

Short Reviews of Recent Books

Reimagining Pakistan: Transforming a Dysfunctional Nuclear State. By Husain Haqqani, (Noida: HarperCollins Publishers India, 2018), pp xvi, 336, Price Rs 699, ISBN 978-9-35-277769-3.

Seventy years after it was created based on the two-nation theory Husain Haqqani asserts, “*Contemporary Pakistan need not seek national identity in the idea of a separate homeland for Muslims of the Indian subcontinent...*” He suggests that Pakistan should, “...shift away from ideological nationalism to functional nationalism.....*We are Pakistanis because we were born in Pakistan’ as opposed to ‘We are Pakistanis because our forebears resolved to create an Islamic state’...*” That is essentially the “reimagining” he seeks. He holds that only through such new conception of the nation will Pakistan shift from the present “paranoid”, “insecure” state to a modern, progressive and prosperous country.

Husain laments that Pakistan did not adopt “*the secular nationalism proposed in Jinnah’s address to the Constituent Assembly...*” though he acknowledges that Quaid himself had also spoken of Pakistan as an Islamic state. For Haqqani, Jinnah’s demand for Pakistan was a way to protect Muslim interests in a post-independence set-up. He avoids the question which lies at the root itself – should religion have been invoked to confer parity to Muslims with Hindus in British India? The Muslim League did so and asked for separate electorates. That began the process that led to the creation of Pakistan.

If religion is taken out of the equation and Pakistan was to become a Muslim majority secular country it may reopen the very logic of partition. Pakistan’s foundational ideology was created based, as Haqqani perceptively notes again and again through this outstanding work, on Islam and anti-Indian and anti-Hindu sentiment. Haqqani extensively catalogues the baneful impact of Pakistan’s ideology on every aspect of the country’s affairs.

Haqqani correctly emphasises that Pakistan’s founders and its rulers used Islam as a binding force to overcome ethnic,

linguistic and provincial differences. Having opted for a centralised model of governance, Islam was the glue to hold the country together. The question, however, was what form of Islam. The initial ruling elite used Islam but were not imbued with religiosity. When pushed by the *mullahs* they compromised as Bhutto did on the Ahmadi issue in 1974, though in 1953 the leadership had refused to do so. That itself showed the trajectory that the country had taken. Later Zia-ul-Haq turned the country towards Islamic puritanism. Stringent blasphemy laws, hudood punishments and constitutional changes to incorporate stringent Islam in governance followed. The country has never recovered. Haqqani traverses this territory well but a focus on the influence of the Arab peninsula on the changing theological doctrines would have been useful.

It is to Haqqani's credit that he does not mince words in detailing Pakistan's hostility towards India and Hindus. No sensible Indian policy maker can overlook Haqqani's assertions that these sentiments are embedded in Pakistan's ideology. For Ayub Khan, India was a "Hindu state" and "Hindus irreconcilable enemies of Islam and Muslims". Haqqani goes on to state, "*He saw India, not as a neighbour with whom Pakistan had some disputes, but as an eternal enemy with 'expansionist designs'.*"

That view has not changed. It has led, as Haqqani makes clear, to exaggerated fears that India wants to undo Pakistan. It has also led to the army's hold over the country's imagination buttressed through a carefully controlled narrative by it. Finally, it has resulted in the nexus between the religious groups and the army. Here too Haqqani should have gone deeper and given an account of the army's use of some of these groups against immediate neighbours.

Pakistan's India obsession and assertive Islam has contributed to it becoming a security state. The country is willing to sacrifice popular welfare and economic growth for its ideological obsessions which at page 114 Haqqani mentions thus, "*Securing Kashmir, balancing India and dominating Afghanistan...*" While trade with India is ruled out till the resolution of the "Kashmir dispute" Pakistan has been willing to go hat in hand to foreign donors from the very beginning. Haqqani gives an account of the

growth of the economy since 1947 but correctly argues that the growth would have been much more if Pakistan had jettisoned its obsessions and adopted pragmatic approaches. It would not have resulted in relying on its strategic location to sell itself earlier to the US and now to China. Haqqani notes that the CPEC's benefits will not materialise unless structural changes are made in the country.

It is in his concluding chapter that Haqqani urges his countrymen to change course and not continue with the "March of Folly". Drawing from Barbara Tuchman's work on wrong if not perverse choices made by governments which led their countries to disaster, Haqqani appeals to his countrymen to shed their fears and embrace forward looking postures and get away from "groupthink". He gives examples of countries that embraced radical change and prospered. If Pakistan goes on that course it would not be the headache of the world or dangerous for its possession of nuclear weapons. He dwells on the Pakistani attitude towards these weapons and notes that they have failed to provide it with a sense of security.

