Prospects for EU-India Security Cooperation

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Introduction: the scope for security cooperation between the EU and India

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There is a clear imperative for greater understanding between the EU and India on a range of security concerns. Until recently, this imperative has not been obvious. India's focus has been inward-looking, predicated on the need for rapid economic growth. However, since 2014, the BJP-led government in Delhi has demonstrated a much greater emphasis on foreign policy; in 2015 the foreign secretary, Dr. S Jaishankar, argued that ''India wants to be a leading power rather than just a balancing Power''. And while the EU has faced a range of difficulties in recent years – among them, economic challenges since the 2008 financial crisis, terror incidents across Europe, and a surge in refugee inflows – these have increased its focus on constructing both an outward- and forward-looking foreign policy.

The European Union and India have been engaged in a strategic partnership since 2004. The 13th Summit, held in March 2016, directly advocated advancing cooperation in the field of security. Counter-terrorism had been an element of EU-India engagement since the strategic partnership was agreed. Other thematic issues raised at the 2016 summit as subjects for dialogue and engagement included cyber-security, counter-piracy and non-proliferation. In terms of regional concerns, the EU and India stressed their shared concerns or interests regarding a number of countries or regions, including Afghanistan, Pakistan, Nepal, North Korea, Iran and West Asia/the Middle East – in particular Syria.

Chatham House, the EU Institute for Security Studies, and the Observer Research Foundation held a closed-door workshop and a public conference on 'Prospects for EU-India Security Cooperation' in September 2016 exploring the scope for engagement on three of these issues: West Asia, maritime security, and counter-terrorism and radicalisation. The workshop discussed the potential contours of EU-India collaboration, as well as the hurdles to their enhanced engagement. Each of the issues is of paramount concern both to India and the EU, but each of these differ in terms of existing cooperation and the underlying interests. The degree of cooperation feasible will be contingent both on political will and capacity, but for each issue we established a range of potential options for collaboration, ranging from specific and granular opportunities for shared learning, to more aspirational dialogues seeking to establish shared frameworks for collaboration in dealing with such challenges.

West Asia has historically been a bridge connecting Europe with Asia. As their shared periphery, developments in the region – including conflict – have a severe effect on both the EU and India. Both rely on petro-chemical imports from the region; the EU is suffering from inflows of refugees escaping conflict; millions of Indians work in West Asia. The current economic downturn is affecting the livelihood of many Indians. And India has had to evacuate its own (and other South Asian) nationals from, inter alia, Yemen, Lebanon and Libya in recent years.

India's engagement with West Asia is self-evidently on an upward trend highlighted, for instance, by the recent decision to make the Crown Prince of Abu Dhabi the guest of honour at India's 2017 Republic Day celebration. Yet neither the EU nor India conceive of each other as primary interlocutors in relation to West Asia. This may reflect both the geo-political reality and the staid policy approaches on both sides. The interests of the EU and India are more likely to be converging than currently framed and understood. Initiating dialogue now, to understand better the two sides' interests in West Asia, will pay dividends in the years to come when close collaboration will be inevitable.

There is significant scope for better cooperation on the issue of maritime security. The Indian Ocean is the venue for the EU's most successful military mission to date – EU NAVFOR or Operation Atalanta – coordinating anti-piracy operations off Somalia with a host of countries including India. EU engagement in the Indian Ocean also includes EUCAP Nestor, the financing of the Indian Ocean Commission and the EU-CRIMARIO project intended to improve maritime security in the entire region. At the very least, maritime security offers scope for enhanced dialogue; at the more aspirational level, the EU and India – sharing interests in maintaining open sea lanes of cooperation – could work together promoting the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea as the basis of maritime governance. Further, while Operation Atalanta has proved successful thus far, piracy will remain a threat until the root causes – on land rather than at sea – have been tackled. Both sides have a palpable interest in stabilising Somalia and other fragile coastal geographies.

The emergence of piracy in the Western Indian Ocean has provided a unique opportunity for navies from within and outside the region to join forces in addressing a concrete security threat. There is a need to seize the momentum and build upon this positive experience to foster operational cooperation also in other maritime security domains or in combatting sea-borne crime such as smuggling and illegal unreported and unregulated fishing. The Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA) is the primary multilateral forum promoting stability and rules-based conduct in the Indian Ocean. The experience, interests and presence of the EU in the Indian Ocean could make it a valuable dialogue partner of IORA.

Counter-terrorism has been a subject for EU-India discussion since the strategic partnership was forged. The joint declaration at the 2016 summit highlighted the determination of the EU and India to work together to tackle terrorism. Cooperation is extant in areas such as financing terrorism, designating groups as terrorist and working together in the UN system.

Yet there is scope to deepen cooperation. The EU is committed to helping India's Smart Cities initiative. This offers great scope to focus on resilience building – whether in relation to disasters or terrorist attacks. Radicalisation is another area in which the EU and India could work together. For the EU, domestic Islamic militancy is a relatively new phenomenon – until the attacks in Europe of 2004 and 2005, it had been seen as a foreign policy concern rather than an internal European problem. Despite having a Muslim population of more than 180 million, Indian Muslims have been relatively immune from radicalisation, certainly in contrast to European Muslim populations. Understanding the causes of this could offer insights to the EU. At the same time, there are growing incidents of radicalisation in India, though from a low base. Are there lessons from European understanding of the process of radicalisation – notably online radicalisation – for India? Existing cooperation on cyber-security could feed into this shared understanding. Countering violent extremism online will remain a common challenge for all liberal societies and working together to share, learn, and discover technologies and methods to respond to this contemporary threat must be part of the agenda.

The EU and India are only now beginning to appreciate the importance of the other, when engaging with global security challenges. The EU brings a range of experiences to the table that are relevant for India. The EU recognises that today's security challenges require a full spectrum approach – pure military solutions rarely work. The EU played a pivotal role in resolving the Iranian nuclear issue. And while India and the EU may approach issues – such as the challenges facing West Asia – from different standpoints, initiating dialogues and conversations to better understand these different perspectives now will prove beneficial, as India's global role becomes more apparent.

Recommendations

West Asia

- The EU and India have clear-cut complementarities in regard to peace-keeping operations, under the auspices of the United Nations. There is scope for engagement both at a Track 1.5 and a Track 2 level, to explore concrete options for collaboration.
- India has proven highly competent in evacuating its own and third-country nationals from West Asia. The EU and India should establish an official level working group to share best practices on evacuation and explore avenues for a cohesive approach.
- The EU and India should initiate an annual Track 2 dialogue to deepen understanding of synergies and divergences in their interests and approaches, and suggest common solutions to mitigate and manage the conflicts in West Asia.
- Other potential areas for greater collaboration would be the development of energy infrastructure projects, greater coordination with respect to the developments in Afghanistan (where both the EU and India have similar objectives), and third-party mediation, for instance between Saudi Arabia and Iran.

Maritime security

- The EU and India should establish a regular high-level, official dialogue on maritime security within the Strategic Partnership to build trust and explore avenues for further cooperation. This could include Search and Rescue/Humanitarian and Disaster Relief (SAR/HADR) operations, tackling sea-borne crime such as smuggling or illegal fishing, and potentially joint maritime or evacuation exercises.
- To improve maritime security in the Indian Ocean, the EU and India should cooperate on promoting Maritime Situational Awareness – building human and technological capacity on information sharing, maritime surveillance, search and rescue missions, and data collection – bilaterally, as well as with other countries of the Indian Ocean rim.
- There is a need for a comprehensive, multilateral maritime security and governance regime for the Indian Ocean. Existing regional organisation, with IORA at the forefront, should include discussions on maritime security in view of building such a regime in the future. Given its experience, sustained interest, presence, and involvement in the Indian Ocean, the EU could become a valuable Dialogue Partner of IORA.
- There is scope for enhanced joint scientific research on maritime issues, potentially under the remit of the EU's Blue Growth initiative; a long-term strategy to support sustainable growth in the marine and maritime sectors.

Counter-terrorism and radicalisation

- The EU and India have agreed to share experiences of their response to terrorist attacks. Under its support for India's 'Smart Cities' initiative, building urban resilience to terrorist attacks and other disasters, should be a primary objective.
- There is scope for enhanced understanding of why India has proven to be relatively immune from radicalisation. In addition, there is scope for the EU to engage with India on its learnings regarding the causes of radicalisation. In particular, online radicalisation is a growing challenge, and India's fast-growing number of smartphone users provides cause for concern; India has the third highest number of Internet users in the world. Similarly, there is scope for greater understanding and collaboration between the EU and Indian approach towards countering violent extremism.
- The EU and India should launch a dialogue to discuss approaches to rogue states, and terrorist groups and individuals. EU and India must develop a shared understanding and basis for identifying such 'states', the process and basis for sanctioning them and thereafter measuring the effectiveness of targeted sanctions.
- There is scope for greater functional cooperation: this could involve developing common situational awareness and identification of terrorist groups and coordinating measures aimed at preventing terror financing and the movement of terrorists. Furthermore there is at the minimum, potential for the exchange of best practices including those pertaining to deployment of new technology and tools.

West Asia

Samir Saran and Kanchi Gupta

Introduction

Catalysed by the social and domestic uprisings of 2011, the West Asian and North African region is dotted with fragile and failed states such as Yemen, Syria, Iraq and Libya. Weakened state institutions and the capture of large swathes of territories by extremists like Islamic State (IS) have allowed such groups to expand their power and influence in the region. Geo-strategic competition between Saudi Arabia and Iran has added another dimension, and religious and ethnic exclusion has also fueled the conflict in these states.

Iran's resurgence as a regional actor and its involvement—whether real or perceived—in the conflicts in Syria, Iraq and Yemen has heightened Gulf Arab fears and led them to adopt more assertive regional policies. Ongoing tensions between the two continue to persist and threaten to extend into new arenas.

As the fallout of these conflicts expands beyond the region, West Asia–North Africa (WANA) or the Middle East-North Africa (MENA) as the region is referred to, is now the frontier for global security. For Europe and South Asia, this region is a common periphery. The expanse from South Asia to Europe in particular will feel the impact of any turmoil here. European and Asian security will thus be dependent on how this common periphery and common security challenge is managed by actors in Europe, particularly the EU and India, individually and collectively.

India and the EU member states share key concerns and competencies that can create a lasting foundation for the establishment of a cooperative framework between the two in managing the current turmoil, establishing sustainable stability and working towards the

economic integration of the region and its people with the neighbourhood. The prospects and trajectory of cooperation will, however, be contingent on two overarching factors.

