



DELHI POLICY GROUP

Advancing India's Rise as a Leading Power

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National Security Doctrine for India
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ABBREVIATIONS

ARF	ASEAN Regional Forum
ASEAN	Association of South East Asian Nations
ADMM+	ASEAN Defence Ministers Meeting Plus
BIMSTEC Economic	Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-sectoral Technical and Cooperation
BBIN	Bangladesh, Bhutan, India and Nepal
CBM	Confidence Building Measures
CCS	Cabinet Committee on Security
CICA	Conference on Integration and Confidence-Building in Asia
EAS	East Asia Summit
ED	Executive Director
EU	European Union
GoI	Government of India
ICT	Information and Communication Technologies
IOR	Indian Ocean Region
IORA	Indian Ocean Regional Association
IONS	Indian Ocean Naval Symposium
IPR	Intellectual Property Rights
IT	Information Technology
IW	Information Warfare
MAC	Multi-Agency Centre
NBC	Nuclear Biological Chemical
NKC	National Knowledge Commission
NKN	National Knowledge Network
NSD	National Security Doctrine
NSC	National Security Council
NSAs	Non State Actors

R&D	Research and Development
RCEP	Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership
SCO	Shanghai Coopération Organisation
SMEs	Small and Medium Enterprises
SRISHTI	Science, Research and Innovation System for High Technology-led path for India
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
UN	United Nations
USA	United States of America

PREFACE

Many strategic analysts have suggested that India needs a National Security Doctrine (NSD). Others opine differently. They contend that India has managed successfully without one or, that such a document without matching capabilities, will serve no purpose. There is further debate on whether it should be a doctrine or a strategy. It was therefore considered important to examine the need for an NSD for India and what it must contain.

The concept of 'National Security' has evolved over the years. It is generally accepted as an executive responsibility wherein the Government along with its various institutions, provides for the state and its citizens security through a variety of structures, in concert with its overarching national interests. The idea was first developed by USA after the World War II and initially focused on territorial security and integrity. Military aspects dominated.

In today's changed and complex world, security now has a much broader construct that includes, geopolitical interests, internal stability, economic and social security, sustainability *et al.* In most cases these overlap, are interlinked and intrinsic to a country's growth and well-being. The interplay needs to be clearly enunciated and explained for greater awareness and understanding in general and for planners and practitioners in particular.

India faces myriad security challenges both external and internal. Unlike any other country in the World, Indian security is marred by legacy issues that include unresolved boundary disputes, not coming to terms with the partition of the sub continent, or culture of competition and challenge in case of one and unwillingness to accept India as a reckonable regional player in the case of the other, undermining Indian strategic space as it seeks to expand its political, economic and strategic influence. This has resulted in constant friction with two of its nuclear-armed neighbours with whom India has fought wars; increasingly acting in collusion.. There thus exists an omnipresent danger of regional strategic instability with potential for escalation threatening India's territorial integrity and strategic cohesion.

Internally too, India's diverse population of continental proportions presents potential for serious, societal and economic challenges. The radicalization of its neighbourhood, which is fast turning into arc of insecurity, accompanied by the rise of militancy and terrorism exacerbated by social discontent is posing serious challenges to Indian internal security and stability. Further there are issues of ecology and sustainability. All these pose a threat to India's well-being and

impediments to progress. While some of these challenges had been anticipated by framers of the Constitution, it is in the period thereafter, that a very large number have emerged and today their complex weave, warrants clear definition and understanding. The myriad factors impacting national security, influence almost every activity and their impact needs to be taken into account to guide the actions of each individual, institution or executive organ of the state.

This would be best undertaken by identifying what India's national security interests and objectives should be and what requires to be done to achieve them. Additionally, it would guide every citizen, agency or institution, what needs to be done so that plans are coordinated. These objectives would have a degree of permanence and be in the nature of doctrinal precepts that would define the course and strategy to be followed for their achievement. It thus follows that a doctrine must be brief, concise and overt. Such formalisation would also indicate to the world what India seeks, hence of necessity, has to comply with internationally accepted norms and obligations. It must also be in keeping with India's civilizational ethos and its Constitution that specifies structures for the life and betterment of every Indian, as also the Country's role in international affairs. India's growing stature demands such clarity and policy amplification. Such a document while indicating what India desires cannot be directed against any other nation.

There is growing consensus that given the circumstances and challenges that confront India, as also our experience since independence, such a document is needed. It is understood that appreciating the necessity, the National Security Advisory Board had also worked in this regard, however, no formal paper has emerged. Given the urgent call, the Delhi Policy Group under its National Security Programme, after a series of discussions and a national conclave, has put forward a list of proposals as a suggested doctrine. These could well be grouped as a list of objectives or recommendations. However it was considered that setting them down in a focused doctrine would be better.

This proposed NSD for India incorporates views of experienced practitioners. It is being put forward with an aim to promote greater understanding and awareness of India's security needs as also how they are inextricably linked with its progress and development. It outlines and sets goals of what needs to be done. It is a preliminary attempt in the public domain with a hope that this will encourage debate and contribute to building greater understanding of India's strategic needs. This is necessary for an emerging power, which, in keeping with its size and potential, wishes to play an important role in the region. It is also hoped that it will lead to

issue of a formal NSD by the Government, or at the very least, serve as a guide for what needs to be done. Change being a constant, such a doctrine would necessitate periodic reviews and continue to evolve. Its basic character, i.e., the centrality and well being of India's citizens in a plural society, will however, remain.

The proposed doctrine lists major challenges faced by India, outlines objectives and sets down what needs to be done. Brief details or background have been included where needed. The paper also mentions the overlaps and cross-domain impact of various elements, e.g., terror that has both an external and internal connotation. Similarly, cyber security affects almost all facets of security whether it be defence, financial, critical infrastructure, intellectual property, the knowledge network, e-governance and so on.

The NSD being all encompassing must ideally originate from the National Security Council (NSC) and its Secretariat. Executive ministries and state governments will implement. The manner in which these goals could be achieved would constitute strategy. This would have to be in detail and with specifics such as time and scope. Most of this would be overt. Some such as measures to protect financial networks, plans for operationalizing strategic deterrence, or gathering intelligence in respect terrorists and so on, will be covert. All these would however, be within the overall ambit of the NSD.

