

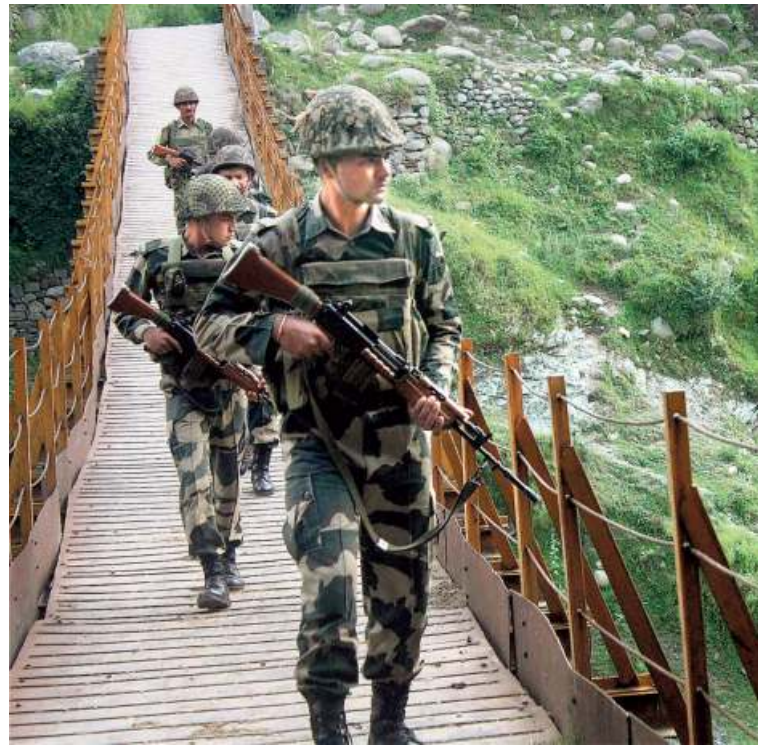
India's grand strategy on Pakistan

Develop a sophisticated counterterrorism strategy, while exuding a vision of peaceful coexistence



ZORAWAR DAULET SINGH

When a society's patience wears thin, one of two things typically happen. Either its leaders embark on a bold new direction, or they spin a story for their domestic audience and carry on as before. What the Modi government has undertaken recently, in response to Pakistan's relentless proxy war, defies a neat description. It is true that an impending national election provided abundant motives to make political capital through publicised air strikes. There is little doubt on that score, and many have called upon the government to resist from brazen use of the 'national security' card in mobilising public opinion.



The idea that the Pakistan army and its intelligence services could wage a costless proxy war against Indian military targets in Kashmir has been challenged. BSF soldiers on patrol near the LOC in Poonch, J&K. • PTI

A clear shift Nevertheless, the willingness to take the fight to the Pakistani heartland and cultivate a measure of uncertainty is a clear departure from the policy of strategic restraint. Regardless of the specific tactical outcomes from India's air strike — whether it was intended as a warning shot to demonstrate "capacity and will" or whether it sought to degrade high-value targets — the signal to Pakistan and its benefactors was unambiguous: India could respond to a major Pakistani-linked terror attack in ways that would undermine the costless proxy war that Pakistan has waged since 1989. And, even if the main impetus for this shift in strategy was domestic politics in India, the geostrategic consequences will outlast this phase.

What has India got from the air strikes? We can point to three gains. The idea that India has a right to preemptive self-defence — a right that so far has been the exclusive privilege of the Western powers — has been legitimised by the reaction and behaviour of the great powers during the crisis. The External Affairs Ministry's February 26 statement spelled out the Indian case as a "non-military preemptive action" to make it consistent with the norms that have been guiding other major states in their counter-

terrorism policies. The idea that the Pakistan army and its intelligence services could wage a costless proxy war against Indian military targets in Kashmir has also been challenged. By signalling that India has the ability to strike at specifically those targets that are intended to inflict casualties on Indian security forces instead of waiting to confront these proxies on Indian soil, it has created a measure of uncertainty in the minds of Pakistani planners. In strategic vocabulary, this would be described as active defence — passive defence being when you fight on terms set by your adversary. While total deterrence is unrealistic, Delhi has made the other side conscious that its actions could produce unpredictable consequences. Ambiguity about future Indian responses to state-sponsored terror, it is envisaged, will persuade Pakistan to tread more carefully. Finally, by raising the stakes in a long-standing proxy war, Delhi has brought Pakistan's patrons to consider more responsible and active roles in persuading it to restrain its destabilising behaviour. Changing perceptions of third parties is directly linked to India's resolve to adapt its posture of strategic restraint.

