

## Editorial

The case of India and China is unique as the two civilisation states not only share 3488 km of contiguous land border and have also fought a war in 1962 over disputed boundary issues, but are also the fastest emerging economic powerhouses in the world today. While China initiated market reforms in 1978 and has achieved economic growth averaging ten per cent annually; India has not been able to keep pace with its neighbour leading to a trade differential of USD 52 billion in favour of China. Although according to an estimate, China's economic growth in coming years may slow down to 5-6 per cent and India's will continue to grow at more than seven per cent, India would still achieve a GDP of USD 3.6 trillion as compared to that of USD 16.2 trillion of China by the year 2020. Can the aspiring India afford to overlook this lacuna? If the answer is 'No', then by when will our economy permit us to shape our neighbourhood and bridge the gap in our defence capabilities vis-à-vis China? To answer some of these concerns, the USI invited Dr Sanajaya Baru, former Media Adviser to the Prime Minister and a Professor of Economics to deliver a talk on 'Comparing the Economies of China and India and its Impact on India's Strategic and Security Interests', the text of which is being carried as the first article in this Issue. Dr Baru did not mince his words while stating that though there is no gainsaying the fact that there is a need to boost up our defence capabilities; but as far as China is concerned, it is going to be our biggest economic challenge in at least next ten years as against the popular discourse of it being primarily a military threat.

The next article again is text of a talk delivered by Lieutenant General DS Hooda, PVSM, UYSM, AVSM, VSM and Bar (Retired), former Army Commander, Northern Command, on the most contemporary and relevant topic of national importance and security concern i.e. the "Situation in Jammu and Kashmir : The Way Forward". The General routed his analysis of the current levels of insurgency in Jammu and Kashmir (J&K) through the path of historical developments spanning almost 27 years. He was most insightful and pragmatic in spelling out the fact that the solution to the J&K problem was neither simple nor early to come by. He rather warned against falling for quick-fix solutions and suggested

some practical steps that ought to be taken by the political and military leaders and other stakeholders that would bring stability in the State, which could be further utilized to work out long-term solutions. Shri Anil Goswami, IAS (Retired), former Home Secretary of India, chaired the talk and added immense value to the discussion by bringing in the political perspective.

Pakistan has made no secret of its desire to counter Indian superiority in conventional forces with nuclear deterrence. Asymmetric warfare, nuclear blackmail, stated nuclear policy and lately, miniaturisation of warheads have been cornerstones of this strategy. It is also aware of Indian Naval capabilities and to counter that, has taken steps to focus on developing sea-based tactical nuclear assets. In her article, "Pakistan's Sea-based Nuclear Deterrence : Implications for India", Dr Roshan Khanijo has rightly pointed out the fact that just as tactical nuclear weapons (TNWs) on land created a dilemma for Pakistan; Submarine Launched Cruise Missile (SLCM) trajectory is going to create some challenges for them. Since these assets will have to be launch-ready prior to departure from the port, the danger of loss of command and control, accidental launches, risk of theft, sabotage by terrorists on account of their radical ideological thinking, are immense. Indian policy makers will do well by contemplating and examining complexities of Pak's nuclear strategy.

India has been on the forefront of UN peacekeeping operations right since its Independence. There are numerous studies on how to address the challenges that plague the peacekeeping missions. Mandate formulation is a diplomatic exercise and during the stage of implementation, the mandate and the principles of peacekeeping tend to get interpreted differently by various stakeholders and troop/ police contributing countries and, therefore, ambiguity prevails. While ambiguity needs to be addressed, Major General AK Bardalai, VSM (Retd) in his article - "UNPKO and Military Contribution: Challenges and Opportunities for Asia-Pacific Governments" highlights that there are opportunities to cooperate between the countries of the Asia-Pacific Region for the common objective of peace and stability in the world.

North Korea with its stated capabilities of attacking South Korea, Japan and US bases in the Pacific, is trying to send a

message – ‘Lay off or Else.....’. The deterrent effect has been demonstrated time and again to reinforce this thought; but this brinkmanship has dangerous consequences. Major General Hoang Ky Lan, PhD has amply brought out in his article “North Korea’s Nuclear Programme and Its Impacts on Regional Security”, the perceived need of North Korea to possess nuclear weapons; the complicated developments likely in Korean peninsula and its strategic impact on regional security. The General, whose country, Vietnam, is directly affected, feels that this may plunge the region into a real war.

Much has been heard about China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) and One Belt One Road (OBOR) to develop infrastructure capabilities in our neighbourhood. The article “China Pakistan Economic Corridor – Current Status with Focus on Energy Sector” by Commander MH Rajesh concludes that CPEC is more about energy and less about the corridor per se – a view point well-articulated by facts and figures. A whopping 79 percent share (USD 33098 mn for this alone) - compared to 2 percent (USD 796.2 mn) for development of Gwadar Port - says it all! He has also brought out that with the project spilling over into POK – it will be politically vulnerable without taking Indian concerns into account. The article attempts to inform the readers about the salience of energy content without discounting its strategic importance.

National Power and Comprehensive National Power (CNP) have been defined by Western powers and China, but none explains the usage of CNP that a state possesses, what should this power achieve and how. Explaining “*Saptanga*” model of CNP by Kautilya, the author Lieutenant Colonel Malay Mishra in “Unique Approach to Comprehensive Power through the Lens of Kautilya’s Arthshastra”, has brought out uniqueness of the model and feels it is more comprehensive as it goes beyond to cater for certain intangibles that play key role in manifestation of state power. It also makes “*Saptanga*” unique and honorably comprehensive.

Major General KK Pant in his article, “Trade and Economic Sanctions – Effectiveness and Evil of Sanctions”, has amply brought out the range of sanctions under UN Chapter VII, the rationale thereof and effectiveness or otherwise of these sanctions on some of the countries by quoting concrete examples. He brings

out that if the preconditions that are morally acceptable are not fulfilled – sanctions will, by and large fail to achieve the stated objectives. Since economic sanctions appear to be the established response to situations involving violence or a risk of violence, these must comply with applicable rules of human rights and International Humanitarian Law. These should be crafted in a way that they do not endanger lives or health of the population of target state.

One of the most visible evidences of having arrived on the scene as a major power in the comity of nations is to be a permanent member of UN Security Council – with Veto power. India's desire of achieving this status dates back to pre-partition days. Largest democracy, significant role in peacekeeping operations, emerging economic power and responsible leadership are some of the forceful reasons put forth by India to stake this claim. Global realities and unwillingness of permanent members to proliferate this privilege, in spite of its acceptance largely by Western members, points to otherwise. In reality, they may finally agree to a permanent membership without Veto power. Is that acceptable? – is the question thrown up by this article.

The last piece, “A Call to Remember” by Mingma Lhamu Pakhrin and Bhanushali Gehlot brings out the need to make our countrymen aware of the sacrifices made by the Indian Armed Forces over time. While the people consider the Armed Forces as the instrument of last resort, they are quick to forget the sacrifices made by its gallant soldiers and their memories are relegated to the dungeons of history as there is no culture of “Remembrance” in our country. Generally, the people are aware of wars fought post-Independence; but the hardships undergone and the resultant intangible benefits to the State on account of participation of over three and half million Indian soldiers in two World Wars has largely gone unnoticed due to various reasons. This article makes a strong case for an urgent need of a National War Memorial to honour our fallen heroes who made the supreme sacrifice when the duty called.

Read on.....