First, the scope of India's reinvented West Asia policy will determine the level and modes of India-EU cooperation in the region. India's engagement with the region is a departure from its previous reticence and showcases a renewed resolve to carve a cogent and effective WANA policy. The contours of New Delhi's regional policy are commensurate with its expanding geo-economic engagements and geopolitical compulsions. This new determination is also evident in New Delhi's vision of Indian foreign policy as aspiring to be a "leading power", rather than just a "balancing power".[1]

India's assertive foreign policy has sought to follow this mandate with energized and, in some cases, re-energised engagement with the neighborhood nations, Japan, France, Germany, Israel, UK and the US. New Delhi has also displayed considerable dexterity in engaging the West Asian states. New Delhi's vision of its role in West Asia, on account of its growing stakes, dynamic regional developments, shifts in Washington's regional policies and growing Chinese and Russian involvement will underline the tenets of cooperation with the EU.

Second, collective management of West Asian challenges will depend on a mutual recognition of each other as important partners in the region. A European pivot to Asia should be ensconced in EU's realisation of the urgency of shifting focus to the east. Building partnerships with the emerging economies of Asia will help Europe keep its periphery stable. As long as Europe continues to view developments in Asia from the prism of the Atlantic order,[2] it will fail to create space for itself as a strategic actor in a region of compelling interest to its member states.

In a speech in 2014, EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy Federica Mogherini reiterated the strategic significance of pivoting to Asia. She stated that it is an "area that's challenging for us in terms of security threats—major security expenditures, territorial disputes, historical animosities, and lack of a regional security architecture. The risk of a major threat to global stability coming from (Asia) puts the issue high on the agenda".[3]

One overarching weakness in the India and EU partnership is the lack of direct communication. Both must develop direct channels for exchanging information that shape

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1   Subrahmanyam Jaishankar, "IISS Fullerton Lecture by Dr. S. Jaishankar, Foreign Secretary in Singapore" (speech presented at the International Institute for Strategic Studies, Singapore, July 20, 2015).

2   Samir Saran and Britta Peterson, "Beyond #Brexit: What Ails the European Union", ORF Special Report, July 2016, http://www.orfonline.org/research/beyond-brexit-what-ails-the-european-union/

3   Federica Mogherini, "Speech at the German Marshall Fund", September 10, 2014, http://www.gmfus.org/archives/brussels-launch-of-transatlantictrends-2014-with-federica-mogherini/

the understanding of each other. Much analysis rests on secondary and third-party sources that complicate the understanding of the worldviews and the nature of decision-making in New Delhi and Brussels. Direct and forthright communication is a prerequisite if the two are to work together on this common neighbourhood.

Another cleavage between Indian and European worldviews is the contrived distance between the EU as a bloc and individual European actors. EU's agency cannot be uncovered without acknowledging the capacity of its individual constituents. Since individual member states choose to act through the EU,[4] the Union's role as a security actor cannot be envisioned without accounting for the diplomatic and strategic capacities of individual member states. It is imperative to move beyond this distinction, which could otherwise complicate discussions or actions in any dialogue between New Delhi and Brussels.

Within this broader rubric, any cooperative arrangement must take into account three aspects that concern both EU and India. The first section of the paper outlines the importance of stability in the West Asian region for energy security in India and the EU. Examining India and EU member states' dependence on hydrocarbons and the developments in the region, this section suggests avenues for cooperation between the two to strengthen their oil supply networks. The next section briefly explores Jihadist ideologies that have allowed it to become a global phenomenon. Examining the challenges presented by the rise of foreign fighters in West Asia, the growth of online radicalisation and 'lone-wolf attacks', this section presents recommendations with respect to the security dimension of India-EU relations.

The last section looks at the economic and socio-political challenges posed to EU and India by crises in West Asia. Developments in the region have consequences for India's large migrant population and New Delhi is looking at the mounting cost of ensuring their security and repatriation. Similarly, the influx of refugees into EU has presented huge challenges to the social, economic and political fabrics of individual member states. This section outlines some measures that India and EU can jointly take to support conflict resolution, peacekeeping and post-conflict assistance in the region.

Energy Security

The West Asian region remains the world's most important source of hydrocarbons, accounting for 33 percent of global oil production and 17.4 percent of natural gas production. The region holds 48 percent of the world's proven oil reserves, of which Saudi

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4   Samir Saran, "The European Union as a Security Actor: View From India", Bundeszentrale Fuer Politische Bildung, May 3, 2015, http://www.bpb.de/internationales/asien/indien/190264/the-european-union-as-a-security-actor#footnode4-4

Arabia and Iraq together account for 24 percent. In 2015, the two countries also accounted for 18 percent of the region's total oil production. Of the 43 percent of proven gas reserves in West Asia, Iran and Qatar account for 31 percent of reserves and 11 percent of West Asian production.[5] Stability in these countries, therefore, is critical to global energy security.

As a country largely dependent on energy imports, India recorded a 5.2-percent increase in its energy consumption in 2015. West Asian states supplied 59 percent of oil imports and over 90 percent of gas imports.[6]

As of 2014, 88 percent of EU's overall crude oil requirements were met by imports. In 2015, EU imported 30 percent of its crude oil from Russia, 16 percent from the Middle East, and 8 percent from North Africa. The EU also imports 65 percent of its natural gas requirements, with Russia, Norway, Algeria, Qatar and Libya, being the largest suppliers.[7] Uncertainty in energy supply to some EU member states is much higher due to geographical factors. Landlocked countries like Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary are entirely dependent on oil and gas supplies through pipelines from Russia and Central Asian Republics. Certain countries also rely excessively on a few sources of hydrocarbons. For instance, Latvia, Lithuania, Finland and Estonia import more than 90 percent of their gas from Russia.[8] In addition to the risks associated with Russian supplies through Ukraine, those from Iraq, Libya and Algeria are also prone to disruptions. The latter three countries accounted for 15 percent of EU oil imports in 2015.

Developments in Ukraine have implications for the EU's natural gas supplies and highlight the need to diversify sources of imports. Diversifying supplier and transit countries will require the EU to factor in the instability in West Asia. Moreover, as the US scales up shale oil production, its energy dependence on, and engagement with West Asia is likely to wane further. This will make it necessary for stakeholders like the EU and India to consider policies that will ensure the security of hydrocarbons supply from the region.

The lifting of sanctions on Iran and its increase in gas production (5.7 percent in 2015[9]) provides a window of opportunity to EU member states that are gas-dependent on Russia. While Iran has an export capacity that could potentially rival Russia's, there is no pipeline network to transport its reserves to the EU. Iran's gas grid is, however, connected to

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5   "BP Statistical Review of World Energy", June 2016, https://www.bp.com/content/dam/bp/pdf/energy-economics/statistical-review-2016/bp-statistical-review-of-world-energy-2016-full-report.pdf

6   Ibid

7   "Energy Production and Imports", Eurostat, July 2016, http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/File:Main_origin_of_primary_energy_imports,_EU-28,_2004%E2%80%9314_(%25_of_extra_EU-28_imports)_YB16.png

8   Chi-Kong Chyong and Vessela Tcherneva, "Europe's Vulnerability on Russian Gas", European Council on Foreign Relations, March 17, 2015, http://www.ecfr.eu/article/commentary_europes_vulnerability_on_russian_gas

9   "BP Statistical Review of World Energy", June 2016, https://www.bp.com/content/dam/bp/pdf/energy-economics/statistical-review-2016/bp-statistical-review-of-world-energy-2016-full-report.pdf

Turkey via the Tabriz-Ankara pipeline and could be extended to reach Europe through the construction of Iran's proposed Persian Pipeline.[10] The economic dependencies between Russia and the EU could be implicated by the potential that exists between Iran and the EU with respect to energy flows.

While majority of hydrocarbon production is driven by the Persian Gulf states, significant oil and gas reserves are located in war-ravaged Libya, Syria and Yemen. As their oil and gas infrastructure is overrun by extremist groups, particularly IS, the security situation could impact the prices of hydrocarbons in the future. In 2015, IS had briefly overtaken Iraq's largest oil refinery, Baiji. Had IS succeeded, it would have not only bolstered the extremist group, but would have also had severe implications for the global oil market. While IS has since lost control of the oil fields it held in Iraq, it is believed to still be holding some fields and refineries in Syria and Libya.[11] Acts of IS or another non-state actor could significantly impact the global supply chain. In 2015, oil production fell by 13.4 percent in Libya, 18.2 percent in Syria, and a whopping 67.8 percent in Yemen.[12]

An India-EU Energy Panel was set up in 2004 to address common challenges on energy security. Apart from cooperation in the field of renewables, the panel was also mandated with promoting the security of supplies and maintaining stability of prices. This cooperation was reiterated through various mechanisms and dialogues in 2005, 2012 and 2016. As part of the energy panel, a working group on petroleum and natural gas was also set up in 2007. While it was established that the group would convene twice a year,[13] no meetings after 2007 have been reported. Even though securing supplies at competitive prices, diversifying sources and transport routes were outlined in the agenda,[14] the level of engagement of this group (in terms of time and resources) is below par and would be insufficient for meeting these objectives.

Shifting alliances, geopolitical uncertainties and security considerations have created conditions for a more volatile West Asian energy market. Securing the sea lines of communication and developing connectivity infrastructure in the region require greater political and economic will from India and the EU.

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10   Jonathan Saul and Henning Gloystein, "REFILE-EU plans for Iran gas imports if sanctions go", Reuters, September 24, 2014, http://www.reuters.com/article/eu-iran-gas-idUSL6N0RG2NG20140924

11   For reference see: Erika Solomon, Robin Kwong and Steven Bernard, "Inside Isis Inc: The journey of a barrel of oil", Financial Times, February 29, 2016, http://ig.ft.com/sites/2015/isis-oil/

12   "BP Statistical Review of World Energy", June 2016, https://www.bp.com/content/dam/bp/pdf/energy-economics/statistical-review-2016/bp-statistical-review-of-world-energy-2016-full-report.pdf

13   "1st Meeting of the EU-India Working Group on Petroleum/Natural Gas", January 25, 2007, http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/energy_transport/international/bilateral/india/energy/doc/eu_india_3/petroleum_gas/2007_01_25_minutes_petroleum_gas_en.pdf

14   Ibid

While the EU aims to diversify sources of hydrocarbons, the EU gas market is not connected to West and Central Asia through pipelines. The EU had initiated the Nabucco project in 2002 that could transport gas from Central Asia and Iran to Europe via Turkey. The project was later abandoned and replaced with the Azeri-led Trans-Anatolia Pipeline (TANAP) and the Trans-Adriatic Pipeline (TAP), which would together bring gas to Europe through the Turkey-Greece border. However, the Azeri-Shah Deniz gas field will supply only a fraction of the overall EU requirements and leaves considerable space for Europe to expand connectivity with other regional partners.

