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Policy Perspectives Foundation (PPF) is a non-profit, apolitical think tank on matters of national interest. PPF's activities focus on complex and interconnected challenges to peace, stability and development in India in cognizance of the external dimension. PPF is committed to spreading awareness, building capacity and promoting resilience.

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Disaster Risk Reduction and National Security

- By K.M. Singh

The general perception among people in general is that national security concerns only issues related to internal security, border security, insurgency, terrorism and left wing extremism etc. This is, however, a very narrow perception of national security. The fact is that national security has a much wider canvas when seen in the context of large-scale damages to national assets in the country by disasters.

In the context of risks due to disasters, the fact is that disasters are not new to mankind. They have been constant, though inconvenient companions to human beings since time immemorial. India's geo-climatic conditions as well as its socio-economic vulnerability makes it one of the most disaster prone countries in the world. It is exposed to recurrent natural hazards such as floods, cyclones, earthquakes, landslides and droughts etc. Some of the other factors responsible for increasing vulnerability of India are unplanned growth of population, unplanned urbanisation and unplanned industrialisation due to rapid growth in economy. The World Risk Index in its report



in 2020 has listed a few other factors in this context as poverty, slum housing, limited medical infrastructure and weak law enforcement in India. According to a report of World Risk Index (2016) India is the fourth most-at-risk country in South Asia after Bangladesh, Afghanistan and Pakistan. Sri Lanka, Bhutan and Maldives have fared better than India in their abilities to cope with extreme disasters. The situation has further worsened due to climate change, attrition of biodiversity and degradation of the environment. The World Risk Index, in its report in 2020 has mentioned that 'India has slipped on strengthening adaptive capacities' due to its inherent problems. This observation should be a matter of concern for policy makers and decision takers.

In the light of above, national security has to be seen in the broader context of issues related to national interests. Seen in this broader canvas some of the main components of national security are :

*** Physical Security:** This primarily relates to loss of human lives. The increasing intensity, frequency and complexities of natural disasters and climate related issues is resulting in increased vulnerability of the country and loss of lives every year. Nearly 2,400 human lives were lost due to natural disasters and extreme weather conditions in the fiscal year 2020. This represented an increase when compared to the previous financial year and the highest figure in the last one decade.

*** Infrastructure Security:** This relates to the support system of industrial and agriculture production. It also includes communication, transportation, sewage and water supply etc.

*** Security of Critical Infrastructure:** This relates to security of the IT sector, hardware, software, data storage etc. Power, Railway and banking sectors also constitute critical

infrastructure.

*** Economic Security:** Around 2% of national GDP is lost annually because of disasters and climate related issues. India is estimated to have suffered an annual loss of about 87 billion dollars in 2020 due to natural disasters such as floods and droughts etc as per a report of World Meteorological Organisation (WMO). Economic security also includes food security.

*** Ecological security:** This includes security of flora and fauna etc.

*** Security of national resources :** This includes security of atmosphere, water, land and vegetation etc.

It is seen from above that disasters impact each component of national security directly or indirectly and ultimately impacts various issues having bearing on national interest. Thus, disasters and environmental degradation are non-traditional threats to national security. Therefore, it is important that disaster management and climate change should be a part of national security strategy to minimise impact of disasters on various components of national security as much as possible and to prepare the country to be disaster resilient.

In the wake of steadily increasing frequency and intensity of disasters leading to enormous loss of lives and property, the erstwhile concept of disaster management is now outdated and is replaced by the concept of Disaster Risk Reduction (DRR). A milestone development towards shift in the concept from DM to DRR was the decision taken in the Sendai conference in Japan in 2015. This is known as "Sendai Framework of Disaster Risk Reduction (SFDRR). India is one of the 182 signatory countries to the SFDRR. It broadly includes risk assessment, risk analysis, strengthening disaster risk

governance, investing in DRR for resilience and enhancing disaster preparation for effective response to 'build back better'.

Another significant development in respect of the concept of DRR in India was the announcement of the 10 point agenda of the Prime Minister Shri Modi in the 7th Asian Ministerial Conference in Delhi in 2016. This new approach to DRR by the PM is like a vision document impressing on the importance of preparedness, risk mitigation and prevention etc. Significantly, this 10-point agenda of the PM aligns perfectly with SFDRR.

Disaster Risk Reduction (DRR) is the concept and practice of reducing risks through systematic efforts to analyse the causative factors and then manage it in a manner that risk is reduced. It also includes reduced exposure to hazards, lessened vulnerability of people and property, wise management of land and environment and improved preparedness for adverse events. The National Disaster Management Authority (NDMA) is the apex organisation mandated to coordinate the implementation of disaster management policy and plan and manage the disaster management cycle which includes prevention, preparedness, mitigation, response, relief and rehabilitation.

