

²⁰ A Note by Rev. JJM Nichols-Roy, "Hill Districts of Assam: Their Future in the New Constitution of India", as provided in OL Snaitang (ed.), *Memoirs of the Life and Political Writings of the Hon'ble Rev JJM Nichols-Roy*, Vol 1, Shillong, 1997. pp.13-14.

²¹ *H. Thangtungnung*, Op.cit.

²² *David R. Syiemlieh*, The Crown Colony – Protectorate for North East India, Loc.cit.pp.208-209.

²³ *David R. Syiemlieh*, The Crown Colony – Protectorate for North East India. Loc.cit. p.208.

²⁴ *Robert D Kaplan*, Monsoon, Random House, New York, 2010. p.233.

²⁵ ARH Macdonald to PF Adams, Secretary to the Governor of Assam, March 23, 1947. Copy in MSS Eur F236/76, Oriental and India Office Collections.

Colonel Shailender Arya got commissioned in 44 Medium Regiment in December 1998. He served as Staff Officer with UN in Sudan. At present he is serving as a Directing Staff at the Defence Services Staff College, Wellington. He won USI Gold Medal Essay Competition (Group B) twice in the year 2006 and 2008. In the year 2007, he was runner up. In 2011, he was runner up in Group 'A' Competition.

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Short Reviews of Recent Books

Containing the China Onslaught : Role of the US, Japan, India and Other Democracies. By Pradip Baijal, (Gurugram: Quadrant Infotech India Pvt Ltd, 2019), Page 228, Price - Rs 695/-, ISBN : 9788194103509

“Containing the China Onslaught” by Pradip Baijal looks at the possible coordination of the role of democracies such as the United States, Japan, India, and Israel in countering China. The book is a collection of disparate chapters, with a set of appendices containing documents from the United States-China relationship, an extensive bibliography and a short Index. It is mainly about China's economic rise and the contours of the United States-China relationship.

The idea that democracies can offset the rise of communist China was first conceptualised in the 1950s. However, following the United States rapprochement with communist China in 1971, this approach was negated. The development of significant trade and investment linkages between the United States and China, as well as between Japan and China, and a \$90 billion trade turnover between India and China, have all contributed to the emergence of China as an economic power. This provides China with a significant bargaining chip to counter any alignment of these democracies in seeking to “contain” China.

In comparing the political and economic changes in China and India, the author emphasises the significance of technological development and China's “strong central political governance model” as the main reasons why China has overtaken India. He feels that the United States has shaped the international order by “creating a fair and level playing field” which “did not block the new technologies”. This is in contrast with the German, Japanese and Indian approaches.

The author looks at the lessons drawn from the 1997 Asian financial crisis and concludes that unlike China, India did not learn from the crisis. He finds that after 2009, Indian institutions “were compromised to serve the interests of politicians and their corporate friends”. Of course, this overlooks the investigations under President Xi Jinping over the past several years uncovering a similar nexus in China.

In tracing the rise of China as an economic power, the author gives details of China's economic reform trajectory especially under Deng Xiaoping, influenced by advice given by foreign leaders like Lee Kwan Yew of Singapore, President Richard Nixon and Secretary of State Dr Kissinger of the United States. The result has been a "far more aggressive and efficient" China, whose growth has been condoned by the outside world despite the Tiananmen Square "massacre".

The author asserts that the ultimate objective of China's "hegemonic behaviour" is to exploit the resources of other countries and establish technological dominance over them. He looks at the possibility of the United States, Japan and India countering China's "predatory and imperialistic investments" in this context. The last three chapters examine whether China can displace the United States in global governance institutions like the IMF China's objective to control the global supply chain using digital technology and the role of the United States, Japan, India and "other" democracies to counter China's ambitions. Unfortunately, the book does not elaborate on how these democracies can do so.

Shri Asoke Mukerji, IFS (Retd)

Trumped: Emerging Powers in a Post-American World.
By Sreeram Chaulia, (New Delhi; Bloomsbury) Page 237,
Price- Rs. 799/-, ISBN: 978-93-891659-2-0

President Trump's recent visit to India has been described as "a visit like no other". The metaphor could be extended to say that Trump is a President like no other. As Sreeram Chaulia says in this thoroughly researched work, Trump is a "stormy petrel...an iconoclast who has thrown every known platitude and convention of American politics and foreign policy out of the window".

The thesis that Chaulia effectively posits is that Donald Trump has fast forwarded what was already underway after the 2008 financial crisis – the climbing down of the United States from its perch as guarantor of world peace and anchor of the liberal international order. There was a fatigue with distant international commitments, a growing disillusionment with globalisation and a general feeling that other countries were taking the US for a ride. Trump rode to power on this populist wave; in return he has promised to make America great again – by making trade fair and reciprocal, by cutting down

immigration, by voluntarily giving up American power (and costs) in different regions of the world. In the fourth year of Trump's first term, this ball is still moving and Chaulia wisely gives no predictions as to where it will stop. It is indeed difficult to say, whether Trump is re-elected or not, if the world will fully recover back to status quo ante – China's rise, Russia's resurgence and American fatigue in general may make a full reversal difficult.