Iran's return into the energy market provides an opportunity for European and Indian companies to jointly develop oil and gas infrastructure that connects both regions. In June 2016, India inked an agreement to develop the Iranian port of Chabahar and is also negotiating to develop the Farzad B Gas field. India and Iran are negotiating a USD 4.5-billion undersea gas pipeline and have also been in talks to conclude the North South Transport Corridor (with Russia) that will link South and Central Asia to Europe via a network of transport routes. India and the EU can jointly invest in Iran's upstream gas production, gas fields, ports and pipeline infrastructure. Through convergences in the economic imperatives of energy and trade, India and the EU can work together to enhance regional connectivity and strengthen their oil supply networks.

The 'Internationalisation' of Jihad

The proliferation of radical extremist groups in West Asia and North Africa has, for decades, been supported and facilitated by fluidity in the movement of ideologies and jihadists across the region. Fighters from Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Egypt, Libya, Tunisia, Yemen and Algeria have participated in conflicts from Afghanistan to Syria and Iraq. These cross-border movements have been significant in the expansion of powerful extremist groups. Al-Qaeda has three branches across the region and IS has spread beyond its primary territorial control of Iraq and Syria to Libya and Egypt.

While it may not have been inconceivable that the threat posed by these groups remains rooted in the region of their origin, the evolution of Jihad from targeting the "near enemy" to the "far enemy" brought the world in its fold. As the Jihadis were intrinsically opposed to Western presence and influence on their land, they initially mobilised against their 'infidel' local regimes, which they regarded as 'tools' of colonial powers. It was only in the 1990s that the globalisation of Jihad shifted focus towards the US and its Western allies.

Lebanese-American scholar, Fawaz A. Gerges describes three major events as the turning points in the evolution of Jihadist ideology. The withdrawal of Russian troops from Afghanistan; the 1991 Gulf War and the permanent stationing of American forces in Saudi Arabia; and the defeat of religious nationalists on their home turf by the end of the 1990s.

These factors together created the foundation for the rise of transnationalist Jihadism led by Al-Qaeda.[15] In parallel, the ethnic and national boundaries between Jihadist movements began to fade away and Jihadism was increasingly defined by a larger clash between Muslims and non-Muslims.

The 2003 wars in Iraq and Afghanistan intensified this clash and galvanised a large number of non-Arab Muslims to join the movement. Guido Steinberg, foreign-policy expert in Berlin, writes that as the "globalisation of Islamist terrorism gained traction…the European diaspora was among the drivers of this development."[16] The Pakistani Muslims in Britain were among the first to be mobilised and sought training in the Al-Qaeda camps in Pakistan, followed by the Turkish and Kurdish diaspora in Germany.[17]

While the significance of domestic policies of Britain, France, Germany and Spain towards their large Muslim populations cannot be disregarded, their involvement in the NATO operations in Iraq and Afghanistan supplemented extremist groups' ability to recruit European Muslims. For instance, the Madrid bombings in 2004 were carried out in opposition to Spain's presence in Iraq as well as to influence the impending elections in the country.[18] Subsequently, the opposition won the elections and promised to withdraw the country's troops from Iraq.

Extremist groups evolved their strategies to assimilate new recruitment constituencies. Al-Qaeda, for example, is believed to have established cells in at least 80 countries across five continents. The extremist groups have also moved towards increasingly decentralised structures which do not require their presence in every country, instead using social media to spread their messages and to recruit individual sympathisers. The Islamic State embodies the principle of decentralised units that focus less on structure and organisation but more on individual Jihad. While IS' territorial power grew with the protracted war in Syria and Iraq, the theological appeal of the Caliphate and the dissemination of its propaganda through social media catapulted the group to global prominence.

The gravest challenge to countering IS' influence lies outside the West Asian region. The rapid rise of 'lone-wolf attacks', claimed in the name of IS, presents a conundrum for national counter-terrorist strategists. While some experts like Daveed Gartenstein-Ross and Nathaniel Barr argue that broader cells or networks generally support lone acts of violence,[19] others like Olivier Roy assert that such acts also use the "Islamist label

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15 Fawaz A. Gerges, "The Far Enemy: Why Jihad Went Global", New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009

16 Guido Steinberg, "German Jihad: On the Internationalization of Islamist Terrorism", New York: Columbia University Press, June 2013

17 Ibid

18 Ibid

19 Daveed Gartenstein-Ross and Nathaniel Barr, "The Myth of Lone-Wolf Terrorism: The Attacks in Europe and Digital Extremism", Foreign Affairs, July 26, 2016, https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/western-europe/2016-07-26/myth-lone-wolf-terrorism

opportunistically".[20] The IS now represents a potent brand that provides the opportunity of fame and martyrdom to every individual whether or not motivated by religious ideology.

Similar discourse also applies to the role of the Internet in radicalisation. A report published by the London-based International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation and Political Violence (ICSR) asserts that growth of the Internet and availability of Jihadist ideology online complicates the analysis of the "lone wolf phenomenon". The report suggests that the Internet provides a "social environment" to "loners" through which they can be instigated to carry out violent acts.[21] Some earlier research, including by the Norwegian Defense Research Establishment, suggests that the "internet is not used as a direct means of recruitment, but that it functions merely as a facilitator for the recruitment process. Physical contact, in addition to online communication and propaganda, is essential. Further, the need for anonymity on the Internet most likely prevents it from becoming a primary recruitment tool".[22] However, most studies conclude that the functionality of 'online Jihadism' as a source of inspiration and information will increase as the avenues for connectivity proliferate.

While social media has been used by Jihadist organisations like Al-Qaeda since the 1990s, it was IS that used a communications strategy as one of its primary tools for recruitment. Using Facebook, Twitter and You-tube, IS strategists multiplied the range of content that could be shared, also in real-time. Its *Dabiq* magazine, which is published in a number of languages, is commonly described as "slick", "professional" and "specific" in outlining its agendas, ideologies and enemies.[23]

A number of measures have been introduced to counter online radicalism including blocking, filtering, censoring and removing online content as well as monitoring. Monitoring itself is a daunting task as tens of thousands of social media users may refer to Jihadist material but may not be prone to radicalisation. Moreover, given that online radicalisation is transnational, monitoring cannot be done by any country in isolation and requires multilateral coordination. This is further complicated by the fact that online

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20   Roula Khalaf, "The deadly Draw of the ISIS Brand Without Borders", Financial Times, June 15, 2016, http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/eab2a104-3243-11e6-bda0-04585c31b153.html?siteedition=intl#axzz4IAR ksAj9

21   Raffaello Pantucci, "A Typology of Lone Wolves: Preliminary Analysis of Lone Islamist Terrorists", the International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation and Political Violence (ICSR), March 2011, http://www.trackingterrorism.org/sites/default/files/chatter/1302002992ICSRPaper_ATypologyofLoneWolves_Pantucci.pdf

22   Hanna Rogan, "Jihadism Online - A study of how al-Qaida and radical Islamist groups use the Internet for terrorist purposes", Norwegian Defence Research Establishment, March 20, 2006, http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/testimony/48.pdf

23   HJ Ingram, "An Analysis of Islamic States' Dabiq Magazine", Australian Journal of Political Science, June 13, 2016
Nick Robins-Early, 4 Things To Know About Dabiq, ISIS' Slick Propaganda Magazine, The World Post, October 2, 2016, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/isis-dabiq-magazine_us_56a7e6cfe4b04936c0e8938a

radicalisation has moved far beyond official accounts of Jihadist groups and is often facilitated by individual sympathizers.

India has always been on the radar of extremist groups in West and South Asia. India has traditionally been a victim of cross-border terrorism and the growing presence of IS in India's immediate neighbourhood, particularly Bangladesh, poses an urgent threat. In the April 2016 issue of IS' *Dabiq* magazine, the leader of the 'Bengal' faction stressed on the importance of a Jihad base in Bengal to facilitate attacks inside India.[24] He also talked about enlisting the local Mujahideen in India to create chaos in the country. Some members of the Indian Mujahideen (IM) have reportedly joined IS ranks in Syria while those based in India are involved in recruiting on behalf of the extremist group. However, despite IS' renewed focus on South Asia and on the Indian diaspora in the Gulf, the number of recruits is still relatively low.

According to a 2015 report by the Soufan group on foreign fighters in Iraq and Syria, while there were 40-50 Indians in IS ranks, 1,700 French and almost 800 German citizens were reported to have joined IS.[25] Successful counter-terrorism initiatives have prevented a large number of Indian citizens from traveling to Iraq and Syria and de-radicalisation programmes have been rolled out to ensure better integration within and among communities. Several Indian Muslim leaders, clerics and groups have also denounced IS and launched campaigns to dissuade youth from participating in its "un-Islamic" activities.[26]

The experiences of EU and India on this critical issue must be an important security element in the India-EU strategic partnership. Coordinating intelligence sharing and consulting on de-radicalisation activities and countering violent extremism (CVE) programmes will allow both regions to share experiences, build capacities and tackle extremism more effectively. Many EU member states, including France, Finland, Netherlands, Norway, Spain, Germany and Switzerland have drafted strategies to prevent violent extremism and the EU could provide a platform for this important conversation with India.

Measures promoting social inclusion among various communities through education, employment, social welfare, counseling and sensitisation are being applied to respond to

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24 "Dabiq: The Murtadd Brotherhood", The Islamic State, Issue 14, https://azelin.files.wordpress.com/2016/04/the-islamic-state-22dacc84biq-magazine-1422.pdf

25 "Foreign Fighters: An Updated Assessment of the Flow of Foreign Fighters into Syria and Iraq", The Soufan Group, December 2015, http://soufangroup.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/TSG_ForeignFightersUpdate3.pdf

26 "Muslim organizations launch campaigns against 'un-Islamic' ISIS", The Times of India, September 29, 2015, http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/Muslim-organizations-launch-campaigns-against-un-Islamic-ISIS/articleshow/49155295.cms
"Imams to use social media to counter ISIS influence", The Indian Express, July 15, 2016, http://indianexpress.com/article/india/india-news-india/imams-to-use-social-media-to-counter-isis-influence-2915131/

growing radicalisation. The strength of CVE policies is in government engagement with local leaders, members from the academia and religious institutions. However, paradoxically, CVE policies are being criticised for perpetuating the sentiment of exclusion and religious profiling among Muslim communities. Thus, for these policies to be effective, more nuanced, adaptable and creative responses need to be designed. Greater conversations between international actors can lead to informed and targeted CVE strategies across countries. While India does not have a formal CVE policy, its experience in promoting social cohesion and harmony, against internally and externally instigated communal rhetoric, can serve as an important country experience to be discussed, deconstructed and drawn lessons from. Given the urgency of the threat, India and the EU must also expedite the ongoing discussions on the possibilities of exchanging information between EUROPOL and Indian intelligence agencies.