While India still needs to cover lots of ground to make it a disaster resilient and safe country from disasters, there have been a few good initiatives by the NDMA and MHA in the last couple of decades which are success stories in the field of DRR. One of them is the World Bank funded National Cyclone Risk Mitigation Project (NCRMP) on the east coast which has reduced the casualties in recent cyclones in Odisha to double figure compared to over 10,000 in the super cyclone in 1999. Another success story is the Tsunami Early Warning System (TEWS) set up at Hyderabad after the 2004 tsunami. Equipped with state of art infrastructure, it provides real time advisory to coastal states in India and the

Indian Ocean RIM countries. It is one of the best tsunami early warning systems in the world. Yet another success story in the field of DRR is the National Disaster Response Force (NDRF). It is a multi-disciplinary and multi-skilled force capable of handling any disaster or CBRN emergencies. It has earned a niche for itself for its professionalism in the field of response.

As a way forward, planning and focus on prevention and mitigation would greatly help in ensuring that hazards do not transform into disasters and the coping capacities of the vulnerable population is increased. This would need systematic planning and coordination to ensure that DRR is constantly promoted and is mainstreamed in developmental planning of all government departments. Lastly, it is important that DRR is considered as an integral part of national security and is included in the National Security Strategy of the country.

The author is a former Indian Police Service (IPS) officer. He was the Director General of the Central Industrial Security Force (CISF) and a two term member of the National Disaster Management Authority (NDMA). Singh was a member of the Steering Committee constituted in 2003 to decide the response mechanism at the national level. He is presently Vice President, PPF

"Hussaini Brahmins": A Beautiful Blend of Inclusive Indo-Islamic Tradition

By Ghulam Rasool Dehlvi

Indo-Islamic tradition is an 'amalgamation of the two oceans' in the words of India's legendary Sufi philosopher and Mughal Prince Dara Shikoh. Majma- Ul- Bahrain or

"The Mingling Of The Two Oceans", the most popular treatise by Dara Shikoh was one of the first to conceive this inclusive idea. This was first propounded by the 10th century Muslim scholar Abu Rayhan al-Biruni, a Khwarazmian Iranian philosopher and polymath also known as the "founder of Indology." The distinct and delineating features of the Indo-Islamic tradition consist of a certain fusion of folk customs and institutions which are indigenous to the Indian subcontinent. Not just the Indo-Islamic architecture, mausoleums, tombs and minarets are the salient features of this tradition, but also some indigenous people and the Indian communities belong to this beautiful blend.

One of the most notable, but little known Indian communities who have strengthened the Indo-Islamic tradition is historically traced as "Hussaini brahmins". Originally known as the "Dutt community" and Mohiyals mainly found in Punjab, they are traced back to the event of Karbala which occurred in 680 AD. These Punjabi Brahmins are those whose ancestors fought for Imam Hussain in Karbala. The story goes on:

Fast as wind, carving their way through the sandunes at lightning speed, a caravan of few Indian sons in a noble pursuit, was making its way towards

Karbala to register their names in the pages of history.

'Hal Min Nasirin Yansurna': Is there anyone who can help us?

When Prophet Muhammad's Grandson Imam Husain posed this question to humanity, History witnessed that while Kalma-reciting Muslims were out there to slit his throat, far from his battlefield in Karbala, some brave Indians left their homes to support Imam Husain striving for the

truth and righteousness. These were those brave Indians who travelled to Karbala to write a golden page in the history of age-old Hindu-Muslim Unity.

The holy month of Muharram which also marks the new year in Islamic history, is a turning point in our Indian tradition too. On the auspicious 10th of Muharram, Imam Hussain attained martyrdom and rescued humanity from the clutches of evil. He refused to surrender to the Tyrant Yazid, who created a dictatorial dynasty deviating from the consensual democracy (Shur'a) in Islam. Therefore, the noble sacrifice of Imam Hussain is looked up as the revival of the true Islamic principles of democracy, justice, fairness and mutual consensus in the matters of governance.

The Tyrant Yazid, high on his power, was adamant on bringing shame to humanity. But he knew as long as Imam Husain was alive, he wouldn't succeed in his nefarious ends. It was because of this fear that Yazid cornered Imam Husain and his family at Karbala and forced him to bow down to his tyranny. A living example of valiance and indefatigable determination, Imam Husain proposed that either he would live in Madina on his conditions, or he would migrate to India (Hindustan).