The book has a second and more original thesis: Trump's disruption holds both, an opportunity as well as a danger for emerging powers, a category in which Chaulia includes India, Brazil, Nigeria and Turkey and devotes a chapter to each. On the one hand, American leadership in their respective regions has served its purpose in geo-political terms. Yet these powers have also been restive under American influence, and not always got a fair deal under the so-called liberal international order, whether it be in the Security Council, World Trade Organisation (WTO) or in the Bretton Woods institutions; globalisation, it has been argued, has actually increased inequalities among and within states. If Trump succeeds in his drive to bring America back to its shores and let the rest of the world take care of itself, these countries can build their own influence and regional linkages in their regions; the corollary being that they would also have to counter challenges, including Chinese influence, on their own. Sreeram Chaulia's commendable and well-documented effort would be a useful guide to policy makers in these countries to maximise the advantages and minimise the dangers of this opening that the Trump Presidency has offered, perhaps unintentionally. As far as India goes, the recent Afghanistan deal, and American withdrawal, may be the first test of this thesis.

Shri Navtej Sarna, IFS (Retd)

China's Strategic Behaviour. By Brig Sanjeev Chauhan, (Delhi: Pentagon Press LLP and USI of India, 2019), page,232, Price Rs. 995/-, ISBN:978-81-941634-8-0

China's evolution as world's second-largest economy in the world in 2011 is embedded in its indigenous philosophical and cultural concepts. West which myopically gauged China as a market framed their policies to derive economic benefits based on their strategic calculus founded in "means to ends" or "cause and effect" theories. It failed to read the flow of 'Shi' - a core idea that anchors Chinese

strategic thinking that relies on the inherent potential of the situation. Strategy according to Chinese is about finding, adjusting to and going along with the flow of a situation as it evolves. China under Xi Jinping has shaken off any pretence about benevolent cooperation as it seeks to realise the dreams of Sino-centric world order. Decoding the 'strategic situationism' from an Indian perspective therefore becomes important.

Book by Brig Sanjeev Chauhan provides a fresh breath to the stale narrative on China's Strategic behaviour. The book spanning six chapters makes us navigate along the historical belief system in the first chapter. According to the author this belief system is closely wedded to the Chinese classics. Mainstreaming them in the Chinese official discourse adds to their relevance in the current context as they form the source of policy prescriptions. Chapter 2 of the book titled "Staying China" traces the Chinese narrative to ignite nationalism and controlled revolution to bring about the rejuvenation by leaders that were challenged at intervening periods. In the Chapter 3 "Decoding China" he digs deep into the Chinese ideological trenches and tries to demystify the design of Chinese strategy through thinking, gaming, asymmetry and ambiguity. In Chapter 4 "Emboldening China" the author examines the current trends that sets it as a competitor to the US driven world order and explores how it has nuanced and calibrated its policies to chart its rise. Chapter 5 "Influential China" is about the way China has sharpened its knife to guide the future discourse without embroiling itself in a conflict. The chapter provides insight into the way China has gone about using sharp power to enhance its Comprehensive National Power (CNP), influence the nation-states and promote its strategic interests. Chapter 6 "Dialoguing China" looks at the future trajectory of China based on currently contextualised discourse. It examines five dominant internal and external dialogues that China is confronted with. According to the author managing them or battling with them will decide China's growth story.

Brig Sanjeev Chauhan has used his vast military experience to pen a comprehensive book on "China's Strategic Behaviour". It provides a new perspective to look at China's rise and the way it is likely to behave. China will remain a dominant player in world security dynamics and how China manages the dialogues will be a story that will be keenly watched by the world especially after the outbreak of

Corona Virus and the rigours of regulation put in by the regime. Written in a very lucid language, book navigates along the strategic realm and is a must read for those who are in defence, diplomacy and business. "Dialoguing China" will remain relevant for times to come as the book throws open scenarios for planners and researchers to work on.

Brig Vivek Verma

"Securing India's Strategic Space with Valour Unlimited". Edited by Maj Gen Pushpendra Singh (Veteran), (New Delhi; KW Publishers Pvt Ltd), Page 166, Price Rs 680/-, ISBN: 978-93-89137-18-7

The veteran General Officer has composed an excellent book by incorporating articles of some equally prolific writers on military issues. Most of the chapters conform to the syllabi of post graduate courses in various Universities and National Defence College, New Delhi. The editor has forged a link between weak strategic planning done by those responsible for higher direction of war and high quality of valour displayed by the combatants and their leaders in the battle field starting from the battles of Khanwa to Rezang La and then to Siachen and Kargil.

Strategic planning at the highest level (which may include military commanders) and the valour displayed by men on ground in various battles are two significant factors for winning a war. But valour alone does not win a war. Wars are won by meticulous planning and preparation at all levels of the government machinery. There is an example of an Indian king who, with his equally chivalrous horse, could not win the battle on the basis of valour alone but lost owing to his poor strategic awareness.

Trend depicting disparaging role of bureaucracy in books written by military writers has been continued in this compilation, little realising that bureaucracy is a manifestation of democracy. The bureaucracy follows the rules of business and exercises a hold on the functioning of the government machinery. In the National Security Council too, the bureaucrats have a much larger representation than the Service Chiefs. In the domain of National Security, the role of the valourous is confined to executing the given

task in a befitting manner. It is high time that our military writers exercise restraint while blaming bureaucracy.

On the whole the book “Securing India’s Strategic Space with Valour Unlimited” makes interesting reading. The contributors being men of great expertise have shared their knowledge which could be useful for officers of junior and middle level.

Col Kul Bhushan Kaushal, (Retd)

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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.

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