The NSD will thus serve, as an over-arching guide of what needs to be done to make India and its people secure which in turn, will contribute to its growth and development.

A list of speakers at the Conclave on the NSD as also those who contributed to its formulation is provided below. The DPG wishes to thank each of them for their contributions and support.

October 2016

SPEAKERS AND CONTRIBUTORS

Opening Session

- Mr. Siddharth Shriram : Chairman and Managing Trustsee, DPG
- Ambassador Shyam Saran : Former Chairman, NSAB and Chairman Research and Information System for Developing Countries
- Dr. Radha Kumar : Former DG, DPG

Economic Aspects

- Dr. Ashok Gulati : Former Chairman of the Commission for Agricultural Costs and Prices, Infosys Chair, Professor, ICRIER
- Dr. Arvind Virmani : Former Executive Director, IMF and Chief Economic Advisor, Gol
- Dr. Rajiv Kumar : Senior Fellow, Centre for Policy Research
- Dr. Rakesh Mohan : Former ED, IMF and Chairman, National Transport Development, Gol
- Mr. Nitin Desai : Former Chief Economic Advisor, Gol and Under Secretary General for Economic and Social Affairs at the UN

External Affairs and Defence

- Admiral Arun Prakash : Former Chief of Naval Staff and Chairman, Chiefs' of Staff Committee
- Ambassador Jayant Prasad : Director General, IDSA

Lt. Gen. Ata Hasnain : Former Commander of Srinagar Corps and Adjunct Senior Fellow, DPG

Lt. Gen. Aditya Singh : Advisor-National Security, DPG

Special Session

Ambassador Leela Ponappa : Former Deputy National Security Advisor and Trustee, DPG

Ambassador Satish Chandra : Former Deputy National Security Advisor

Ambassador Sanjay Singh : Former Ambassador to Iran, Secretary (East) and Adjunct Senior Fellow, DPG

Internal Peace & Stability

Mr. P.C. Haldar : Former Director, Intelligence Bureau

Ms. Maja Daruwala : Advocate for Rights and Social Justice and Director, Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative

Mr. Wajahat Habibullah : Former Chief Information Commissioner

Education and Technology

Dr. Anil Kakodkar : Former Chief of India's Atomic Energy Program

Prof. R. Ramaswamy : President of Indian Academy of Sciences

Dr. B.K. Gairola : Former DG, National Informatics Centre

Dr. T. Ramasami : Former Secretary, Department of Science and Technology

Role of Media

Mr. Raj Chengappa : Group Director of India Today and former Editor, The Tribune

- Ms. Indrani Bagchi : Senior Diplomatic Editor, The Times of India
- Mr. Siddharth Varadarajan : Former Editor of The Hindu and Founding Editor, The Wire
- Mr. Nitin Gokhale : Strategic Affairs Analyst

Interactive Sessions

- Mr. T.N. Ninan : Former Editor, Business Standard and Trustee, DPG
- Ambassador Sudhir Vyas : Former Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs
- Ambassador Rakesh Sood : Former Special Advisor to Prime Minister
- Brig. Arun Sahgal : Former Director Net Assessment, Integrated Defense Staff and Director Forum for Strategic Initiatives.
- Col. Arjun Katoch : International Disaster Management Consultant

A PROPOSED NATIONAL SECURITY DOCTRINE (NSD) FOR INDIA

Introduction

- 1.1. National security is a multifaceted and all encompassing concept related to building comprehensive national power. It envisages a symbiotic relationship between internal and external security, reinforcing the premise that a country's external security posture is organically linked to its internal strength. External challenges can be met by effective diplomacy and adequate defence capability. For internal stability, strong political institutions, economic growth, social harmony, efficient law and order machinery, expeditious judicial relief and good governance are pre-requisites. A sound NSD would be an integrated and comprehensive whole in keeping with India's cultural ethos, which would lay down what needs to be done to meet the cross domain and other challenges. Security begets stability, and both are essential for growth and development.
- 1.2. Central to this are the citizens of India, their aspirations and the kind of society they wish to build. **Simply put, the right to life, safety, and well-being of every Indian in conditions of internal and external peace should be India's supreme objective.** While India's seeks betterment of its people, as enshrined in its Constitution, it also desires regional stability and world peace. Instability and uncertainty in the neighbourhood and the Indian Ocean Region (IOR) thus, run counter to India's long-term interests. India in keeping with its size, population and potential, also aspires for a proportionate role in world affairs.
- 1.3. With over one sixth of the world's population, and a growing economy it is an important global player, whose actions have significant regional and global impact. Its plurality, religious, linguistic and cultural diversity, woven into a harmony over centuries through a process of assimilation, also gives it an intrinsic strength that is unique in bridging differences between races, religions, cultures and faiths.
- 1.4. The Constitution provides the basis for building a democratic, pluralistic and secular society in a federal structure. With large numbers of poor, deprived of adequate access to education, health care and other basic facilities, the State has a responsibility for their welfare through policies of inclusive growth. Thus

ideally the objective should be to provide a milieu wherein every Indian has a stake in the country's prosperity, social peace and stability.

- 1.5. India faces diverse external challenges. It has a land border of over 15000 kilometers with seven countries, sections of which remain contested, or not formally demarcated even after nearly seven decades. At places there is not even a mutually agreed line of control. Additional problems emanate from their openness and porosity. India also has a long coast line in excess of 7500 kilometers, along with an extended maritime zone and island territories. There are sea lanes of communication for its trade and energy flows as also offshore oil installations. The IOR therefore, figures prominently in India's security calculus. Consequently South Asia, the seas around it and its near littorals emerge as the region of primary focus for India's NSD.
- 1.6. India's security thus is best served by a peaceful, stable and friendly neighborhood which is oriented towards mutually beneficial growth and development. **India does not covet any land beyond its own.** However, since its independence, territorial, religious and ethnic issues, fundamentalism, terrorism and transfers of nuclear and missile technologies, among others are elements that have caused instability in South Asia. Equations within the region have also been disturbed by external factors. The security dynamic has been further affected by limited intra-regional economic cooperation. Added to this are the internal challenges which in addition to those mentioned above, include economic disparity, left wing extremism, communalism, regionalism, population pressures, illiteracy, organized crime, poor governance, connectivity and so on.
- 1.7. Global issues of energy, food, environment security and sustainable development have created their own challenges. There are also emerging issues related to governance of global commons, knowledge and information management, freedom and equity in use of space as also cyber space, misuse of social media and the internet, non traditional threats, trans-border crimes, pandemics and natural disasters. All these are dynamic and morphing at an increasing pace.
- 1.8. The present international order is under threat with possible changes in the geo-political and geo-economic domains from the North and West to the East and South. Scenarios thus have to be anticipated and solutions put in place. The luxury of time does not exist.