None of these peaceful proposals was accepted by the Tyrant Yazid. Rather, the innocent Imam and all his clan and noble family were cornered near the River of Euphrates, Dariya-e-Furat in Iraq. They were tortured and persecuted so much so that even water was denied to their little children, toddlers and their mothers. Even 6-month-old Ali Asghar, the youngest son of Imam, was killed by the Tyrants in an extreme hunger and thirst for water. And all these atrocities were executed on a written order from Yazid.

As they say, people remember the dearest ones and the real well-wishers in their tough times. While Imam Husain wrote a letter seeking help from his childhood friend Habib in Arabia, his elder son Ali Akbar wrote a similar letter and sent it far away from Karbala...very far to India..... to a Hindustani Sapoot and King of India, Raja Samudargupt who happened to be a cousin-brother of Ali-ibn-e Husain.

Strange as it may sound, History is witness to this unlikely relationship. Over 1400 years ago, the king of Iran, a Parsi by faith, had two daughters--Maher Bano and Shaher Bano. Maher Bano was married to King Chandragupta and was renamed Chanderlekha. A few years later, Chanderlekha's younger sister, Shaher bano, was married to Imam Husain A.S. Chanderlekha and Chandergupta's son Samudrgupta was the King of India when he got the letter from his cousin Ali ibn-E-Husain.

King Samudrgupta swiftly arranged for a group of brave Indian soldiers and ordered them to depart towards Karbala. The army commander was Rehab Dutt, a Mohiyal Brahmin. Unfortunately, by the time Rehab Dutt and his brave-heart soldiers reached Karbala, Imam Husain was killed. This news disheartened the entire Indian troupe. They decided to run their swords on their own necks. "When the one we came to help is no more, what should we do with these swords? they asked. Just then, an Arab admirer of Imam Husain persuaded them to take the swords off their necks and join the force of Janab-e-Mukhtar. Thus, these Indian soldiers fought a memorable battle, exhibiting the best of Hindustani swords in Karbala to avenge the death of Imam Husain (A.S.)

Even today, the place of Karbala where these brave Brahmins resided is called '*ad-*

-Dayar-ul-Hindiyya'. Some of these Brahmins were martyred at Karbala, some stayed back, while few returned to Mother India. History remembers these Brave Brahmins by the name of 'Husaini Brahmins'. Today, we must salute this lesser known but truly great saga of Hindu-Muslim Unity.

These Rajput Mohiyals or the Dutt family from India fulfilled the sacred vision of the holy Prophet when he said: I feel the fragrance coming from India. These "Hussaini Brahmins" actually strengthen the beautiful blend of Indo-Islamic tradition. In the words of a Hindustani poet:

*Wah Dutt Sultan,
Hindu ka Dharm, Musalman ka
Iman,
Adha Hindu, Adha Musalman!*

(Bravo! O Dutt, the king who follows the Hindu religion as well as the Muslim faith, and is a half Hindu and a half Musalman)

Famous Indian film actor Sunil Dutt also belonged to Rahab Dutt's family, and hence was a 'Hussaini Brahmin'. He used to commemorate the martyrdom of Imam Hussain by himself in the footsteps of his ancestors on the occasion of the holy month of Muharram. Once, Sunil Dutt made a donation to Shaukat Khanum Cancer Hospital in Lahore. While donating to the hospital to save the cancer patients, Dutt was reported to have said: "Just like my elders, I shall shed every drop of my blood and give any donation asked for, just as my ancestors did when they laid down their lives at Karbala for Imam Hussain (A.S.)". The hospital's archive maintains the record of this statement.

One of Munshi Premchand's historic plays, "Karbala", published in 1924, mentions the legend of the seven Indian soldiers who

reached Karbala and fought for Imam Hussain (A.S.). More to the point, Nonica Dutt, a former history professor at JNU who belonged to the Hussaini Brahmins, challenged the statement that Hussaini Brahmins seem to have vanished from the social scene in India.

In this context, the Muharram processions and Karbala commemorations held by the Husaini Brahmins in memory of Imam Hussain is the best example of this inclusive Indo-Islamic tradition. Most notably, the members of the Dutt family did not leave their religion and while being Hindus, they told humanity that Hussainiyyat is an integral part of their faith. Besides the Indian celebrities Sunil Dutt and his son Sanjay Dutt, Hindu Urdu writers such as Sabir Dutt and Nand Kishore Vikram are also some of the notable Hussaini brahmins.

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Women's Bodies as Battlefield: The Case of Violence on Women in Manipur

- By Rushda Siddiqui

As videos and responses to the violence on women in Manipur surfaced in July, there was reinforcement of interest in debates around gender-based violence, particularly during social and political conflict. There was judgement and comparison around the subject, about who is a bigger victim. Is assault as heinous a crime as rape, or is it inevitable during conflict?

