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गणतंत्र दिवस



*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

Central Hindu Military Education Society: A body devoted to promoting education

Dr. B. S. Moonje founded the Central Hindu Military Education Society, our parent body, in the year 1935. He was fired by the desire of Indianisation of the armed forces. He was a firm believer in the adage 'MIGHT IS RIGHT'. He knew that the right path to independence of India was by empowering its youth in mind and body. Thus came into being the Bhonsala Military School, in the year 1937.

The society has a long tradition of past students who joined the Armed Forces, or have rendered commendable service to the society in such diverse fields as politics, civil services, and social service. The society has been fortunate in having at the helm such pioneers as Late Shri Bhavanishankar Niyogi and Late Gen. G.G. Bewoor (Retd.).

After independence, a new objective was added to the existing ones. It was now imperative to preserve the hard-earned independence; to uphold the integrity and sovereignty of India. Men and women were to be encouraged to actively participate in the armed forces and civil services. Together with Bhonsala Military School, we also offer preparatory military training to enrolled participants. Our motto is 'a sound mind in a strong body'. We have slowly and steadily evolved a formidable system, which in the days to come will be a leader for institutions which offer military training, like IMA, Dehradun, and NDA, Pune.

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 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 environment 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 angle.

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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FOREWORD

National security is an overriding priority for all nations. 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 development and progress. Security consists not only of military aspects, but also political, economic, social, humanitarian and human rights and ecological aspects. On the other hand, underdevelopment and declining prospects for development, as well as mismanagement and waste of resources, constitute challenges to security. The security of individuals and communities of which states are constituted is ensured by the guarantee and effective exercise of individuals freedom, political, social and economic rights as well as by the preservation or restoration of a livable environment for present and future generation. Moreover, security also implies that essential human needs notably in the field of nutrition, education, housing and public health are ensured on a permanent basis. Therefore, the way and means to attain security may be defined in national, inter- governmental, non-governmental, regional or global terms

Therefore, there is a need for comprehensively addressing all external and internal security issues, military and non-military challenges of India's security through an academic churning. In this context, the publication of "DAKSH" consisting of research articles on different themes will certainly be useful to students and staff. Moreover, in the form of suggestions, findings will help in strengthening sustainable development and security of India.

I appreciate the entire team of 'DAKSH' who have worked hard in bringing out the 16th issue on very auspicious day i.e. 26th January 2020

Lt.Gen.(Rtd.) Dattatray Shekatkar
President
Governing Council
CHME Society

From The desk of Chief Editor

The “Purpose of education” wrote Dr. S. Radhakrishnan “was not merely to produce an abstract intellectual or a high class technician, but to produce cultured and civilized personalities with restrained behavior”. Subsequently he remarked, “Education is meant to enable an individual to attain his full potential”. It is within these twin observations that one might place Military Education (ME) as a partner to retain the philosophical and the temporal objectives of “Education” – a field which is fast changing due to the impact of market forces and globalization.

Ever since India gained independence in 1947, the policy making in the areas related to defence and foreign affairs has remained in the purview of Government of India. Nehru all through his 17 years as the prime minister of India remained the sole master and architect of formulating India’s defence and foreign policy making. No bureaucrat or his fellow politicians could interfere in these two areas except Krishna Menon. Non-Alignment was the strategic framework both for foreign policy making and defence outlook. The concept of having formulated national perspectives of strategic thinking was fairly ambiguous. The histories of our post independence are unfortunately mired in red tape with the government refusing to publish them under one pretext or the other. Imagine, the history of 1947-48 J & K operations was published only in 1987. Even today all deliberations on India’s strategic posture, the future of the purpose of military power and human security issues etc are done inside the closed walls of various ministries of the Government of India and in total secrecy. Despite lack of sound strategic culture, reactive strategic policies, ad-hoc defence planning, intelligence failures, the armed forces have maintained India’s security and territorial integrity better than any other democratic and developing nation in the world. Therefore, despite India’s cultural greatness and longevity as a civilization, Indian history is often dimly perceived and recorded. Inability on the part of India to develop Strategic culture to large extent in the post independent period for long term projection of Military power is due to absence of participation in the debate on public issues on the part of citizen.

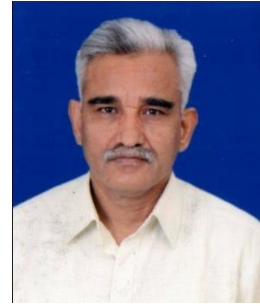
Against above background, publication of 16th issue of the “DAKSH”, a quarterly security studies journal, under the roof of Bhonsala Research Center of Conflict and Peace (B.R.C.C.P)., independent branch of Defence and Strategic Studies Department, is very positive step at projecting and analyzing issues 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. .

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ADMIRAL KANHOJI ANGRE: A VISIONARY LEADER



Cmde RS Dhankhar (Retd)

Background

1. Even though the Western Coast of ancient and medieval India had a rich tradition of intrepid seafarers who engaged in maritime trade and commerce with the Gulf and East African countries, there was none who attempted to establish a naval power to dominate the seas till Shivaji's time. During his consolidation on land, he realised early that it was essential to have a fighting fleet of his own for defensive and offensive operations along the Konkan coast for the overall wellbeing and prosperity of his people. The year 1659 holds special significance in Maratha military history because in this year Afzal Khan's expedition was foiled and the hull of the first Maratha naval vessel was laid in a creek near Kalyan.¹

2. Shivaji expanded the navy rapidly which included construction of multiple naval bases and fortifications along the coast of present day Maharashtra. In Feb 1665 he himself led an expedition to Barcelore (Basrur), in a fleet comprising of 85 frigates and 3 bigger ships². The Portuguese, who were the sovereign power at sea, with their capital city at Goa, had acknowledged the strength of the Maratha Navy by sending an emissary during Shivaji's coronation as *Chatrapati* in 1674. However, it takes several decades to build a strong navy. Shivaji, in twenty years, could hardly be expected to create a navy and bring it to perfection. To his credit, Shivaji had left a naval power legacy behind. He had driven out the Siddis, from the mainland; established control over Khanderi Island and in 1670, had concluded a treaty with the Portuguese, for free coastal sea trade; as well as in 1680 with the English, for retention of control over Khanderi.

¹ .P-156, The Military System Of Marathas, Surendra Nath Sen, KP Bagchi and Co, Calcutta(1958)

².P-157,ibid

Kanhoji's Childhood and Early Naval Career

3. Kanhoji was born in 1669 in a small village Angarwadi, six miles from Pune, from which he picked up the surname Angre. The original name of his ancestors was *Sankhpal*. Kanhoji's father Tukoji had served at Suvarnadurg, under Shivaji, with a charge of 200 posts³. As a child Kanhoji grew up among Koli sailors and joined the Maratha Navy, at the age of 15 years, to follow in the footsteps of his father to serve the nation. Kanhoji was a bright lad with a sharp mind. Being a keen learner he had become adept at seamanship amongst the Koli kids. Realising his motivation and dedication, Maratha Admiral Bhim Rao, better known as Sidhoji Gujar, had taken Kanhoji under his tutelage. He quickly refined his skills at swordsmanship, riding, archery, map reading/ navigation, use and deployment of cannons/guns. Seeing his astounding capabilities, he was soon appointed as an officer.

4. Being in service at the main naval headquarters in Suvarnadurg, Kanhoji quickly assimilated its functioning. He sailed out in different types of men-of-war; namely *Gurab*, *Gullivat*, *Shibarsand Pal*. He keenly observed and examined in detail; the training level and motivation of Maratha sailors, their expertise and professional competence in handling, manoeuvring and navigation of ships. He learned the nuances of formation of ships, their deployment and tactics during encounters and battles at sea. On his own initiative, on the quiet, he visited various types of war ships of the Portuguese, Dutch, English and even the main adversary of the Marathas at the time—the Siddis. He gained detailed knowledge of their capabilities, training and tactics. He soon realised that compared to the Europeans and Siddis, the numbers and capabilities of the Maratha Navy were far less and inferior. Many of the ships were old and in dilapidated state, lacking in sea and combat worthiness. The Maratha fleet at that time consisted of eight to ten small combat worthy vessels. Bulk of the crew consisted of Kolis and Bhandaris, hardy race of coastal fishermen, known for their courage and endurance at sea. However, most captains of the ships were Muslims and the gunners and engineers were European mercenaries. The loyalties and leadership which a native has towards nation building could not be expected of them. After Shivaji's death, the Maratha naval officers were recruited on recommendatory basis, merit was given a go by. Training and organisation left much to be desired.

³. P-171, ibid

Prof. SN Sen says “In its organisation, in the type of men of war, in its policy of selling permits and making prizes of merchantmen that didn’t possess it and in the art of science of Maritime warfare, the Maratha Navy remained where Shivaji had left it, until in the beginning of the next century when its control definitely passed from a Chatrapati to a family of hereditary naval chiefs.”⁴

5. Kanhoji after spending some time and gaining first-hand experience of the state of Maratha Fleet discussed his concern about the poor state with Admiral Sidhoji and told him that there was an urgent need to upgrade and rebuild the fleet on the lines of European Fleet and augment its fire power. Sidhoji told him that to do so, finances were required which weren’t forthcoming from the government at Satara as they were hard pressed due to land campaigns against Aurangzeb. Kanhoji realised that the money could be raised only by establishing sovereignty over the sea and compelling alien traders to purchase Maratha permits. To do this he would have to contest with the Portuguese who already exercised control over the sea trade and were issuing *Cartaz*.

6. Sidhoji authorised Kanhoji to raise his own finances by raiding adversary ships at sea. Without losing much time Kanhoji, in full earnest worked a training programme for the sailors, equipped them up with new uniform, weapons and reorganised in small composite teams of 15 to 20. Great emphasis was laid on team work, discipline and adherence to command and control structure. Kanhoji started doing sea sorties with select crew manning the *Gullivats*. During one of these sorties, they encountered a Portuguese ship carrying liquor casks and gold bricks worth rupees 60 lakhs.⁵ Kanhoji decided to take the bull by the horns and challenged the Portuguese supremacy at sea by attacking their man-of-war. The ship was stormed and seized. Within a span of few months, eight Portuguese ships (5x war ships and 3x merchant vessels), four French men-of-war, four Dutch merchant vessels, eight English ships (5x men-of-war, 1x merchant vessel, 2x small vessels) were stormed, seized and merged into the Maratha fleet. A total of 50 lakh rupees, 15 copper and 20 iron cannons along with gun powder, cannon balls and muskets were recovered. After this, Kanhoji became more bold and audacious in his guerrilla attacks at sea. They also

⁴. P-169, ibid

⁵. P-173, ibid

started hit and run raids on the cantonments ashore of European companies on regular basis.