1.9. For building a secure India as also ensuring regional and internal stability there is a need to outline the broad principles and objectives of national security for India. These should cover every facet and in most cases are interlinked. Understanding, public discourse and involvement is crucial as the State cannot provide for every aspect. Definition of goals and the overlaps will provide framework for policy formulation as also strategy flow. As clarified above, these objectives will need to be kept under constant review.

Broad Objectives

2.1. The Constitution provides the basic structure for governance and progress in keeping with India's vision of growth based on strength of its plurality. Experience of the past 66 years has however, brought to fore the aspect of security and its impact on every facet of India's developmental vision. There is therefore a need to define the broad security related objectives necessary to meet the aspirations of every Indian. These are:-

- (a) Maintaining the unity and territorial integrity of India.
- (b) Providing for each citizen the right to life, liberty, equity and welfare also a good standard of living;
- (c) Working towards a peaceful, prosperous and friendly extended neighbourhood;
- (d) Sustained high rates of inclusive economic growth;
- (e) Credible capacities for conventional as well as non-conventional defence and dealing with asymmetric threats such as cross border terrorism;
- (f) Political stability, internal social harmony, law, order and justice;
- (g) Wide consensus in polity on the basic parameters of foreign and domestic policies based on informed awareness and understanding of issues.

Identification and Listing

- 2.2. The achievement of these goals requires definition as a mix of external, defence, economic and internal objectives which could then serve as guidelines. As stated the challenges confronting India are quite different from any other country and security has emerged as a major factor in its developmental planning. There is also a need for '**Indian**' solutions within its federal structure. The IT domain provides scope for innovative outreach and execution.
- 2.3. It is essential that these objectives be clearly stipulated. It may be argued that these may be stating the obvious and are common sense. However, the reality is that unless targets are clearly identified with respect to their national security linkages, there can be no plan for realization. Given the cross-domain impact there will be overlaps, thus here too, multi-agency responsibilities have to be identified.
- 2.4. Ideally objectives must be with time stipulations for achievements. In reality it may not be possible, as the situation will continue to change. Thus the 'period' aspect could be incorporated in the strategy and plans for implementation. For ease of understanding, these goals have been grouped under 'verticals'. In broad terms there are the 'hard' elements such as defence as also deterrent capabilities as also a host of 'soft' elements like diplomacy, economic goals, internal security (IS), governance, ecology *et al.* Prioritization and balance among these will form part of the strategy for implementation. The basic tenets being that the nation should be secure from external threats, internally stable and cohesive. The objectives have been collated for discussion and debate and should ideally be approved by the Government for implementation.

Internal Peace and Stability

- 3.1. In a pluralist and diverse federal polity such as India's, internal stability is the bedrock of national security. With eleven neighboring countries (including four across the seas), many of which share cross-border Diasporas with India, internal peace and external security are inextricably intertwined. Given a rising graph of cross-border terrorism over the past two decades, cooperation with neighbors on security is essential.

- 3.2. The lack of cooperation from Pakistan and transnational threats such as the spread of the Islamic State ideology make homeland security a priority. Shortfalls, especially inaction on intelligence, underline the need for better coordination between the Multi Agency Centre (MAC) and Subsidiary MACs, renewed consideration for the need to strengthening a National Counter-Terrorism Centre and the National Investigation Agency.
- 3.3. The social compact that should ideally underpin homeland security is more complex. There are two critical dimensions to internal peace, governance and reconciliation. Domestically India has large variation in state capacity and functioning. Gaps in governance in one or more states can and do permit a nexus to grow between the flow of illegal arms, drugs and funds, further undermining administration and curtailing economic development. They also result in the rising threat of resource mafias, spreading criminality and creating vulnerabilities across other states.
- 3.4. Efforts to tackle the problem through cracking down on arms and drug smugglers or to choke illegal funds, however, are partial without the enabling environment of cross-ministry and cross-state cooperation. There is need for a functioning administration, especially judiciary and police, with a strong official-civilian interface as also cross-border cooperation. The first two requirements become paramount in situations where a neighbour is either unable or unwilling to collaborate and the only available means of securing the country against the flow of arms, drugs and illegal funds have to be domestic.
- 3.5. A major review is long overdue and requires: -
- (a) An institutional overhaul at the top of the Center-State agenda, especially the Chief Ministers' conferences and Inter-State Council, meetings of concerned ministries and line departments. Law and order is a state subject that can only be improved if the Center and states work in cohesion.
 - (b) Allocation of substantial resources to reforms in policing and modernization. Ramshackle police stations, inadequate infrastructure and personnel shortages have created a crisis of competence. Remedies include filling vacancies and training, working towards an adequate police and administration to population ratio in keeping with global standards, upgrading investigation and forensic resources as well as capacities and improving police-community relations along with policing by consensus.

- (c) Fast-tracking expansion of the judiciary. It has been known for decades that there is a crying need for more courts, yet vacancies persist in large numbers despite availability of well-trained lawyers. Judicial processes also require reform for speedy justice.
- (d) Setting up a designated Central Task Force to launch a crackdown on illegal arms manufacture or sale, including limiting and regulating the rights to issue gun licenses. Controlling illegal arms production and flow has been left largely to state governments with severe consequences. Such a Task Force's best chance of success is when its actions are coordinated with tackling corruption and illegal financial flows.
- (e) Insulating the administration from political manipulation, stringently limiting the current political hire and fire practices.