Till date, cases of rape and assault in similar situations in other parts of the country are being highlighted, as cases of

crimes that have yet to see justice. The role of the police and the judiciary in dispensing justice to women who were raped during large scale violence, or even otherwise, have been brought back under the spotlight.

As the violence in Manipur continues, the video of women being paraded becomes important for multiple reasons. To begin with, the primary crime is the violation of human rights and dignity of a woman. Violation of physical and personal space without consent, particularly in a sexual form, needs to be understood as a crime. Sexual assault or abuse is unwanted sexual contact. In arguments regarding rape, assault is commonly understood as force or pressure (either physical or emotional) to get you to do something sexual. Rape is when someone forces or pressures you into having sex. For decades debate has centred around the gravity of assault to classify it as rape.

In cases of socio-political conflicts, the United Nations has a mandate to protect populations from sexual violence and to respond to the needs of survivors. UN Action Against Sexual Violence in Conflict (UN Action) is a network of 24 UN entities, united with the goal of ending sexual violence during and in the wake of armed conflict. Working as one UN, UN Action aims to fill critical knowledge gaps, generate policy, guidance, and training materials to inform evidence-based prevention and response to conflict-related sexual violence (CRSV). UN Action developed a new Strategic Framework (2020 - 2025), focusing particularly on a comprehensive and survivor-centred approach to CRSV, with a renewed emphasis on prevention of CRSV, including addressing its structural root causes.

In Manipur where the assault video and other cases that are surfacing, highlight the



nature of justification of the crime. The root cause is popularly touted as 'revenge'. "Revenge rape" is a horrific act where sexual assault or rape is committed as a form of retaliation or revenge against another person or a group. It is seen as a justification for violating another person's human rights. This particularly disturbing form of violence not only inflicts physical and psychological harm on the victim, but it also serves as a tool to exert power, control, and humiliation over the victim and their community. Women who have spoken to the media about their assault in Manipur, repeatedly talk of a mob of men saying that they will do to these women what the men of their community did to the women of their community. The women who were paraded were being penalized for a fake story that was circulated about a Meitei girl being raped and killed by the Kukis.

The concept of power play in such cases, where the bodies of women are used as battlefields, are gradually becoming an accepted and integral part of ethnic, local and international conflicts. The modus operandi involves assaulting women and girls, or gang raping them and leaving them for dead after the attack. The justification is revenge.

Revenge rape can occur in various contexts. It is however most significant in social and political conflicts, they can occur en-masse in conflict zones, interpersonal disputes, or situations where one individual seeks to harm another person as an act of vengeance. All activists and legal researchers emphasize that revenge rape is a serious criminal offense that is morally reprehensible and a violation of human rights. In socio-political conflicts, the concept of "bodies of women as battlefields" is a metaphorical way of describing the use of sexual

violence against women as a tactic of war or conflict.

Recognition of sexual violence as a tactic of war has gained increased attention in recent years, leading to efforts to combat and prevent such atrocities. From Africa to Europe and Asia, the problem of using sexual violence as weapon has been acknowledged by governments and civil societies across the world. Various international treaties, such as the Geneva Conventions and the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, have provisions that address sexual violence as a war crime and a crime against humanity.

As a member of the UN, along with being a signatory to major conventions India too is bound to formulate legal and policy solutions to address the issue of sexual assaults during social and political conflicts. After the gruesome rape and murder of Nirbhaya in 2012, Justice Verma's recommendations brought the issue of rape by mobs, and men in uniform (under AFSPA) back to the fore. The Verma Committee recommendations included:

1. Expanding the Definition of Rape: to cover a wider range of sexual offenses, and to make the language gender-neutral so that both men and women could be victims.

2. Stricter Punishments: The committee recommended harsher punishments for sexual offenses, including rape, with the possibility of life imprisonment or even the death penalty in extreme cases.

3. New Offences: The committee suggested creating new offences such as stalking, acid attacks, and voyeurism, and recommended suitable punishments for these crimes.

4. Enhanced Punishment for Public Officials: The committee recommended

that public officials found guilty of not acting on complaints of sexual assault should face disciplinary action.

5. Protection of Good Samaritans: The committee proposed that those who help victims of sexual assault should be protected from any legal action if their actions are in good faith.

6. Police Reforms: The committee highlighted the need for police reforms to make the police force more sensitive to victims of sexual assault and to ensure that cases are investigated properly and impartially.

7. Fast-Track Courts: The committee recommended the establishment of special fast-track courts to expedite trials in cases of sexual assault.

8. Legal Reforms: The committee suggested a range of legal reforms to ensure that victims are treated with dignity during the legal process and that their rights are protected.