Haqqani's book is important for Pakistan. However, given the entrenched nature of its ideology Haqqani's appeal will fall on deaf ears. He will suffer the fate of earlier Pakistanis who sought to bring change and will continue to be dubbed as a foreign agent. No Indian policy maker can afford to ignore this book.

Shri Vivek Katju, IFS (Retd)

Special Star: Benazir Bhutto's Story. *By Syeda Abida Hussain, (Karachi, OUP, 2017), pp 132, ISBN 978-0-19-940757-6*

This interesting biography of Benazir Bhutto has been authored by a seasoned Pakistani politician cum diplomat. The author has been Pakistan's Ambassador to the USA and a minister in the Government of Pakistan four times. Belonging to the landed gentry and moving amongst the upper echelons of society, she has been privy to the murky nature of politics in Pakistan. She was also proactive amongst the coterie that threw out Musharraf to bring in Benazir!

In this volume, Abida Hussain has done a commendable job of giving a comprehensive insight in the Bhutto mystique and her

ruthless pursuit of power. The biography set in eight chapters covers the life of a mercurial politician who saw the cut and thrust of Pakistani politics as practiced by her father Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Belonging to the upper strata of society is certainly an advantage in Pakistan as the author blithely explains the meteoric ascent of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and consequently Benazir's rise to power.

A charming quality of the author is that she states facts boldly without any sugar coating whatsoever. Benazir was educated in Radcliffe College, Harvard, Boston and later in Oxford University, London; but she remained unfamiliar with the language of the masses in Pakistan – Urdu! Abida Hussain highlights the grit and resolve of Benazir who apparently was never discouraged by the vicissitudes of life. Written in an easy, readable style, the reader gets a capsule of the essentials about Bhutto without having to meander through meaningless platitudes of political philosophy spewed by political leaders on captive audiences on either side of the Continent. At times, Abida Hussain changes her narration from first person to third person, mixes wheat with chaff but the effect is not entirely displeasing. As may be expected, there is a fair amount of trivia in the book, but there are enough nuggets to show the low character in high places. The author pulls no punches about “Mr Ten Per Cent” and that Benazir swung the F-16 squadron deal with US only after USD 50 million was allowed to be pocketed by Zardari!

It is a moot point whether Benazir was a Special Star as the author claims or she was destined to be a Shooting Star that burnt out too soon. All in all an enjoyable biography put in an easy to read style.

Major General Ashok Joshi, VSM (Retd)

The Fifth Gorkha Rifles Frontier Force, *Published by The Colonel of the Regent 5th Gorkha Rifles (Frontier Force), Printed by Xtreme Office Aid Pvt Ltd, Nangal Raya, New Delhi 110046. Pages 324, Price Rs 800, First Published in 2016.*

The book covers the glorious and historical achievements of the six battalions of the Regiment and 33 RR Battalion (5/8 GR) during the period 1990 to 2016. Major activities of the 58 GTC,

events of interaction with the retired fraternity and details of regimental customs and traditions specific to 5 GR (FF) have also been covered.

The book is unique, in that in simple readable language, it covers the history of the Regiment since its raising in 1858 to the present. Special chapters cover "Links with the Past" and "Chronology of Events" and signposts the main events from 1858 to 2016. A large number of photographs and a few maps and sketches have been included.

First 25 pages cover Links with the Past and the Victoria Cross won by the Regiment Chapters one to three cover extracts from earlier Volumes one to three, including raisings of 1st, 2nd and 3rd Battalion. Operations in the Frontier , WW I and WW II, after and since 1947 to 1971 (including Counter Insurgency Operations (CI Ops) in the northeast (NE)) have been covered.

Chapters four to six cover raisings of 4th, 5th and 6th Battalions, and operations and activities of the Regiment, from 1990 to 2016. During this period besides guarding the LOC and LAC, the main security threat to our country has been from separatists in the NE and of Pakistan sponsored insurgency and terrorism in J&K. A brief background to causes and prevailing security situation has been included, for easy understanding of operations. All Battalions of the Regiment have done their share of guarding the borders and participated in CI Ops, with distinction.

Their achievements in operational areas and during peace tenures, have been covered, period and station wise. Important regimental and social events, visits and interactions with pensioners and welfare measures undertaken have been covered.

Details of UN Missions, training with foreign armies, aid rendered during natural calamities (like Tsunami in Andaman and Utrakhand) and achievements in professional and sports events, have also been highlighted.

Special mention has been made of the work done by the Battalions in opening trade route "Rah-E-Milan" with Pakistan from Poonch and interaction with the Pakistan Army, and

interaction with the PLA across LAC in Arunachal Pradesh from Tawang. Honours and Awards, including Unit Citations won by the Battalions have been included .

Chapters 7 to 10 cover 33 Rashtriya Rifles (58 GR), the Regimental Centre, customs, traditions and ethos of the Regiment, chronology of events and ends with thoughts for Afterword.