3.6. Institutional overhaul can work only if anchored by social policies. The challenge of diversity is global today, whether over migration or minorities. India's multiple religious and ethnic groups give it an inbuilt advantage of centuries of coexistence, but this coexistence is constantly tested. On the plus side, increasing number of Indians are seeking individual civil rights and protections as promised under the Constitution; on the negative side, there is growing communal polarization, fed by and feeding religious extremists who are yet to be brought under the rule of law. Separate and yet linked is the growing challenge of caste - from Dalit mistreatment to reservation for upper castes - and its anachronistic revival in Indian politics. This has to be tackled as a priority and stringently curbed.

3.7. These current realities demand new policies of inclusion that will strengthen individual equality and militate against community threat perception. Within India's federal structure there is a challenge of differentiated rights that critically undermines any sense of national unity; if delivery of fundamental rights depends on where one lives or which community one belong to, what makes an Indian? This challenge can only be met by the states adhering to the values and norms prescribed by the Constitution, in particular to:-

- (a) Ensure that disadvantaged groups have equal access to public goods and services as well as due share of opportunities, including government programs for rural and urban development; that recruitment policies, whether executive, public or private sector, make it a point to select from disadvantaged groups, including women, without sacrificing merit; and that private institutions are facilitated to establish education, health and training centers in neglected regions.
- (b) Providing uniformity across states in delivery of services, policing and justice. The process of political consensus-building to address shortfalls in the implementation of Constitutional rights must begin with the Center and states formulating common guidelines for the delivery of uniform rights and protections.
- (c) Work towards a Uniform Civil Code by anchoring it within the Constitutional framework of all citizen's rights, recognizing that each of India's personal laws, be they Hindu, Muslim, Christian, Sikh or any other religion, require reform to meet the Constitution's directive principles.

3.8. Governance deficits aside, self-regulation is essential to internal peace and security. The invidious role of social media in promoting community threat perception is a recent challenge that is set to grow; so too is the proliferation of self-appointed religious leaders and/or groups along with unchecked 'land grab'. While the conversation on norms and regulations has begun between government and social media providers, it is important to:-

- (a) Ask religious organizations to conform to the framework of the Constitution and agree a system of qualifications whereby preachers and/or religious representatives are authorized to practice and self-appointment is disallowed. Similarly, ensure no land grab is allowed in the name of religion by enforcing the Building Code.

- (c) Build on the strength of cultural diversity by empowering existing institutions for the purpose and ensuring that their officers promote diversity rather than divisiveness.
- 3.9. Many of the border states and tribal regions are roiled in long-standing conflict, some between communities and others ideological. Promising peace negotiations, such as with the Nagas, need to take concerned neighboring states into confidence and complement negotiations with local and inter-state confidence building measures. Stalled efforts at peace talks in areas of 'Left-Wing Extremism' - mostly tribal - can be restored without weakening security measures if experienced civil society groups are encouraged to undertake Track II initiatives to pave the way.
- 3.10. Some of these conflicts also have a strong cross-border dimension with neighbouring countries. In Jammu and Kashmir, for example, it has long been a truism that engagement with Pakistan reduces the threat of militancy in the state though not in the country; it also allows space for the Center and the state's elected leaders to anchor internal peace-building. This is a strong incentive for the Government of India to hold talks with Pakistan even in the knowledge that little may emerge by way of official agreements to action.
- 3.11. Special effort to be made to plan for non traditional threats and emerging challenges such as those from nuclear, biological and chemical (NBC) agents, immune viruses, paucity of water and climate change, to mention the most major. Institutions and organizations must be tasked to undertake scenario building and planning exercises to determine what needs to be done.

External Affairs and Defence

- 4.1. India must seek to maintain independence of its foreign policy and security choices reflective of its civilizational ethos, while working in partnership with all friendly countries on issues of common interest. As a putative power destined to play an increasingly important regional and global role, India has to retain the freedom and capacity to deal and engage fully with all present and potential power centers in the world - the USA, EU, Russia, China, Japan, on the basis of equality and mutual confidence. For this it must :-

- (a) Issue a white paper on a regular basis defining its objectives and interests in the neighborhood, region and beyond. This must be in keeping with its national ethos and heritage.
 - (b) Identify need for manpower and resources to fulfill identified objectives.
 - (c) Optimize available assets and set up structures for implementation.
 - (d) Provide for systems of outreach.
 - (e) Prioritize the aspects that need to be completed urgently and set up efficient means of implementation and execution.
- 4.2. Diplomacy and defence are the two pillars for external security and comprise the 'soft' and 'hard' elements. They need greater synergy and coordination. Intelligence is a key element in all this.

Foreign Policy

- 4.3. Accord the highest importance to developing partnerships with neighbours on the basis of equality, respect for sovereignty and non-interference in their internal affairs. As mentioned earlier, India does not covet any territory beyond its own and has no desire to seek hegemony, impose its views and values on others, or look for unilateral advantages. It wishes to promote the mutuality of interests and to this extent based on its location and size, must take a leadership role especially on economic and connectivity issues. Further it must demonstrate its obligations as the largest country in South Asia to create a climate of confidence about its intentions, goals and policies. It must clearly establish that it is willing to work with neighbours on any common agendas that will strengthen regional bonds and help create a climate of peace and security. There is a vast potential for mutually beneficial programmes and economic linkages, which must be pursued in a transparent manner creating a regional network promoting shared prosperity.
- 4.4. Defend its legitimate interests against any encroachment by others and protect its territorial integrity with all means at its disposal. India seeks to

resolve all outstanding issues relating to its land and maritime borders through negotiations. While being committed to this, it needs to back it up by strengthening its defensive capabilities to deter any attempt to alter them by force or subversion.