The next challenge before Indian security planners is to incorporate this approach as part of a grand strategy. What could be its principal elements? What goals should India seek? Should it focus solely on Pakistan's external behaviour, or more logically also keep an eye on its internal structure as part of a long-range effort to reorient domestic incentives inside Pakistan? How can other pieces of the geopolitical puzzle in terms of Pakistan's international allies and partners, specifically the U.S. and China, be rejigged closer to India's aims and interests? Finally, what measures could India take to formulate an enlightened approach towards J&K that can straddle the trifecta of security, economic development, and governance?

The military counterpart of an Indian grand strategy would involve a more robust internal security framework, including the introduction of more advanced counter-terror capabilities and doctrines that seek to substantially minimise Indian military casualties in Kashmir (since 2008, 740 security forces personnel have lost their lives), patiently building covert proxy capabilities that impose reciprocal costs on Pakistani security institutions, and a more sophisticated conventional military posture that can offer the political leadership a variety of highly limited and targeted options to degrade the flow of terrorist networks while also presenting the Pakistan army with a costly choice to escalate to a bigger conventional clash. There is nothing unusual or provocative in this approach.

Unless India conceives a broader plan to alter Pakistan's behaviour and its internal setting, it will find it difficult to sustain international support and it would only embolden the Pakistan army to up the ante knowing the Indian side is utterly unprepared for a serious game. India can engage in calculated risks, avoid publicising everything it does, and yet remain receptive to engagement with the civilian government and, more importantly, the Pakistani people, towards whom it must exude a vision of peaceful coexistence. To evoke George F. Kennan, "The greatest danger that can befall us in coping with this problem... is that we shall allow ourselves to become like those with whom we are coping."

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A model policy for women in the police

It must ensure equal opportunities for women in all aspects of policing as well as a safe and enabling work environment



ADITI DATTA & NIKITA BHUKAR

Women constitute about 7% of the police strength in India. This number is expected to rise, with many States and Union Territories providing for 30% (and more) reservation for women in the police in specific ranks. However, this is not enough. The discourse on mainstreaming women in the police by making policing inclusive, non-discriminatory and efficient in India is missing in policy circles.

Need for policies

One way to mainstream women in the police is to develop a model policy that will challenge the deep-rooted patriarchy in the institution. Unfortunately, till now, not a single State police department has attempted to even draft such a policy. Thus, neither the Central nor State governments can get very far by merely adopting reservation to increase gender diversity without considering the need for policymaking. A model policy, while laying the foundation for equal opportunities for women in every aspect of policing, should also strive to create a safe and enabling work environment. Without this, all other efforts will remain piecemeal.



A.M. FARUQUI

One of the first steps to ensure a level playing field for women in the police is to increase their numbers. Merely providing reservation is not enough; police departments should develop an action plan to achieve the target of 30% or more in a time-bound manner. This also applies to States that have not provided a quota as yet. Departments should also undertake special recruitment drives in every district to ensure geographical diversity. To achieve the target, the police should reach out to the media and educational institutions to spread awareness about opportunities for women in the police. Current data reveal that most women in the police are concentrated in the lower ranks. Efforts should be made to change this. The impulse to create women-only battalions for the sake of augmenting numbers should be eliminated.

Second, the model policy should strive to ensure that decisions on deployment of women are free of gender stereotyping to facilitate bringing women into leading operational positions. At present, there appears to be a tendency to sideline women, or give them policing tasks that are physically less demanding, or relegate them to desk duty, or make them work on crimes against women alone. Women police officers should be encouraged to take on public order and investigative crimes of all types, and should be given duties beyond the minimum mandated by special laws. Desk work too must be allocated evenly among men and women.

A major burden of family and childcare responsibilities falls on women. Yet, police departments still lack proper internal childcare support systems. Departments need to be mindful of this social reality and exercise sensitivity in making decisions on transfers and posting of women personnel. As far as possible, women should be posted in their home districts in consultation with supervising officers.

Most State police departments have received funds under the Modernisation of State Police Forces Scheme for providing separate toilets and changing rooms for women, and for constructing separate accommodation for women with attached toilets in all police stations and units. Police departments must ensure the best use of this fund.