Annexure 1 to 5 give details of Titles and Badges of the Regiment, Theatre and Battle Honours , Gallantry awards, Roll of Honour and other awards. Annexure 6-11 has details of Colonels of the Regiment, Commanding Officers, Generals' Gallery, Centre Commandants and List of Subedar Majors. The author needs to be complemented for setting a precedence of combining "past with present", which may be followed by other regiments. The book is recommended for libraries of military establishments and institutions.

Lieutenant General YM Bammi, PhD (Retd)

Indian Navy Adventures – Seven Seas to High Himalayas.
Conceived, compiled and Edited by Captain MS Kohli (New Delhi, Har-Anand Publications Pvt Ltd, 2018), Price Rs 695, pp.295, ISBN 978-81-241-2024-8.

The book is divided into 42 chapters from Introduction to Epilogue, besides the Preface and Foreword by Admiral Sunil Lanba, Chief of Naval Staff and eight half-page photographs. The book is a compilation of some very heroic accounts of the officers and men of the Indian Navy on the high seas, around the North and South Poles and up in the mighty Himalayas, spanning the sixty years from 1954 to 2017 i.e. if one discounts the earlier history, the exploits of Shivraya Kanhojee Angrey, the legendary Maratha Sea Captain who dominated the Konkan sea coast during the early 18th Century, causing much awe and fear among the British, French, Portuguese and Dutch, when it is said that no foreign ships could cross the Konkan coast without fear. This has been eloquently brought out in the chapter 'Beacon of Adventure' by Vice Admiral MP Awati.

In Captain Kohli's own words, he joined the Navy to see the world but the invisible hand of destiny had other plans. In 1954 immediately after he reported to *INS Shivaji*, he took the Indian Navy from deep seas to high Himalaya. Within twelve years Indian Navy Ensigns fluttered on tops of Nanda Kot (22510 ft) in 1959, Annapurna III (24,858 ft) in 1961 and Mount Everest (29,028 ft) in 1965.

Of the book's forty odd chapters, twenty relate to mountaineering/land based adventure and of these eleven are Captain Kohli's awe inspiring tales and seven by the later generation intrepid mountaineer, Captain Satyabrata Dam. The remainder chapters are related to the high seas which include wartime episodes which are aesthetically interspersed and accord the book a fine balance. Brevity and humour it is said constitute the soul of wit and this book typically conforms to this adage. There is ample humour, often subtle. The book engages the reader's interest throughout and makes for one straight reading from beginning to the end. The author is one of India's living legends. Born in 1931, his life was steeped in adventure from the childhood days literally. He survived endless encounters with death during the holocaust of Partition in 1947. He carved out a spectacular career spanning 42 years in the the Indian Navy, Indo- Tibet Border Police and Air India full of adventure and success in the high mountains. Captain Kohli was only 36 years old when he left active mountaineering.

My other favourites are; Beacon of Adventure, Away Sea Boat, Those Magnificent Men, Around the World Solo and Solo Nonstop. And there is an exceptionally evocative Introduction by Admiral VS Shekhawat, former Chief of Naval Staff. How one wishes there was more from him though I suspect there is a passage in 'Sensational Drama on Annapurna', that could be his.

It would be apt to conclude with an excerpt from the Foreword written by Admiral Sunil Lanba, PVSM, AVSM, ADC, the present Chief of Naval Staff:-

"Over the years we have scaled several challenging peaks, undertaken arduous journeys to the North and South Poles and circumnavigated the globe. While we can reminiscence about our

achievements with satisfaction, unconquered and unexplored areas persist. I am very hopeful that the Nation and the Navy's list of accomplishments will continue to grow in years to come".

It is overall a very fine book that will make an ideal mountaineering and sea adventure companion for the adventure lovers in the Navy and outside.

The book in a later edition could do with more photographs, maps and sketches (presently there are none of the latter). This will add to the value of the book.

Brig DK Khullar, AVSM (Retd)

Naga Movement: Longest Surviving Insurgency in Asia. *By Colonel (Dr) MP Sen, (Manas Publications, 2018, Delhi), Price Rs 995.00, pp 315, ISBN 9788170495420*

Lasting peace requires stable political and economic environment. Eric Brahm while quoting Metz wrote, "Broadly speaking, insurgency is a strategy to overthrow the established order". The Naga insurgency as described by the author is ethno-political conflict to overthrow the established order in Naga inhabited areas. Historically it is proved that an insurgency is born when there is perception of polarisation of the community for political reasons, endemic corruption, sectarianism, rising aspirations of the people and perceived threat to the culture. The book 'Naga Movement: Longest Surviving Insurgency in Asia' endorses these perceptions and in fact gives out chronological account of the Naga movement since colonial rule.