7. With the money and materials acquired from these raids, Angre got new warships constructed. These ships were capable of sailing and fighting at high seas in inclement weather conditions. They were fitted with 20 light long range cannons. He was able to start the process of revival of the Maratha fleet through his own efforts, without asking for financial help from the Chatrapati.

Growing Menace of Siddis and Related Developments

8. Fearing Maratha Navy's growing power under Shivaji and their being thrown out of the mainland, the Siddis of Janjira had changed their allegiance from Sultanate of Bijapur to Delhi in 1670. In 1677 Aurangzeb supported Siddis with provisions and ammunition along with two frigates and two large men of war. He used to grant annual payment of Rs 40 lakh for the maintenance of their fleet. Thus the power of Siddis went up greatly on the Konkan coast and was practically unchallenged till 1683.⁶ They had also recaptured the mainland territories post Shivaji's death, as the Marathas were busy defending the onslaught of Aurangzeb. Raigad had fallen to the Mughals in 1689. Sambhaji along with his family were taken prisoners. Sambhaji was brutally tortured and killed. Rajaram took over as Chatrapati but had to take shelter in Vishalgad and Jinji, wherein the Maratha Admiral, Sidhoji Gujar accompanied him.

Rout of Siddis and Assuming Title of *Sarkhel*

9. In the absence of Sidhoji, Kanhoji was left in charge of Suvarnadurg and the fleet. After building his capability, Kanhoji turned his attention to Siddis, as they were the main obstacle to establishing control over the coast and adjoining territories. Initially, within eight months repeated attacks were carried out in which Kanhoji looted large amounts of money but lost eight *Gullivats* and two Goods Carriers. He gained in experience and changed his tactics. With the help of an ex Siddi Officer who had defected to the Maratha Navy, Kanhoji established dedicated training camps specifically directed for warfare with Siddis. Use of maps for detailed planning was resorted to, as the Marathas were the only Indian power who had developed

⁶ P-58, India and The Indian Ocean, KM Panikkar, George Allen and Unwin, London(1945)

cartographic ability by their intuitive knowledge of the terrain.⁷He constantly harassed and looted Siddi ships and in retaliation Siddis also launched an attack on Penn in which they plundered the settlement and killed 40 Maratha soldiers. Chatrapati ordered an attack on Janjira under Kanhoji's command. 5200 soldiers and a large fleet were mobilised, in which Kanhoji excelled himself. The Chief of Janjira fled from the fort. During 4 hrs of battle, 1200 Siddi soldiers were killed against 170 Marathas killed and 60 injured. Angre had managed to comprehensively defeat the Siddis but was unable to evict them from their island fort at Janjira.⁸

10. After the death of SidhojiGujar in 1689, Kanhoji was appointed *Surkhel*(Admiral) by Rajaram⁹. Under this authority he was master of the western coast from Bombay to Vengurla. His aims and objectives were already set; to protect the Maratha merchantmen from pirates and foreign powers at sea, Maratha subjects were to be protected against depredations of the Siddis and the sovereignty of the sea was to be secured for the Maratha state. On assuming command of the fleet, Angre shifted his base immediately to Vijaydurg (Gheria), as it was more suited for his kind of sea warfare. It had an entrance hollowed out to accommodate entry of vessel from the sea. He built a powerful citadel overlooking the river mouth. A specially selected garrison was stationed there and the fortress was armed and provisioned against attack from sea as well as blockade. Dockyards were constructed behind the citadel. Expert craftsmen, artisans, ship builders and gun casters, which included foreigners, were employed and settled in localities developed behind the fortress. This enabled him to build better and stronger ships; increase the efficiency of his equipment and the training of men¹⁰. This was followed by creation of operating bases, observation posts and anchorages all along the coast to supplement the fleet strength and gather intelligence.

Death of Chatrapati Rajaram and Subsequent Developments

⁷. P-206, Land of the Seven Rivers: A Brief History of India's Geography, SanjeevSanyal, Penguin Books India (2013)

⁸. P-208, *ibid*

⁹. P-171, *op.cit*, SN Sen

¹⁰. P-60, *op.cit*, KM Panikkar

11. Chattrapati Rajaram died in 1700 at Sinhagad and his widow Tarabai assumed the title of regent in the name of her son, Shivaji II. In 1707 Aurangzeb died. Sahuji, son of Sambhaji was released by Bahadur Shah I. However, his mother was retained as a hostage so that he would toe the line of the Mughals. Sahuji claimed the Maratha throne to which Tarabai didn't relent. Palace politics became dirty and the powerbrokers had a field day. When asked by a courtier to shift to Satara, it is said that Angre had responded by saying that "*my job is to protect the boundaries of my country (watan). I have no concern with state/palace politics. Let anyone become the king. My responsibilities are going to remain the same. Please do not try to trap me in your tricks and subterfuge.*" The power tussle issue was resolved by creating states of Satara for Sahuji and Kolhapur for Tarabai. Sahuji assumed the title of Chattrapati and appointed Balaji Vishwanath as Peshwa. Kanhoji's loyalties continued with Tarabai for a long time. As the Maratha power weakened, Angre became more and more independent. Apart from building up Maratha naval capability, he extended his domain over the coastal hinterland by taking over strong forts like Lohagarh, Tung and Tikona. In 1710, he captured a Dutch sloop and by 1712, he was simultaneously at war with the Portuguese, the Siddis and his own countrymen, being the forces of Sahuji¹¹. His relationship with the English was also at a breaking point, after a spate of attacks had left the English naval forces red faced, particularly the capture of the Governor of Bombay's yacht as well as the vessel *Anne* of Karwar. This prompted him to sign a treaty with the English in Feb 1713, which essentially entailed a stoppage of hostilities between the two. The same year, keeping the larger interests of Maratha power in mind, he showed wisdom and moderation by making peace with Sahuji from a position of strength. He had already imprisoned Sahuji's Peshwa, Bahiroo Pant Pingle, sent to mount an attack on him¹². In acknowledging Sahuji's supremacy, he recognized the right of the stronger of the two claimants (Sahuji vs Tarabai) to the title of Chattrapati. He secured the promise of Sahuji to help him with any invasion from the mainland if the situation so arose. He was confirmed as the *Sarkhel* of the entire Maratha fleet, by Sahuji, and made the chief of 26 forts and fortified places of present day Maharashtra¹³.

¹¹. P-171, op.cit, SN Sen

¹². P-176, ibid

¹³. P-176, ibid

12. As a result of these treaties, the Siddis came to terms with Kanhoji and accepted his supremacy in the region and they remained confined in their island fort of Janjira. The Portuguese had fallen into a position of minor power and had neither the ships nor men to challenge Kanhoji¹⁴. From the fortified islands of Kolaba at Alibaug and Khanderi; he started levying taxes (*Chauth*) on vessels engaged in sea trade. This conflicted with both the Portuguese and the British system of permits. In 1716, the Portuguese concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with Kohlapur against Kanhoji, but he wasn't worried as the latter was an ineffective and weak ally.

Maritime Warfare Tactics and Strategy

13. By this time Angre's fleet rode the seas boldly seizing merchantmen of all nationalities. The Portuguese found themselves powerless to contain Kanhoji's fleet, which by then contained vessels of more than 40 types and European as well as Asiatic sailors. Kanhoji operated with large numbers of light craft, specially built for their speed and manoeuvrability, akin to the Maratha ponies used by Chatrapati Shivaji to create panic amongst the traditional Mughal armies in the Deccan¹⁵. Kanhoji's ships, lightly but adequately equipped operated like wasps, surrounded the heavier oceangoing European vessels and attacked them from close quarters, invariably from stern. It was impossible for these heavier ships to deal with Kanhoji's tactics efficiently. Kanhoji avoided engagements at high seas and preferred coastal waters for hit and run raids to escape into the shallow waters under the shadow of the Maratha artillery of coastal fortifications. The enemy ships were often lured within their range. He had attained such a competent, professional reputation that a Portuguese writer had compared him to the famous Ottoman Admiral, Barbarossa¹⁶.

14. Kanhoji had realised that the British were the real emerging threat and focussed on dissipating their naval capability. Remaining within the legal bounds of his treaty with the English, he started sacking their merchant vessels and men of war in full earnest. When the Bombay Council realised the menace, they began to convoy their vessels with corvettes for protection against Angre's fleet. However, this didn't deter

¹⁴. P-59, op.cit, Panikkar

¹⁵. P-62, ibid

¹⁶. P-172, op.cit, SN Sen

Kanhoji and he continued with his forays relentlessly. To put Angre down became the major pre-occupation of the Bombay Council¹⁷.

15. Towards this, commencing 1717 to 1721, several expeditions were launched against Angre under the supervision of Charles Boone, Governor of Bombay, but all attempts ended in failure. The British endeavours culminated with the humiliating defeat of combined forces of English and Portuguese, comprising of 5000 men with 24 guns, supported by 4 men of war of the Royal Navy under Commodore Matthews, during their attack on Kolaba in Nov 1721¹⁸.

16. After this defeat, Kanhoji's power on Konkan was unchallenged. Angre established a township called Alibaug, the main village being today's Ramnath. He introduced his own coin called *Alibaugirupaiya*. In 1724, he built a fortified port at Purangarh in Ratnagiri district. However the Dutch, after Kanhoji's fleet captured two of their ships, dared to mount an attack on Vijaydurg. They sent a fleet comprising of 7 warships, 2 bomb vessels and a body of regular troops to attack Gheria in 1724. They met the same fate as the British and Portuguese. From thereon there was no naval power to challenge the supremacy of Angre's fleet off the Konkan coast, right up to his death in 1729. Victorious alike over the English, Dutch and Portuguese, "The Maratha Admiral", as an English historian declared, "sailed the Arabian Sea in triumph¹⁹."

Conclusion

17. Shivaji Maharaj had strived to establish a *Hindavi Swarajya*, for which he laid a strong foundation with a national banner and common objective. Kanhoji Angre was inspired by Shivaji's example of nationalism and therefore had joined the Maratha Navy at an early age. He grew up to be an intelligent, strong and professionally competent leader, who was dedicated to the cause of making the Maratha Navy strong in furtherance of the goal of nation building. He rose rapidly in the Navy because of his administrative ability, initiative and ingenious thinking towards naval warfare and tactics. He mastered the art of guerrilla warfare at sea along the lines of Shivaji on land, avoided outright battles at high seas with stronger adversaries and lured them to

¹⁷.P-60,op.cit, Panikkar

¹⁸.P-61, ibid

¹⁹.P-62, ibid

places of his choosing. Both during land and sea battles, he demonstrated evidence of not only good seamanship but also of wily diplomacy. On assuming the command of the Maratha fleet as *Surkhelat* at the young age of 30 years, he displayed clarity of thought and strategic vision. Accordingly, he prioritized on in house creation of resources to create facilities to build modern ships, fortify coastal defences, as well as neutralizing/weakening the threats posed by the Siddis, Portuguese, English, Dutch and *Savants* of Maratha state. He was prudent enough to enter into peace treaties with countrymen and foreigners alike, as the situation warranted at that time, and avoided opening many fronts at the same time. In his dealing with foreign powers, he could hardly be accused of treachery or faithlessness.