9. Education and Awareness: The committee emphasized the importance of education and awareness campaigns to change societal attitudes towards women and to prevent sexual violence

The recommendations were widely discussed and the Criminal Law (Amendment) Act, 2013, commonly known as the "Nirbhaya Act," incorporated many of the committee's suggestions. It was recognized that women needed more than physical treatment, post assault, and policies were made to provide counselling and psychological help to the survivors. This and components of education and awareness were in line with the UN guidelines on the subject.

The impact of the recommendations have been visible in the case of Manipur, as civil society demanded physical, psychological and economic welfare of the survivors and their families. All laws regarding rape, sexual assault or harassment focus on penalizing the culprit, but the issue of welfare and well-being of the survivors or their families is never taken into consideration. Verma committee's idea of a fully equipped crisis centre, that provided complete healthcare, was the first step towards recognizing the human rights of the survivor to live with dignity.

Manipur violence has also brought the issue of re-habilitation of survivors of sexual assault as well as the issue of police and administrative reforms to the fore. The civil society is aware that a series of memorandums seeking compensation and economic rehabilitation of the survivors, may not be a war they may be able to win. They are however more hopeful regarding police and administrative reforms.

The women in the video underwent the horrific assault on the 4th of May, a zero FIR was registered two weeks later, and written complaints to the National Commission for Women were filed simultaneously. When the video went viral on the 19th of July, the police had still not converted the zero FIR to a regular one, the NCW had not taken any action even after receiving the complaint 38 days earlier. It took a public outrage for the police to register an FIR, investigate and arrest some of the accused. The NCW is still to issue guidelines regarding compensations and safeguarding the well-being of women.

While the battle for legal measures and securing safeguards from the government continues, the need to educate society about the human rights of women, violation of their personal space and consent is urgent. What begins as a minor patriarchal problem

of domestic violence gets normalised and with time social violence on women too gets normalised. Measures to counter violence on women need to involve strengthening legal frameworks, increasing awareness about the issue, promoting gender equality, providing support and resources to survivors, and working to change societal attitudes that perpetuate violence against them and other marginalised groups. A good first step would be to acknowledge that patriarchy is so deeply entrenched in our society that indoctrinated women feel justified in violence perpetrated on women. As a society, we will need to educate our coming generations about the illegality and immorality of such violations. We will need to go beyond campaigns and include the subjects in our school curriculum.

The author is a social science researcher who is also associated with different human rights movements. A PhD from the School of International Studies, JNU, she works on socio-political dynamics of change in West Asia and India.

State and Society in North East: Explaining the Nagaland Situation

Speaker- Dr. Deepak Bhaskar, Assistant Professor, Nagaland Central University
Report compiled and prepared by- Ms Manika Malhotra, Researcher PPF

This report is based on the enlightening talk by Dr. Deepak Bhaskar, an esteemed Assistant Professor at Nagaland Central University. The report captures the essence of Dr. Bhaskar's insights on the subject matter. It delves into the intricate

fabric of Nagaland's cultural and societal dynamics, fostering a profound understanding of the region's challenges and prospects.

Introduction

Nagaland, situated in the northeastern part of India, is renowned for its rich cultural and traditional heritage. The state is home to a diverse array of tribal communities, each with its distinct customs, languages, and rituals, contributing to the region's vibrant cultural tapestry. With over 16 major tribes and numerous sub-tribes, Nagaland's tribal composition is both diverse and unique. The Naga people have a deep-rooted connection with their land and have preserved their cultural practices through generations, valuing their oral history and traditions. Nagaland's significance in the northeastern region is multi-faceted. Geographically, it shares borders with several states, fostering regional integration and cultural exchanges. Culturally, its traditional festivals and events bring communities together, promoting mutual understanding and cooperation among neighbouring states. In recent times, Nagaland's traditional heritage has faced challenges due to modernization and external influences. Efforts to preserve and revitalise cultural expressions, such as music, dance, and craftsmanship, have been undertaken to safeguard the unique identity of the Naga tribes. As Nagaland continues to navigate its path towards development and growth, it must strike a delicate balance between preserving its cultural heritage and embracing modernity. By doing so, the state can continue to be a vibrant and distinctive part of India's northeastern mosaic, contributing to the region's diversity and unity.

Misrepresentation and Homogenization:

Nagaland and other neighbouring states are grouped together under the umbrella term

"Northeast." However, it is important to recognize that the term "Northeast" does not accurately reflect the diverse cultural, linguistic, and sociopolitical realities of Nagaland. It oversimplifies the complexity of its identity and fails to capture the distinctiveness of its tribal communities.