The author has covered almost all issues that gave impetus to the Naga insurgency including external linkages. The political initiatives and series of treaties including famous Shillong Accord was an outcome of political willingness of the government to resolve the insurgency; has been very well covered by the author. The Naga insurgency post 1990 has not been a political struggle entirely in its spirit. Somehow, it became an industry when the territorial war erupted among the various factions of the Naga insurgent groups. Naga insurgency also became mother of all insurgencies in the Northeast and their survival hinged upon their ability to destabilise other Naga inhabited areas including Manipur,

part of Arunachal Pradesh and Assam. The linkages with other insurgent groups gave them leverage to calibrate violence and instability in more than one state to sustain the insurgency. Thus, to suggest that it is purely a political movement for greater Nagalim may be a misplaced conclusion. In fact it would have been ideal to decode the aspirations of Nagalim in the backdrop of the fact that there is inter-tribal factionalism and East Nagaland People's Organisation (ENPO) has been demanding a separate state as Frontier Nagaland or Eastern Nagaland. Nagas of Manipur, Arunachal Pradesh and Assam fear that they may become subservient to Nagas of Nagaland.

After such a detailed academic exercise that author has undertaken to put together the causes and the trajectory of the Naga movement since the beginning of the 20th Century, as a reader one was expecting a detailed analysis of prognosis of conflict and the efficacy of finding permanent solution through a peace accord. What are the options for the government to rehabilitate the cadres, regain control over territory and end the regime of extortion, drug trafficking and gun running. As a reader I was looking at future prospects more since history of Naga struggle is very well documented. There are three critical issues that are acting as the stumbling block in conflict resolution. Most critical issue is rehabilitation of cadres. Second, how to end parallel economy and prevent resurgence of surrogate/splinter groups taking it over. Third, since the government has said state boundaries are sacrosanct; how will the issue of sovereignty be settled? These issues have remained unanswered in the book.

Notwithstanding the above review, the book has given a detailed account of the meandering trajectory the Naga insurgency has taken to survive and sustain in spite of the pressure from the law enforcement agencies and the public. The book has covered historical background of Naga insurgency well. A good reference book for scholars.

Brigadier Narender Kumar, SM, VSM (Retd)

India's National Security: Annual Review 2018. Edited by Satish Kumar (New Delhi: Pentagon Press, 2018) pp. 416; Price 1295, ISBN 978-93-86618-41-2

The global order is changing in a fundamental way. In this complicated environment, India is looking to transform itself into a modern developed country in which it can promote its national interests. To understand the dynamics of India's security policy, it is imperative that we consider the changes in our immediate neighbourhood, the Indian sub-continent, our extended neighbourhood, and finally at the world order as it is emerging.

This publication captures the dynamics of India's security policy in the last two years in the context of trends towards nationalism, protectionism and isolationism on the part of major powers, mingled with a desire not to deny themselves the benefits of internationalism and globalisation. While India has undoubtedly reinvigorated its partnerships particularly in defence and economic fields with leading powers, it had also to contend with heightened tensions and provocative actions of its unavoidable adversaries like China and Pakistan.

India's immediate neighbours are areas of concern not merely because of the intrusive presence of its adversaries in this region but also because of their discontent with India on various counts. India has intensified its engagement with countries in the Asia- Pacific region which had common threat perceptions and also provided scope for mutually beneficial development cooperation. Countries in the West Asian region have also received special attention because of India's energy needs, diaspora and terrorism. These and other aspects of India's national security concerns have been comprehensively examined by contributions of eminent experts.

The book is divided into six sections covering the gamut of the national security environment, India's security zones, threats and challenges, economic and technological issues, and strategic concerns. It concludes with an assessment which highlights the limited gains and increasing strains. India has major internal political issues and is in need of structural adjustment to cope with the new global and regional economic situation. Overall, the base has been laid, if we choose to build upon it, to continue progress towards integrating the subcontinent, building connectivity and habits of cooperation and making institutions work much better.

There is also a clear dichotomy between what we see to our East and West in our extended neighbourhood. The breakdown of the geopolitical balance, the rise of sectarian violence and ancient animosities and economic stagnation are all issues of concern. The major geopolitical challenge for India in today's situation is dealing with the consequences of the rise of China and Asia. Today's situation is probably best described as generalised fragmented disorder. This is a world that will reward the agile and the nimble who adjust rapidly to change, not those who try to replicate the past and carry on the basis of habit and old experience.

The essays in this book are a very laudable effort indeed to encapsulate the essentials of India's security concerns and enhance our understanding of the complexities that face us. The broad architecture has been well covered by eminent contributors. It is a valuable addition to military libraries.

Colonel Harjeet Singh (Retd)

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(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) w.e.f. 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 Armed Forces Historical Research (CAFHR)

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 10 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 Menzies 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.

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