकात्मतेला धोका निर्माण होतो. वास्तविक दहशतवादी कारवायांमधील जे अतिरेकी असतात. ते आपल्या हिंसाचारी कृत्यांद्वारे कारवायांमधील वातावरण निर्माण करतात. परंतू बहुसंख्याक जनता त्या दहशतवादी संघटनांना पाठिंबा देतातच असे नाही. खलिस्तानवादी अतिरेक्यांनी 12 हजार शीख लोकांची हत्या केली. पंतप्रधान इंदिरा गांधींची हत्या केली तरीही खलिस्तानची निर्मिती होवू शकलेली नाही. आता दहशतवादी संघटनांनी जम्मू, काश्मीर आणि मुंबई, अहमदाबाद, दिल्ली अशा शहरांत हिंसाचारी कारवाया करून सामाजिक स्वास्थ्य आणि राष्ट्रीय ऐक्य धोक्यात आणले आहे. मुंबई शहरांमध्ये दोन वेळा बॉम्बस्फोट झाल्यामुळे

हिंदू,मुस्लीम संघर्ष वाढेल अशी त्यांची भावना होती. परंतू प्रत्यक्षात मुंबईकरांनी बॉम्बस्फोटानंतर आपले जीवन पूर्ववत केलेले आहे.

अल.कायदा किंवा सिमी या संघटनांनीही बॉम्बस्फोट मालिका घडवून आणली असली तरीही मुंबईकरांनी मुंबईला या संकटातून सावरलेले आहे.धर्म,वंश,भाषा, संस्कृती यातील संघर्षाचा फायदा उठवून दहशतवादी संघटना भारतात हिंसाचाराच्या कारवाया घडवून आणित असल्या तरी या कारवायांमागे परकीय शक्तींचा हात आहे हे लक्षात घेणे महत्वाचे आहे. भारतातील दहशतवादी कारवायांमागे परकीय शक्तींचा हात धरणा.या संघटना बाहेरील राष्ट्रांच्या मदतीमुळे यशस्वी होत आहेत याकडे दुर्लक्ष करून चालणार नाही. उदा अलकायदा सिमी या संघटनांना पाकिस्तानच्या आयएसआय संघटनेचा सक्रिय पाठिंबा आहे. एखादे राष्ट्र दुस.या राष्ट्रात दहशतवादी कारवायांवांदारे अस्थिरता निर्माण करित असेल तर त्यास आंतरराष्ट्रीय दहशतवाद असे म्हटले जाते. भारतात जम्मू.काश्मीरसह, ईशान्य भारत आणि मुंबई महानगरात ज्या दहशतवादी कारवाया घडून येत आहेत त्यामध्ये अल कायदा, लष्कार.एक.तोयबा आणि पाकिस्तानची आयएसआय संघटना यांचा हात असावा असा संशय व्यक्त केला जात आहे. भारतात गेल्या अनेक वर्षांपासून संसद, अक्षरधाम मंदिर, जम्मू. काश्मीरची विधानसभा वाराणसी व मुंबईत झालेले दहशतवादी हल्ले यामुळे राजकीय अस्थिरता निर्माण झालेली नाही.

संयुक्त राष्ट्रसंघटनेने आपल्या वेगवेगळ्या इतर संघटनांमार्फत केलेल्या उपाययोजनाः. वृत्तपत्र हे आधुनिक युगातील महत्वाचे साधने आहेत. म्हणजेच दुधारी साधनाचा जपून वापर केला जावा.त्याच प्रमाणे दहशतवाद्याला चलनारी देणारी किंवा खतपाणी घालणारी व्यवस्था प्रत्येक देशात असतेच ही व्यवस्था नष्ट करण्यासाठी उपाययोजना प्रत्येक राष्ट्रांने राबविली पाहिजे. आंतरराष्ट्रीय स्तरावरील धार्मिक,आर्थिक दहशतवाद सोडविण्यासाठी सर्व राष्ट्रांचा एकत्रित समन्वयाने प्रयत्न केले जाणे अपेक्षित आहे. सरकार व नागरिकांनी आपल्या राष्ट्रातील दहशतवाद संपविण्यासाठी एकत्रित प्रयत्न करण्याची गरज निर्माण झालेली आहे.प्रत्येक राष्ट्रांमध्ये दहशतवाद्याला आश्रय देणारा एक गट असतो किंवा राज्यकर्त्यांचा आश्रय असतो ते दिले जावू नये. आज जगात प्रत्येक राष्ट्रांत धार्मिक तेढ वाढविण्याचाच प्रयत्न होताना दिसून येत आहे तो कमी केला पाहिजे कारण धर्मा.धर्मात वाद निर्माण करणे हाच तर दहशतवादी संघटनांचा मुख्य उद्देश असतो. त्यामुळे धार्मिक तेढ कमी करण्यासाठी राज्यकर्त्यांबरोबरच समाजातील लोकांनी प्रयत्न केला पाहिजे. समाजातील लोक कोणत्याही वर्गाचे असोत त्यांच्यावर अन्याय अत्याचार होता कामा नये. अन्याय अत्याचारातूनच दहशतीची भावना जागृत होते दहशतवादी विचाराला खंतपाणी मिळते.