The Human Bridge: Security Implications of Migration and Diasporas

India has a seven-million strong diaspora in the GCC states and their remittances play a crucial role in the economies of many States including Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Bihar and Gujarat. According to World Bank estimates, India, despite being the largest recipient of remittances in 2015 of USD 69 billion, experienced a decrease in remittances of USD 1 billion from 2014.[27] The 2016 World Bank Migration and Development Brief states that the fall in oil prices contributed significantly to the slowdown in remittances.[28] The decline in oil prices has already led to job cuts and the imposition of income tax on expatriates.[29] Austerity-driven policies of the GCC states and the rise in living expenses have forced a number of expatriates to return home.

The Indian diaspora is also affected by deteriorating security in the West Asia region. In 2014, 46 Indian nurses were kidnapped by IS in Iraq; they were released after New Delhi sought help from Riyadh, Doha and Dubai.[30] In the same year 39 Indians were kidnapped in Iraq and are still missing. While the GCC countries are the most preferred destination for Indian expatriates, a large proportion of them reside in Libya, Yemen and Iraq. Until

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27 "Migration and Remittances: Recent Developments and Outlook", Migration and Development Brief 26, April 2016, http://pubdocs.worldbank.org/en/661301460400427908/MigrationandDevelopmentBrief26.pdf

28 Ibid

29 Daniel George, "Indian expatriates hit hard as Gulf economies slip on free fall in crude prices", The Times of India, January 22, 2016, http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/nri/middle-east-news/Indian-expatriates-hit-hard-as-Gulf-economies-slip-on-free-fall-in-crude-prices/articleshow/50676772.cms

30 Jayanth Jacob, "46 abducted Indian nurses freed in Iraq, will be back home today", The Hindustan Times, July 5, 2015, http://www.hindustantimes.com/world/46-abducted-indian-nurses-freed-in-iraq-will-be-back-home-today/story-UTg7vKeTFqqttMIcpT5JgK.html

2012, there were about 15,000 Indians in Libya, 100,000 in Yemen and 15,000 in Iraq.[31] After 2012, a large number of Indian workers had to be evacuated and repatriated.

Much earlier, the 1990-91 Gulf War served as an important reminder of India's susceptibility to the developments in West Asia. During the war, 170,000 Indians had to be evacuated from Iraq and Kuwait. A sharp rise in oil prices and fall in remittances contributed significantly to an ongoing financial crisis in India. The Overseas Development Institute reported that the crisis cost India USD 1.6 billion, with the states of Kerala and Gujarat experiencing the maximum impact.[32] Even now, Kerala is bracing itself for the economic repercussions of the West Asian crisis. After all, 90 percent of Kerala's 2.4 million emigrants reside in the Gulf and their remittances contribute 36 percent of its net domestic product.[33]

The escalating conflict in Syria has also created a refugee crisis, spilling beyond neighbouring countries like Turkey, Jordan and Lebanon into Europe. In 2015, 1.1 million people sought asylum in Europe, representing a 130 percent increase from the numbers in 2014. Consequently, the number of refugees in Europe increased from 1.2 million in 2013 to 1.6 million in 2015. Out of the EU-28, Germany, France, Italy, Sweden and Hungary host over 80 percent of the refugees.[34] Apart from the economic challenges of integrating the refugees, the EU is also confronted with security, political and social concerns. The magnitude of the crisis has strained the member states' capacity to respond to the humanitarian challenge.

As many countries reinstate border checks within the Schengen Area, restrictions on free mobility could threaten the very fabric of the Union. An anti-immigrant sentiment has already taken hold in the EU as demonstrated by the Brexit referendum. While in Britain, concerns were more around EU migration, growing hostility towards immigration is a likely political pressure point that the member states' governments would need to respond to.

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31 "India-Libya Relations", The Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, December 2014, http://www.mea.gov.in/Portal/ForeignRelation/Libya_December_2014__.pdf
"India-Yemen Relations", The Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, March 2013, https://mea.gov.in/Portal/ForeignRelation/Yemen_19_Mar_2013_political_brief_for_MEA_s_website.pdf
"India-Iraq relations", The Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, June 2015, https://www.mea.gov.in/Portal/ForeignRelation/Iraq_2015_07_02.pdf
32 "The Impact Of The Gulf Crisis On Developing Countries", Overseas Development Institute, Briefing Paper, March 1991,
33 Madhura Karnik, "An Indian state may be on the brink of recession because of the Gulf oil crisis", Quartz India, August 12, 2016, http://qz.com/755855/an-indian-state-may-be-on-the-brink-of-recession-because-of-the-gulf-oil-crisis/
34 "Migration and Remittances: Recent Developments and Outlook", Migration and Development Brief 26, April 2016, http://pubdocs.worldbank.org/en/661301460400427908/MigrationandDevelopmentBrief26.pdf

Greater convergence between India and the EU on security and foreign policy has created space to institutionalise dialogue on West Asian issues. Joint working groups and high-level consultations between Brussels and New Delhi could supplement international efforts for resolving the region's conflicts. These mechanisms could also lay the foundation for an enduring partnership in Asia's evolving security and economic architecture.

More immediate cooperative initiatives could include joint crises response mechanisms and peacekeeping consultations. India's successful evacuation operation in Yemen in 2015, which included the citizens of 33 other countries, indicates the importance of international cooperation. New Delhi's "goodwill" among the West Asian states supported the evacuation operation as conflicting parties agreed to a ceasefire to allow Indian aircraft into the no-fly zone for three-hour intervals over six days.

India and the EU must also work towards developing cooperative mechanisms in Syria. India's stance on the Syrian conflict has been outlined through the UN Security Council, where it appears to be more in favor of President Assad's regime.[35] Conversely, the EU was largely in favor of ousting President Assad and imposed a number of unilateral restrictive economic measures on the regime. Subsequently, the EU recognised the National Coalition for Syrian Revolutionary and Opposition Forces (SOC) as legitimate representatives of the Syrian people.

Under the 2013 policy document titled "Towards a Comprehensive EU Approach to the Syrian Crisis", the Union committed to supporting US/Russia efforts in Syria and engaging with third parties like Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Qatar and Iran. However, its role has largely been in the realm of humanitarian and development assistance.[36] The fact that the EU is bearing the brunt of the conflict's humanitarian consequences stands in stark contrast to the Union's level of participation in resolving it. Priorities of different member states have defined how they responded to the crisis, with France adopting a military posture and Germany leading negotiations on the EU-Turkey refugee deal. However, increasing congruence in the objective of preventing a Jihadist takeover of Syria and stemming the refugee flow is likely to bring closer coordination between member states in developing a comprehensive EU policy.

India's investments in the turbulent Southwest Asian and West Asian region have largely been through economic diplomacy initiatives, which have included development of infrastructure and humanitarian assistance and disaster relief. India and the EU are not

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35 Kanchi Gupta, "Will India Become the Next Big Player in Syria", Haaretz, October 19, 2015,
36 "Towards A Comprehensive EU Approach To The Syrian Crisis", Joint Communication To The European Parliament, The Council, The European Economic And Social Committee And The Committee Of The Regions, June 24, 2013,
http://eeas.europa.eu/statements/docs/2013/130624_1_comm_native_join_2013_22_communication_from_commission_to_inst_en_v10_p1_7332751.pdf

political interventionists but rather agents of development and economic engagement. The India-EU emphasis on consulting over the conceptual and operational aspects of peacekeeping, peace-building and post-conflict assistance[37] could be prioritised in Syria.

Afghanistan serves as an important example of where India is playing an active role in post-conflict reconstruction and is now moving towards providing equipment and training to the Afghan security forces. Just like in Afghanistan, India and the EU could work together on capacity building, connectivity and trade to support Syria's security, stability and economic development.

Conclusion

In their 2005 Joint Action Plan, India and the EU had outlined a number of consultative mechanisms on regional cooperation, democracy and human rights, peacekeeping and post-conflict assistance as well as terrorism and organised crime.[38] However, there was little progress in many of these areas and India-EU cooperation remained limited. The 2016 Agenda for Action can inject fresh momentum in India-EU strategic relations and strengthen cooperation in areas of mutual concern. While the roadmap for India-EU partnership has been expanded to include West Asia, the real challenge will lie in translating these dialogues into outcomes that promote stability in both regions.

From the core trends in West Asia that impact the social, political and economic arrangements in Europe and India, certain key areas of cooperation become apparent. First, there is an urgent need for India and the EU to establish an annual Asia-EU track two or track 1.5 dialogue to understand and discuss possible mechanisms for addressing the common challenges emerging out of the West Asian region. An annual or bi-annual exchange of scholars and practitioners will be instrumental in closing the gap between the understanding of each other's interests in and approaches to conflicts in West Asia.

Second, the region presents huge opportunities for India and the EU to invest in the development of its hydrocarbons sector and support greater connectivity. Emerging out of a sanctions regime, Iran particularly offers avenues for cooperation in the energy domain. This will allow both India and the EU to not only ensure security of supplies but also raise their economic and political profiles as important stakeholders in the stability of the region.

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37   "The India-EU Strategic Partnership - Joint Action Plan", Council Of The European Union, September 7, 2005, http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressData/en/er/86130.pdf

38   Ibid

Third, India and EU must also adjust to the alterations in the geopolitical landscape of West Asia. Russia's assertiveness in Syria accords Moscow a place at the high-table, necessitating new dimensions to New Delhi and Brussels' existing West Asian policies. India and EU have complementary capabilities in engaging with Kremlin.

Lastly, India and the EU must also strengthen existing mechanisms that can address their immediate concerns. Elevating the level of engagement in counter-terrorism cooperation, de-radicalisation and CVE policies, consulting on peacekeeping and post-conflict assistance strategies and coordination on energy policies will boost their abilities to deal with existing and emerging challenges. As New Delhi and Brussels initiate a new phase in their engagement, the West Asian region presents opportunities and challenges that they can together navigate better.

Maritime Security

Eva Pejsova and John-Joseph Wilkins

Since Prime Minister Narendra Modi came to power in 2014, maritime security – primarily focused on the Indian Ocean – has become a key element of India's domestic and foreign policies. The need to build a 'blue economy', as well as strengthening ties with neighbouring countries and smaller Indian Ocean nations in order to safeguard New Delhi's maritime interests has become a top priority.