He remained loyal to the state, even when it was at its weakest, after Rajaram's death, with a single minded focus on strengthening the navy and the Maratha state, always honoured the treaties entered into by the State. He left behind an extensive province and respectable fleet to his heirs, which added immensely to the prestige and power of the Marathas. It can be said that if Shivaji was the founder, then Kanhoji was the resurrector of the Maratha Navy. His strategic vision breathed new life into the navy and left behind a strong legacy for his successors to follow.

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Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj: A True Leader

Birth of Great Leader

Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj, the great leader, was born on 19th February, 1630 at Shivneri Fort. Mother Jijabai was the daughter of Lakhji Jadhav of Sindkhed and father was Shahaji Maloji Bhosale, serving for Adilshah or sometimes Nizamshah. Mother Jijabai considered the birth of son as the blessings of Goddess Shivai, hence he was named Shivaji. Lakhji Jadhav, father of Jijabai, was serving for Nizamshah. Once he was called in the court at Daulatabad fort where he was murdered as a pre-plan along with his three sons. This has disturbed Jijabai very badly.

Development of Young Shiva's Mind to have Hindavi Swarajya

As Shahaji Bhosale was far away during Shivaji's childhood, Jijabai took up the responsibility as father along with being a mother. She not only took care of young Shivaji but also taught him the lessons of administration, judiciary, etc. She used to tell him religious stories. He learnt from the teachings of his mother as well as his own experience around him that Muslims have come here to loot our people and plunder our wealth and expanding their religion everywhere. He also heard that Muslims are torturing Hindus for conversion of their religion at mass level. A strong belief was developed about the Hindu religion who never forced others to accept Hindu religion, always lived in harmony with others. He could identify the difference in his early childhood between Hindus and Muslims. This was the important happenings in developing young Shiva's mind. His maternal Grandfather and three maternal uncles were murdered by treachery. He was taught to live and rule independently and not to serve under any of the Muslim rulers. He started dreaming for Hindavi Swarajya, an independent rule of Hindu King with all kindness towards his population. His friends were from mawal area in the hills and jungles of Sahyadri range as well as river and valleys. This made him physically strong, he could mix with local population to know their problems personally, develop oneness among these people, to know the local area personally and could gather them for future endeavours. Jijabai and young Shiva was shifted to Poona after 1636, there he met his likeminded friends like Yesaji Kank, Baji Pasalkar, etc.

Training under Dadaji Kondadeo

Shahaji Bhosale appointed Dadaji Kondadeo as trainer of young Shiva. Dadaji was himself a good administrator, selfless, dedicated and a strict person.

Dadaji arranged training in horse riding, weapon handling, and other martial techniques. Children of other fellowmen were also trained along with young Shiva. Once Adilshah's army looted Poona area and this left the farmers in dire state. Dadaji arranged for loan and extended all support to the farmers of that area to fight with the. This was closely observed by young Shiva which taught him a lesson that farmers are the feeders of society and if they are in trouble, then masters should support them by all means. This area was the Jagir of Shahaji, but Dadaji too acted as an administrator of the area. People in this area had some problems of their land or watan which were solved by Dadaji in presence of young Shiva which ultimately was a teaching to handle the cases of judiciary and law. This kind of practical training helped him to understand the problems as well as their solutions.

Oath by young Shiva and his colleagues

Young Shiva with his few colleagues took oath in the temple of Lord Shiva of Rohideshwar, it was for the 'Swarajya', i.e. for Kingdom of own power and not to serve others. They offered their blood in the temple confirming that they will not withdraw from their oath of Swarajya. In 1646 Young and dynamic Shiva had sent Baji Pasalkar, Yesaji Kank and Tanaji Malusare to capture Torna fort which was after capturing renamed as 'Prachandgad'.

Foremost Commander of his Time

It is to be noted that there were no other Kings or other Lords at this time in that area. Adilshah and other Muslim rulers were quite away from this area. This was a golden opportunity to young Shiva and his young Army to work freely in mawal area. The story of siege of Torna reached up to Adilshah, he asked explanation of this action to Shahaji, he very cleverly responded that there was a problem of fort administrator hence he just rectified it, nothing else. He constructed new fort with three 'Machis' on it for defence, this fort was named as 'Rajgad'. Young Shiva started bringing all parts of Shahaji's western jagirs under his own control to have unique command and control. He then continued his campaign to Supa, Chakan, Kondana and many more.

Sometimes he had to fight, sometimes fort or area owners accepted him as king but he managed it by Sam-Dam-Dand-Bhed niti and continued to expand his own territory. This had created a chaos in Adilshahi as a result of which Shahaji was arrested by Adil Shah, in 1648, demanding Shivaji Maharaj to join Adilshahi. Shivaji Maharaj was caught in seizer, on one side his father was in Adil Shah's custody and on the other side he wanted to continue his endeavor. Shahaji raje was released in 1649 as a result of diplomatic moves by Shivaji Maharaj²⁰.

Military strategies of Shivaji Maharaj

Shivaji Maharaj has established his kingdom from zero, as discussed before his father Shahaji Raje was working under Adil Shah or sometimes with Nizam Shah, but he was not crowned as King. Shivaji Maharaj had no forts in his custody. He initiated by organizing his own Army among his friends and started with a very small and easy target of Torna fort. His strategy was very clear, he started his endeavor with a very soft targets first and then he went on for bigger targets. He adopted various techniques at various situations to acquire the fort, if Torna was snatched by applying force then Purandar was brought into his custody by intervening the matter of Nayak brothers, Kondhana was in his custody by bribing Adilshahi Governor²¹. He also started collecting wealth from these Muslim governed forts which were required for establishing a kingdom in future. He started developing respect among the common people as well as rulers of that area by his administration. There are examples like fort of Chakan, which was controlled by Firangoji Narsala was annexed to him without any efforts and out of respect towards Hindavi Swarajya.

Extensive Knowledge of Battle Field

Most of the Muslim kings never fought battles personally whereas it was exactly opposite in case of Shivaji Maharaj. In most of the battles he personally participated in battles. He always led his army from front. He used to keep firsthand information of the battle field sometimes he had information from his very loyal intelligence department under the leadership of Bahirji Naik. In earlier period when he had very small army he never fought face to face but preferred to raid on enemy's moving

²⁰ Mehendale Gajanan Bhaskar, Shivaji His Life and Times, Param Mitra Publications, Thane, 2011, p. 145.

²¹ Sarkar Jadunath, Shivaji and His Times, <https://www.vifindia.org/sites/default/files/145808089-Shivaji-and-His-Times-1920.pdf>, accessed on 9th December, 2019, p.34 (of book)

army. It required the thorough knowledge of the area of attack and the path from where they have to escape without keeping any trace for opponent. In the childhood he played in the same area with his fellow men hence they all knew every path and its destination. It was the special character of Shivaji Maharaj that he remembered the area he had visited. This knowledge was used while planning for any endeavor which was planned in latter part of life.

When he attacked Shaistekhan at Lal Mahal, he was well informed about it as his young age has passed in the same building. It gave him all the freedom to plan his tactics based on own knowledge. When he went to meet Afzal Khan he was very clear about the topography of that complete area. It seems that he might have thought of the future event well in advance that is why he asked Afzalkhan to keep only one body guard during their meeting. He was ready with metal jacket on his body and tiger's claws in his hand. His vision about any person were also very calculated, he had clear idea of opponents strong points as well as weaknesses, so he dealt every different person with different style.

Use of Guerilla Tactics

In the initial stage when he had very less number of soldiers with him he used Guerilla Tactics. While using Guerilla Tactics there are certain requirements like-

1. Thorough information of enemy.
 2. Thorough information of area of operation.
 3. Training of soldiers.
 4. Homogeneity among soldiers.
 5. Respect for the leader.
 6. High moral.
 7. Thorough knowledge of plan to be executed.
 8. Support of local people.
1. Thorough information of enemy: - Shivaji Maharaj had men like Bahirji Naik in his intelligence department who used to draw detailed information about enemy by using different tactics. Most of the time plan of Shivaji Maharaj was based on information of his trusty intelligence.
 2. Thorough information of area of operation: - As the men under Shivaji Maharaj were from same area, they naturally had all the information of that area. He always used to select the area of operation of his choice. He himself and his men

were well acquainted with that area, they used to attack with a surprise and later they used to choose the paths to run away from that area and reach to a safer place.

3. Training of soldiers: - His soldiers were trained to maneuver the plan according to plan chalked out by their leader Shivaji Maharaj. As they were the residents of same area they were very swift in movements and they were trained for small weapons like swords and shields.
4. Homogeneity among soldiers: - As they were from local area they knew each other which was acting as cohesive bond between them. Most of them were relatives of each other.
5. Respect for the leader: - Shivaji Maharaj had developed respect among the minds of his soldiers by participating in every campaign, most of the times personally, he was leading them from the front. He always used to be with them all times. He removed all the evil practices and implemented the rules which were comfortable to his all fellowmen.
6. High moral: - They had a mission of fighting, they were fighting for their own kingdom, Swarajya, and Surajya were their goals. This were the guiding force behind their high moral in each and every fights. There is a famous tale of his times. He had two sardars named Santaji and Dhanaji, these two used to attack on Mughal camps with a surprise, speed and heavy devastation. This had developed terror in the minds of enemy.
7. Thorough knowledge of plan to be executed: - They used to discuss the plan of their activity among themselves. The division of duties was explained to them, do's and don'ts were clearly defined. This was helpful to execute the act as per plan.
8. Support of local people: - As he was respectful king, he and his men were well supported by local people in all respect. In the area of enemy also his character was so attractive that he used to get support in that area also. He had issued very strict orders to his sardars about their behavior towards civilians during campaign. There is another tale about him that even enemy had a confidence that he will never harm their ladies. This had developed the support of all towards Shivaji Maharaj.