- 4.5. Take action to project that India is a well-functioning multi-religious secular and inclusive society, committed to democracy, equity and the rule of law. The success of its model is vital for peace and stability in this region involving the welfare of a fifth of humankind. India should strive with like-minded countries to prevent the forces of religious extremism from enlarging their strategic depth in the region and counter their destabilizing impact on India's external as well as internal security.
- 4.6. Enhance economic cooperation in South Asia, essential for increasing prosperity in the region by supporting SAARC, as well as groupings like BIMSTEC, BBIN etc. India's expanding economy and its high growth rates create opportunities for it and its neighbours to move up the economic growth ladder together.
- 4.7. Promote with the Gulf Countries the enhanced economic partnership and institutional arrangements similar to those concluded with individual Asian countries and ASEAN. This would be in keeping with India's ties with the region by way of economy, energy supplies, manpower export, remittance flows and potential of investment of the region's financial surpluses in the growing Indian economy, especially in infrastructure. It must enhance its role in promoting peace and stability in this region that is home to a large Indian Diaspora.
- 4.8. Utilise the IOR to enhance its engagement and historical relationships and strengthen it through promoting the Spice route, Project *Mausam* and others so on. Establish close relations with the IOR countries in view of the common interest in securing the sea-lanes of communication and strengthen IORA and IONS. A large part of the global hydrocarbon and trade traffic passes through these waters that contain two of the world's most important choke points- the Straits of Hormuz and the Malacca Straits. India recognizes its strategic position and role as a responsible member of the international community in ensuring that the Indian Ocean remains a zone safe for trade and commerce. The Indian Navy must plan for this in partnership with other nations.

- 4.9. It must in keeping with its 'Act East' policy fully engage in the creation of the new Asian architecture which should be inclusive, ruled based and equitable. In this pursuit it should enhance its engagement with ASEAN and ASEAN centric fora such as EAS, ARF, ADMM+, RCEP etc. It should also participate more comprehensively in CICA, SCO and other regional groupings. It must be fully involved in the process of creation of rules and norms at the global level, in areas of trade, climate change, utilisation of global commons and patrimony. It must seek to claim its rightful place in the UN Security Council and other global bodies.
- 4.10. Build on the ties with Africa, Latin America and the Pacific Island Nations in a manner that meets our mutual objectives.
- 4.11. Improve planning and implementation mechanisms of assistance projects so it can deliver as promised.
- 4.12. Recognise and build on the notable role of the Indian Diaspora in extending India's soft power and building bridges in a manner compatible with their obligations to their country of adoption.

Defence

- 4.13. Build defence capabilities based on current and future threat assessments through periodic strategic reviews, with a coordinated intelligence system integral to this exercise. The objectives include: -
- (a) Capacity to take on two adversaries, simultaneously, in all domains and in addition, ensure security of the rear areas.
 - (b) The Armed Forces must possess the requisite conventional strength to deter potential adversaries as also force projection capabilities for intervention operations.
 - (c) Capacity to undertake intense operations at short notice against sub-conventional, irregular forces, terrorist and Non State Actors (NSAs). This is specially so in Border States.

- (d) Capacity to counter and initiate operations in the Information Warfare (IW) and non-contact domain that include cyber and psychological operations and domination of the electromagnetic spectrum.
- (e) Ability to engage forces propagating extremism, separatism and terrorism.
- (f) Capacity to undertake sustained operations under NBC conditions.
- (g) Expertise in conducting peacekeeping and peace-enforcement operations.
- (h) Ability to rapidly deploy to undertake disaster management and provide humanitarian assistance, including that for the Indian Diaspora. This would also include other non-traditional security challenges.
- (i) Innovation and adaptability in a fast changing world to leverage technology for surveillance, assessment and quick decision-making.

4.14. Ensure integration within the armed forces and joint structures at the earliest. Current and emerging threats require joint organizations. Creation of a Chief of Defence Staff (CDS) with a combined headquarters and functional commands for military aspects in space and cyber space is long overdue.

4.15. Perhaps the greatest void is the degree of involvement of the Armed Forces in the apex national security architecture such as the CCS. There also has to be closer coordination between various organs of the Government dealing with external challenges, i.e. the Foreign Service, intelligence agencies, armed forces as also others like Ministries of Home, Finance, Information the various police forces, frontline states and so on. The armed forces must transform and restructure to synergise capacities. The concept of theatre commands needs to be implemented. A joint doctrine for employment of the armed forces needs to be enunciated and implemented, if required by a Parliamentary decree. There is also an urgent need to address the serious civil-military divide and integrate service officers in the Ministry of Defence.

- 4.16. Accelerate the creation of an indigenous defence production base with access to state of the art technology. An independent defence and foreign policy is seriously constrained by high dependence on defence equipment imports. The revamping of the defence related R&D as well as the high technology base in the Country has to be undertaken with participation of the private sector. Relations with traditional defence partners will be maintained even as new relationships are forged as necessary in order to boost local production, including co-production. An integrated headquarters can work to ensure prioritisation of acquisition. Defence can be a catalyst for speedy industrialization and in keeping with the thrust for the Make in India.
- 4.17. Address the emerging threats of IW, both in defensive and offensive domain as also the ability to keep up with the increasing impact of social media. This would include incorporating technology and dealing with the role of the media *et al.* IW and its all encompassing reach makes it an ideal domain for Fifth Generation Non Contact War. Countries like China have taken a lead and India lags far behind.
- 4.18. Uphold the professionalism of its armed forces, which operate under the control of the civilian leadership within the constitutional framework. The armed forces are an intrinsic part of the strategic planning process in which they should be appropriately integrated. They will maintain a high level of preparedness for all threats and challenges including hybrid war, as also threats from space and cyber space. Military effectiveness will be enhanced through increased capability for joint operations.
- 4.19. Mutual confidence building must be stepped up through international military cooperation. Military diplomacy must receive renewed attention to build bonds within the region.
- 4.20. Build its strategic deterrent capabilities without getting involved in any arms race. These capabilities will be exercised in accordance with the laid out nuclear doctrine. This must be regularly viewed based on technological changes and adaptations, especially those in the space and cyber domain. At the same time, India believes that its own security and that of the world as a whole is best served by the total elimination of nuclear weapons. To that end it will cooperate with any time-bound, universal, verifiable and non-discriminatory steps in that direction.

4.21. Combat terrorism by all possible means, including strengthening border and coastal defences in order to stop infiltration. Politically mobilizing neighbouring countries to extend their cooperation in eradicating their networks on their soil, as also the international community to progressively control and eventually eliminate the menace through collective effort as enjoined by relevant UN resolutions. India will reserve in all instances, the right to take appropriate action in the face of cross-border terrorism directed at it.

