

Short Reviews of Recent Books

Jinnah: His Successes, Failures and Role in History. *By Ishtiaq Ahmed, (Penguin, Random House Gurgaon, India), Pages 808, Price – Rs. 999/-, ISBN: 9780670090525*

At 808 pages of which approximately 67 are the bibliography and index, the book by the Swedish Pakistani academic Isthiaq Ahmed is heavy to hold and appears daunting to read. However, when one starts reading it, it is not as heavy to read as its sheer thickness and weight suggests. The reason for this is the enigma of its subject, the meticulous research of the author and the flowing prose. Ahmed has researched Jinnah's actions very thoroughly to ascertain his successes and failures and the depth and significance of his legacy.

Muhammad Ali Jinnah was undoubtedly one of the most fascinating political leaders of the 20th century Indian subcontinent. His successes, failures, and personal life as well as his role in history have continued to generate controversy. Having won Pakistan by invoking Islam and describing Muslims as a distinct and separate nation, those very ideas constrained the freedom of the new country to manoeuvre freely and extricate the idea and demand for Pakistan from Islam. Jinnah is celebrated in Pakistan as the father of the nation and reviled in India for his role in the partition of India. However, even in India he is given a grudging respect because he is seen as a 'son of the (Indian) soil' who was a nationalist and who achieved a lot in his (short by today's standards of longevity) life. The respect however merges into a feeling of betrayal when questions concerning him come up. The prime being as to how did someone who advocated Hindu-Muslim unity become the inflexible proponent of the two-nation theory? The controversies surrounding his actions have only increased in the period after his death. It is for this reason that books about Jinnah still get the Indian reader's attention.

In the context of Pakistani readers, the book seeks to solve a puzzle in their minds; Muhammad Ali Jinnah succeeded, apparently against all odds, in mobilising Indian Muslims to support his demand for the partition of India to create Pakistan — but once Pakistan came into being why have Pakistani Muslims disputed Jinnah's vision of the state and nation. They debate whether Jinnah envisioned Pakistan as a theocratic state. His views on federalism too are ambiguous. Attempting to answer these questions against

the backdrop of the turbulent struggle against colonialism, this book is an enlightening examination of one of the most controversial figures of pre partition India.

The author identifies four main stages in the political career of Jinnah, first as an Indian nationalist; then as a Muslim communitarian; next as a Muslim nationalist; and finally, as the founder of Pakistan. The first three stages unfold against the backdrop of British rule, and the fourth after Pakistan had come into being. Generally, the third stage is celebrated as the hallmark of his charisma and ability to bring about a landmark change in Muslim thinking. For the fourth stage when Jinnah succeeded in bringing about the partition of India, he had no clear or consistent vision, or policies to offer. One of the main contentions of this book is that during the fourth and final phase of the extraordinary political life he had, there was no single core argument around which he conducted his politics. Instead, the fear of perceived Indian conspiracy against him and Pakistan remains a constant reference for his behaviour. This led him to take extraordinary powers and take controversial decisions that became an example for military authoritarianism in Pakistan and weakened parliamentary democracy. The landed elites, a Punjabi-dominated army and a Mohajir-led civil service came to power not despite Jinnah, but because of him. By September 1948, when he died, little had been done to set out a clear constitutional blueprint for the new state. Its undemocratic roots with the Governor General, and not the Prime Minister, being in charge did not portend well; subsequent events proved that.

The book is laid out in 21 chapters starting off with his generous role in history, his two nation theory and how his vision achieve momentum in the period from March 1940 onwards, for the creation of Pakistan, for which he used the Quit India movement to his advantage. Even those who read through the book will be awed by the depth and quality of the author's command over secondary literature and virtually all of Jinnah's works and speeches. His success derived as much from contingency and the exigencies of changing imperial policy as much as his own abilities. Using a wealth of contemporary records and archival material, Ahmed recounts many hither to unknown facets of Jinnah's transition from Indian nationalist to Pakistan's all-powerful head of state. Chapter 15 of the book titled, "Jinnah as the All-Powerful Head of