Construction of Forts: - Shivaji Maharaj was very keen about Forts, where ever he acquired fort he got it reconstructed as per own requirement. He constructed few forts like Raigad, Pratapgad, and sea fort like Sindhudurg, Colaba. He had almost 370 forts in the year 1680²². His strategy was based on these forts, defensive against big Army and offensive against others. It shows his wisdom while constructing forts, he had selected the sights of forts and constructed as per its local requirements. In Pratapgad he had maintained double line protection, he constructed the entry doors of his forts in such a way that it does not appear unless and until you reach close to it. He has not constructed any room or area for events like dances or other performances inside the fort, it shows his character and dedication towards his goal.

Pioneer in Navy in India

During his tenure British, Dutch, Portuguese had entered in India through sea routes. They had also built forts near sea coast. They had started disturbing Shivaji Maharaj as well as capturing surrounding areas. Britishers collided Shivaji Maharaj first at Rajapur which continued for so many days, later Maratha Army had plundered English factory and captured four British factors- Henry Revington, Richard Taylor, Randolph Taylor and Philip Gyffard as prisoners²³.

As Siddi was firm on coasts, Shivaji Maharaj realized that unless and until a strong Navy is established they cannot maintain control over sea trade, constant plunder, and enslavement. There were many creeks as well as navigable rivers especially in Konkan area which governed the growth of rich ports and trade centers. It was necessary to protect these ports and trade centers which ultimately needed a strong Navy. To cope up with this problem he decided to establish Navy.

The local Koli, Angre and Bhandaris were living along the coast line and were trained in seafaring and sea fights. They had troubled Britishers also by plundering their ships as pirates. Shivaji Maharaj recruited these locals in his Navy. Later on Maharaj added locals of even muslim community in his Navy.

²²²² https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shivaji%27s_forts, accessed on 17th December, 2019.

²³ Sarkar Jadunath, Shivaji and His Times, <https://www.vifindia.org/sites/default/files/145808089-Shivaji-and-His-Times-1920.pdf>, accessed on 2nd January, 2020 , p.266 (of book)

In Navy also he had tactics different than any others, like, he had constructed a wall under sea, Maratha ships had flat base while base of others ships had depth inside. When the ships of enemy used to reach close to Maratha sea forts their ships having depth to the base used to collide with the wall and get crashed. Thus no other ship could reach near sea fort of Marathas. This tactics was unveiled for a long time remaining a mystery. He had around 400 warships in his Navy, they were armed with cannons and sailed by around 30 to 40 Sailors. During his reign British were never allowed to strengthen their power in his area. Rather when British supported Siddi Jauhar during encirclement of Fort Panhala, it was revenged by attacking and looting British factory at Rajapur. Portuguese were also treated like Britishers. During initial stage of his Navy he took help of Portuguese officers but later on they were repelled.

Coronation of Shivaji Maharaj

Coronation of Shivaji Maharaj was the demand of stability and prevalence of the rule of law in the eyes of the common populace necessitated formal and legal recognition to the state through a coronation according to hoary, time honored custom. Perhaps, one of the important reasons for the survival of the Maratha state²⁴.

There was no king in this region since past long period, the renowned kings were all foreigners. To unite all the people in this area unified command was the only solution which was possible only after having a declared king of this region. All the warriors of this region were fighting for foreigners, Maloji Bhosale, the grandfather of Shivaji Maharaj, was fighting for Nizamshahi. These Muslim rulers were not only expanding their territory in India, they were also proliferating their religion in India. Had he not stood in front of them as a King, Muslims would have transformed whole India into a Muslim country.

Ashta Pradhan Mandal

²⁴Mehendale Gajanan Bhaskar, Shivaji His Life and Times, Param Mitra Publications, Thane, 2011, p. 480

The kingdom of Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj was spread over a large area in due course of time. He had seen all the evil treatment received by his people in Mughal era hence Maharaj was very keen about working for the betterment of every single person of his kingdom. To maintain law and order in his kingdom which was spread over a large territory he decided to have a Cabinet under his command. As he appointed eight ministers in his cabinet it was called as 'Ashta Pradhan Mandal' (Eight Minister's Cabinet).

1. Prime Minister- Pantpradhan or Peshwa- he was responsible for general administration of the kingdom.
2. Finance Minister- Amatya or Muzumdar- he was responsible to manage accounts of the kingdom.
3. Secretary- Surnis or Sachiv- he was the minister for land revenue.
4. Internal & External Intelligence Minister- Vaknis- he was responsible to manage external and internal intelligence and espionage.
5. Commander-in Chief- Sarnaubat or Senapati – he was the head of forces meant for defence of a kingdom as well as attacks on other empires.
6. Minister for External Affairs- Dabir or Sumant- he was responsible to manage the relations with other empires.
7. Chief Justice- Nyayadhish- he was appointed to dispense justice on civil and criminal matters.
8. Head of Religious Affairs- Panditrao- he was responsible to look after all the religious matters I the kingdom.

General guide lines to his commanders

He was very generous towards people of his kingdom. As he had seen other commanders torturing civilians during any campaign, he had issued many instructions to his commanders by letters to them. In these instructions he had gone very minutely in almost every aspect of life. He used to issue a reasonable amount to the commander of a campaign, so that they should not harass civilians for anything. In his one of the letter he says, 'Don't snatch food for soldiers or fodder for animals from local people because you have weapons in your hand, bye it with the money given to you, otherwise people will say, Muslims are better than Marathas'.

He had issued a common instructions to his soldiers that, no one will accompany ladies during campaigns. Everyone should respect ladies of whatever caste and creed she may be.

He had issued strict instructions regarding the loot during any campaign, all loot should be deposited in the treasury of government.

Major Qualities of Shivaji Maharaj

He was a true and natural leader. He was considered as one of them by all his colleagues. He was brave and participated in many campaigns personally. He was a great supporter of Hinduism and even tried to help those who were converted to Muslim to come back to be a Hindu again, but, he had some Muslim soldiers in his Army and Navy also. He gave justice to all in every aspect. He respected irrespective of their religion. He always motivated his men by appreciating them some times by giving away gifts and at the same time he punished those who were guilty in terms of discipline. He was very clever and very patiently found the perfect way in odd situations.

Statelessness and Terrorism in the South Asian region: a Case Study of Rohingyas



Assit. Prof. Sangeeta Roy

The paper is basically structured to understand the historical evolution of the region in question to propose a background to the nature of the crisis. To begin with the whole of South Asia and to a larger extent the eastern belt has always remained theologically, culturally and emotionally indebted to the Indian subcontinent. The need to understand the independence movements in the region is crucial and the geopolitical analysis of the states has a prominent contribution to the state of affairs in the whole of the South East Asian region.

In the process of understanding terrorism and the various genres progressively affecting the region, the question lies in grasping the underlying historiography of terror activities and the types displayed by the region. Another major aspect to be dealt with is the growing statelessness in the region which opens a Pandora's Box of astute anti democratic and jingoistic ideals from time immemorial.

Rohingyas, a refugee group from Myanmar cannot be and are not the only terrorist group operating in the region which is quite clear from the historical context of culturally imbibed Jihad tradition in the south Asia. Further an assessment of the country of Myanmar which is basically polyethnic and therefore with more secessionist activities prevailing since a long time now adds to the discerning feature of grossly imbibed Statelessness and the subsequent self determination sects that have been the core to the terrorist activities in the state. Whether, the arms trade in the region is controlled by larger forces and hence the crux of the issue in hand is the supply of these, is a larger question to be dealt with at a much broader level.

The South East Asian region with a totally different character as against its European counterpart, has its own apprehensiveness towards the manner in which

the western world counters the terrorist forces and in the long run makes them stronger and game changers in international relations. During the colonial times the colonies in South Asia were vertically integrated into the international division of labour under the British imperial system.²⁵

The larger ideological implication that throttles the democratic values in the region are present in the region itself. Whether we call it the impact of the western imperialist powers or whether the post independence economic emptiness relegated the idea of mass rule, it is for all to examine and analyse.

Nations that constitute South Asia are the ones that at some point of time were civilizational giants and shared an overlapping history. Right from the theological make up of this region to the social and the linguistic grounding, almost everything finds its origin from the vast migrating population networks. The fact that most of the region was colonised explains the economic and geostrategic value that the region holds.

What then has destructed the social viability of the region needs to be explored and the generic attributes of the nations in the region need to be studied for a more clear understanding of the issues in hand. If the West has introduced the Westphalian democratic values of sovereignty with the freedom to decide the occupants of a territory, the Asian counterparts need to accept the fact that we are different and hence in all likelihood, the region needs to maintain a Balance of Power principle and try and resolve issues in our way for a secured future. Merely aping the west for constitutional laws, immigration codes and political non acceptance will destroy the very fabric of the region. The largest issue of denying citizenship to certain groups who have been residing in the country for years together will not serve any purpose as the region is poly ethnic and each one has a rich cultural heritage.

The present study seeks to examine the broader context of Statelessness and Terrorism issues in the South East Asian nations with a specific focus on the Rohingyas from Myanmar who have been declared non residents of the Myanmar state and hence are coerced to seek refuge

²⁵ Harshe, R. (May 1999). South Asian Regional Co-operation: Problems and Prospects. *Economic and Political weekly* , Vol. 34 (19), 1100-1105.

in different nations of Asia. Though belonging to the South East Asian region of Myanmar (earlier named Burma), the Rohingyas today are found in huge numbers in Bangladesh and India. Some of them are present in Pakistan, Thailand and Malaysia. They are in conditions of abject poverty and vulnerability and their resettlement has become a major political and diplomatic issue. The struggle of this refugee group differs from that of the other groups in Asia and specifically Myanmar, due to certain unique factors. Their ethnic identity, nationality, the period that marks their statelessness, the present global political and economic compulsions of Asian countries, are some of the factors that have an impact on their stateless conditions. Amnesty International in its latest report “The Global Crisis: A Conspiracy of Neglect” states that the Rohingya crisis is the worst refugee crisis since the World War II.²⁶

Surprisingly, the name Myanmar was given to Burma to signal greater racial inclusiveness.²⁷ The indigenous rulers, the colonial mascots of the region stressing on the impact of the British and the Japanese and subsequent military rule has conveyed enough about the atrocities that the people in the nation have faced. While the British officers were carrying out the census of the nation, they believed it was the most difficult task as the ethnic identities have been difficult to decode. The frontier regions that mark the administrative divisions of the nation have never wanted the country as it is like now. The Karens are Myanmar’s second largest ethnic group. The Kayah, Mon, Rakhine and Shan are the majority ethnic groups in each territory of Myanmar. With Burmese as the main race, the Shans and the Karens are the next two very important indigenous races. Within Myanmar’s borders, geography of displacement is an ongoing phenomenon. Many Myanmarese have resisted SPDC’s efforts to force their relocation and labour by moving to border areas where ethnic minorities have prevailed or by leaving the country. Of Myanmar’s 46 million people, between 600,000 and 1,000,000 were internally displaced by 2000²⁸. The military in Myanmar is known for its attack on civilians in the event of armed insurgency and resistance. It mortars villages and when they flee, it plants land mines in the villages and blows off

²⁶ UNHCR Population Statistics – Persons of Concern. (n.d.). Retrieved Dec 7th, 2018, from UNHCR: The UN Refugee Agency: <https://www.unhcr.org/ph/persons-concern-unhcr>

²⁷ McGowan, W. (1993). Burmese Hell. *World Policy Journal*, 10 (2), 47-56.