भारतातील दहशतवाद संपविण्यासाठी 100 वर्षांपूर्वीच्या जुन्या कायद्यात बदल व पोलीस दलातील राजकीय हस्तक्षेप थांबविणे. हिंदू,मुस्लिम दंगे कसे टाळता येतील हे बघावे. दहशतवाद्यांना मिळणारी आर्थिक मदत बंद करण्यासाठी आंतरराष्ट्रीय स्तरावर सर्व राष्ट्रांनी एकत्र यावे व

सहकार्य करावे. भारतातील महात्मा गांधी यांच्या शांतता, अहिंसा तत्वाचा प्रसार जगभर करण्यासाठी प्रयत्न केले पाहिजे.मानवतावादी तत्वज्ञानाचा प्रसार करण्यासाठी जगात प्रोत्साहन दिले पाहिजे त्यातूनच जागतिक शांतता टिकून राहू शकते. धर्म व देशद्रोह या दोन्ही भिन्न बाबी आहेत हे सर्व सामान्य लोकांना पटवून दिले पाहिजे. कारण धार्मिक कार्य हे देशद्रोह होत नाही असे दहशतवादी संघटना सांगतात. ब.याच वेळी दहशतवादाला केवळ मुस्लिम जमातच कारणीभूत आहे असा अपप्रचार प्रसारमाध्यमांमार्फत केला जात असतो तो थांबविला पाहिजे. अंमली पदार्थांची खरेदी-विक्री व त्यातून मिळणारा काळा पैसा यावर कडक प्रतिबंध निर्माण केले पाहिजे.अपराधी व गुन्हेगाराला राजकीय निवडणूकांपासून दूर ठेवले पाहिजे. त्यांना कोणतीही प्रतिष्ठा देता कामा नये.

देशाने दहशतवादी ठरविलेल्या कूख्यात गुन्हेगारांना पकडून त्यांना त्वरित आणि कठोर शिक्षा करावी.दहशतवादाना शिक्षा देण्यासाठी न्याय व्यवस्था सक्षम करून न्यायाधीशांना संरक्षण दिले पाहिजे. ब.याच वेळेस दहशतवादी आपल्या मागण्या सरकारकडे करतात. सरकारला त्याच्यापूढे शरणगती पत्कारावी लागते. यासाठी अशी वेळच येवू नयेत असे प्रयत्न झाले पाहिजे. दहशतवादी कृत्य,घटना यांचा प्रसारमाध्यमांनी भडक माहिती प्रसारित करू नये. यासाठी संघर्ष, दहशतवादी कृत्य घडते वेळीस प्रसारमाध्यमासाठी आचारसंहिता तयार करण्यात यावी की ज्यामुळे योग्य तेवढीच दहशतवादी माहिती प्रसार माध्यमातून प्रसारित करण्यात येईल.