a Muslim State” explains in a concise and precise manner, the history of Islam’s temporal power holders. Quoting from the Holy Quran this chapter will appeal to even those who do not want to read about Jinnah but would want to understand more about the coming together of temporal and spiritual authority in Islam. Chapter 17, titled ‘Governor-General Jinnah’s Other Speeches, Statements and Messages, is composed of 50 pages of somewhat archival material. The reader may find these a bit taxing to read as they tend to be repetitive being directed towards domestic politics. They also show how Jinnah in trying to manage a precarious post birth situation vacillated from trying to show that he cared for minorities while vilifying them in an address to military officers on 11 Oct 1947; he was opposing the Muslim League to become the organisation for all Pakistanis because he did not want it to be secular (p 533) at the same time he was insisting that the Muslim League should survive in India as the party to ensure the protection of the interest of Indian Muslims.

Chapter 19 is not about Jinnah at all. Its title says as much as it is ‘The Liaquat Interlude’ since Liaquat could affect Pakistani politics only after the death of Jinnah on 11 Sep 1948. However, with his assassination on 16 Oct 1951 apparently by ultranationalists who considered him soft on India there was no provincial leader who could claim either his or Jinnah’s mantle leading to the rise of the bureaucratic-military oligarchy which made and unmade six governments in the period 1951 to 1958 when the first military coup took place.

This is a book that clears several perceptions, answers a lot of questions and provides fresh insight into an enigmatic personality. Therein will be its enduring value.

Lt Gen Ghanshyam Singh Katoch, PVSM, AVSM, VSM (Retd)

Internal Security: A Psychological Approach. *By Major General Sanjay Bhide, YSM, VSM (Retd), (New Delhi, Manas Publications, 2020), Pages 149, Price - Rs 595/-, ISBN: 9788170495666*

There are many dimensions of looking at internal security as it pertains to our country and there are numerous books and articles on the same, however, one of the dimensions which is not widely written about or discussed is the ‘Psychological Approach’ and this is what Major General Sanjay Bhide has dealt with admirably

in his recent book. General Bhide has the necessary credentials backed by his vast experience and critical appointments held including those in various operational assignments in Mizoram, Sri Lanka, Punjab, and Jammu & Kashmir where he held crucial command assignments which included command of a Rashtriya Rifles (RR) battalion and later a RR Force. The book is aimed at the serious reader having a role in policy formulation and in influencing decisions as well as those involved in these operations who will undoubtedly benefit from his practical perspective and deep insight.

The book is laid out in six chapters which include an Environment Scan, Emergence of a Threat Vector, Existing Security Architecture for Internal Security, Psychological Intervention Operations, Winning the Fight against India's Threat Vectors and a Study of the Kashmir Threat Vector.

Internal security demands a comprehensive approach as it involves a multitude of aspects which impact both the individual and society. There is no doubt that an individual's sense of security and belonging stems from an effective political, economic, social, religious and cultural environment and this is an important component of security of a group and society. Psychological factors remain a key to the well-being of different categories of people. The reality is that there is only an extent to which such feelings should be allowed to fester because if they go on too long; bitter feelings remain and corrective measures become difficult.

The book clearly brings out that the perceptions and assessments of an individual and groups are different though the levels of intensity vary. The author states that we have failed to find a cogent strategy to deal with this kind of situation. He has identified various threat vectors that have an effect on internal security and threatens the national fabric. General Bhide has stressed on the importance of a process and suggested an interdisciplinary operational framework for handling such threats.

He writes that there is a gap between value expectations and value capabilities, which leads to inflated perceptions of 'capabilities and values'. This psychologically leads to a sense of deprivation of an individual that makes him vulnerable to anti state activity. Yet, not all individuals rebel, and paradoxically while an individual remains at the core of this threat vector, he doesn't rebel alone

and is part of a larger group or network which, at times, plays out on religious or ethnic sentiments and drives irrationality. It is, therefore, imperative that the Psychological Approach needs to focus on the individual with regard to his perceptions and aspirations and his position as a responsible citizen in a socio-economic and political environment. This is the foundation on which a threat vector develops and grows.