Despite its enormous economic and strategic importance, the third-largest ocean in the world remains largely ungoverned. There is only limited cooperation in functional maritime security domains among countries of the Ocean's rim, and multilateral institutional structures remain weak. The spread of piracy off the Horn of Africa has demonstrated the fragility of the security situation in the Indian Ocean, attracting the interest and involvement of all major global players. On one hand, counter-piracy efforts have been successful and provided a great opportunity for navies to foster international cooperation. On the other hand, the increased military presence of foreign powers in the region, especially China, managed to gradually transform the Indian Ocean into the next arena of big power strategic competition.

Although New Delhi is striving to assert its primacy in its maritime neighbourhood, it cannot provide for the theatre's security and everyday management without the assistance of other partners with an established presence and lasting interest in the region. The European Union (EU) is one such partner, which has invested heavily in maritime security in the western Indian Ocean by building the capacity of local maritime agencies and enhancing maritime situational awareness to counter piracy, as well as other transnational security threats. It is also the area in which the EU has deployed one of its arguably most successful and robust military operations to date, the European Union Naval Force Operation (EUNAVFOR) Atalanta.

The EU's determination to sustain its presence and enhance security ties with other stakeholders in and across the Indian Ocean is also evident in its 2016 Global Strategy, as well as in its 'Strategy on China' – identifying antipiracy efforts and Africa as the most prospective areas of cooperation.[39] If EU has a strategy for China, India should not allow itself to be left behind. Thus, when debating how to revitalise the EU-India Strategic Partnership, in place since 2004, strengthening functional maritime security cooperation and building a comprehensive multilateral security regime in the Indian Ocean is therefore one of the most logical starting points.

India's Ocean?

India's renewed interest in maritime security is understandable and welcome. India is surrounded by – and vitally dependent on – maritime traffic and trade: at the end of last year, 90 percent of its foreign trade by volume and 77 percent in terms of value was seaborne.[40] India's coastal waters are also invaluable to domestic economic activity, providing important sources of income, as well as food. Strategically, the new maritime focus is well in line with India's effort to assert its position as a global power and a net security provider in its neighbourhood and beyond. There is also an important counter-terrorism and direct national security element: the perpetrators of the 2008 Mumbai terror attacks infiltrated Indian territory in a dinghy via the Arabian Sea, and major structural reforms have seen maritime assets increase their role in ensuring secure borders. Last but certainly not least, India is driven by the increased military activity of China in its immediate neighbourhood, fuelling a big power competition dynamic.

Historically, India has often been accused of 'sea blindness': until the end of the Cold War, its security interests were mainly focused on its western land borders. Its (in many ways justified) preoccupation with shoring up its defences against Pakistan and China meant that the maritime realm was largely neglected. New Delhi's 'blue water' ambitions were first outlined in its 2007 Maritime Security Strategy, after which it acquired a number of capabilities, including amphibious surface ships and nuclear-powered submarines. With the acquisition of the *Vikramaditya* aircraft carrier from Russia, India is now the only power in Asia (apart from the US) in possession of two such landing platforms. In 2013, it also launched its first indigenous naval communication satellite, which further enhanced its capacity to monitor the entire Indian Ocean.

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39 "Joint Communication to the European Parliament and The Council: Elements for a new EU strategy on China", High Representative of The Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, European Commission, June 22, 2016, http://eeas.europa.eu/archives/docs/china/docs/joint_communication_to_the_european_parliament_and_the_council_-_elements_for_a_new_eu_strategy_on_china.pdf

40 "India's New Maritime Strategy", IISS, Strategic Comments, December 1, 2015, https://www.iiss.org/en/publications/strategic%20comments/sections/2015-1f4d/india-navy-65a1

Without doubt, China's increased interest in the Indian Ocean is one of the greatest drivers of India's efforts to (re)gain control over what it considers its 'backyard'. Suspicions about Beijing's regional ambitions date back to when China started negotiating the use of – and investing into – port facilities across the Indian Ocean, in what would be called the 'string of pearls' theory. The launch of the new Maritime Silk Route, China's ambitious trade and infrastructure project, is likely to further boost China's economic influence and strengthen its relations with those countries in which it invested. Finally, Beijing's announcement in February 2016 that it has begun the construction of a naval base in Djibouti, which will be the People's Liberation Army's (PLA) first-ever permanent military base overseas, can be seen as a strategic game-changer, especially given China's growing interests in East Africa.[41]

India has not stood idly by. In 2012, New Delhi expanded its naval presence on the Andaman and Nicobar Islands in the Bay of Bengal. The islands constitute a strategic outpost for controlling the Western side of the Malacca Straits bottleneck, and facilitating its engagement with South-East Asian navies, including the deployment in the South China Sea, where it is becoming increasingly involved. The repeated references to the 'Indo-Pacific' in India's new *Maritime Security Strategy* (published in October 2015) reflects a

Big Power Presence in the Indian Ocean

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41 Eva Pejsova, "Scrambling for the Indian Ocean", EUISS Brief Issue, February, 2016, http://www.iss.europa. eu/uploads/media/Brief_4_Indian_Ocean.pdf

shift in its geostrategic vision in which New Delhi not only wants to 'look' but also 'act East'.[42]

The new eastward focus was also visible in the 2016 International Fleet Review (IFR), a series of events including an international military exercise, a prestigious parade and a set of conferences, which was held at the headquarters of the Eastern Naval Fleet Command of Visakhapatnam. The exercise, which brought together navies from over 50 countries under the theme 'United through Oceans', aimed at promoting trust and cooperation among neighbouring navies. However, it was also an opportunity to demonstrate India's new operational capabilities and assets, to underline its newfound maritime might and determination to set the rules in the Indian Ocean.

Increasing Maritime Connections

India's new maritime orientation has become an important driver for strengthening (security) relationships with its neighbours, both big and small. A number of reciprocal state visits have seen the Maldives once again warm to India following the archipelago nation's growing closeness with China and a spat over its authoritarian tendencies. Security concerns about radicalisation and terrorism (in particular the spread of extreme Islamist views) seem to have brought the two partners back together, as was indicated in a recent visit to New Delhi by the foreign minister of the Maldives.[43] In a similar vein, Sri Lanka had for some time been drifting out of New Delhi's orbit and growing close to Beijing. With the defeat of Sri Lankan President Rajapaksa and some energetic diplomacy on the part of Prime Minister Narendra Modi, however, it appears that India was able to 'snatch back this pearl from Beijing's string'.[44] This allowed for the hope that the Trilateral Maritime Security Co-operation Initiative – launched by India in October 2011 together with Sri Lanka and the Maldives – could be resuscitated from its current hiatus.

India has also made significant efforts to reach out to the smaller island states in the southwest of the Indian Ocean. Shuttle diplomacy tours conducted by Modi have been accompanied by the cementing of political ties and even gifts, creating a 'string of flowers' to boost its strategic foothold in the area. India has gifted an interceptor coastguard boat to the Seychelles, and the first India-manufactured warship built for export was launched

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42 Premesha Saha, "'Indo-Pacific': Evolving Perceptions and Dynamics", National Maritime Foundation, October 2015, http://www.maritimeindia.org/View%20Profile/Maritime%20Perspective%2015.pdf

43 Ankit Panda, "Foreign Ministers of India, Maldives Discuss Indian Ocean Security", The Diplomat, August 17, 2016, http://thediplomat.com/2016/08/foreign-ministers-of-india-maldives-discuss-indian-ocean-security/

44 Kadira Pethiyagoda, "India v. China in Sri Lanka—Lessons for rising powers", Brookings Institution, May 1, 2015, https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2015/05/01/india-v-china-in-sri-lanka-lessons-for-rising-powers/

in Mauritius in March 2015.[45] Now there are eight coastal surveillance radar systems in both the Seychelles and in Mauritius respectively, six in Sri Lanka and 10 in the Maldives, all of which transmit information to 51 Indian coastal sites and are collected and analysed by the newly created Information Management and Analysis Centre in New Delhi.[46]

Improving relations with East African countries on the Indian Ocean constitutes an important element of India's South-South cooperation – particularly in light of India's interest in garnering African support for its demand to reform the United Nations Security Council (UNSC). Bilateral trade with these countries has also increased significantly over the last five years, with African and Indian annual export growth averaging 10 percent and 14 percent respectively.[47] Yet at the third India-Africa Forum Summit (IAFS), held in New Delhi in October 2015, Modi stressed India's commitment beyond trade and announced a grant assistance of $600 million– which includes a $100-million India-Africa development fund and an India-Africa health fund of $10 million. India has provided maritime military assistance to coastal trade partners like South Africa, Kenya and Tanzania. These are also the countries on the African mainland with the largest Indian diaspora communities and are the principal recipients of Indian investments.

Further to its east, India's interest in playing a more active security role in East Asia has been warmly welcomed by its strategic partners – it holds regular joint naval exercises (*Malabar*) with the US and Japan, and once more with Australia since 2015 – as well as ASEAN countries. The Indian Navy has also been involved in numerous operations in the Indian Ocean, from Search and Rescue (SAR) efforts of the 'disappeared' Malaysian Airlines flight MH370 in the Bay of Bengal to evacuation of Indian nationals from crisis zones such as Yemen (Operation Rahat).[48] India has also made use of maritime resources to deliver disaster aid to neighbouring countries, following, for example, the 2004 Indian Ocean earthquake and tsunami, and to the Maldives during a water crisis in December 2004 (in which India provided 1,200 tons of fresh water to Male).[49]

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45 Ankit Panda, "India and Seychelles Strengthen Ties Around Maritime Security, Economic Cooperation", The Diplomat, August 31, 2015, http://thediplomat.com/2015/08/india-and-seychelles-strengthen-ties-around-maritime-security-economic-cooperation/

46 "India's New Maritime Strategy", IISS, Strategic Comments, December 1, 2015, https://www.iiss.org/en/publications/strategic%20comments/sections/2015-1f4d/india-navy-65a1

47 José Luengo-Cabrera, "Chindia in Africa", EUISS Brief Issue, April, 2016, http://www.iss.europa.eu/uploads/media/Brief_12_Asia_in_Africa.pdf

48 Gurpreet S Khurana, "India's Yemen Evacuation: An Evolving Doctrine", National Maritime Foundation, May 21, 2015, http://www.maritimeindia.org/CommentryView.aspx?NMFCID=8503

49 Kapil Narula, "Drinking Water Crisis in Maldives: India Leads the Way", National Maritime Foundation, January 6, 2015, http://www.maritimeindia.org/CommentryView.aspx?NMFCID=5378

The Need for Maritime Multilateralism

Despite this proliferation of largely bilateral deals, the Indian Ocean still needs a sustainable, inclusive international regime for the management of its growing security challenges. Bordering a number of fragile (or even failed) states, its waters are plagued by transnational crime – from drug, weapons and people smuggling, to illegal unreported and unregulated fishing (IUU). The ocean's island states, such as the Maldives and the Seychelles, are also particularly vulnerable to marine environmental degradation, and the effects of climate change. The rising sea level is putting pressure on their already scarce freshwaters reserves and pushing people inland, and will possibly generate a wave of climate refugees in the long term. Finally, with the increased military presence and competition between big powers, there will soon be a need to establish a formal security regime with a crisis prevention mechanism to diffuse potential tensions or avoid accidental clashes.

