

Editorial

The article "Defence Deserves its Due" by General Deepak Kapoor, PVSM, AVSM, SM, VSM (Retd) focusses on need to build military capabilities side by side with economic growth. History has time and again emphasised the linkage between economy and defence of a nation. It is the balanced combination of the two that determines the place of a nation in the world order. India possesses the third largest military in the world in terms of numbers, but in modern warfare, lightening mobility, precision targeting, cyber warfare capability, enhanced lethality and effective use of space by modernised military are factors which determine the outcome. Unfortunately, we are lagging far behind in most of these areas compared to our potential adversaries. Our defence budget has progressively been going down year after year and currently it stands at 1.57 per cent of the GDP. Most defence analysts have been demanding around three per cent of the GDP. According to the author; there is an inescapable requirement to carry out structural reforms to make defence compatible with our growing economic footprint. There is a need for our politicians to understand implications of national security fully. National aims, objectives and strategy are areas to which they have hardly any exposure. Politicians tend to rely on bureaucracy who also have limited and superficial knowledge pertaining to national security matters. Consequently, faulty decisions are taken causing irreparable damage . Political class must rely on sound professional advice rather than minimally informed bureaucracy. Further, it is essential to enhance defence spending annually to achieve matching military capabilities for which sufficient time is required. Defence portfolio is important but successive defence ministers have been lightweights with limited say in crucial decision making. Higher defence management despite suggestions by a number of Committees has not been streamlined. Historically, National Security Advisors (NSA) have been Foreign Service or Police Officers. Their exposure to national security matters is bound to be limited. The defence of the country is not getting its due. We need to address our vulnerabilities before it is too late.

The article titled “Towards an Effective and Viable Information Warfare Structure for the Indian Armed Forces” has been authored by Lt Gen RS Panwar, AVSM, SM, VSM (Retd) . The author has analysed the intangible and multi – disciplinary factors of Information Warfare (IW) against the backdrop of the 21st Century battlespace. The role of IW is gaining prominence. Organisational structures for Armed Forces should be optimised for a total conflict scenario, which is likely to be most demanding in resources. Scenarios lower down the ladder can be catered for through modifications to structures and processes. The Defence Intelligence Agency at the tri-Services level uses Signals Intelligence resources to carry out its activities. Efforts are made to gain strategic intelligence by exploiting computer Networks. The Electronic Warfare organisations are structured mostly to acquire tactical Signals Intelligence. Electronic Intelligence (ELINT) resources are under the Military Intelligence Directorate, whereas radar signatures collected by ELINT units are meant for EW Units to exploit enemy vulnerabilities on outbreak of hostilities. Restructuring appears to be necessary. According to the author, placing ELINT units under the Theatre Commander could be a good interim arrangement. The author has made a number of recommendations in terms of doctrinal improvements and organizational restructuring. However, key driver for transformation would be the conviction that warfare in Information Age is changing. New model of human resource development philosophy needs to be put in place and accepted. It should cover recruitment, training and career progression aspects. Essentially a change in existing mind-set is a pre-requisite.

The Indian Ocean occupies twenty per cent of the Earth's sea surface. Heavy volume of trade to and from the Indian Ocean Region takes place. Article titled “The Indian Ocean Rim Dynamics and New Challenges” by Vice Admiral Satish Soni, PVSM, AVSM, NM (Retd) makes interesting reading. A key priority of the Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA) is to ensure reliable, uninterrupted and safe movement of people, goods, energy and resource supplies throughout the Indian Ocean and address issues related to maritime safety and security. IORA has not been very effective in dealing with piracy, smuggling, maritime terrorism, illegal fishing, narcotics and human trafficking. Their

achievements have been modest and speedy reforms are required. Oceans have traditionally been areas of contestation and the Indian Ocean is no exception. The countries of the littoral should evolve a maritime order to safeguard the aspirations of the people. Resurgent maritime powers, China and India should also play this important role as they replace the US and Western powers to strengthen maritime order in the Indian Ocean waters.

The Indian Air Force conducted air war exercise from 18 to 20 April 2018. An article titled “Exercise Gagan Shakti 2018 – Comprehensive Test of Air Power” by Air Marshal Anil Chopra, PVSM, AVSM, VM, VSM (Retd) covers the salient features of the conduct of the exercise. 1100 aircraft of various types were deployed. War like scenarios were exercised on Western and Northern borders. Special Operations with the Army included induction of a parachute battalion in airborne assault operation in desert terrain. The assault included 560 paratroopers, combat vehicles and GPS guided cargo platforms. The landing force was dropped behind the simulated enemy lines. Maritime operations with the Indian Navy on the Western sea board for air domination and deep strike validation over extended area in the Indian Ocean Region was practiced. Precision Weapons are available with all 4th Generation plus fighter aircraft. Precision Weapons were also dropped from various platforms. All weapons achieved their designated points of impact causing the desired damage. Secure information grid of the Air Force (AFNET) and the Integrated Air Command and Control System were used to conduct operations. The IAF exercised its entire Operational machinery to validate its concept of operations and war - waging capability. Light Combat Aircraft (LCA), though in small numbers, has begun its operational innings well. According to the author, the IAF lived upto its motto ‘Nabh Sparsham Deepatam’ meaning ‘Touching the Sky with Glory’.