²⁸ Hyndman, J. (2002). Business and Bludgeon at the Border: A transnational political economy of human displacement in Thailand and Myanmar. *Geo Journal*, Vol. 56 (No. 1,), pp.39-46.

everything. It is known for causing large-scale damage and displacing hundreds and thousands of people.²⁹

Further the history of the nation shows how right from Buddhist monks, to students and the masses in general, the nation has faced popular rebellion in some form or the other, since 1962. The freedom of press has been shattered and the economic condition of the people has been messed up with, time and again. Anti-people policies under the General Ne Win government had provided privileges to the military officers who kept using it for nepotism and other illegal activities. They successfully insulated themselves from ordinary citizens, even those who belong to the Burman ethnic majority.

The citizenship laws of the country and the dominating military have customized census records and have denationalized certain groups calling them foreigners and rendering them stateless. The present crisis of the Rohingyas is being used by the military to interpret a national narrative claiming that Myanmar belongs to the Burmans and hence the diversion from the major issues like economy and general welfare act as the basic condition in the state.

Who are the Rohingyas and where do they come from is another major question that needs to be explored. Based on the primary records and data accessed they are believed to be descendants of the Arabs who were traders in the erstwhile Burmese region. After Myanmar assimilated into the Indian empire, the need for immigrants in Myanmar arose and subsequently led to Myanmar turning into a nation of immigrants. While cultivation was carried out by the Burmese, the trading was originally in the hands of the Muslims. In Rangoon and in most of the Myanmar's towns and villages, the traders and shopkeepers were mostly Muslims. The total population of Rangoon was almost 63 percent in case of the immigrants and perhaps this was the beginning of the contempt that the Burmese had against the Indian Muslims. The post World War I riots are a witness to this fact of hatred that deeply penetrated in the psyche of the locals in Myanmar.

²⁹ Williams, D. (2012). Changing Myanmar from Without: Political Activism among the Burmese Diaspora. *Indian Journal Of Global Legal Studies*, 19 (1), pp.121-142.

The central problem of the Rohingyas is the question of the group's political identity and eventually, their nationality. The 1982 Citizenship Law has rendered the Rohingyas, Stateless and they are not among the 135 ethnic groups recognised by the government of Myanmar.

Early in the twentieth century, associations of Indians began to be formed, first in Rangoon, with other towns following suit. A historical account of the Muslim population in India narrates the growth of Muslim organizations in Myanmar beginning with the Rander Sunni Bohras Soorti Mohamedan Association, The Myanmar Tamil Muslim Association, The Malabar Muslim Association, The Ismaili community in Mandalay were some of the groups involved in charity and religious work and were prosperous and rich.

As far as education is concerned, the Muslims had established Madarssas in almost every part of Myanmar and had a higher percentage of literate men and women as against the Buddhists monasteries and their enrolment and literacy rates. Prior to the outbreak of the Second World War, there were almost 41 Muslim Schools in Rangoon. With a general policy of providing religious education from a very early age, the Muslims in Myanmar began exploring the world of education to bring in unity between the different classes of people and also carried out philanthropic activities for the betterment of the lives of Muslims in Myanmar. They were from the beginning trying their best to get recognised as Burman Muslims, which again was the major cause for rising antagonism between the Muslims and the Buddhist communities as immediately after the independence of Myanmar, the country had declared Buddhism as the state religion.

There are about two million Rohingyas in Myanmar inclusive of the Hindu Rohingya sect, approximately 800,000 of who live in the North Rakhine (previously Arakan) State. In the ancient chronicles by Nag-mi, as mentioned in the writings of Capt. A.P. Phayre, Senior Assistant Commissioner, many of the ancient texts of Arakan are secretly preserved. He states that the Arakanese are of the same stock as the nation that inhabits the valley of the Era-Wadi; their national name is Myamma, a word which is pronounced as Bama and eventually changed by the Europeans as Myanmar. Moshe Yegar, an Israeli historian who is known for his historiography on Myanmar argued that the Muslims have had a well-established presence in Northern

Arakan since the twelfth century. According to him, the Muslims of Arakan have a separate history and the most significant and dominating feature of the post war period is the Mujahid Rebellion. The office of the Military administration of North Arakan has mentioned that the region of Arakan belonged to the Muslims as early as in 1942. However certain documents also reinstate the demand for a separate Muslim state as contradictory to the phenomenon of one nation and hence the claims made thereon were explicitly denied by the state after a memorandum to this effect was submitted in 1947. Several government letters and documents make a mention of the Arakan region being occupied by the Muslims from Chittagong which is now part of Bangladesh.

Keeping this as the backdrop to the Rohingya issue, one needs to analyse the avenues of terrorist activities that possibly engages them in promoting violence and mass murders. One Rohingya insurgent group is reported to have developed connections with Muslim extremist organisations in places such as Bangladesh, Pakistan and Afghanistan. This group is the Rohingya Solidarity Organisation (RSO) that was reported to be supporting the cause of a separate Arakan State gained and most finances through drugs smuggling. Post 1990 however, the group has not conducted any serious military operations in Myanmar. Further, the group had fallen under the influence of the extremist Sunni Muslim organisation *Harakat-ul-Jihad-ul-Islami* which was recently found involved in the Easter attacks on Sri Lanka.

In host countries such as Bangladesh where the Rohingyas are in huge numbers residing in 30 refugee camps within an area of 6500 acres of land, the opportunities to meet terrorist propagators and the capacity to indoctrinate is quite rampant. The population being that of 1.5 million in Bangladesh, there is little that can be done to maintain surveillance and control on accessibility to rumours through the social media. In an interesting revelation, a group that is studying some of the mobile network patterns in the region with the kind of digital accesses that the people in the camp, they have found that the repairing technicians and the mobile retailers who have an access to fake news and other apps are making use of their services to incite a feeling of animosity amongst the youth who in turn get vulnerable terrorist material through internet sources. It is this attribute that has changed the attitude of

the government of Bangladesh towards the refugees and news of involuntary repatriation is making headlines in the international news papers.

In the event of counter-terrorism operations in violence in Bangladesh, the terrorist threat has, however not fully receded. Despite continued operations, IS remains a potent threat, and Al-Qaeda's South Asian affiliate, Al-Qaeda in the Indian Sub-continent (AQIS), are all making attempts to re-emerge. IS' prominence is reflected in its continued online activities and recruitment campaign. According to Bangladeshi law enforcement agencies, almost every month, two or three vulnerable youth go missing in various parts of the country and are suspected of joining IS-linked terrorist cells. This trend is alarming because in the past such disappearances were frequent prior to a terrorist attack, indicating the possibility of more potential attacks in future.³⁰

The Indian outlook:

Reports and links between Rohingyas and extremist Islamic groups have caused concern in official circles and this is evident in places like India where the present government has taken policy steps to deport the Rohingyas, to get a new form filled from all those seeking refuge in parts of the country and the eventual delimitation programme of the Jammu and Kashmir state. The trend will continue if only the three affected nations, India, Bangladesh and Myanmar take a call on this and build up a new trajectory in the region. Right from the origin of the term Rohingyas to the understanding of where they come from needs to be thoroughly assessed to devise a strategy to deal with the issue.

It will however be difficult to verify the terrorist connections as Myanmar remains closed to any genuine international reporting an terrorist has become a standard term of abuse used by the regime to denigrate its opponents and its policies. The incident that depicted the arbitrary arrest of the two Reuters reporters in the recent past is one such example to show the deteriorating condition of the state.

³⁰ Bashar, I. (2017). Exploitation of the Rohingya Crisis by Jihadist Groups: Implications for Bangladesh's. *Counter Terrorist Trends and Analyses* , 9 (9), 5-7.

It would go to elaborate to cover the role of the regional forums of South Asia in this presentation but an observation based on news reports and issues at stake, the SAARC will play a limited role whereas a resolution mechanism can materialise with the BIMSTEC and the ASEAN. Meanwhile, India can play a highly compulsive role in the process of rationalizing harmony and a multilateral commitment to the issue of terrorism.

Sanctions cannot work as “behaviour modification” unless they are universally enforced.³¹ Further, China’s support to the Shan insurgent movement justifies the fact that the military had cleverly displayed a balancing game through military presence of China to build up on its regressive component. This has kept the neighbours such as India and Pakistan under pressure. It has also built up on a clandestine relationship with Pakistan as a supplier of arms and ammunitions to the SLORC. Since 1988 China, among the world’s nations, has exercised the greatest economic and strategic influence in Myanmar. Steady Chinese economic support to the SPDC gave the junta the confidence to crush the opposition, knowing that it can thumb its nose at foreign criticism and sanctions. Thus internationally created deeper isolation of Myanmar has resulted in brutal authoritarianism in the state and the rebelling groups are today in a better position to bargain.

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Security Challenges To Peninsular India 11 Years 26/11, Concerns , Challenge and Way Ahead



Brig. (Retd.) Hemant Mahajan

At least 50 Jaish-e-Mohammed (JeM) terrorists are undergoing training in deep-sea diving to launch an attack on India, according to Border Security Force. GOC-in-C, Army Southern Command, confirmed that he has received inputs that there may be a terrorist attack in the southern part of India. He added that some abandoned boats have been spotted in Sir Creek--a 96 km tidal estuary on the border of India and Pakistan dividing Gujarat from Sindh province.

Under Water Attacks By Terrorists

There are several ways in which such maritime saboteurs could be used. Launched from 'mother ships'-warships, submarines or civilian vessels-frogmen could be used to target slow-moving merchant vessels that bring nearly 80 per cent of India's crude oil imports from the Persian Gulf countries. These saboteurs could be used to attack Indian ports or single-point moorings where large super tankers are anchored or they may land undetected along the vast coastline to attack cities. Earlier, Chief of Naval Staff said that Pakistan-based terror group JeM is training terrorists to carry out underwater attacks on India. "

Patrolling at Kandla and Mundra ports in Gujarat was intensified following inputs that Pakistan-based terrorists may make "an infiltration attempt through Kutch area, possibly through the sea route to create a communal disturbance or launch terrorist attacks in Gujarat. Security challenges to peninsular India has increased many fold ever since removal of article 370.