Despite India's rhetoric on the need for multilateral maritime cooperation, the Indian Ocean lacks the adequate institutional structures, political will as well as the necessary trust required to bring this about. The South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), the only formal regional organisation, is paralysed by the longstanding tensions between India and Pakistan, and in maritime terms only discusses elementary legislation on trade and fisheries. The Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA), the largest regional organisation bringing together 21 countries, increasingly discusses the need for maritime cooperation and building a 'blue economy', but geopolitical competition and a lack of resources are hampering any practical implementation. Finally, the Indian Ocean Naval Symposium (IONS), a Track 1.5 mechanism launched in 2008, is the latest example of India's effort to promote maritime cooperation and confidence-building in the region.

While such multilateral efforts are welcome, their effectiveness in reducing regional tensions or implementing functional security measures remains limited. This is mainly due to major discrepancies in size and level of economic development, political and strategic divergences among parties, as well as the presence of extra-regional powers. Furthermore, an understanding of the concepts of regional cooperation and multilateralism are often lacking due to the absence of common historical identity.[50]
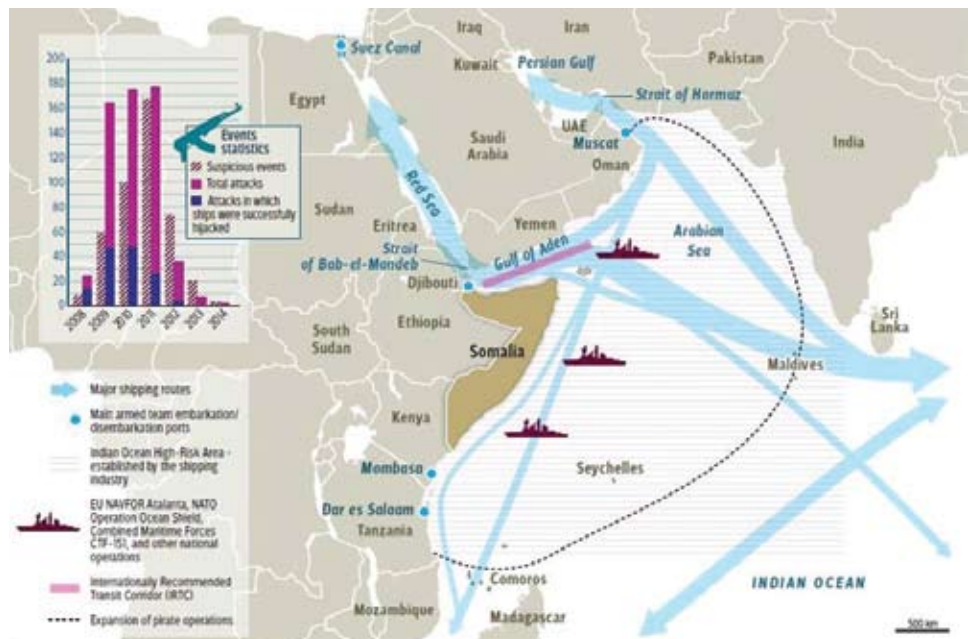
Paradoxically, the final stumbling block in building a comprehensive multilateral maritime regime in the Indian Ocean seems to be India itself. While it is trying to promote maritime cooperation, it is also less willing to engage in initiatives that may weaken its dominant position.

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50 Eva Pejsova, "Scrambling for the Indian Ocean", EUISS Brief Issue, February, 2016, http://www.iss.europa.eu/uploads/media/Brief_4_Indian_Ocean.pdf

Potential Areas for EU-India Cooperation

The Indian Ocean constitutes one of the most natural bases for the EU and India to build and expand their bilateral security cooperation. The EU has been actively involved in the ocean's western flank since it launched its counter-piracy operations in 2008. Since then, significant financial and human resources have been deployed by EU institutions and member states to enhance maritime security and safety in the region. Between July 2012 and October 2015, the EU civilian mission EUCAP Nestor aimed to enhance the maritime capacities (including counter-piracy and maritime governance) of five countries in the Horn of Africa and the Western Indian Ocean (Djibouti, Kenya, Somalia, Seychelles and Tanzania).[51] Though its activities are now limited only to Somalia and its mandate is due to expire at the end of 2016, it showcases the EU's commitment to broader regional initiatives focused on maritime matters.

The EU has been investing in training, enhancing national legislation, information-sharing and maritime domain awareness through its Critical Maritime Routes Programme (CMR). Specifically, the EU supported the implementation of the IMO Djibouti Code of Conduct (DCOC), signed by 21 coastal states on the Western Indian Ocean rim, by facilitating the creation of three information-sharing centres in Kenya, Tanzania and Yemen, as well as of a Regional Maritime Training Centre in Djibouti. The EU Maritime Security (MASE)

Combating Piracy in the Indian Ocean

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51 Thierry Tardy, "CSDP in action: What contribution to international security?", EUISS Chaillot Paper, May 2015, http://www.iss.europa.eu/uploads/media/Chaillot_134_CSDP_missions.pdf

Programme, launched in 2013 with a budget of €37.5 million, ensures coordination and continuity between its various capacity-building projects in the Indian Ocean – including its Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) missions, law enforcement (CRIMLEA) and inland economic development and governance projects. The EU also provides 80 percent of the budget (over €80 million) of the Indian Ocean Commission (IOC), a body which builds capacity in regional fisheries management, small island state development and marine biodiversity protection.

With the rise of piracy and its threat to Indian sailors, India joined the anti-piracy operations in the Gulf of Aden, and became a founding member of the Contact Group on Piracy off the Coast of Somalia, a voluntary, *ad hoc* international forum. The 2016 EU-India Agenda for Action, a roadmap to guide their strategic partnership for the next five years, specifically mentions the need to promote 'maritime security [and] freedom of navigation in accordance with international law', both of which were areas already identified in the EU-India Joint Action Plans of 2005 and 2008.[52] In the Joint Statement of the latest EU-India Summit of March 2016, both parties explicitly welcomed the 'efforts by the Contact Group on piracy off the coast of Somalia, chaired by the EU in 2014-2015'.[53] Outside of the Indian Ocean, given India's growing energy and commercial interests in West Africa, the Indian Navy has also pledged its commitment to help states in the Gulf of Guinea to protect maritime trade routes by offering patrolling assets and remote surveillance systems. This region, also a priority area for the EU, may also provide a testing ground for further EU-India cooperation in maritime affairs. The positive momentum, originally generated by the shared need to tackle piracy, can and should be harnessed to expand cooperation in other operational areas of maritime security.

Beyond the operational benefits, enhanced EU-India maritime security cooperation has also a broader political and strategic dimension. Although the EU and India have been 'Strategic Partners' for more than 10 years, relations have largely remained stalled and very little progress has been made in terms of security cooperation. The ongoing diplomatic standoff between Italy and India over the *Enrica Lexie* case does not help matters, especially in the field of maritime security. However, the problems run deeper, and are largely attributable to differences in security cultures, threat perceptions, as well as an underlying lack of strategic trust. The Indian leadership tends to view maritime security in purely conventional terms and barely acknowledges the EU as a potential partner in security matters (or sometimes even as a political entity in its own right) that could support New Delhi's national strategic interests. While Europe is fully aware of India's pressing traditional security concerns in its neighbourhood, it has become globally

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52   "EU-India Agenda for Action-2020", EU-India Summit, March 30, 2016, http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ en/meetings/international-summit/2016/03/20160330-agenda-action-eu-india_pdf/
53   "Joint Statement", 13th EU-India Summit, March 30, 2016, http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/meetings/ international-summit/2016/03/20160330-joint-statement-eu-india_pdf/

acknowledged as a defender of a rules-based international order – a quality especially needed today, and not only at sea.

The recently released EU Global Strategy, entitled 'Shared Vision, Common Action: A Stronger Europe', produced to guide EU foreign policy and makes it clear that maritime security is paramount: "The EU will contribute to global maritime security, building on its experience in the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean, and exploring possibilities in the Gulf of Guinea, the South China Sea and the Straits of Malacca."[54] A landmark document, detailing Brussels's maritime ambitions, has been the 2014 EU Maritime Security Strategy.[55] The comprehensive 15-page document highlights the complexity and interconnectedness of the global maritime domain, as well as its multifaceted strategic, economic, environmental and scientific importance. Recognising the value of international cooperation, it promotes the strengthening of ties with other countries and regional blocks. The document is useful for institutionalising multilateral cooperation at sea, as it provides an overarching political and legal framework for states to deepen and rationalise cooperation in functional maritime security issues, which could be of interest to any regional grouping.

If New Delhi wishes to ensure long-term stability in the Indian Ocean, it will also have to look into the everyday technical problems related to its governance, something for which the EU can be an invaluable partner. For instance, a regular High-level Dialogue on Maritime Security within the Strategic Partnership could be established to build trust and explore avenues for further cooperation. This could include SAR and HADR (Humanitarian and Disaster Relief) operations, tackling sea-borne crime such as smuggling or IUU activities, as well as issues related to marine environmental degradation, joint resource development or marine scientific research. In the short term, the EU and India could work together to promote Maritime Situational Awareness – building human and technological capacity on information sharing, maritime surveillance and data collection. In the long term, regular exchanges and greater cooperation between the two strategic partners on maritime issues could progressively raise awareness, build trust, and enhance the capacities needed to establish a comprehensive multilateral maritime security regime for the Indian Ocean.

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54 "Shared Vision, Common Action: A Stronger Europe", A Global Strategy for the European Union's Foreign and Security Policy, June 2016, https://europa.eu/globalstrategy/en/global-strategy-foreign-and-security-policy-european-union

55 "European Union Maritime Security Strategy", Council of the European Union, June 2014, http://register.consilium.europa.eu/doc/srv?l=EN&f=ST%2011205%202014%20INIT

Counter-terrorism and Radicalisation

Gareth Price

Counter-terrorism has been a subject for EU-India discussions and engagement since the strategic partnership was forged in 2004. Terrorism has afflicted both India and many countries in the EU for decades. India has suffered fall-out from the Sri Lankan civil war – including the assassination of then Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi in 1991 – and from left-wing extremism. Various leftist and separatist groups have been active in many European states. Recently, both EU members and India have suffered a number of attacks – both small- and large-scale – linked to Islamic extremists. Many attacks in India, including 2008 in Mumbai, have been conducted by terrorists from Pakistan. The willingness of attackers or bombers to die (in the case both of Islamist-inspired terrorists and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam) adds a layer of complexity to the challenges faced by countries threatened by terrorism.