India became independent in 1947. Ever since, the State of Jammu and Kashmir has not had peace. In a significant development PDP and BJP in J&K got separated, the government fell, and the Governor’s rule has been imposed. J&K Assembly elections are due in 2020 and general elections in 2019. The Governor’s rule is likely to continue till general elections. An article

titled “Addressing Radicalisation in Kashmir; A *Sine Qua Non* for Governor’s Rule” by Maj Gen BK Sharma and Brig Narinder Kumar has focused on present situation in J&K, challenges for the Governor’s rule, role of terrorists and unarmed jihadis and strategy to eliminate the idea of jihad. While terrorists inflict death and destruction, unarmed Jihadis also play a significant role. A recent study has revealed that new terrorists are not driven by ideology. They come from middle class families and join terrorism because of thrill seeker attitude. On the other hand, unarmed Jihadis are product of radicalisation. Terrorist fights with the weapon in hand and unarmed jihadis fight to conquer cognitive domain. Between the armed and unarmed jihadis, third dimension is Pakistan, which has driven a wedge in society to undermine the sense of shared values essential for democracy and Kashmiriyat. The State is crippled by terrorism. The Governor’s rule should be treated as an opportunity to ensure course correction. State should not be seen as oppressor and should be committed to genuine welfare of the people without any biases. At the same time survival of democratic institutions in J&K must be ensured.

The Northeastern region of India has common borders with five neighbouring countries. The common thread among these borders is inhospitable terrain, low development, and complexities of socio-economic milieu impacting security. Along Bangladesh, there is border fencing manned by the BSF. With China, Sino (Tibet) - Indian border remains unresolved. Other borders are well settled. An article titled “Border Management in Northeast : Paradigms of Technology Driven Tactical Interface” by Lt Gen Rameshwar Yadav, PVSM, AVSM, VSM (Retd) focusses on how the technology can contribute towards better border management. According to the author, the operational parameters and technology needs are required to be dovetailed with each other to optimise their effectiveness on the basis of militancy, insurgency and criminal content in each sector. Artificial Intelligence (AI), robotics, space and aerial surveillance, communications networks, GPS system, drones, Night Vision Devices (NVDs), radars and C4I system should be incorporated in a need based pragmatic manner in the Indian context. The Chinese conduct on the LAC is reflective of their design to keep India on the backfoot having strategic connotations requiring politico-military response. For

improving border management, technology should be suitably interfaced with tactical and strategic needs for planning and conduct of operations.

The article titled “Tides of Change in Northeast India : Enablers and Impediments to Naga Peace Process” by Brigadier Sunil Bodhe reflects an objective assessment of the realities on the ground. The Naga insurgents’ demand for a greater Nagaland encompassing all Naga tribes in the region has been there for some time. However, signing of ceasefire agreements by major insurgent groups since 1997 has led to a better understanding. On 04 Aug 2015 Socialist Council of Nagaland (Isak Muivah) [(NSCN (IM)] signed with the Government of India, Naga Peace Framework Agreement. It has changed the dynamics of insurgency in Nagaland. In February 2018, assembly elections were held in northeastern states. The Nationalist Democratic Progressive Party (NDPP) and Bhartiya Janta Party (BJP) won elections and formed new governments. This has offered an avenue for furthering the Peace process. Lasting peace is the goal of counter – insurgency. While pursuing peace process, there are certain enablers to promote peace and certain impediments that need to be bridged. Enablers include – firstly, the territorial integrity of Assam, Arunachal Pradesh and Manipur. These are multi-racial, multi-lingual and multi-religious states in the region. These states have to stay as they are. Secondly, NSCN got split in 1988 leading to formation of NSCN (IM) and NSCN (Khaplong). On 16 September 2015, the Indian Government banned NSCN (K) under Unlawful Activities and Prevention Act for five years. Thirdly, NSCN (K) has realized that minuscule Naga Community in Myanmar is unlikely to get a good political deal. Further, India has worked out a comprehensive security co-operation with Myanmar. Finally, Naga Civil Society Organisation is playing a positive role in promoting lasting peace. Among the impediments, major issue is Nagalim versus Naga identity. NSCN (IM) wants a Christian, Religious State. NSCN (K) wants independent “Greater Nagaland” to include territory now in Myanmar, based on ethnicity. Secondly, some ceasefire ground rules are flawed, e.g carrying of arms under cover of jackets being done by terrorists defeats the rationale of ceasefire. Thirdly, surrender policy permits insurgent groups to keep arms and ammunition in reserve, thereby ensuring