The chapter on Kashmir covers the historical details, the realities that shaped the region, and the culprit for the sense of deprivation and exploitation being the 'outsider' – earlier the 'Maharaja' and now 'Delhi'; a perception that is undesirable. By ignoring the genesis, the arguments made in earlier chapters seem justified and as per the author, in the war of perception the vector remains a step ahead. Unfortunately, as pointed out in the book, multidisciplinary theories remain confined to the academics. It is, therefore, imperative that policy makers, practitioners and executors of these policies are aware of the various human dimensions that make people behave in the manner they do and this book will help bridge the gap. The author while not recommending any changes in the Cabinet Committee on Security (CCS), which is the most important body responsible for internal security having the power, vision and capability, feels that it only looks at a threat once it manifests effectively. There is, thus, a need for the structures that support it to balance long term and pressing emerging issues, external and internal dimensions and deal with the vectors through their myriad manifestations. As kinetic force has its limitations, the psychological drivers need to be understood and identification and mitigation needs more focus. He has accordingly recommended some restructuring and reorientation in the existing security structures both at the Central and State level including a Ministry for Internal Security; these recommendations will need deliberation in greater detail.

Combating internal security is a complex, multi-dimensional task; one of the key challenges, as correctly identified by the author, is the 'Psychological Approach', and this is what we need to understand and address as a nation and, particularly, by those formulating and implementing its security policies. It is for this reason that this book needs to be read, for only then will we be in a position to attempt to answer the questions he has asked. Which is as to "why after decades of political, military and diplomatic

efforts and analyses of the issues involved, we are still not able to reach at a resolution of most conflict situations — or at least commence the process of conflict resolution — and why newer and newer threats emerge? The author's examination of the various threat vectors to internal security, his extensive research duly supported by references and deep understanding will undoubtedly help in navigating the difficult path of conflict resolution which is the desirable end state and remains the overriding aim of the nation.

Maj Gen Jagatbir Singh, VSM (Retd)

Non-Contact Warfare: An Appraisal of China's Military Capabilities. *By Brigadier Vivek Verma, (New Delhi: USI of India in association with Pentagon Press LLP, 2020), Pages 352, Price - Rs. 1295/-, ISBN: 9789390095162 (Hardback)*

The geopolitical and geo economic manifestation of world politics has been completely destabilised by COVID-19 contagion. It has thrown the globe in turmoil with endless conflicts shaping the world order. Competitions leading to confrontations and conflicts are shaping strategies. Ever-evolving technologies have pushed the boundaries of doctrinal debates which devolve more on deterrence, disruption, deception, disempowerment, disinformation rather than destruction. Non-contact warfare has emerged as the new method of warfighting and war avoidance.

This book by Brigadier Vivek Verma is the first book which has been published on a contemporary subject about which people have been talking piecemeal. He provides a fresh perspective on how the game at a sub-threshold level of war is likely to be played. The centre of gravity of non-contact warfare has changed from 'Information' to 'People' who are ordinary citizens of the state.

The focus of every nation is to influence the outcomes of each contest along the escalation matrix. Hence, perception of winning is more important than victory, and thus, the violence-force correlation is testing security discourse. The future of warfare had never been so dynamic and overwhelming. The changing focus of conflict is to target people and economy. Non-contact warfare intends to influence people and governance while marginalising the role of armed forces.

The book is divided into six chapters. In the first chapter, the author has tried to contextualise the term non-contact warfare in the absence of any cogent definition. He has tried to develop the understanding of non-contact warfare by providing an insight into the changing character of warfare affected by technological developments during the Cold War and Post-Cold War conflicts and the emergence of non-state actors besides the states as the new stakeholders. Instead of the military, the new targets are the population, sovereignty, governance structures and the economy. With war-avoidance as the new norm, the non-military measures or use of non-lethal and lethal stand-off military means have gained currency as the way of war fighting. The end state being winning without fighting or fight with minimum use of physical contact of own forces. Hence, according to the author, the future of warfare is likely to be non-contact.

Chapter Two of the book examines possible use of non-contact warfare means by China's People Liberation Army (PLA) through the prism of strategic behaviour and adoption of the concept of defeating the superior through the adoption of superior strategy, structures and operational simulations. PLA's role and security doctrines like 'Active Defence' and 'Three Warfares' have also been analysed. The book also throws light on discreet methods adopted by China of countering America's global alliance system by favourably managing the 'Shi' – a Chinese way of gauging strategic situations.