By grouping together diverse tribal communities under a single regional label, the unique characteristics, languages, customs, and traditions of each tribe were disregarded or minimised. This homogenization and misrepresentation have led to a distorted understanding of Nagaland's cultural landscape and has contributed to a feeling of alienation and a sense of being misunderstood or misrepresented. Policies and development initiatives that are designed with a generic understanding of the region may fail to account for the diverse socio-cultural dynamics and priorities of the individual tribes, hindering effective governance, social progress, and inclusive development in Nagaland.

There is a need for recognizing and valuing the unique languages, customs, traditions, and knowledge systems of each tribe, fostering an environment where the Naga people can express and celebrate their cultural identities without fear of marginalisation or assimilation.

Efforts should be made to document, preserve, and promote the diverse cultural heritage of Nagaland. This can involve initiatives such as cultural festivals, language preservation programs, and the revitalization of traditional arts, crafts etc. It is essential to provide platforms for the Naga tribes to assert their distinct identities and showcase their contributions to the cultural tapestry of the region.

Further, there is a need to reevaluate the language/terminology used to describe Nagaland and its tribes. Current terminology often fails to capture the

complexity and diversity of Nagaland's cultural landscape. Engaging in dialogues with local communities, scholars, and policymakers can lead to the development of a more accurate and culturally sensitive vocabulary. This approach involves moving away from generalisations and embracing terms that acknowledge the unique identities and aspirations of the various tribes. Meaningful dialogue and consultation with the Naga tribes are essential to ensure that any changes in terminology reflect their aspirations and are not imposed from external sources.

Feeling of Alienation:

The feeling of alienation experienced by the people of Nagaland is a pertinent aspect of concern. Historical experiences of discrimination and stereotypes have contributed to this sentiment among the Naga community. The region's unique cultural identity and historical struggles have often been misunderstood or misrepresented, leading to a sense of marginalisation.

The younger generation of Nagas express a desire for integration and globalisation, however, there are still concerns about how they are perceived and treated when they visit other parts of India. This suggests that despite their willingness to embrace a more interconnected world, they may still encounter prejudice and bias due to their ethnic and cultural background.

To address these issues of alienation, there is a need of cultivating inclusive mindsets and breaking down stereotypes. This involves promoting awareness and understanding of Nagaland's diverse cultural heritage and historical context. By challenging preconceived notions and dispelling misconceptions, a more accurate and nuanced understanding of Nagaland's identity can be fostered within the broader

Indian context.

Creating a welcoming environment for the people of Nagaland requires efforts from all sections of society, including policymakers, media, and the general public. By providing platforms for Naga voices and perspectives in academia, media, and policy-making, their unique experiences, challenges, and aspirations can be acknowledged and respected. This can go a long way in countering the feeling of alienation and promoting a more inclusive and harmonious society.

Intention and Action:

The development of Nagaland faces a significant discrepancy between intentions and actions. While there may be genuine intentions at the national level to integrate and uplift the region, the translation of these intentions into tangible and effective actions is lacking.

One of the primary challenges is the inadequate infrastructure in Nagaland. The lack of proper roads, transportation, and communication networks hampers economic growth and access to basic services. This limitation isolates the region from the rest of the country and impedes the efficient delivery of goods and services.

Connectivity is another critical aspect where the gap between intentions and actions becomes evident. Despite promises of improved connectivity, many remote areas in Nagaland still lack reliable access to essential facilities such as electricity and the internet. This digital divide further marginalises the region and limits its access to information, education, and economic opportunities.

Job opportunities are scarce in Nagaland, leading to a high rate of unemployment, especially among the youth. The younger generation expresses a desire for integration and globalisation, seeking better prospects outside the region. However, concerns persist about how they are perceived and treated when they venture into other parts of India. Reports of discrimination and stereotyping against people from the Northeast contribute to the feeling of alienation experienced by the Naga youth.

To address these challenges, fostering inclusive mindsets and breaking down stereotypes is crucial. Creating a more welcoming and understanding environment for the people of Nagaland as they explore better opportunities is essential. Sensitization campaigns, cultural exchange programs, and awareness initiatives can help dispel misconceptions and foster mutual respect. Comprehensive and well-planned strategies that address the region's specific needs and aspirations are required. Involving local communities in the decision-making process ensures that development initiatives are contextually relevant and sustainable.

Regular monitoring and evaluation of projects are essential to track progress and make necessary adjustments. This will ensure that developmental efforts are on track and yield the desired outcomes, preventing mismanagement of resources and ensuring that the benefits of development reach the intended beneficiaries.