Preventing sexual harassment

Police departments must also ensure safe working spaces for women and adopt a zero-tolerance policy towards discrimination and harassment, in order to make policing a viable career option for women. Departments are legally bound to set up Internal Complaints Committees to prevent sexual harassment at the workplace. Departments must operationalise the Sexual Harassment of Women at Workplace (Prevention, Prohibition and Redressal) Act of 2013.

Some of these suggestions have already been made by the National Conference of Women in Police. However, Central and State governments have not yet developed or adopted a comprehensive framework towards achieving substantive gender equality.

Aditi Datta is Senior Programme Officer, and Nikita Bhukar is Research Officer, Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative

SINGLE FILE

Stop celebrating Women's Day

An appeal for a different choice of words

PETER GRIFFIN



Another International Women's Day (IWD) has passed, and with it another barrage of special offers on clothes, jewellery, perfumes, and spas that made it all about consumerism rather than an acknowledgement that, overall, women are not treated as the equal of men, and that we need to do better. All day on March 8, I saw the women on my social media timeline expressing their weariness with this tokenism and, yes, opportunism on the parts of marketers and advertisers who think that IWD is a perfect time to flog all manner of 'feminine' things to women.

Perhaps a slightly different choice of word might help brands spend those advertising and marketing rupees that are burning a hole in their pockets. Instead of celebrating IWD, why not observe it with all the solemnity with which we accord a religious fast, or a day like Muharrum or Good Friday? Why not let it be a day in which we take special pains to point out how much we fall short on this count, and what must be done?

From the perspective of consumer-facing companies it might be useful for them to report publicly on how much equality they have within the organisations that are behind them. There are many questions they can answer (and readers are invited to suggest more which the writer of this piece might not see because of male privilege).

These questions could include: What percentage of their workforce do women constitute? How many of their senior leadership are women? Bonus points for women CEOs. Are women paid the same as men for doing the same job? What is their policy on maternity leave? Do they also have equal amounts of paternity leave which they insist men take so that they also take equal responsibility for parenthood? Do they have a room for nursing mothers? Do they have childcare facilities? Have they stopped making things for women that are default coloured pink? Could garment sellers make women's clothes with pockets? Not all women want to carry handbags because there are either no pockets or tiny ones on their clothes. Do they market to women in the same way they market to men? Do they target both genders, like sell pressure cookers to men, cars to women? (Obviously, this is aside from products that cater only to women's or men's biological differences.) Do their ads show women and men doing the same things, without tugged gender stereotypes? What percentage of their CSR budgets go to women's rights issues? If they have a good record on these, they get to brag; otherwise, they shut up.

Over time, we will see more and more companies doing this, until it becomes ubiquitous. And perhaps even boring. Then we might find that the mindless commercialism of IWD has given way to something more meaningful. Perhaps even transformative, as it was meant to be.

The writer is a senior editor with The Hindu in Mumbai



DATA POINT

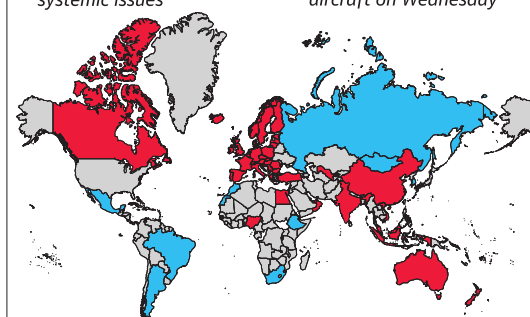
Hanging in the air

Following two plane crashes in a span of six months which together killed 346 people, Boeing's 737 Max 8 aircraft (and in some cases other variants of the plane) are being grounded around the world. With its most ordered plane's fate undecided, Boeing may well be heading towards an air pocket. By Vignesh Radhakrishnan

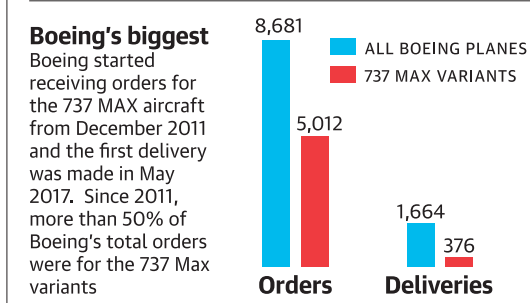
No fly zones

Fifty-five nations have banned (■) the 737 Max 8 aircraft and in some cases other 737 Max variants, while in 10 others, at least one airliner has grounded such planes (■)

The U.S. did not ground the aircraft as it found no "systemic issues". Most of Europe is a no-fly zone. India grounded the aircraft on Wednesday.