Few Positive Developments

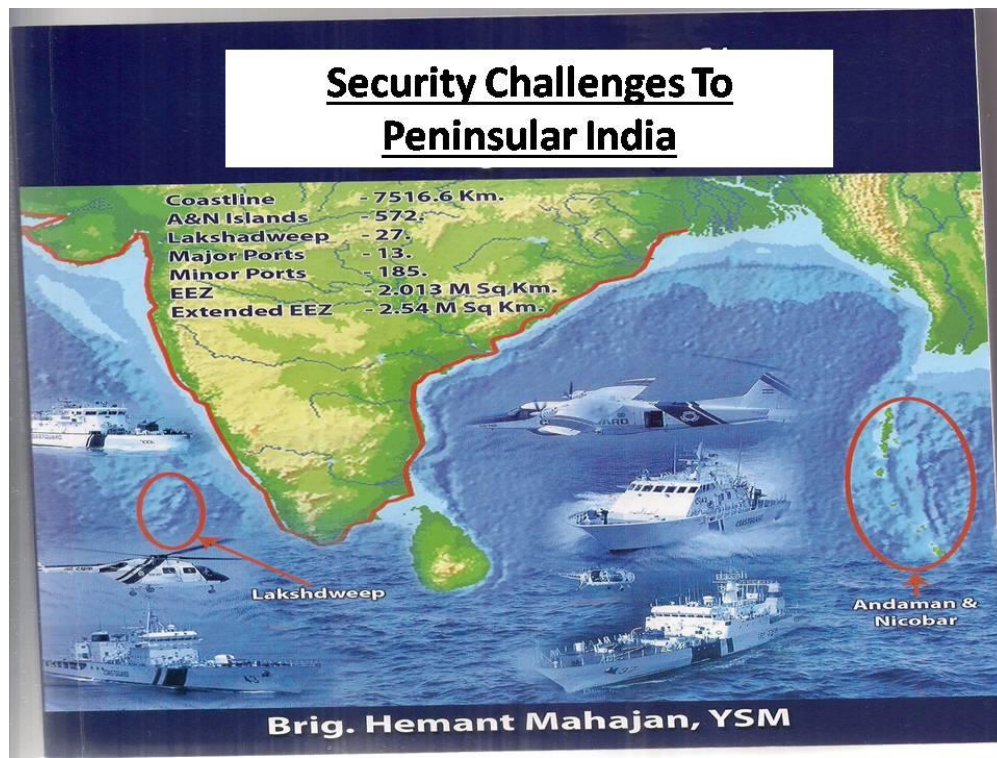
Trials for transponder system for sub 20 metre boats have been successful. They will be introduced in service in a phased manner.

The Indian Coast Guard has been given powers under the Coast Guard Act to board, search any vessel and arrest people for offences within the maritime zone of the country, it was announced on 05 Dec 19.

Aim

The aim of the article is to analyse diverse security challenges to Western and southern coastline, to review the existing security setup and suggest additional recommendations to strengthen the security of Peninsular India.

Vast Improvement has taken place in Maritime Security In last 11 Years. However security breaches continue to take place. Hence there is a need to review the existing setup and recommend additional measures to further strengthen the security setup.



Past History

Two major terrorist attacks in last two decades, came from the sea. In 1993 Mumbai was rocked in a series of blast and second time terror attack took place in November 2008. On both the occasions, sea was used to land the arms, ammunitions and men.

The civil conflict that broke out in Sri Lanka in 1983 had serious security repercussions on India as well. The LTTE cadres had been actively involved in the smuggling of arms, drugs, into India. Accordingly, the IN launched Operation Tasha on June 21, 1990 with the objectives of preventing illegal immigration and the infiltration of LTTE militants to and

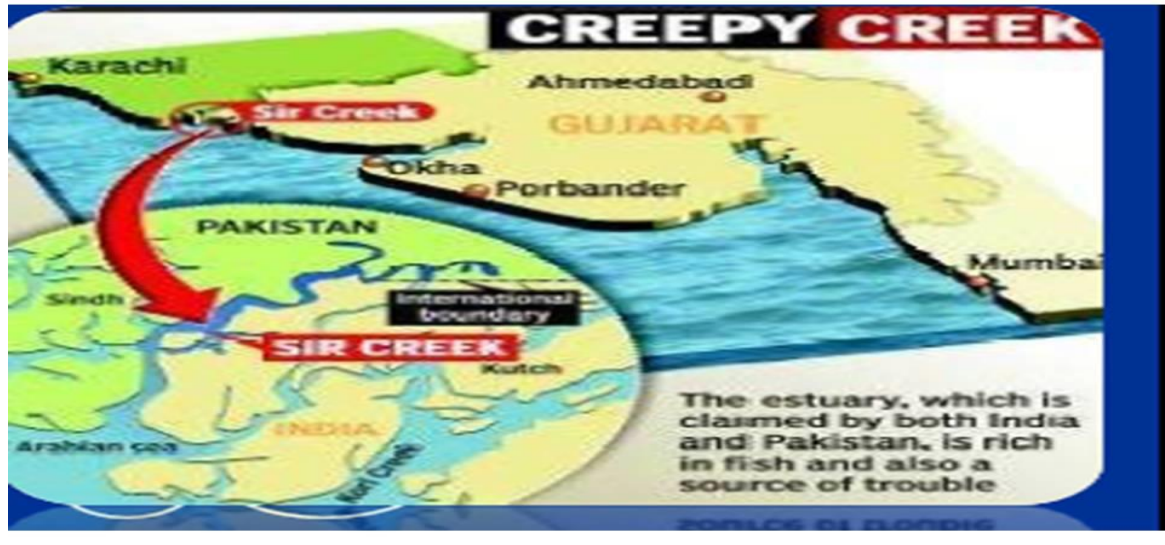
from Sri Lanka; preventing the smuggling of arms,



ammunition and contraband from the Indian mainland to Sri Lanka and vice versa; and, enforcing air surveillance and seaborne patrols to curb the activities of Sri Lankan Tamil militants in the Palk Strait.

The operation was conducted through seven naval detachments which were established along the Southern Tamil Nadu coast. The ICG and state police provided the required assistance. Operation Tasha resulted in a layered concept of surveillance. Under this concept, the inner coastal waters were patrolled by hired armed trawlers; the IMBL was patrolled by the IN and the ICG ships; and, the air surveillance was carried out by naval aircrafts and helicopters.

Operation Tasha did not prevent illegal migration from Sri Lanka and smuggling of contraband along the Tamil Nadu coast. That Op Tasha was a complete failure was proved (if any proof was required) by the death of Prime Minister Shri Rajiv Gandhi at the hands of LTTE terrorists. **Operation Tasha continues to be in force till date without any worthwhile success.**

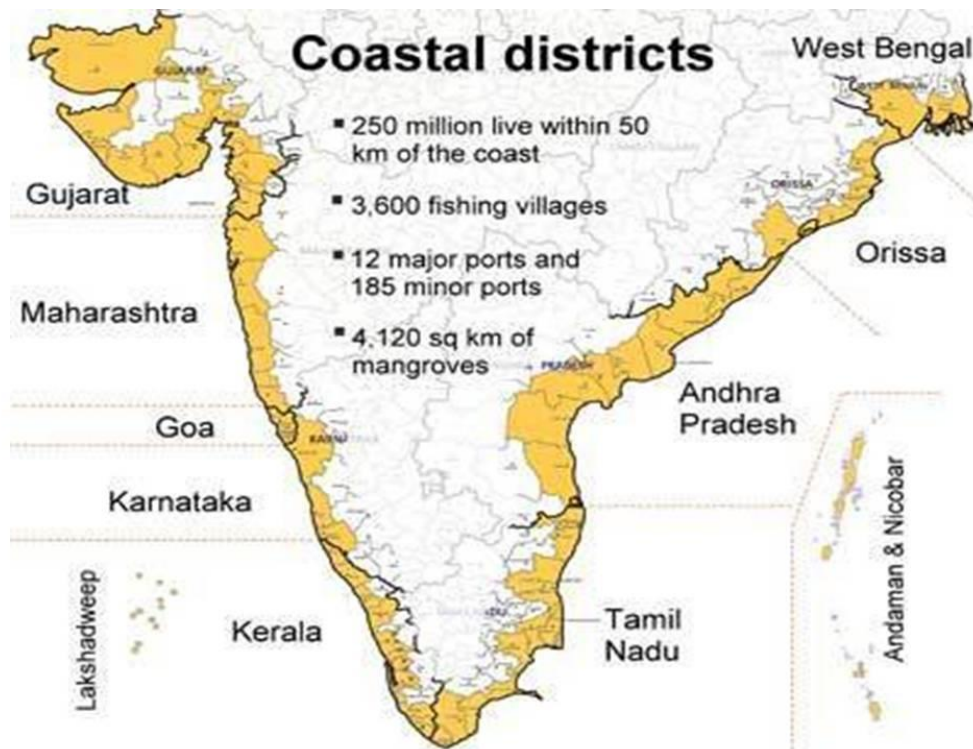


Diverse Challenges

India is a huge country with coastline comprising of 7,516.6 kms of which 5422.6 kms is on the Indian mainland, a coastline touching nine states and four union territories (UTs), apart from far flung islands, accounting for more than 2,090 kilometres of shores. There are a large number of ministries including Shipping, Surface Transport, Immigration, Trade and Commerce, Defence and Home which are involved in coastal issues. There are many agencies such as Indian Navy(IN), Indian Coast Guard(ICG), Border Security Force(BSF) Water Wing, Marine Police, Intelligence Agencies, Customs, Excise and Immigration which work with inadequate coordination. The intelligence is generic, giving larger than life image to the terrorists. The intelligence agencies warn regularly that all coastal installations are under threat which obviously is overstated.

India's Geopolitical Location and Security Challenges

The physical proximity of India's coasts to countries such as Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Pakistan and Gulf countries adds to its vulnerability as smuggling, illegal trade, drugs is quite common. India has been facing Pakistan sponsored cross-border terrorism for decades. Terrorists with arms and explosives have been infiltrating into the country from Pakistan and Bangladesh through the sea borders.



Diverse Topography and Security Challenges

The Rann of Kutch, a harsh environment comprises of extensive salt marsh that gets flooded during the monsoon. The water channels in this area turn and twist to exit from Indian territory into Pakistan and turn back again into Indian territory thus making its guarding challenging. Further South along the West Coast, there are numerous creeks, bays, many of which are relatively remote and have remained uninhabited. The Backwaters in South along the Kerala Coast, provides a large number of safe havens.