option open to go back to the jungles. Only minimal arms and ammunition are being deposited. Policy needs to be reviewed. Fourthly, education has declined and development in the state has suffered badly. Nagaland is a Christian majority state. Religious Organisations have had role in elections. Church groups have been calling for resistance against Hindutva' parties. In conclusion, it can be stated that Government of India's Look East Policy and friendly neighbour in Myanmar offer opportunities to meet goals of Naga people; neutralise impediments, and take forward the peace process.

The circumstances which led to informal summit at Wuhan can be attributed to strategic review of the global environment by President Xi. The article "Wuhan Reset – Strategic Etymology Kaleidoscopic View" by Maj Gen GG Dwivedi, SM, VSM and Bar, PhD (Retd) presents objective assessment of informal summit. China has always opposed global security system based on military alliances and partnerships. China will not condescend to the idea of 'Indo-Pacific' gaining currency and quad (US, India, Japan and Australia) grouping taking shape of an alliance. To counter Trump's 'America First' policy, China is keen to make Asia as the globalisation pivot. In this effort, China views India as an important player. Xi is going about systematically to challenge America. In this process, Beijing is willing to yield tactical space to serve its larger strategic interests. India had put across concerns about cross border terrorism; China's looming presence in India's neighbourhood including Indian Ocean; China - Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC); impasse on border issue and restoring glaring trade imbalance. In the absence of a joint communique, the two sides issued separate statements with common themes but varying tones. Both sides agreed to enhance mutual trust and follow Five Principles of peaceful coexistence. There is a need for a pragmatic China policy with thrust on achieving strategic equilibrium between the two neighbours.

The article titled "India-China Riparian Relations : Of Reality and Rationality" by Dr Uttam Kumar Sinha makes interesting reading. Rivers are complex socio-natural realities that invariably get entangled with politics. India and China share rivers and also have trans-boundary rivers flowing between them. The issue is

whether there will be cooperation or uneasiness between the two on the shared rivers. China has a legacy of control and dominance of rivers. 'Whoever Controls the Yellow river controls China' is a timeless maxim. China is unlikely to compromise on its water resources. Given this reality, India has to rationally view its downstream status. The Brahmaputra Originates from Angsi Glacier in Burang county of Tibet, where it is known as Yarlung Tsangpo. The length of the river is 2880 kms, of which, 1625 kms flows through Tibet, 918 kms traverse India and 337 kms in Bangladesh. Yarlung, when it reaches Indian territory and becomes Brahmaputra, swells because of heavy monsoon rain and fast flowing tributaries - the Lohit, Dibang and Siang / Dihang. Annual outflow of the Yarlung from China is significantly less than the Brahmaputra. Thus India has ample water to develop and harness. India needs to have more water development footprints in Arunachal Pradesh for economic growth building more water storage, and be able to exert riparian prior appropriation rights. Greater economic integration in the border region is an effective way to neutralise China's claim. Equally significant is 1800 km of potential Brahmaputra National Waterway 2 emerging as economic corridor with direct access to Chittagong Port in Bangladesh and Haldia Port in West Bengal and also to boost trade with South East Asian Countries. India's strategic and policy initiatives pertaining to Brahmaputra have to be carefully balanced between pursuing 'water dialogue' with China and an emphasis on 'basin approach' with Bangladesh and Bhutan.

The article "The Islamic State and the Civil War in Syria" by Shri VP Haran, IFS (Retd) traces the history of the IS, expansion into Syria, support of foreign countries, followed by action by the US and Russia resulting in serious setback for the IS. Al Qaeda established itself in Iraq in 1999 and became Al Qaeda in Iraq (AQI) in 2004. In May 2010, it came to be known as Islamic State in Iraq (ISI). In June 2014, it rechristened itself as Islamic State (IS), following proclamation of the Caliphate. The territory they wanted to Control in Syria and Iraq largely overlapped the oil and gas fields. They also wanted to spread their influence across the Middle East. In January 2015, IS controlled nearly 90,000 sq kms of territory in Syria and Iraq and 10 million or so people lived in that area. IS suffered a set back in the face of concerted efforts by

the international community. After setbacks, IS has lost 95 per cent of the territory and now controls three small pockets in Syria – town of Abu Kamal; a pocket on border with Jordan; and a pocket south of Damascus along Israeli occupied Golan heights. The civil war scenario in Syria has implications for India. Over 50 persons having connection with IS were arrested in 2015-16. They came from Kerala, Maharashtra, Gujarat and Uttar Pradesh. Reach of IS in India has been through the social media. Already, there is suspicion of involvement of IS in unrest in J&K, though in a limited way. It is probable that IS cadres exiting from Syria may reach Pakistan and be available for mercenary operations, posing serious challenges to India. IS may be down, but their ideology and propaganda appeal to some. India needs to be vigilant.