The Information Domain

4.22. An open society along with the information revolution has made the media a force multiplier in all forms of conflict. This domain has thus become an essential element for combat and 'no contact war'. From deterrence to war fighting, the spectrum is dominated by the ability to spread, share and deny information or disinformation. Simultaneously media also has to be considered an instrument of nation building for a heterogeneous people. Thus:-

- (a) The protection of the public and the armed forces from the manipulation of information by potential adversaries is an ongoing requirement and needs constant focus and proactive action.
- (b) As a psychological domain of conflict, there is an ongoing need for updation of technologies and methods so as to stay ahead of the adversary's, methods and systems and enhance one's own. National security needs thus require clear guidelines on media including social media within democratic norms. Media on an ongoing basis must also be sensitized as regards protection of own public from designs of the adversary, as well as the carriage of the message of national intent to all concerned.
- (c) Given the transparency and democratisation of information, the involvement of the media has to be factored into every action.

- (d) India in keeping with its size and future role, needs to have an external broadcasting service covering all forms of electronic and social media. This can also showcase India's soft power.

Economic Development

- 5.1. The link between economic development and national security is concurrent. An environment that provides personal and group security from internal and external threats promotes investment and development. Equally, rapid and equitable development strengthens national security by reducing disaffection and strengthening the financial and technological capacity to provide security services.
- 5.2. Economic well being also promotes security as those better off tend to have a greater stake in furthering peace and stability. Thus rapid, sustained and broad-based economic development is the cornerstone of any edifice of future security. Job creation to meet aspirations of the increasing number of youth is central to this. Consequently, special emphasis on developing human resources and skills.
- 5.3. A widening of economic disparities between regions or self-defined social groups can acquire political salience and lead to disaffection and more serious internal security threats. Hence public policy must give high priority to reducing inter and intra-regional disparities by expanding educational and employment opportunities and encouraging entrepreneurship and self-employment. This is especially so for the tribal areas, economically disadvantaged sections of society and remote areas.
- 5.4. Job creation at a scale commensurate with the increase in the labour force is the key to a wider sharing of the benefits of growth. This requires a policy framework that stimulates savings and investment, skill formation and rapid productivity growth. Given the massive extent of new employment needed, the major contribution has to come from measures to encourage global competitiveness in manufacturing and tradable services, backed by the required investments in non-tradable infrastructure and agriculture.
- 5.5. Manufacturing competitiveness must be encouraged by effective development of indigenous capabilities, along with international cooperation in trade and transfer of technology. Along with this simpler rules for starting a venture, pragmatic labour laws, tax and other incentives, support

infrastructure and availability of land are also required. This will include identifying key sectors for industrialisation and setting in place plans to increase share of manufacturing to at least 25 percent of the economy.

- 5.6. Demand for energy and tradable minerals and biotic products will increase. In many of these India will depend on imports from world markets. The compulsions of national security will vary by commodity. Depending on the scale of our requirements relative to world trade, the criticality of the resource for production and consumption, India needs to enhance capacities to bid globally and competitively for resource concessions and work to build strategic stocks.
- 5.7. Food security is crucial for preserving strategic autonomy. Given the scale of India's requirements and the numbers still dependent on agriculture, as also keeping in view land constraints, the focus has to be on sustainable productivity increase not just for staple crops but also other food products whose demand will increase more rapidly with the spread of prosperity. Land and water development, well-oriented research and extension and modernisation of marketing and all connected logistics of the supply chain has to be designed to promote both agricultural growth and food security. Water management forms part of this. This must also include research for exploiting the resources of the sea for alimentation.
- 5.8. Energy security is a particularly important with respect to national security. India's import dependence for this critical resource will go up and could become a source of vulnerability. Ownership to ensure greater assurance of supply is as subject to political disruptions as dependence on spot markets. Strategic stocks of petroleum and coal to provide time for alternative sources to be accessed can help. Alongside a determined effort to promote indigenous sources like solar, wind and nuclear power should also be pursued within a prudent limit for acceptable cost penalties. This pursuit of energy security would also be a contribution to mitigation of climate risks as it would cut down on carbon intensity. Given the logistics, lead time and effort to set up power plants, there has to be a long term view and close coordination between the energy and transportation policy.
- 5.9. Equipment production for defence and security services is a special case. As stated earlier, exercise of strategic autonomy will inevitably be constrained if dependence on imports continues. Hence building indigenous capacity for

defence production is of utmost importance. However, given the need for maintaining technological parity vis-a-vis adversaries, this dimension has to be tied to a vigorous R&D effort. A robust and technologically proficient civilian industry, particularly in the engineering sector, can facilitate this. Equally a strong research and production effort for defence equipment can provide technological depth to the civilian industry.

- 5.10. Another area where defence and civilian needs have to be looked at as a package is in the development of infrastructure. This is particularly true in remote and border regions, where better connectivity will also improve the ability to handle disruption of essential supplies and services due to natural or man-made causes and contribute to physical security of the borders. Critical infrastructure and industry with security implications must be accorded priority. Security and protection must be incorporated from the design stage. Ports, major industrial complexes, power stations are some examples of facilities that will impose demands on defence services. These need to be taken into account when decisions on location or technology choices are made.
- 5.11. Infrastructure, industrial and human settlement development is essential for growth. Economic development also requires trade and transit, ports with adequate capacity, off-shore facilities, rail networks specially freight corridors and so on. This has vast scope for job creation. Detailed recommendations are contained in the '**India Transport Report: Moving India to 2032**'.
- 5.12. The services sector e.g., employment potential of the tourism sector can also greatly benefit from better infrastructure. Here too, domestic security and image of India is a factor.
- 5.13. Security threats in the economic realm also extend also to cyberspace and must be factored into planning of all facilities like banking, e-governance, e-commerce, etc. Financial, transportation, health, civic services and e-governance networks thus must incorporate robust security. This too, has scope for job creation and export of security related IT services.
- 5.14. Public health must be given urgent attention, especially with respect to the disadvantaged classes and remote regions. The threat of epidemics, pandemics as also the fall out of natural disasters must be planned for. The State has a major role in this through effective contingency planning,

management, capability building amongst the community and appropriate partnerships with the private sector.

- 5.15. India is prone to disasters and these can cause immense damage and loss as also set back the economy. Planning must be taken for mitigation, preparedness, building capacities at each level and manpower for response as stipulated in the **Disaster Management Act 2005**. Regular exercises to check procedures are integral to this process. Planning and preparation can greatly cut down on casualties and does not require heavy investment.
- 5.16. Seek all round progress through individual initiative, enterprise and creativity which produce the best results in a state of freedom and secure rights.