Singapore, Ireland and the European Union Aviation Safety Agency have banned all variants of 737 Max. But in many other countries there is not much clarity on other variants

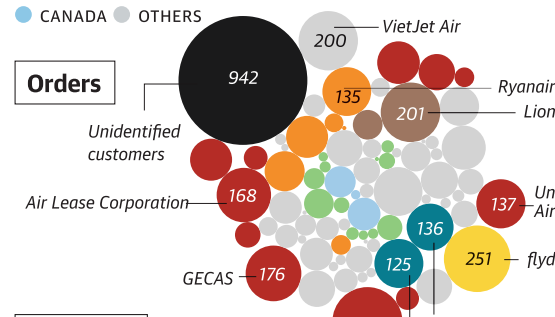


Source: Boeing

Customer base

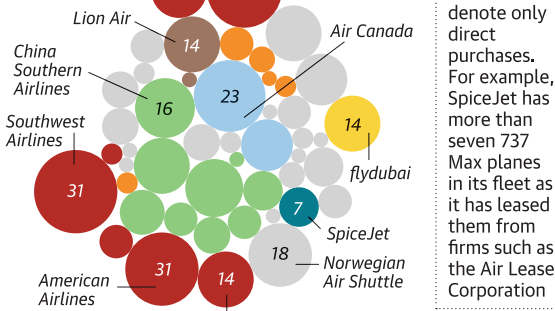
Of the 80 airliners from 43 countries that have ordered variants of 737 Max, delivery has taken place only for 47 of them in 26 countries. Each circle in the bubble chart indicates one airliner/firm, colours correspond to countries and circle sizes are relative to the sizes of order/ delivery

● UNIDENTIFIED ● U.S. ● IRELAND ● CHINA ● INDIA ● U.A.E ● CANADA ● OTHERS



Deliveries

Numbers denote only direct purchases. For example, SpiceJet has more than seven 737 Max planes in its fleet as it has leased them from firms such as the Air Lease Corporation



Graphic: L.Balamurugan

FROM The Hindu. ARCHIVES

FIFTY YEARS AGO MARCH 14, 1969

Ayub agrees to universal adult franchise

President Ayub Khan to-day [March 13] accepted the Opposition's main demands for a federal parliamentary system of Government and elections on adult franchise basis. The President told the Rawalpindi Round Table Conference that other issues like regional autonomy, one-unit and parity be decided by an elected body representing the will of the people, according to reports from Rawalpindi. The President, who analysed the discussions the Conference had had since Monday last [March 10] on various political, economic and other issues, said that he would "beseech" all representative of the Opposition to agree to this proposal. For, he said, he believed it to be the "best way to ensure the independence, integrity and unity of the country." President Ayub said, he would have the National Assembly amend his 1962 Constitution to grant adult franchise and also introduce a "federal parliamentary form of Government."

A HUNDRED YEARS AGO MARCH 14, 1919.

Education in Bengal.

A resolution on the report on the Public Instruction in Bengal for 1917 issued to-day [in Calcutta, March 12] says that two-thirds of European officers of the Indian Education Service have been detached for duty in the Indian Army Reserve of Officers in addition to officers on deputation to the Government of India or the University of Calcutta. The growing demand for education among the people of Bengal and natural growth of population led to an increase in the number of educational institutions. Of the scholars nearly 2 millions were in various stages of education, there being approximately one girl at school to every five boys. The total expenditure on education amounted to two hundred fifty five lakhs. The number of arts colleges in Bengal increased to 34, or one-fourth of the total number in British India, and there is a persistent demand for more. Altogether 25,265 students were reading in different colleges including one hundred and ninety-one ladies. Nearly one third of the total number were Brahmins, while under one-tenth were Mahomedans.

POLL CALL

Tactical voting

Also known as strategic voting, this refers to the act of voting for a particular candidate or political party not because the voter necessarily supports them but because she wants to prevent some other party or candidate from winning. For example, a voter who prefers a leftist candidate would vote for a centrist candidate in order to prevent a right-wing candidate from winning because the leftist candidate is weak in that constituency.

MORE ON THE WEB

Why are Boeing 737 flights being grounded?

<http://bit.ly/BoeingExplainer>