Three broad areas provide scope for counter-terrorism cooperation between the EU and India, some of which are already in progress:

- dealing with groups that both India and the EU agree are terrorist: for instance, restricting their movement and financing;
- sharing best practices in responding to or mitigating different types of terrorist attacks;
- understanding the causes of radicalisation in order to introduce successful counter-radicalisation strategies and limit the spread of extremism.

Most discussions on anti-terrorism cooperation focus on the first two themes. India and the EU have explored the scope for collaboration and introduced frameworks for cooperation. Although there are gaps – which exist presumably because of reluctance on either side for

dialogue on particularly sensitive issues – progress could almost certainly be expedited. In relation to dealing with terrorist groups, there is agreement on promoting joint efforts to disrupt recruitment, stem terrorist movements, tackle terrorist financing, and prevent the supply of arms. However, proposals to share intelligence have proved more difficult to implement.

With respect to responding to terrorist attacks, there is some degree of cooperation on cyber security and agreement to work together through pertinent international organisations on subjects such as aircraft security. There has also been an agreement for sharing experiences in responding to terrorist activities, which in light of attacks in Mumbai, Paris and Brussels—and of EU plans to assist in India's "Smart Cities" initiative—would seem to have great scope for sharing best practices in building resilience. However, sensitivities on the Indian side would appear to be responsible for the slow pace of engagement on issues such as CBRN (chemical, biological, radiological and nuclear) security. Some argue that similar concerns have limited cooperation on cyber security and intelligence sharing as well. It is noteworthy that since the recent attacks in Europe there has been growing interest both in Europe and in India to enhance engagement on issues that previously proved to be too sensitive.

The issue of Islamic radicalisation (hereon referred to as radicalisation) is a pertinent one. Understanding of radicalisation generally focuses on people who have been radicalised rather than those that have not. Yet India's 180 million Muslims have proved remarkably resilient to radicalisation, for reasons not satisfactorily explained. For instance, as of mid-2015, around 440 Belgian, 1,200 French and 500-600 German Muslims had joined the so-called Islamic State.[56] In contrast, by the end of 2015 the number of Indian Muslims in the group stood at just 25.[57]

Many of the major terrorist attacks committed in India over the past decades – the 1993 Mumbai Stock Exchange bombing; the 2001 attack on India's parliament and the 2008 Mumbai attacks – have each had a connection to Pakistan. If there is a desire for greater security cooperation between the EU and India, what is the scope for a more coordinated approach towards Pakistan? Are there instruments in the EU's toolbox which could help to deliver more satisfactory outcomes in countering extremism in Pakistan and encouraging Pakistan to draw back on its tolerance, if not active encouragement of anti-Indian militancy?

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56 Louisa Loveluck, "Islamic State: Where do its fighters come from?", The Telegraph, June 8, 2015, http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/islamic-state/11660487/Islamic-State-one-year-on-Where-do-its-fighters-come-from.html

57 Vijaita Singh, "25 Indians in Islamic State: govt.", The Hindu, December 27, 2015, http://www.thehindu.com/news/national/25-indians-in-islamic-state-govt/article8032071.ece

Radicalisation

Part of the difficulty in countering violent extremism is the lack of agreement and proper understanding of how people are radicalised to begin with, and therefore how best to counter it, beyond law enforcement. For instance, some countries have used non-violent extremists as tools for de-radicalisation or argue that the right to free speech is important to demonstrate so-called 'Western' or 'democratic' values. Others believe that non-violent extremists are part of the problem, providing the pool which produces violent extremists, or being a step on the pathway towards violent extremism.

While the specific factors driving extremism diverge between, and even within, countries, one fact is undeniable: that despite its Muslim population of some 180 million, Indian Muslims have proven largely immune to Islamic radicalisation. At the same time, while starting from a low base, the number of Indians being radicalised is increasing, with specific groups travelling overseas or moving within India.

While India has frequently undergone instances of communal violence, and Kashmir has suffered from separatist violence since 1989, until a series of bomb blasts in 2008 committed by the Students' Islamic Movement of India (SIMI), India was proud to claim that there were no instances of Indian Muslims committing acts of terrorism within India (Kashmir aside). There are very few documented cases of Indian Muslims joining the Taliban in Afghanistan in the 1990s (in contrast to both Pakistan and Bangladesh). And over the past couple of years it is self-evident that India's Muslim population is vastly less likely to travel to the Islamic State (or undertake "lone wolf" activities) than Muslim minorities in Western Europe or North America. India has provided a much smaller number of recruits for Islamist groups than other countries in South Asia, West Asia (the Middle East), Europe or even countries such as Indonesia. While there are arguments against complacency – some radicalised Indian Muslims have participated in the Kashmir militancy – there are cases of groups of Indian Muslims leaving to join the Islamic State in Afghanistan and the Middle East, and more numerous cases of members of the Indian Diaspora becoming radicalised, notably from Maharashtra, Hyderabad and Kerala – India does appear to have found some means of deterring radicalisation among its Muslim community. The major attacks that have taken place in India (2008 aside) have clear links to (presumably radicalised) Muslims from Pakistan.

Consequently, India's approach resembles that of the West pre-2004: radicalisation is generally seen as a foreign, rather than a domestic, policy issue, and there is broad satisfaction with the assimilation of Muslims. Several explanations have been posited to explain why Indian Muslims have generally been immune from radicalisation:

Islamic radicalisation requires religious identity to be pre-eminent over other identities. But in India there are often more cultural similarities between Hindus and Muslims in

specific locations than differences, and there are more differences between Muslims hailing from different parts of the country. Historically, Hindu and Muslim ceremonies have been celebrated by members of both religions.

Along with this syncretic approach, Islam across South Asia has been dominated by Sufism, which differs from the more orthodox Arab versions of Islam. Consequently, India has been immune from the Shia-Sunni sectarianism that has afflicted Pakistan and countries in West Asia. Indian Muslims also appear to self-define against Wahhabi-influenced Muslims in Pakistan.

Other explanations suggest that India's democratic and secular traditions militate against radicalisation; that Islam as practised in India is generally moderate, despite many Indian Muslims being taught by the Deobandi school that influenced the Afghan Taliban; and that there is a tradition of religious intermingling. Even so, the 2006 Sachar Committee Report suggested that Muslims perform poorly by most social and economic indicators, and others have suggested that their moderation stems from the necessity of having more immediate problems.

Yet there are reasons to be less sanguine about the future. In a speech in Singapore in October 2016, Prime Minister Narendra Modi described radicalisation as one of the most significant threats to India, along with cross-border terrorism. The factors held responsible for creating the environment conducive to radicalisation in the West are apparent in India as well. The sense of victimhood stems less from personal experience of racism (as in the West) than from a sense of exclusion. Muslims are the poorest community, by religion, in India. Muslims are also under-represented in both the public and private sectors. In some cases, the driver of radicalisation may be less due to resentment on account of lack of employment than the idle time that stems from a lack of work. Furthermore the policy emphasis on issues such as cow slaughter – which underscore differences between Muslims and Hindus - has led some analysts to fear that this alienation could become more acute. And even if it does not, India may lose the opportunity to showcase its version of Islam "in juxtaposition to Saudi Arabia."[58]

The study of radicalisation is relatively new. The emergence of Al-Qaeda and the Taliban in the 1990s led to analysis of the distinction between "moderate" and "radical" Islam but this was generally seen through the prism of foreign policy. This approach intensified after 9/11. The Madrid train bombings and the murder of Dutch filmmaker Theo van Gogh in 2004, as well as the London attacks the following year, shifted the focus to understanding the factors for and means of radicalisation of people brought up in the West, and to understand radicalisation in other countries.

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58 Samar, "Radicalisation and the Indian Muslim", The Huffington Post, April 11, 2015 http://www. huffingtonpost.in/samar/radicalisation-and-the-indian-muslim/

Initial attempts focused on examining binary causes – whether economic, social, cultural or political. As the number of examples of radicalised individuals grew, however, it became quickly apparent that binary causes failed to explain this phenomenon. For instance, while poverty seemed an intuitive explanation for radicalisation, many of those committing acts of violence were not poor.

Subsequent analysis focussed on brainwashing. This approach assumed that a previously moderate individual would be "turned" by a radical cleric or someone else and would be persuaded to take violent action. Thus radicalisation was seen through the prism of religious ideas, highlighting the need to counter this "wrong" interpretation of Islam. But this gradual progression from "normal" to "radicalised" is now being challenged or nuanced on several levels. Instead a complex and often unique set of circumstances appear to be responsible in explaining why individuals turn to violent extremism.

The idea of "radicalisation" remains disputed on several levels. Some claim that it does not exist, arguing that it is a myth promoted by both the media and security agencies as a means of justifying more draconian policies. Others, such as Frank Furedi, argue that claims of radicalisation "make the alienation of young Muslims sound like a 'psychological virus', distracting attention from 'the very real cultural divisions that afflict British communities today.'"[59]

The second dispute relates to the issue of whether non-violent extremism – that is, those that hold extreme views but do not commit acts of violence – should be tackled or tolerated. In 2008, the European Commission's Expert Group on Violent Radicalisation noted:

> *While radicalism can pose a threat it is extremism, and particularly terrorism, that ought to be our main concern since it involves the active subversion of democratic values and the rule of law. In this sense violent radicalisation is to be understood as socialisation to extremism which manifests itself in terrorism.[60]*

However, many governments no longer take this view, and the balance of opinion appears to be shifting away from the toleration of extremist viewpoints towards the idea that the expression of extreme opinions provides a swamp in which violent extremists can flourish. Put another way, does extremism describe an individual that holds political ideas which are opposed to a country's core beliefs or which go against basic human rights? Or is extremism a question of the methods by which individuals seek to realise their aims?

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59 Peter Neumann, "The trouble with radicalization", International Affairs, Volume 89, Issue 4, July, 2013, p.873–893

60 European Commission, "Radicalisation Processes Leading to Acts of Terrorism", A report of the European Commission's Expert Group on Violent Radicalisation, May 2008 http://www.rikcoolsaet.be/files/art_ip_wz/Expert%20Group%20Report%20Violent%20Radicalisation%20FINAL.pdf

There is a growing consensus among analysts (if not always reflected in government response) that radicalisation is a process rather than a sudden event and that there is no single path or binary cause that can be used to predict "radicalisation". Instead there is a complex set of circumstances and individual pathways. (The exception to this rule is the case of peer-to-peer radicalisation in prisons which is a global phenomenon, discussed below.)