India has an Offshore Development Area (ODA) on both coasts extending up to 150 NM seaward. Off shore oil is produced here from oil platforms. The ODA on the West coast includes a large number of Production platforms but the ODA on the East coast is largely exploratory with a few close coast Production platforms. The overall produce from both the ODAs contributes around 24% of the domestic oil and gas energy requirements.

India's coasts are characterised by a diverse range of topography such as creeks, small bays, back waters, rivulets, lagoons, estuaries, swamps, mudflats, as well as hills, rocky outcrops, sandbars, beaches and small islands (inhabited as well as uninhabited). The water bodies and river channels run deep inside the coasts, making the coast line highly indented. These coastal approaches to the mainland often remain poorly guarded, thereby providing ideal spots for clandestine landings of arms, explosives and other contraband by smugglers as well as

infiltration by terrorists. Boats can easily land and disappear in stealth, and avoid detection by taking advantage of the topography.

Existence of mangrove forests, sandbars and uninhabited islands along the coast provide ideal hideaways for infiltrators, criminals for landing their contraband.

There are 1,376 fish landing points along the entire coast as per data provided by the Department of Fisheries, Ministry of Agriculture, Government of India.

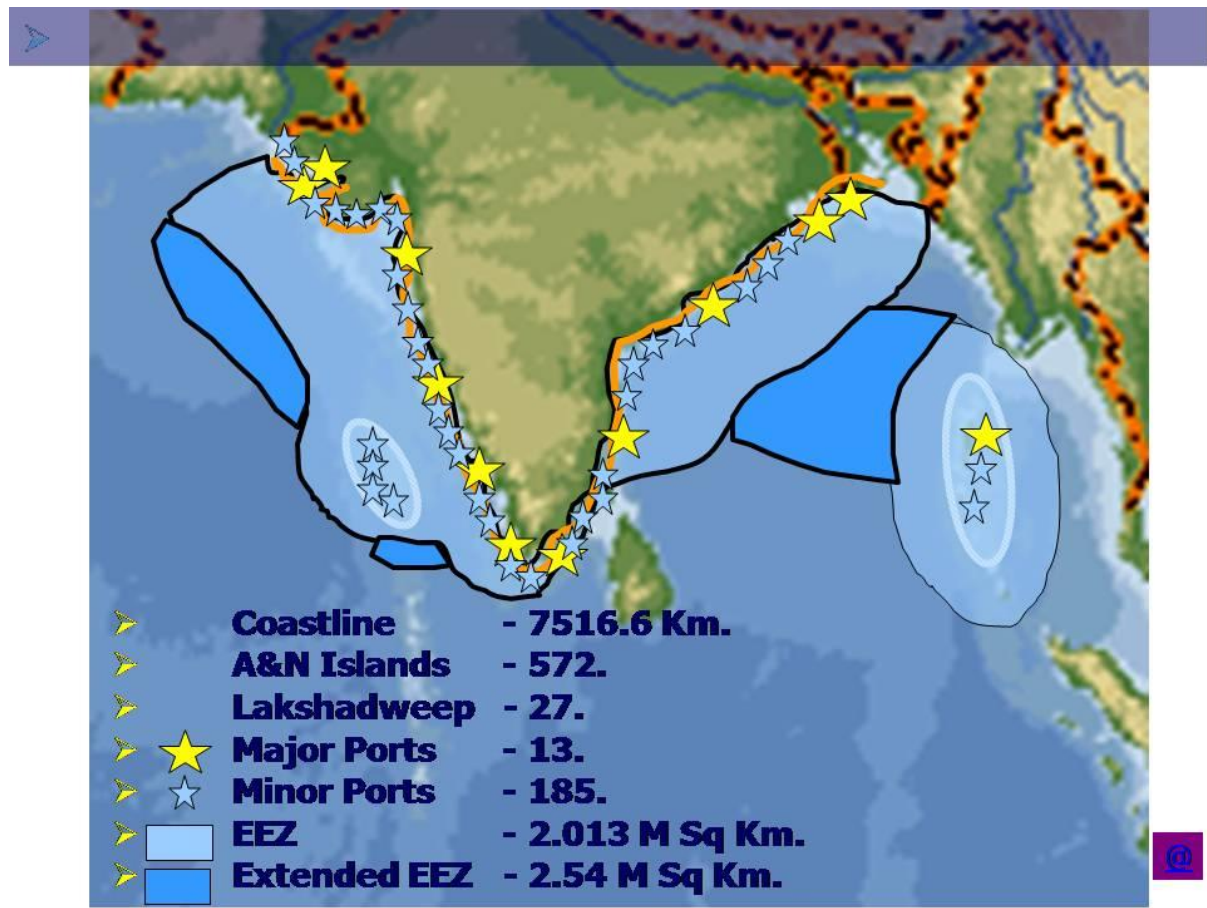
For instance, in Gujarat, a channel the HaramiNala which originates from India, enters Pakistan, and re-enters India has become a preferred route for infiltrators and smugglers.

Threat Analysis Western Coast

India's Western coast also lies close to the Gulf countries. The distance between Gujarat and the United Arab Emirates is less than 2,000 kilometres. This nearness had facilitated seaborne trade between India's western coast and the Gulf as well as the East African countries for centuries. Large wooden boats (also known as dhows) carrying cotton textiles, rice, and leather items used to sail out from the ports of Kutch, Porbandar, Veraval, Jamnagar and Surat in Gujarat to ports in Dubai, Muscat, Somalia and Ethiopia. These trade connections remain operational even today, and presently around 350 dhows operate between Gujarat and the Gulf and African countries.

However, with places such as Dubai becoming a source and destination for smuggled and trafficked items, dhows plying from Dubai to Mumbai and Gujarat had become involved in smuggling gold and luxury items, especially during the 1960s and 1970s. In subsequent years, they even started smuggling heroin, hashish, and precursor chemicals out of India to Dubai. In return, they smuggled heroin, arms and explosives from Pakistan either via Dubai or when they make a stopover at the Karachi port. This illegal practice continues even today.

These dhows should be monitored by the DG shipping and by the Customs Department. One time check of Dhow traffic should be carried out by a combined team of ICG, Police, Intelligence agencies, Customs and IN. This should be repeated at least once a year.



Summary of various terror/criminal acts ,security breaches in the Southern states.

<http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/india/timeline/index.html>.

<http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/india/database/keralaislamist.htm>

<http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/india/database/tamilnadu.htm>

http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/india/states/andhra/data_sheets/islamistex.ht

<http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/india/database/Telangana.htm>

Summary of various terror/criminal acts in the southern states.

http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/india/states/andhra/data_sheets/islamistex.ht

<http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/india/database/westbengal.htm>

Disputed Maritime Boundary

Unsettled maritime boundaries not only pose serious security challenges but also hinder offshore development. Sir Creek is a 96 kilometre long estuary which is located in the Rann of Kutch between India and Pakistan and is disputed.

Security of Strategic Installations

India's ports, handle 90 per cent of the country's maritime trade. These strategic installations are vital for the security, development and prosperity of the country. Indian coasts are prosperous, and support a dense population residing in numerous big and small towns and cities that dot the coastline. Access to the sea through the major and non-major ports has facilitated the setting up of Special Economic Zones (SEZs) which have resulted in the growth of a number of industrial cities .

In addition, single mooring points (SMP) or single buoy points (SBMs) have been constructed in the seabed from where these oil refineries, storage tanks and LNG terminals receive oil and gas .(*Ministry of Industry and Commerce, Government of India, <http://www.sezindia.nic.in/about-introduction.asp>*.)

Present Security Arrangements

For security and surveillance of Sir Creek, two battalions of the water wing of the Border Security Force have been deployed along with six floating Border Outposts (BOPs). Of these, four are deployed in forward areas while two are kept in reserve. These BOPs maintain vigil over the area with the help of patrol boats.

Vast Improvement In Maritime Security In Last 11 Years

Since last 10 years, the Indian government has undertaken a number of proactive measures to restructure coastal security and push the defensive perimeter further away from the coast into the seas. The focus was on building national maritime domain awareness (NMDA) grid via a number of organisational, operational and technological changes. It has set up the National Command Control Communication Intelligence (NC3I) network that hosts the Information Management and Analysis Centre (IMAC).

The NC3I connects 41 radar stations (20 IN and 31 ICG) located along the coast and on the island territories, and helps collate, fuse and disseminate critical intelligence and information about 'unusual or suspicious movements and activities at sea'. Additional coastal radar stations to cover gap/shadow zones are coming up in the second phase. Till then these gaps are currently addressed through deployment of ships and aircraft of the IN and the ICG.

The IMAC receives vital operational data from multiple sources such as the AIS and the long-range identification and tracking (LRIT), a satellite-based, real-time reporting mechanism for reporting the position of ships. This information is further supplemented by shore based electro-optical systems and high definition radars. Significantly, maritime domain awareness is also received through satellite data.

There are 74 AIS receivers along the Indian coast and these are capable of tracking 30,000 to 40,000 merchant ships transiting through the Indian Ocean. The AIS is mandatory for all merchant ships above 300 tons DWT and it helps monitoring agencies to keep track of shipping and detect suspicious ships.

Electronic Surveillance On Entire Coast

To provide near gapless surveillance of the entire coastline as well as prevent the intrusion of undetected vessels, the Government has launched the coastal surveillance network project. The network comprises the coastal radar chain, the AIS, and VTMS. The project involved the setting up of 46 static radars along the Indian coastline, 36 in the mainland and 10 in the island territories under Phase I. An additional 38 radars would be installed under Phase II, which would be supplemented by 8 mobile surveillance systems.

Monitoring, Control and Surveillance of Fishing Boats

Monitoring the movements of thousands of fishermen and their fishing boats/tractors which venture into the sea everyday is essential to ensure foolproof security of India's coastal areas. Accordingly, steps have been taken to ensure the safety of fishermen, and to prevent the undetected entry of any fishing trawler in the coastal waters. For this purpose, all big fishing trawlers (20 metres and above in length) have been installed with AIS type B transponders. As for small fishing vessels, a proposal to fit them with the "Radio Frequency Identification Device" (RFID) has been finalized.

For the identification of fishermen at sea, a scheme for issuing biometric identity cards is operational. A scheme for the issuance of multipurpose national identity cards for all coastal villagers, as a part of the project for the creation of National Population Register (NPR), is also being implemented .

What Else Can Be Done To Further Strengthen The Security Setup

The history of coastal security should be studied by all regularly so that we do not repeat the mistakes again.

