

## Editorial

The issue opens with the edited version of the 15<sup>th</sup> Major General Samir Sinha Memorial Lecture 2017 on “India’s Porous Borders and Coastlines – Meeting Threats and Challenges” which was delivered by Shri Anil Goswami, IAS (Retd) former Home Secretary of India at the United Service Institution of India (USI) on 19 Apr 2017. Vice Admiral Shekhar Sinha, PVSM, AVSM, NM and Bar (Retd), former Flag Officer Commanding-in-Chief Western Naval Command chaired the session. This is followed by somewhat related subject titled “Insurgencies of the Northeast and Management of Indo-Myanmar Border”, which is also an edited version of the talk delivered by Lieutenant General Shokin Chauhan, AVSM, YSM, SM, VSM, Director General Assam Rifles at the USI on 24 Apr 2017. Both these talks covered a wide canvas of issues of the Northeast such as the historical perspective, cultural and tribal diversities and reasons for insurgencies in the Northeastern Region of India. The nuances, dynamics and challenges to national security due to India’s porous borders, especially in the Northeast have been vividly brought out. These are a good update on the situation prevailing on India’s northeastern borders. Initiatives taken by the Government of India to address the shortcomings and the challenges faced are noteworthy. Both speakers have made some useful and practical recommendations to deal with the prevailing security situation.

21st Century is being projected as the “Asian Century”. India and China are two rising powers in this part of the world. Sino-India relationship is the most challenging relationship as a number of contradictions need to be managed. Therefore, it is all the more important to understand the nuances and dynamics of the relationship between these two emerging powers. There is a need to explore areas of synergy and overcome “trust deficit” that prevails. With this as backdrop, the USI invited His Excellency Mr Luo Zhaohui, the Ambassador of the People’s Republic of China in India, to deliver a talk on Sino-Indian relations on 05 May 2017. Text of the talk on the subject “In My Eyes: India, Indians and India-China Relations” is published as the next article for wider circulation amongst the USI members. The article, in a nuanced manner provides the Chinese perspective of Indo-China relations.

It highlights areas of common interest, differences and grievances that exist between India and China. The speaker made out a case for practical cooperation in economic and trade; people-to-people contact and put forward suggestions to manage the differences. The relationship between the two major powers in the region has to be based on mutual trust and understanding of the fundamental interests of the two countries. Unfortunately, currently this is lacking. The message that the Ambassador tried to convey was that China is ready to work with India; align its development strategies and expand mutually beneficial cooperation.

The primary responsibility of maintaining international peace and security under the United Nations Charter is that of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC). Since 1945, the geopolitics has changed drastically, but the Security Council's membership and working methods have not and reflect the bygone era. The United Nations General Assembly (UNGA), since 1993, has debated the issue of reforms of the UNSC without any agreement being reached. Any agreement in the membership of the UNSC will require amendment to the UN Charter, which is a tall order, being lengthy and onerous process. Unlike the membership changes, the working methods of the UNSC (procedures of the Council) do not require change in the Charter. This is something that can be undertaken by the UNSC itself. The next article "Maintaining International Peace and Security through United Nations Peacekeeping" by Shri Asoke Mukerji, IFS (Retd), former India's Permanent Representative to the United Nations, highlights the necessity for increased representation in the Council's decision-making process and for direct consultations between the 15 members of the UNSC and the troop contributing countries not represented in the UNSC so that effectiveness of the UN peacekeeping operations can be improved.

The Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation was held at Beijing on 14-15 May 2017. It is claimed that it was attended by large number of Heads of States/Governments and representatives from more than 130 countries and 70 international organisations. China's stated objective of the Forum was to "build a more open and international cooperation platform; a closer and stronger partnership network; and to push for a more just,

reasonable and balanced international governance system". Some in media, particularly the western media, referred to it as shaping "China's new World Order". This Issue of the Journal carries three articles related to China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC)/ One Belt and One Road (OBOR). The first in the series is an article "China-Pakistan Economic Corridor : Connecting the Dots" by Lieutenant General PK Singh, PVSM, AVSM (Retd), Director USI which in an incisive manner analyses the CPEC in the light of the master plan revealed by the media in Pakistan. He argues that CPEC skips some of the major connectivity issues in South Asia, with potential for isolation of Pakistan, though it may strengthen China-Pakistan relations. The strategic aspects of CPEC far outweigh the economic aspects according to this article and may not exactly be the 'silver bullet' it is deemed to be. The second in the series is an article "The Undeclared Power Play behind Belt and Road Forum: May 2017" by Major General SB Asthana, SM, VSM (Retd) which brings out that the largest beneficiary of the One Belt and One Road (OBOR) project is China itself and there are some pressing domestic compulsions on the Chinese leadership to undertake this project. The article analyses the compulsions of 30 countries who have signed up for it. India's non-participation at the Forum is not a case of missed opportunities but a serious "sovereignty issue". CPEC, Gwadar and infrastructural development near Indian borders will also be a strategic and security challenge to India. The author makes a case for India to create military capacity to face this challenge.

Further to the above, Major General Rajiv Narayanan, AVSM, VSM (Retd), in the next article "The China Dream, *Tianxia* and Belt and Road Initiative: '*Pax Sinica*' or Middle Power Coalition for Asia-Pacific?" examines the China Dream and how it follows the concept of '*Tianxia*' (the whole of China or the whole world) as articulated by the Chinese philosopher Zhao Tingyang and how the Belt and Road Initiative relates to this concept. The author suggests formulation of Middle Power Coalition for the Asia-Pacific Region to provide stability to the region and multi-polarity in Asia.