Chapter Three and Four look at the kinetic and non-kinetic domains of China's military capabilities. An absorbing insight into Chinese long-term planning to achieve its stated military goal of significantly enhancing informationisation and strategic capabilities has been provided. The push for PLA reforms and priority of force and doctrine development for lethal and non-lethal systems helps in grasping the strategic direction of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP).

Chapter Five explores how China intends to play the game of non-contact warfare to create favourable 'Shi'. It gives an account of how the PLA has been focussing on enhancing influence dominance and situational awareness to counter Pentagon dominance strategy. The chapter also illustrates the 'war control' strategy adopted by the PLA through the development of disruptive

and deterrence capabilities in the non-nuclear field. The role of the PLA in the sub-conventional domain and related civil-military fusion in the Chinese security apparatus highlighted in the book provide perspective about its asymmetric capabilities development.

The final Chapter Six is India-centric, where the author has tried to build scenarios that may lead to strategic instability and provides policy recommendations for the security planners. The author pitches for the whole-of-a-nation approach to counter the threat from China. India needs to firewall its security by taking a holistic review of its security apparatus and look at areas where it needs to create strategic leverages and build asymmetric capabilities.

‘Non-Contact Warfare: An Appraisal of China’s Military Capabilities’ is a timely book that posits that the warfare has moved beyond jointmanship between the services and predicts that the effective civil-military synergy will decide the outcome of the next war. The book rationally and lucidly analyses the events and builds scenarios which binds the reader. It is rich source material for security planners across all walks of life - whether they wear the uniform or not. A must read book for those who are concerned with national security, governance, intelligence or working in economic arena.

Maj Gen Sanjeev Chauhan, YSM

Aatma Nirbhar Bharat (Self-Reliant India): Challenges and Opportunities. By Brigadier (Dr.) Rajeev Bhutani, (New Delhi, Pentagon Press, 2020), Pages 214, Price – Rs. 895/-, ISBN: 9789390095131

Among the contemporary issues that have been extensively debated and written about in recent times are a wide range of issues encompassing regional security, human security, maritime issues, energy security etc. A prominent one among them is the *Aatmanirbhar Bharat Abhiyan* (Self-reliant India) which directly impacts a nation’s security. The topic is at the forefront of the non-academic discourse since the outbreak of coronavirus in early 2020. It is extremely difficult to research and write about a vision, propounded by the Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi, which is yet to be formulated in terms of policy and is still in its nascent stage with its share of shortcomings and uncertainty.

With this as a background, one can say that the book being reviewed is very relevant as the author has done a commendable job to bring out this book on the topic and discuss various elements of it with granular details. The book has been written with care to make it readable for the lay reader. Written in very lucid language, the author has beautifully narrated the flow of the events which make self-reliance imperative. He, thereafter, links the narrative to the current challenges and opportunities. The extraordinary number of citation and notes clearly highlight the amount of research done on the book.

The vision for *Aatmanirbhar Bharat* is based on the crucial component of national security — to fill the gap in the industrial and manufacturing sector, technology, and supply chain, and adopt efficiency and prepare India for 21st century. The pandemic has also highlighted the vulnerability of the current global supply chain dominated by an aggressive and belligerent China. This argument is excellently captured in the initial chapters of the book.

The book rightly begins with the onslaught of the Covid-19 pandemic which has put tremendous pressure on the global economy, including the economy of India. The book talks about the change in global order, new world order, geopolitical uncertainty, and the perfidy of China. In the first chapter, the author has given details of the past events linking it to the emerging geopolitical environment. The author successfully brings past events into clearer perspective. Cause of Sino-Soviet split and Sino-US Rapprochement could have been avoided. A drawback in the book is that the book's initial three chapters gives far too much emphasis on China and China related issues, at times giving a view that book is more about the China and less about *Aatmanirbhar Bharat*.

Otherwise, the chapter on India's response to Chinese adventurism and belligerence is nuanced and has portrayed the right picture to the reader. The most interesting reads come from this chapter where the author has theoretically and empirically tried to answer many enduring questions on China's status as a friend or an adversary, or on the question of India's strategic culture. Part-2 of the book with five chapters is the crux of the book where the author has tried to relate the impact of pandemic on Indian and global economy. The role of opportunistic China has been vividly described throughout the book and in this part too.