Four broad observations emerge from studies of radicalisation that explain why radicalisation takes place:

- Individuals feel an over-arching sense of the exclusion/oppression/alienation of Islamic people. This is often felt personally (because of discrimination in the West) and in general (focussed on issues such as Palestine, Kashmir, Chechnya or the West's actions in Iraq);
- Context-specific explanations: Specific areas have particular attributes that help to explain why radicalisation takes place, for example, high incidence of poverty among the migrant community or strong influence from the far right. These reasons explain why some areas have generated more radicalised individuals than others;[61]
- Personal experience of violence: The idea of a pathway from moderate to extreme to violent Islam may be misleading. In many cases, radicalised individuals have been exposed to violence before adopting an extreme version of Islam. They take the violence from their past experience with them;
- Friendship groups: Radical Islam is the current anti-establishment ideology as Marxism in the West was in the 1970s. Many young people express anti-establishment sentiments, although most grow out of it. There is evidence that when particular groups of friends decide to adopt a violent approach, mapping these linkages and networks offers the best means of identifying those likely to turn to violence. Feeding into this approach is the breakdown of traditional social structures in immigrant communities.

There is scope for enhanced understanding of why India has proven to be relatively immune from domestic radicalisation. In addition, there is scope for the EU to engage with India on its learnings regarding the causes of radicalisation. In particular, online radicalisation is a growing challenge, which is another potential area for EU-India cooperation.

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61 Arturo Varvelli (ed.), "Jihadist Hotbeds: Understanding Local Radicalization Processes", Milan: The Italian Institute for International Political Studies, 2016 http://www.ispionline.it/it/EBook/Rapporto_ Hotbeds_2016/JIHADIST.HOTBEDS_EBOOK.pdf. (This ebook notes the specific context in areas including Minneapolis and St Paul in the US; Brussels-Antwerp in Belgium and the western Balkans, which explain the disproportionate number of radicalised individuals.)

Pakistan

Perhaps the most contentious subject for potential EU-India cooperation is the policy approach towards Pakistan, and the extent to which it could be coordinated. A dialogue in relation to Pakistan risks raising Indian claims that the EU is "hyphenating" India and Pakistan. Yet given Indian claims that terrorism in India generally is connected to – or even directed by – Pakistan, ignoring Pakistan in relation to counter-terrorism would seem counter-intuitive.

For Pakistan, Kashmir lies at the heart of the relationship between India and Pakistan, while India argues that terrorism – some state-sponsored – is the primary source of tension. As regards Kashmir, there is an argument that Pakistan – or at least Pakistan's military – does not want the issue to be resolved so that it can maintain its status within Pakistan. While civil society in Pakistan is increasingly squeezed and political parties have ceded control of large parts of policy-making to the military, both the EU and India have an interest in entrenching civilian rather than military power in Pakistan. Yet thus far no one has devised a strategy to dislodge Pakistan's military from controlling key aspects of its foreign policy.

The EU, along with the US and other members of the UN Security Council, hope for dialogue between India and Pakistan and for the resolution of the Kashmir dispute. India's long-standing position is that it is open for dialogue with Pakistan but that by turning a blind eye/facilitating/actively encouraging terrorist attacks within India, Pakistan demonstrates its disinterest in dispute resolution.

Western (i.e., European and US) policy towards Pakistan has been driven by the need to engage Pakistan so as to elicit the best outcomes in Afghanistan. But engaging Pakistan through an Af-Pak prism may not provide the best approach to understand Pakistan's decision-making process or rationale. Furthermore, while foreign troops have not entirely withdrawn from Afghanistan, it is self-evident that the EU and US policy towards Pakistan has not succeeded in eliciting the best outcome.

Given the desire of both the EU and US to deepen ties with India, does this present an opportunity to recalibrate relations with Pakistan? Further, given that preventing conflict between India and Pakistan is a priority for the EU (and the US), would it be helpful to cut ties with Pakistan (in whatever way) and alienate it? Would a Pakistan that is more reliant on China be a greater or lesser threat to India?

The EU's response will be vital in determining whether or not Indian efforts to isolate Pakistan succeed not least since it is Pakistan's largest trading partner. Proposed action at the UN against certain individuals such as Masood Azhar, head of Jaish-e-Mohammed, has failed because of China's veto power. It is most likely that China will continue to support

Pakistan although it may well have been irked by the latter's failure to successfully encourage the Afghan Taliban to engage in a political dialogue with the Afghan government. Furthermore, a recent article in a state-run Chinese newspaper highlighted security concerns in relation to the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor, and implied that the project may be scaled back with more attention being given to Southeast Asia. Security issues in Baluchistan are also of concern to China. Clearly, if there were a change in China's position the opportunity for sanctions under the auspices of the UN would arise.

In the (more likely) absence of UN sanctions, it is possible that India would look for support from the EU and the US, as well as the Gulf. In May the Punjab (Pakistani province) Law Minister Rana Sanaullah Khan was asked by BBC-Urdu why Pakistan did not take legal action against groups such as Jaish-e-Mohammad. He replied, "How can you prosecute a group with whom the state itself has been involved with?"[62] These comments, which appeared to admit a link between the Pakistani state and some militant groups, led to speculation that the EU could impose landing restrictions on Pakistani airlines. Another possibility would be for the EU to retract trade concessions that were introduced following the 2010 Pakistan floods. Alternatively, an array of sanctions against individuals and groups or targeted economic sanctions could be introduced.

Furthermore, India's decision to draw attention to human rights abuses in Baluchistan opens up another question for the EU. There has long been speculation that the EU could remove its GSP+ trade preferences to Pakistan on the grounds that the latter is not meeting the terms of the various human rights conventions on which the tariff preferences are contingent. The greater the publicity given to Baluchistan, the greater would be the chances of the preferences being removed.

Given Indian concerns that discussing Pakistan suggests a re-hyphenation of India and Pakistan, one approach could be for the EU and India to discuss approaches to rogue states, terrorist groups and individuals. While India has traditionally been hostile towards the imposition of sanctions, there may be scope for a broader discussion, in particular on the effectiveness of targeted sanctions.

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62 Pakistan Today, "Rana Sanaullah rules out action against JeM, JuD due to state involvement", Pakistan Today, May 18, 2016, http://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/2016/05/18/national/rana-sanaullah-rules-out-action-against-jem-jud-due-to-state-involvement/

EU-India declarations on counter-terrorism

September 2005: Political Declaration on the India-EU Strategic Partnership

We recognize the fact that terrorism constitutes one of the most serious threats to international peace and security, and reaffirm our condemnation of all acts of terrorism in all its forms and manifestations as criminal and unjustifiable, irrespective of their motives. As part of our joint efforts to fight terrorism, we will establish contacts between the Indian and EU Counter Terrorism Coordinators, work towards blocking access to terrorist financing and co-operate in the fight against money laundering.

Source: http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/en/er/86132.pdf

December 2010: EU-India Joint Declaration on International Terrorism

Political dialogue:
• Continue to discuss Counter Terrorism cooperation at high level meetings within our security dialogue.
• Encourage all countries to deny safe haven to terrorists and to dismantle terror infrastructure on the territories under their control.

Law enforcement and police cooperation:
• Identify, including through seminars, areas of cooperation with respect to the designated agencies, according to their respective competencies.
• Continue efforts to prevent access by terrorists to financial and other resources.
• Enhance efforts for accessing and sharing strategic information, so as to better disrupt

and prevent terrorist activity.

- Intensify efforts to render the widest possible measure of mutual legal assistance and to expedite processing of extradition requests and to explore the possibility of an EU-India Mutual Legal Assistance Agreement and an EU-India Agreement on Extradition.

Research, Technology and Cybersecurity:
- Agree to closer India-EU cooperation and mutual assistance in this area.

Transport, aviation and border security:
- Work together in ICAO, to improve international security standards for passengers, cargo and mail, including in transit.
- Coordinate efforts against terrorists and terrorist groups so as to deny them safe haven and freedom of travel in accordance with international law.
- Encourage more efficient controls on issuance of identity and travel documents to prevent movement of terrorist and terrorist groups across national borders.

Consequence Management:
- Share experiences and best practices on managing the consequences of a terrorist attack.

Cooperation in the Multilateral system, including United Nations:
- Increase cooperation in multilateral fora like the UN, and intensify efforts to bring about a rapid adoption of CCIT.
- Build on the opportunities of coordination provided by the membership of Financial Action Task Force of EU Member States and India by intensifying efforts to prevent access by terrorists to financial and other resources and by sharing best practices on financial controls.
- Reaffirm commitment to implement the 2006 UN Global Counter Terrorism Strategy as a unique instrument to enhance national, regional and global efforts to counter terrorism.
- Encourage global ratification and effective implementation of all relevant conventions on counter terrorism.
- Promote initiatives, under the auspices of UN, inter alia, on Alliance of Civilization initiative, to enhance dialogue and broaden understanding among civilizations.
- The EU and India agree that an effective and comprehensive approach to diminish the long term threat of violent extremism is an important component of our efforts to combat terrorism.

Source: http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/en/foraff/118405.pdf

30 March 2016: India-EU Joint Declaration on the Fight Against Terrorism

Recalling the 'India-EU Joint Declaration on International Terrorism' of 2010, the Leaders noted the urgent need for a comprehensive approach to address terrorism. They resolved to step up cooperation to prevent and counter violent extremism and radicalisation, disrupt recruitment, terrorist movements and the flow of foreign terrorist fighters, stop sources of terrorist financing, dismantle terrorist infrastructure and prevent supply of arms to terrorists. To this end, they committed to further enhance exchanges in the fields of finance, justice and police and looked forward to the EU-India Counter-terrorism Dialogue.

Reaffirming that terrorism cannot and should not be associated with any religion, nationality, civilization or ethnic group, India and the EU agreed to coordinate efforts to prevent violent extremism also by addressing conditions conducive to its spread. The Leaders expressed concern at the increased incidence of radicalisation of youth and the use of the internet to this end. They emphasised the need to develop bilateral and multilateral cooperation in the field of information and communication technology, including IT service providers to minimise the use of cyber space for by terrorist groups and to counter extremist narratives online. They agreed that cooperation between immigration and airline authorities for monitoring travel of foreign terrorist fighters requires urgent collective action by all nations.

Source: http://www.mea.gov.in/bilateral-documents.htm?dtl/26576/IndiaEU_Joint_Statement_on_the_13th_IndiaEU_Summit_Brussels

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