In the next article "Korean Peninsula – Prevailing Imbroglio : Quest for Strategic Equilibrium"; Major General GG Dwivedi, SM, VSM and Bar (Retd) cautions that the Korean Peninsula is under

extreme stress due to geo-political turbulence prevailing in the region and is likely a potential flash point. The article analyses the current state of instability in the region and the factors that have contributed to it. China, the only friend of North Korea that extends political and economic support to the Pyongyang Regime, is in a difficult position. She does not want US-leaning Korea at her borders and the collapse of the North Korean Regime, which may lead to havoc in the region and consequent humanitarian disaster. Notwithstanding China's influence over North Korea, she has often expressed frustration over Pyongyang's irresponsible conduct; to that extent China's influence is limited. Considering the prevailing gravity of the situation only bold initiatives by the US, supported by China, can calm the boiling waters.

National security, apart from security against external and internal threats posed by nation-states and non-state actors, encompasses diverse range of issues such as political, economic, energy etc. However, historically, the concept of national security is principally associated with preserving a nation's sovereignty and the physical integrity of a nation's territory and also the effective control of borders without disruption from outside. Security threats are diverse, uncertain and in the contemporary world, less predictable. Any nation that does not build up its own capabilities to deal with these threats does so at its own peril. In the next article on "Self-sufficiency in National Security" General Deepak Kapoor, PVSM, AVSM, SM, VSM (Retd), former Chief of Army Staff and the Chairman of the Chiefs of Staff Committee, highlights the importance of self-sufficiency in national security and makes some pertinent recommendations to achieve self-sufficiency in national security related to matters military. These include revamping of the Defence Research and Development Organisation (DRDO); greater involvement of the private sector and priority to infrastructural development. He advocates for an increase in annual defence expenditure and creation of efficient Higher Defence Management structures that are overseen by political authorities with sound professional advice from experts.

Grand strategy is a means through which a State ensures its security; and statecraft, the process through which a nation attempts to minimise its weaknesses and limitations, and maximise its

strengths and capabilities in the prevailing international environment. Major General PJS Sandhu (Retd), in the next article “Strategy – The Unexplored Frontiers: A Direction for India” has analysed the unexplored frontiers of strategy as an instrument of statecraft in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century with a focus on the prevailing geostrategic environment as it relates to India now and years ahead. Considering the prevailing regional and global environment, there is definitely a case to evolve a grand strategy without forgetting the history and geography, and keeping in mind the emerging Asian landscape and the internal threats.

India, with a coastline of 7516 kms, requires a strong navy to protect India’s national interests. The Indian Navy needs to be provided with the latest technology so that it can provide effective maritime security umbrella. More so, as India’s economy is affected from the import and export of goods over the Sea Lanes of Communication. As the threat grows, so must the Indian Navy, both in quantitative and qualitative terms. To this end, new technologies must be exploited so that the Indian Navy has the required ability to effectively carry out the assigned tasks. In 2016, the Indian Navy had unveiled 15 year prospective plan which calls for acquiring a range of futuristic technologies. These include naval missiles, propulsion and power generation systems, surveillance and detection systems, torpedoes and directed energy weapons, network centric warfare, and command and control management systems etc. The next article “Technology Requirements for the Indian Navy” by Vice Admiral Satish Soni, PVSM, AVSM, NM (Retd) who has been the Flag Officer Commanding-in-Chief of Eastern as well as Southern Naval Commands elaborates on the technological requirements and recommends that India collaborates with advanced countries to obtain the technologies required or invest in the research and development. The areas recommended by the author include Advanced Munitions, Unmanned Combat, Space, Network-Centric Warfare, Cyber Warfare and Aircraft Carrier technology. The article also flags some challenges in doing so.

The last issue of the USI Journal (Jan - Mar 2017), had carried an article on “Unique Approach to Comprehensive National Power through the Lens of Kautilya’s Arthashastra” by Lieutenant

Colonel Malay Mishra. Continuing in the same vein, the next article “Kautilya’s Arthashastra and its Relevance to Contemporary Strategic Studies” by Colonel Pradeep Kumar Gautam (Retd) has analysed the concept and vocabulary that exists in Kautilya’s Arthashastra. He has established the relevance of these in contemporary warfare including hybrid warfare. Even in contemporary times the “indigenous concepts and strategic thinking of ancient times” are still of great relevance. “Old” must not be ignored but meshed with “New”. Thoughts on intelligence, foreign policy and military strategy, diplomacy, statecraft and leadership of the times of Kautilya are worth a read.

The USI, CAFHR is going strong in its endeavor to inculcate a culture of remembrance of fallen soldiers in our country through its ‘India Remembers’ project. The last piece is an update on this project and other activities of USI CAFHR by Ms Bhanushali Gahlot, covering the period Apr-Jun 2017.

We have received encouraging response to the initiative taken to digitise the USI Journal and to do our bit towards preserving the environment. Mostly the initiative has been appreciated and feedback positive. However, some members still wish to have a hard copy of the Journal. Not to deny those who are used to the hard copy, we would like to inform the members that those desirous of the hard copy will need to place a firm demand for the same with the Deputy Director (Administration) and cost for same is advertised at Page (iv) of this issue of the Journal.

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