The challenges and opportunities rightly reflect the expanding umbrella of national security that includes rural development, public health and the supply chain.

The author has done a good work to bring out this timely book. The exhaustive details and supporting arguments and data situates the matter in the context of globalisation, and, hence, need for self-reliance. However, the book could have done more justice to the topic had it been able to incorporate critical analysis of the *Aatmanirbhar Bharat Abhiyaan* — the other side of the perspective. It could have covered other related issues, including their economic and political impact, such as ‘Vocal for Local’ and ‘Aatmanirbhar Bharat’, which are synonyms to the ‘Make in India’ push that has been under discussion for long.

Shri Gaurav Kumar

USI LATEST PUBLICATION DURING 2018

Pub Code	Title of Book & Name of Author	Price(Rs)	Year
M-1/2018**	"US National Security Strategy 2017 – A Critical Analysis" By Lt Gen PK Singh, PVSM, AVSM (Retd), Maj Gen BK Sharma, AVSM, SM** (Retd) and Air Cmde (Dr) AS Bahal, VM (Retd)	195	2018
M-2/2018**	"Artificial Intelligence in Military Operations – A Raging Debate, and Way Forward for the Indian Armed Forces" by Lt Gen (Dr) RS Panwar, AVSM, SM, VSM (Retd)	225	2018
M-3/2018**	"PLA Reforms of Xi Jinping in an Era of Assertive Diplomacy – Implications for India" By Maj Gen Rajiv Narayanan, AVSM, VSM (Retd)	250	2018
OP-1/2018**	"Strategic Continuum of China's Strategic behaviour : Implications for India Post the 19 th Congress of the CPC" By Maj Gen Rajiv Narayanan, AVSM, VSM (Retd)	150	2018
OP-2/2018**	"India-China Informal Summit, Inter-Korea Summit : Assessing the Outcomes" By Maj Gen Rajiv Narayanan, AVSM, VSM (Retd)	150	2018
OP-3/2018**	"Towards an Effective and Viable Information Warfare (IW) Structure For the Indian Armed Forces" By Lt Gen (Dr) RS Panwar, AVSM, SM, VSM (Retd)	195	2018
OP-4/2018**	"A Critical Appraisal of Pakistan's Counter-Terrorism Operations" By Col Shaman Chodha	150	2018
R-91	"China's Faultlines – Implications and Lessons" By Brig Sandeep Jain M/s GB Books	995	2018
R-92	"TRAJECTORY OF RED ARMY'S UNMANNED WARFARE" By Mr Anshuman Narang M/s GB Books	1295	2018
R-93	"CHINA IN THE INDIAN OCEAN – ONE OCEAN, MANY STRATEGIES" By Cdr MH Rajesh M/s Pentagon Press	1495	2018
R-94**	"STRATEGIC YEAR BOOK 2018" Edited by Lt Gen PK Singh, PVSM, AVSM (Retd), Maj Gen BK Sharma, AVSM, SM & Bar (Retd) and Dr Roshan Khanijo	1495	2018
R-95**	"Will Tibet Ever Find Her Soul Again? - India Tibet Relations 1947-1962, Part -2" By Claude Arpi	1550	2018
R-96	"Ground Based Air Defence In India – Challenges and Opportunities" By Lt Gen (Dr) VK Saxena, PVSM, AVSM, VSM (Retd) M/s Pentagon Press	995	2018
R-97**	"India-Uzbekistan Partnership in Regional Peace and Stability – Challenges and Prospects" By Maj Gen Rajiv Narayanan, Dr Batir Tursunov & Mr Gaurav Kumar	795	2018
CAFHR-37	"The Iconic Battle Of Saragarhi – Echoes Of The Frontier" by Brig Kanwaljit Singh (Retd) M/s Pentagon Press	995	2018
A-1/2018**	"Combating Cyber Threat" By Lt Gen PK Singh, PVSM, AVSM (Retd)	595	2018
A-2/2018**	"Dragon De-Mystified : Understanding People's Republic of China" By Lt Gen PK Singh, PVSM, AVSM (Retd)	795	2018
NSP-36**	"Multi-Domain Warfare in the Indian Context" By Lt Gen PR Kumar, PVSM, AVSM, VSM (Retd)	195	2018
NSS-64**	"From Contest to Cooperation – A Vision for Shared Prosperity in the Indo-Pacific Region" Edited by Maj Gen Rajiv Narayanan, AVSM, VSM (Retd) & Gp Capt Sharad Tewari, VM (Retd)	850	2018