The article titled “Iran and the West Asia Region : Changing Dynamics and New Challenges” by Shri Sanjay Singh, IFS (Retd) has clearly brought out that the Region is on the boil due to continuing violence. There is violence in Syria and Yemen, the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, deepening divide between Iran and Saudi Arabia, terrorist violence and external intervention. The Islamic State (IS) has been defeated but not eliminated. The breakdown of state order in several countries of West Asia owing to conflict provides a fertile breeding ground for extremism. Iran’s pursuit of nuclear capability brought it to adverse attention and pressure from the US, Europe and the UN to force it to desist. The concerted pressure including economic sanctions led Iran to agree to the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA). President Trump is opposed to the P5+1 Agreement with Iran. He feels that the Agreement was flawed and did not ensure that Iran would not become a nuclear power and that deal’s non-inclusion of missile development needed to be addressed. Iran had made it clear that the deal was not negotiable. President Trump has withdrawn US from the deal and has re-imposed all US nuclear related sanctions, both the suspended primary and secondary sanctions on Iran’s economy, including on oil and financial sectors. Other countries including India will be forced to make a choice on whether or not to respect the sanctions. European economic relations with Iran will be seriously affected, leaving Iran, Russia, China and handful of other countries as partners. India has considerable interest in West Asia. Over eight million Indians live

and work in the region. India takes 70 per cent of its oil and gas requirements from the region. India and Iran are co-operating in Chabahar Port improvement project to facilitate trade with Afghanistan and Central Asia. It is important that India should examine possible options for playing a more robust role in the region.

India has vital strategic and economic interests in West Asia. The article titled “Turkey, Israel and the Region : Implications for India” by Dr Mohamed Muddassir Quamar focuses on current scenario in West Asia, role of Turkey, Israel and major powers. India has friendly relations with Turkey and close strategic relations with Israel. Both are allies of the US and in the past had maintained friendly relations with each other. As one looks at the Fertile crescent – Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, Israel and Palestine – the two have geopolitical role and stakes. The Syrian Crisis has seen involvement of Turkey and Israel with their armed forces crossing the border to neutralize security threats. These incursions and deepening footprints of Iran in Syria threaten to flare up and engulf the whole region. Turkey ‘s actions in Syria have put it in a peculiar situation with the Syrian regime, Russia and the US. All are opposed to Turkish military presence in Syria but have allowed it to take control of Northwestern enclave in Syria so as to disallow the Kurds the strategic advantage. Nevertheless, it has put Turkey in a vulnerable position vis-à-vis both the US and Russia. Israel is focused on militarily countering Iran in Syria. Israel wants to counter Iran through the US and by aligning with Saudi Arabia and the UAE. Israel was instrumental in pushing Trump administration to withdraw from JCPOA. Implications for India in the Middle East quagmire are vital. India needs to go beyond the current policy of balancing relations and keeping safe distance. While it is necessary to protect the Indians residing in the region and other national interests, given the prospective cost of a flare up, India needs to work with other emerging powers to stabilize the situation and prevent major conflict in the region.

The article titled “War at Sea : Nineteenth Century Laws for Twenty First Century Wars” by Professor Steven Haines was published in International Review of the Red Cross. The Journal is

published by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). The article has been reproduced in the USI Journal after obtaining permission to do so. The article appeared in ICRC Journal, Volume 98, Number 902, August 2016. Since the article is long, it is being published in two parts. Part II will appear in July-September 2018 Issue of the USI Journal. While most laws on conduct of hostilities have been updated, the law dealing with armed conflict at sea has not been reviewed. This is not surprising, because there have been few naval conflicts after the Second World War, which ended in 1945. Nevertheless, navies have tripled in number since then. There are growing tensions between significant naval powers. Conditions have changed since 1945, but the law has not developed in that time frame. The law regulating the conduct of hostilities in naval war – the law of armed conflict (LOAC) applicable at sea has attracted little attention. The objective of this article is merely to start a debate on a subject that has been confined to the margins of dialogue by force of circumstances. No firm legal solutions have been suggested, as these would require engagement with experts from around the World, in both laws and the naval operations it is meant to regulate. However, the article makes interesting reading.

Major General YK Gera (Retd)