Cargo containers could be used to transport nuclear weapons& smuggling unauthorized items like Chinese crackers, drugs& gold. Hence there is a serious concern about container security. Containers should be scanned thoroughly under X-ray machines to ensure 100 per cent security. Explosive-detection bulk and trace scanners should be installed at various key points on ports, to minimise security breaches.

Various government agencies such as Parliamentary panel on defence, The Public Accounts Committee ,the CAG have made many pragmatic recommendations regularly.These must be acted upon.

Monitoring Movements Of Fishermen And Fishing Boats

In addition to the six monthly exercises,one time thorough check has to be carried out by the security forces lead by the ICG to carry out one time check physical check of all suspicious fishing vessels.All documents must also be linked up to Adharcards.NAIS will be helpful in tracing only those vessels fitted with AIS transponders and not the fishing vessels. Disaster Alarm Terminals are being provided to fishermen so that they can alert the ICG if they are in distress at sea.The fishermen have to be educated to utilize them.

We should request foreign countries especially in the neighbourhood like ShriLanka, Maldives, Bangladesh to issue similar government identity cards to their fishermen.

Other Recommendations

All Government agencies deployed on the coast should be held responsible for obtaining own actionable intelligence. Each state should raise Home Guards and Intelligence Battalions ,based on fishing community and locals residing on the coast line to gather actionable intelligence and perform coastal security duties.

Increasing radicalization in the Maldives is likely to have effect on Lakshadweep Islands. This has to be watched carefully.

The coastal areas are under threat as it is a preferred route for supply of ammunition to LWE/LWT/Maoists on the as per media.

The government should register all vessels and issue identity cards to all coastal population.

Establishment of coastal Radar chain and AIS should be completed without further delay.

AIS is recommended for all minor boats up to 5 tons including fishing trawlers. The cost of the AIS should be subsidized by the Government. Adequate light weight power source to run the AIS should also be provided.

The IN and the ICG can gain combat experience by cross attachment with Army units carrying anti terrorist operations in Kashmir, Combat experience matters in terror attacks, crisis situations such as 26/11.Cross attachment within police/ICG/IN is also recommended. News papers and TV Channels have reported many cases of corruption, inefficiency and dereliction of duty by security agencies .All such reports of investigative journalism should

be investigated further and corrective action taken, if found guilty. Reports by investigative journalists are generally looked into.

All vulnerable areas, vulnerable points have to be mapped. All road axes have to be marked on terrain maps in the state police control rooms, ICG district HQ control rooms and JOCs. Police can gain the expertise to confidently handle Inflatable Crafts from IN, ICG. It is better to go for metallic hull instead of FRP hull as FRP hulls can be easily damaged in a hostile environment while dealing with smugglers, terrorists. Marine police must be citizen-friendly for result oriented coastal surveillance.

States should encourage recruitment of fishermen in the marine police force by spotting and nourishing talented individuals in the fishermen community.

Unmanned Aerial Surveillance, Electronic Surveillance is needed in uninhabited islands, marshy lands. Suitable UAV bases, maintenance aspects will have to be catered for.

Conclusion

Coastal States are the major stakeholders in coastal security of the nation because the critical elements that impact coastal security, as mentioned earlier, fall under the jurisdiction of the State. The success of Coastal Security measures would therefore be a direct function of the level of involvement of the Coastal State.

26/11 has prompted the Union and State Governments to announce a series of policy measures intended to modernise and improve the coastal security apparatus. It can only be hoped that the biggest gap in India's security – the inefficiency of administration – will be overcome this time around, and that a measure of urgency will attend the implementation of current plans for a stronger coastal security system.

The ISI and Pakistan Army in particular is actively involved in aiding and abetting various fault lines in the Indian society.

The need of the hour is joint man ship between IN, ICG, Police, Intelligence agencies and various Government ministries. The glass is more than half full but we still have miles to go to achieve full proof security.

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<http://www.idsa.in/system/files/Monograph22.pdf>

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CAG Reports On Coastal Security From 2008-2016.

PAC REPORT ON ICG-
[http://164.100.47.193/lsscommittee/Public%20Accounts/16 Public Accounts 21.pdf](http://164.100.47.193/lsscommittee/Public%20Accounts/16_Public_Accounts_21.pdf)

Various questions asked in Loksabha and Rajyasabha and answers there to from 2008-2016.

Role of submarines in future Challenges for India



Commander(Retd.) Vinayak Agashe

We are going to discuss the subject -" Role of submarines in future warfare "pertaining to India's threat perception, India's geopolitical imperatives, India's economic and military strength. It can range from low -cost, albeit effective mine warfare at the lower end to other extreme of strategic ballistic missile submarines. The Indo pacific region is the most nuclearised region on earth with six of the world's ten nuclear powers in this region. Our location in the Indian Ocean, potential adversaries, foreign policy, maritime doctrine and financial implications are required to be considered for deciding the correct balance between Conventional and Nuclear submarines .

India has played a key role in the security and stability of the Indian Ocean Region (IOR) but its wider interests spanning a larger regional expanse are causing it to realign its strategic posture and focus on a much wider geostrategic space and move on to influence the littoral of the Asia - Pacific region. Economic development is one of the key national objectives for India and East Asia's technology , their capital and their markets are keys to India's economic development.

India is ASEAN's sixth largest trading partner with more than US \$ 72 billion and it is targeted to reach more than US \$ 100 billions in the near future. India's economic relationship with Japan is on the rise . India's trade with Korea is on the rise. The quest for energy security has compelled India to diversify its sources for supply of petroleum products. The overseas wing of the Oil and Natural Gas Commission (ONGC) is operating two gas fields in Vietnam - in South China Sea. ONGC also holds 20 percent stake in Sakhalin - 1 - a large oil and gas field in Far East offshore of Russia.

The International Shipping Lanes(ISL) in the South China Sea (SCS) have become one of the busiest and most critical shipping routes in the world. The importance of maintaining freedom of navigation in these International Shipping Lanes (ISL)are a matter of significant strategic interests to nations along the western Pacific littoral and neighbouring regions of India.

The result is increased presence of military forces especially naval forces in the waters of this region .There is increased policing or surveillance of the access points to this region namely the Malacca, Sunda and Lombok.

Surface ships can fulfill the roles of showing presence , demonstrating intent and offensive action but remain vulnerable to counter action by adversaries . Submarines are better suited for more offensive roles of operating close to the enemy coastas well as providing long range strike capability and strategic offensive as well as deterence capabilities. Such submarines should be able to operate at extended ranges from own bases and should be equipped with long range weapons.

The recent years have seen India’s slow but steady rise as a pre- eminent maritime power in the Indian Ocean Region (IOR). Inconspicuously but surely , India has started to exert greater influence in maritime affairs in our extended sphere of influence . in order to deal with these strategic imperatives and future diplomatic stand - offs , we would need a well balanced force structure .

Comparison of Attributes

	Conventional Air Independent Propulsion(AIP)	Nuclear (SSN,SSGN, SSBN)
COST	300 - 500 Million US \$	1.6 - 3 Billion US\$
Endurance	15 - 20 days submerged 45 - 60 days total	100 Days (limited by food storage)
Tactical	Smaller in size, slower, Better suited for shallow water operations	Larger, faster , more suitable for open ocean
Stealth	Less Nosier	More nosier

Nuclear Submarines

Nuclear submarine is considered the ultimate war machine. They are faster, can dive deeper and are more lethal. The range and endurance of these submarines is limited only by the amount of food they carry and the need to rest crews. They are ideal platforms for power projection at far flung areas.

Future maritime warfare will mainly deal with Sea Control and Sea Denial. Conventional submarines were constrained to sea denial roles because their radius of action was limited due to limited endurance. Nuclear propulsion changed all that. In the nuclear submarine the endurance and weapon delivery capability was comparable to any surface ship while retaining its characteristic quality of stealth. Nuclear submarines are the only naval platforms capable of independent and sustained forward offensive deployment. Therefore these

submarines are capable of both Sea Control and Sea Denial operations. Deterrence strategies require Second Strike capability and therefore SSBN (Nuclear submarines with Ballistic missiles) are ideal platforms for this unique and vital role.

You all are aware of the India's Nuclear Doctrine - "No First Use (NFU)", which India declared unilaterally on 17 Aug'1999. This means that India is committed itself not to be the first to use nuclear weapons in a conflict with an adversary. The other nuance that automatically accompanies the NFU posture is that there is assurance to the world that there will be no use of nuclear weapons against Non-nuclear Weapons States. This also implies that it assures total devastation and destruction of the adversary through the principle of 'Massive Retaliation ". In Jan'2003, there was declaration that "Massive Retaliation would be resorted to even in the case of first use of chemical / biological weapons on Indian armed forces deployed anywhere in India or in the world. For the execution of this doctrine nuclear submarines- SSBN with ICBM are the only answer, because of the inherent advantage of concealment below the surface of the sea.

Modern conventional submarines are sophisticated with their standoff weapons, advanced sensors and Air Independent Propulsion .A judicious blend of conventional and nuclear submarines can be deployed for the entire spectrum of strategic, operational and tactical scenarios e.g.

- To deliver weapons at Stand-off ranges
- Shallow water operations
- Second strike
- Surveillance and reconnaissance
- Clandestine and special operations
- Over the horizon targetting

Challenges

These states of art nuclear submarines pose many technical and human resource challenges. We need to have an indigenous industrial and scientific infrastructure to maintain these advanced sensors and weapon technologies. Nuclear submarines require very high degree of professionalism and great deal of caution to ensure nuclear radiation safeties. The SSN is required to be aggressive and ready to seize the initiative to attack ; while SSBN are required to ensure that they remain undetected so that they reliability of the second strike is never compromised.

Future Wars would be short and intense. In a short intense war when immediate retaliation is vital nuclear submarines become valuable. SSNs are the most cost effective offensive weapon platforms for deployment in shallow waters against enemy ships and enemy nuclear submarines.

Conclusion:

It can be concluded that India would in the near future (a decade or so) require to operate in the Arabian sea, Bay of Bengal, Northern Indian Ocean and beyond South East Asian Straits in support of missions mandated by our national interests. It would be prudent to retain a mix of conventional and nuclear propelled submarines. Nuclear boats would be more suited for strategic deterrence roles far away from Indian bases in Deep Ocean whereas the conventional submarines would be more suitable to operate in shallower areas closer to coasts in Arabian Sea, Bay of Bengal primarily in offensive as well as defensive role.

Commander (Retd.) Vinayak Agashe is a decorated Veteran Submariner who has commanded two submarines during his Naval service . He is a founder member of Kanhoji Angre Maritime Research Institute .This is an abstract of the lecture delivered on 21 August 2019 to students of Defence Studies at KAMRI.

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