* Available at USI of India ** Available at M/s Vij Books of India Pvt Ltd

USI

(Estd. 1870)

OUR ACTIVITIES

Library and Reading Room

The library holds over 68,000 books, and journals, including some books of 17th, 18th and 19th centuries, on an astonishing variety of subjects. While the principal emphasis is on strategy and defence, there are a large number of works on different vistas of Indian life. There are memoirs, biographies, recollections, diaries, journals, manuscripts for scholars and researchers. The reading room is air-conditioned, spacious and well stocked in terms of current reading material. Library was automated in 2002.

Correspondence Courses

The Institution runs regular correspondence courses for officers of the Armed Forces to assist them in preparing for promotion examinations, and for the entrance examinations to the Defence Services Staff College and Technical Staff College. Over the years, this has been a significant and well-received activity.

USI Journal

The *USI Journal* is the oldest surviving defence journal in the country and in Asia, having first appeared in 1871. In an era when there is a feeling that free expression of views by Defence personnel is not looked upon kindly by the establishment, the Journal in fact provides just such a forum, without regard to seniority and length of service in the Armed Forces, subject of course, to propriety and quality of the written work.

Centre for Strategic Studies and Simulation

The Erstwhile Centre for Research and its resources have been merged into the new Centre named as USI Centre for Strategic Studies and Simulation (USI-CS3) wef 01 January 2005. The Centre aims at conducting detailed and comprehensive enquiry, research and analyses of national and international security related issues, and gaming and simulation of strategic scenarios, to evolve options for wider discussion and consideration.

USI Centre for UN Peacekeeping (CUNPK)

The Centre was established in 2000 and functioned with USI till Aug 2014, when it moved out of USI premises and was delinked from USI. Its aims were organising workshops, seminars and training capsules for peacekeepers, observers and staff officers – both Indian and foreign. It also oversaw the practical training of Indian contingents. It functioned under a Board of Management headed by the Vice Chief of the Army Staff and worked in close coordination with the Service Headquarters and the Ministries of External Affairs and Defence. In August 2014, CUNPK moved out to the accommodation allotted by the Army HQ.

Centre for Military History and Conflict Studies (CMHCS)

The Centre was established on 01 Dec 2000 and encourages study and research into the history of the Indian Armed Forces with objectivity, covering different facets such as strategy, tactics, logistics, organisation and socio-economic aspects and their implementation.

Gold Medal Essay Competitions

Every year the Institution organises two gold medal essay competitions: one for officers below 14 years of service and the other open to all officers. These essays, the first one of which was introduced in 1871, constitute a barometer of opinion on matters that affect national security in general and the defence forces in particular.

Lt Gen SL Menezes Memorial Essay Competition

This has been instituted from 2015 on a subject related to Armed Forces Historical Research. The Essay Competition is open to all across the globe.

Lectures, Discussions and Seminars

A series of lectures, discussions and seminars on service matters, international affairs, and topics of general interest to the Services, are organised for the benefit of local members in Delhi.

MacGregor Medal

This medal is awarded to Armed Forces personnel for valuable reconnaissance and adventure activity they may have undertaken.

MEMBERSHIP

The following are eligible to become members of the Institution :

- Officers of the Armed Forces
- Class I Gazetted Officers of Group 'A' Central Services.
- Any category mentioned above will be eligible even though retired or released from the Service.
- Cadets from the NDA and Cadets from the Service Academies and Midshipmen.

For further particulars, please write to Director, USI of India, Rao Tula Ram Marg, (Opposite Signals Enclave) Post Bag No. 8, Vasant Vihar PO, New Delhi – 110 057