Ecological and Environmental Security

- 6.1. Given the complexity of the issues involved, any strategic vision for India can only be realized by a joint effort with respect to ecological security of India. The havoc that could be wrought as also the impact on wellbeing of future generations by its neglect, is immense. Thus ecological security must be recognized as a fundamental pillar of national security. The future can only be one set around a vision of sustainable growth. This would involve the Government, academic, business and civil society and needs inspired leadership.
- 6.2. The critical areas of energy, water and food security and ecosystem health are interdependent, hence intelligent governance must make far-sighted and ecologically sustainable choices that do not constrain options for future generations.
- 6.3. In the coming years, India will be center-stage in dealing with practically every global policy challenge of the 21st Century, whether it is the environment, resource security and climate change with its implications on economic and social development; poverty alleviation, public health or global terror. The strategic shift to the geo-political space of Asia with its paradigm-changing impacts on India; the digital revolution, cyber or maritime security. Thus environmental security too, has cross-domain impact.
- 6.4. In the foreseeable future India will continue to remain a monsoon dependent economy and based on the Himalayan Ecosystem. The Himalayas provide ecological services of extraordinarily high value - 60 percent of India's

freshwater resources, a large proportion of monsoon rainfall, silt that fertilizes the alluvial soil of the Indo-Gangetic plain, rich biogenetic diversity and strategic security, both geo-political and ecological. Safeguarding an ecosystem that provides such critical inputs for development is vital.

6.5. While amongst the fastest growing economies today, India still needs to accelerate its growth momentum. The challenge is that it is an ecologically deficit country. The per capita Ecological Footprint (which reflects the goods and services used by an average person in a country and the efficiency with which resources are used in providing them) is lower than the global average, but is higher, almost twice our per capita bio-capacity. Ecological resources available thus, fall short of its requirements and need to be factored into all plans. Sustainable growth requires action on:-

(a) Minimizing footprint.

(b) Enhancing bio-capacity to absorb the impact, wherever possible. Bio-capacity can be enhanced by ensuring health of ecosystems, efficient technologies and agricultural practices. Sustainable development will become even more challenging as demands increase while climate change and eco-degradation take their toll. India will have to depend on the bio-capacity of other ecologically surplus countries to meet its needs, with its attendant strategic and foreign policy implications.

6.6. With 60 crore citizens' dependent on climate-sensitive sectors (agriculture, forests and fisheries) and natural resources for their livelihoods, climate change adds another dimension to India's ecological vulnerability. Water management and distribution will arguably be a most critical concern for India in coming years and needs to figure as such in the national consciousness.

6.7. The issue of climate change needs to be addressed on the basis of international equity, preserving India's long term development prospects and shared global responsibility.

Education, Technology and Connectivity

7.1. Scientific and economic development is based on the quality of education. Perhaps the greatest post-independence shortcoming was the lack of a greater thrust on universal basic education. A literate populace understands,

demands and works towards security. While this realization has dawned, its implementation is still far from satisfactory. True security can only come about with education. Consequently transformation of India into a knowledge society must form part of the national security objectives. The **National Knowledge Commission (NKC)** in its Report¹ had put forward recommendations that need to be implemented. Further India must improve the standards of education in all three segments namely primary, secondary and tertiary as also set up facilities for a skilled work force.

- 7.2. Technology in its various adaptations must be used to secure India whether it is food, resources, health, energy, infrastructure or services. The reach of the Internet and cloud computing has opened up new vistas to reach out across India. The National Knowledge Network² (NKN) needs to be fully activated. **Technology Vision 2035**³, has clearly stipulated the path to be followed and needs implementation specially with respect to security objectives and building comprehensive national power.
- 7.3. Technology and affordable innovation also holds the key for sustainable and inclusive development and governance of India. Science, **Technology and Innovation Policy 2013** has stated the policy goal on of establishing Science, Research and Innovation System for High Technology-led path of India, (SRISHTI). Action is needed for realizing such policy goals in the NSD.
- 7.4. India must develop a coordinated structure for cyber security and IW. As clarified earlier. this is an all encompassing domain and potential for misuse or damage without attribution is vast. Comprehensive web connectivity is central to the path India has chosen, hence its security and protection is paramount. While military aspects will be looked after by the armed forces as has been stated, similar measures need to be put in place for the public and private sector. Security against data or information loss, disruption, manipulations and sabotage is crucial for economic and critical infrastructure networks. The aim must be to set up an empowered overarching body like the Atomic Energy Commission, which can coordinate and set in place mechanisms in this regard. The present edifice under the NSC also needs to be revamped. With growth of internet and services, dependence is increasing. Alongside, vulnerabilities too, are growing and must be addressed on priority.

¹ National Knowledge Commission, Report to the Nation 2006-2009.

²<http://nkn.in/vision.php>.

³ Technology Vision 2035 by Technology Information, Forecasting and Assessment Council, 2015.

This includes potential for damage through social media. Perception management and counters to adverse propaganda need coordination.

- 7.5. Cyber measures are especially necessary for programmes such as *Digital India* where any loop hole or vulnerability has vast potential for manipulation and damage with consequent loss of credibility. This must therefore form part of the comprehensive cyber security regime mentioned above. It should also provide capacity to monitor and disable disruptive communication networks and ensure connectivity at all times. Emerging benefits in the field of IT and mobile networks to be exploited in interests of the public and security.
- 7.6. Accord greater importance and resources to cutting edge research in science and technology. This will encompass interdisciplinary research for technological innovation and its application to meet India's needs. There is also need for better patenting procedures to protect inventions and start-ups.
- 7.7. Ensure special emphasis in emerging fields such as bio-technology, nano technology, green technology, alternate sources of energy *et al.* India needs simple cost effective solutions. Innovation and research needs to be encouraged and rewarded. **Technology Vision 2035** charts the way forward.
- 7.8. India is an acknowledged leader in providing ICT services, while it imports almost all hardware and basic software developed elsewhere in the world. Its investments in R&D in ICT in general, and cyber security in particular, are insignificant by global standards. There are very few Indian IT or cyber security products of note in the market. A large manpower base works on cutting edge security products in India for foreign companies. IPRs thus belong to them. India also provides the biggest market to Internet companies like Google, Twitter, Facebook and platforms like WhatsApp, Viber, etc. As a result, personal and corporate data of most small and medium enterprises (SMEs) resides on their servers located in different parts of the world. Snowden revelations have exposed global surveillance of such data that compromises privacy of citizens and impacts on security. In interests of national security India must develop a holistic plan that should promote R&D to develop basic ICT technology, application platforms, technology solutions and services so that it emerges as an innovative country that captures markets - not just be a market for products from elsewhere. Start-ups for security engineering are the need of the day. For enhancing cyber and national security, there should be focus on critical infrastructure protection,

cyber threat intelligence, cyber warfare, security workforce, cyber crime management and above all, research on cyber policies. Government has to unleash the potential of private sector by treating it as its strategic partner.