Cultural Preservation and Revitalization :

Cultural preservation and revitalization are crucial for preserving Nagaland's unique heritage and diverse Naga tribes. It involves documenting, promoting, and safeguarding Naga customs, languages, and artistic expressions to strengthen the region's identity

and ensure the intergenerational transmission of traditional knowledge.

Documenting these practices and traditions is essential to preserve the richness of their cultural heritage. Recording traditional knowledge, stories and legends from elders and community members creates valuable resources for future generations and researchers to understand and appreciate Naga culture.

Promoting and safeguarding Naga languages is another significant aspect of cultural preservation. With their own distinct languages, each reflecting unique worldviews and identities, preserving these languages is essential for maintaining linguistic diversity and strengthening the Naga community's sense of pride.

Emphasising the importance of promoting Naga artistic expressions, such as traditional music, dance, and craftsmanship, these art forms are integral to cultural ceremonies, rituals, and social gatherings. By supporting and revitalising them, Nagaland can preserve its cultural distinctiveness and promote sustainable livelihoods for artists and artisans. Inclusive representation and recognition play a crucial role in understanding Nagaland's identity. Promoting Naga voices and perspectives in academia, media, and policy-making is essential to challenge stereotypes and foster a more accurate understanding of the region.

Conclusion:

Nagaland's path to a prosperous future is contingent on the vital aspects of cultural preservation, Inclusive representation and recognition. Understanding Nagaland's history, society, and economy in relation to neighbouring regions enables effective policymaking and regional cooperation. Cultural preservation, safeguarding customs and languages is essential in nurturing Naga identity and fostering a

sense of pride. Strategically incorporating these elements will help Nagaland chart a course towards embracing its unique challenges and opportunities within the diverse tapestry of India

Loss of Momentum in the Chinese Economy and how it will impact India

- By Vaishali Basu Sharma

This was supposed to be the year that China's economy bounced back with the removal of the zero-void policy, but what has happened instead is that the economy is struggling. All metrics reveal that China had slipped into deflation for the first time in more than two years.

Rather, it has been revealed that the Chinese economy has major structural problems - demographics, the bursting of the housing bubble, business confidence, unemployment levels as high as 40 percent, export slowdown from the west, companies looking to remove dependence with the "China Plus One" (C+1) strategy increasingly being adopted by multinational companies to diversify their production and supply chain activities by adding an alternative manufacturing or sourcing location. The consequences of supply chain disruption for Chinese GDP could be very grave.

Negative Surprise and 'Japan Syndrome'? :

Some of these headwinds like the demographics or the business confidence cannot be reserved partly because of the crackdown on private industry. Analysts believe that China's economic boom has peaked and that it may now be subject to what is termed as the 'Japanese Syndrome.' The Japanese economy experienced a stark slowdown in economic growth after the US accused it of being an unfair trader and implemented restrictions on its exports. Chinese

export growth in May fell to 8.5 per cent from 14.8 per cent in April.

The debt bubble which by some estimates is 220-250% of the GDP is yet another problem which is becoming harder to solve. So, despite all the progress made in the past three decades there are questions about whether China can continue its economic miracle, or at least at the same pace. Can China grow at the 5 percent pace it set for itself this year? The IMF's forecast that China would account for 35 percent of global growth this year, but seems extremely unlikely.

The negative statistics are so disappointing that earlier this week the Chinese government halted the release of youth unemployment figures, as a key indication of the country's slowdown. The halt in release of figures comes at a time when the youth unemployment is already at a record high and 11.58 million university graduates are set to seek jobs this year.

Domestically, the Chinese government's efforts to deflate the real estate bubble saw a dramatic drop in home prices in 2023. When new rules to control the amount major developers could borrow were introduced in 2020, the real estate industry was badly affected. One of China's biggest property developers, Country Garden, is staring at a loss of up to \$7.6bn (£6bn).

There is way too much debt on the local level already and so the government is looking for new ways to get the economy going. Hopes for government stimulus are bleak. With borrowers not repaying loans or settling outstanding invoices, local governments are falling short of funds for development projects.

Certain metrics simply are too glaring to be ignored. For instance foreign investment in China is down at a twenty-five year low. Net exports from China are down about 14.5%. Net imports into China are down about 12% - broadly reflecting a scenario wherein China is unable to trade with the world. China does not have enough orders to send out of its shores and at the same time does not have enough demand from within its own consumers to be in a position to even import much.

FDI slumped to a mere \$4.9 billion in April-June 2023, an 87% fall from last year. Producer Price Index declined for eight straight months since October 2022. For China which is a manufacturing driven economy, inflation being down to zero is not a good indication and is in fact a textbook case for economic depression.