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Drawn on:- _____

Date:- _____ No.:- _____

Amount Rs.:- _____

Sign of A/c clerk

Note:

Draft / RTGS/ Cash to be made favouring Principal, Bhonsala Military College, Nashik (Postal Order will not be entertained)

Resolution No. _____ Passed by the Committee	For BRCCP Office Membership :- _____ Nature :- _____ No :- _____ Sign of Co-Ordinator
Meeting of _____	

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Dear reader,

Consider this as a personal letter to you, yes you in particular, I would like to introduce you to a person whom I did not know a few years back but who has now become a part of my daily routine. He is slightly taller by today's standard, his feet firmly founded on the ground as he stands tall. Exceptionally well groomed for a seventy five old. A side parted wavy sweep-back hair with movement. Whenever he is out and about he wears a classic headgear, round black cap that stands three inch above the crown. On auspicious occasions he would wear a traditional turban.

Pensive eyebrows, thick and dark, with a peanut shaped religious mark (tilak) between them. Visibly wet and piercing eyes, like it has witnessed the depth of the sea, the height of the mountain, and everything in between. I see brown mountainous pupil and iris with a hint of a sea green colour, his eyes depicts the whole Indian Peninsula.

Being an ophthalmologist, he has set his sight very firmly on a goal, as reflected by the determination of his spectacles to rest on his pride - the nose. The weight of all the social commitments has a rightful estate on this very nose. His spectacles is round, bifocal and with a golden frame. The distant vision is to breathe the promised aroma of thriving sustainable Swadeshi economy that comes with Swarajya (self governed) and it is guided by Swadharma. This self sufficiency could be achieved by the near (immediate) vision lens of his bifocal eyepiece, the competence of an indigenous military men.

Imagine a combination of Scimitar skyrim & maratha talwar (sword), now mirror your imagination to visualise his sharp and rigid silver mustache. A centrifugally groomed 'taking charge' beard, the length extends to hide his collar bone. The contemporary name for this silver fox undercut beard style is 'Bandholz'. Underneath is a wrinkle free long coat, knee length, combined with regular fit pajama and black mojari shoes.

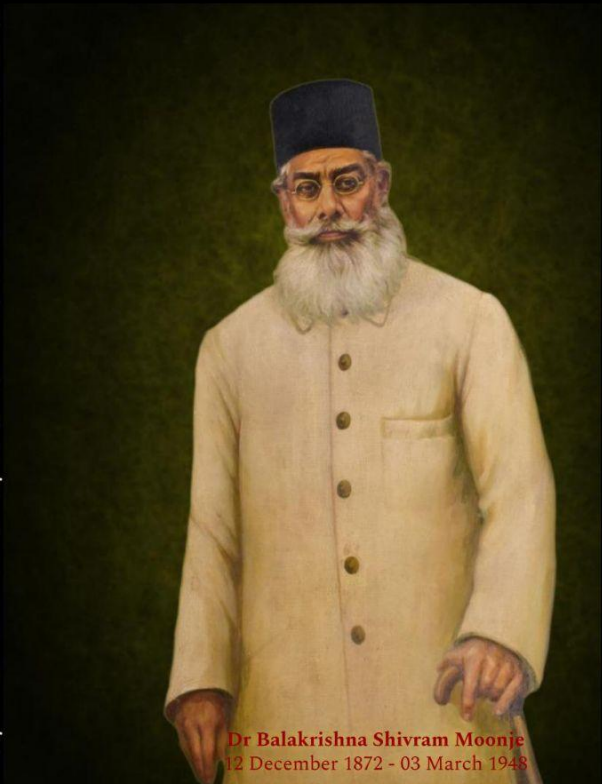
He carries a stout danda in ever youthful spirit and has a deep baritone voice. A luminous personality with robust military attitude, who can work his magic from the pen, the gun and the forceps alike.

Life presents us with people from the past, we must learn, cherish and treasure them. We never know where the future will lead us but we certainly know where we come from, I think that is enough to shape our today with.

Dear readers, with DAKSH we hope to pay a fitting tribute to Dr B. S. Moonje who laid the foundation of Bhonsala Military Campus and called it Rambhoomi. The Sthitapradnya Head of Bhonsala Family and Guardian to our Ramdandee trainees/students. A person whom we owe a great debt. He lived to create the future we live in today.

May we have the ability to empower the nation he foresaw - with the best of what we have, for the best that can be.

from a bearer of
the Danda of Shree Ramchandra,
Your Ramdandee



Dr Balakrishna Shivram Moonje
12 December 1872 - 03 March 1948