- 7.9. India on the fringes of ICT development has to transform itself from a technology-consuming nation, that is a market for companies abroad, to a technology creator. This has to be in keeping with indigenisation. Programmes such as Digital India can only deliver if cyber security measures are in place. A **'Digitally Secure India'** is basic to national security and is implementable if pursued with the urgency it deserves.
- 7.10. The administrative, intelligence, law enforcement and judicial agencies need to determine how technology can ensure delivery. There is vast scope in policing and governance. Modernisation and training of law enforcement agencies in IT has also to be ensured. Similarly, plan for delivery of quality services through the NKN. The advent of cloud computing has opened new vistas and needs study.
- 7.11. Encourage and support language training and translation. While this should primarily include those of our neighbours, even study and instant translation of Indian languages will aid in security and national cohesion.

Consensus Building

- 8.1. Lay emphasis as a democratic polity on people's informed awareness, understanding and support for the country's security doctrine and strategies. Encourage education and discussion in the domain of national security. All major powers have institutions for defence studies. India needs to step forward to promote awareness and understanding.
- 8.2. Seek inputs from opinion makers, academics, think tanks, NGOs and retired public servants in government's decision-making processes.

Global Outreach and Consensus

- 9.1. The world is now increasingly-dependent. Resources will continue to be at premium and India will have to work in partnership for a sustainable planet. Ensuring access to global commons in an equitable manner must also form the guiding principles when laying down objectives.

9.2. Detailed knowledge and study in the domains of oceans, polar regions, atmosphere, space and cyberspace is needed to ensure India's interests are protected and negotiations are on the principles of fairness, equity, sharing and for the common good. This human resource capital of experts who can ensure India's just needs to be ensured.

Formalisation

10.1. There is a need to promote a strategic culture in India. In keeping with its recent history and ethos, there is no formal doctrine or guidelines for national security. It is therefore not surprising that there is very little understanding as to what constitutes current security needs of the Nation. The former Director General Institute of Defence Studies and Analysis wrote⁴ in 2011 *"India needs a National Security Strategy urgently. The world is changing very fast. New security challenges have arisen. In the absence of a coherent strategy, the government's responses will remain ad hoc and partial. This may prove costly"*. There is also very little discourse in the media or amongst academics. Only a handful of universities offer courses in Defence and Strategic Studies. The much-touted Indian National Defence University, which was sanctioned in 2010, is unlikely to come up before 2019.

10.2. Compare that with India's major neighbours. Both Pakistan and China have established institutions and accord considerable importance to defence matters. China regularly issues white papers on defence and strategic issues and has recently conducted a major structural review. These Governments accord great importance to matters security. India by contrast lags far behind and is consequently vulnerable. Interest in security issues is episodic and event related. There is limited understanding on what constitutes national security with the result that there is no comprehensive planning.

10.3. As a first step the Government after reviewing the current milieu, needs to formalize and issue a white paper on what constitutes national security and what requires to be done. Security provides peace and stability, the bedrock for economic growth. Given that this is the aim for any government, political consensus should be easy to obtain. Speaking at a workshop on national security in March 2014, then Chairman National Security Advisory Board had mentioned that a draft of the NSD had been prepared and would be placed in the public domain for discussion. This has not come about. In its absence

⁴ IDSA Comment 'A National Security Document of India', October 20, 2011.

there is no clarity on what constitutes India's approach to security. A comprehensive paper is thus long overdue.

10.4. As clarified earlier this should ideally be a statement of objectives not directed at any other nation. It has to be in the public domain, available for discussion amongst the academic and strategic community and should inform both the executive central, state governments as also as the common man. It would form the basis for planning implementation strategy. Models are available and it need not be a very long document. It should however, define what the objectives are as also the cross linkages. It has to be in keeping with the Constitution and India's federal structure. Each ministry, state, institution, organization would then be able to plan for implementation. There is apprehension that once formalized the Government will accountable to meet these objectives and that such a document may become a liability. It is for this reason that the public paper should be a statement of broad aims with details for implementation to be left to stakeholders. It can also be argued that in absence of such stipulations, no one can really understand what national security involves. Issue of these objectives as a doctrine is thus necessary. The added advantage of a public document is that India's aims will be known to other nations and clearly lay down red lines.

10.5. A structure for implementation was created post the Kargil Review. It needs to be re-energised. This is a shortcoming which can be overcome by political will, zeal and commitment. The need is immediate.

10.6. Strategy and plans for execution based of defined objectives will be both, public and in house, based on need to know. Thus for example, while a national cyber security policy or doctrine will be for all, plans pertaining to offensive operations or war preparations in this domain will be covert. Role and tasking of intelligence services will be similar. As clarified above these objectives are based on the current circumstances. These will be constantly reviewed for currency and relevance.

CONCLUSION

11.1. There is a clear and urgent need for definition and statement of national security objectives as a doctrine. These would explain needs and components of national security, their interplay and lay down goals with the overall

objective of growth and betterment. The instruments of state functioning within the parameters of the law will take into account the elements of these objectives in the conduct of the country's foreign, defence, political, economic and social policies. Such enunciation will also take into account concerns of other nations and clearly specify and define India's approach to security and how it seeks partnerships for regional peace and stability.

11.2. This statement of a comprehensive approach to National Security will enable India to work to protect life and liberty of its citizens from external and internal challenges as also threats from both state and NSAs and ensure an environment for steady all-inclusive growth and well being.

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