Impact of Geopolitical Developments:

As the supplier to the world, Chinese adamant adherence to its zero-covid policy and disruption in supply chains massively impacted the world. The result was a widening of the supply chains to other parts of the world to a point that international dependence on China got reduced.

China's stagnant consumer prices and wages in contrast to inflation are being recorded around the world. The period of negative growth is further marked by the fact that foreign investment levels are at their lowest point in the last 25 years. Additionally, foreign trade and exports have also seen a decline. Foreign investors have been leaving and there is negative sentiment towards the Chinese equity market.

On top of the internal structural issues China also struggles as the US has imposed new restrictions on trade and investment whether

United States President Joe Biden has signed an executive order on 'Addressing United States Investments in certain National Security Technologies and Products in Countries of Concern' which in effect halts new investment in China particularly in sensitive technologies such as semiconductors and microelectronics, quantum computing and artificial intelligence, a move that is expected to take effect next year, and is "gravely concerning" for China. For now China, Hong Kong and Macau are listed as the "countries of concern".

What to do with an economy that is simply too large to ignore?

At a recent fundraising event in Utah, President Biden likened China's economic challenges combined with weak growth to a 'ticking time bomb.' Furthermore he has called the Belt and Road Initiative the "debt and noose" program. There are indications of course that the Joe administration is seeking a more rational relationship with China. Anthony Blinken's visit to Beijing was an attempt to seek settlement of the economic war between the two countries that has been destabilising the global economy since 2018-19, exacerbated thereafter by the pandemic and disruption of supply chains.

China's National Bureau of Statistics of China (NBS) reports China's Consumer Price Index (CPI), the main measure of inflation, fell 0.3% in July - the country's first negative inflation reading since 2021, during the second year of the Covid 19 pandemic. Analysts on the other hand forecast a 0.4% year on year drop in China's CPI. The report raises worries of European Union business entities who have China as a key partner because it points to China's weakening economy.

Is it too early to write-off the Chinese economy?

In a rather bold move the People's Bank of China has unexpectedly cut a key interest rate by the most since 2020. The central bank lowered the rate on its one-year loans – or medium-term lending facility – by 15 basis points to 2.5%. Not hiking interest rates to tame inflation indeed requires gumption. This move came shortly before the release of July economic activity data including retail sales that showed a faltering recovery. This has been done to make manufacturing cheap and continue providing incentives. The Chinese leadership has decided to make sure that the funding remains available, so companies can continue to buy equipment and store it in factories. So clearly an indication that China is not going to easily compromise on its economic growth. Another sector that has shown positive double digit growth is in manufacturing of solar cells which grew 54% in the first half, according to the NBS, while EVs were up 35%.

A result of the downturn in the Chinese economy is that countries like India, along with Mexico, Taiwan, and Vietnam are being favoured. India's large pool of skilled workforce in information technology (IT), engineering, pharmaceuticals, and services, has elicited interest from multinational corporations (MNCs) and businesses looking to diversify from China. But while the structural problems are unique to China, India has its own short term challenges. Inadequate infrastructure continues to be a deficiency especially affecting transportation and logistics. The PLI scheme might turn into a protectionist licence Raj if not contained. The recent banning of certain imports like PCs/laptops is a negative approach. The need of the hour is to create a positive framework for companies to come to India and invest

because the market makes sense. Global investors or domestic investors are likely to see the recent ban as a regressive economic action. A cumbersome taxation system, with state and central taxes, can be challenging for businesses to navigate. India needs to figure out a way to make its own market competitive in absolute terms not in comparative terms with China.

The author is an analyst of strategic and economic affairs. She is currently associated with New Delhi based think tank Policy Perspectives Foundation. She has previously worked as a consultant with India's National Security Council Secretariat for nearly a decade. She is editor of PPF's bimonthly newsletter PRISM

Glimpse of the Book Launch : A study of Mohalla clinic scheme in Delhi: Delivery of primary healthcare to poor people residing in urban areas authored by Tehmeena Rizvi

Mohalla clinics were started as a flagship scheme for healthcare services by the Delhi Government in July 2015. The primary motive of these clinics was to make healthcare easily affordable and accessible. This scheme has become popular in Delhi and a number of other Indian states are trying to establish similar centres. This report indicates that the main beneficiaries of this scheme are women, children and elderly. The research on the Mohalla clinic scheme in Delhi was primarily conducted to understand the feasibility of this scheme, and also to understand the dynamics of primary, secondary and tertiary healthcare systems in India.



Full version of the report can be downloaded from the link : <https://ppf.org.in/initiatives/a-study-of-mohalla-clinic-scheme-in-delhi-delivery-of-primary-healthcare-to-poor-people-residing-in-delhi-working-paper>


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