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Thru' the Desk of the Editor



The first issue of your journal was released on October 2017 in Goa by none other than the Chief of Naval Staff Adm. Sunil Lanba. On that occasion there were very senior veterans from defense forces, diplomats and representatives of twenty two countries present. The first issue covered a very vast arena in the field of diplomacy and strategy and was very well received by the audience. The issue is available on [https:// journal.finsindia.org](https://journal.finsindia.org)

At this point, I take a stock of ancient Indian culture history and the two strands therein. One being the Vashista tradition and the other being the Vishwamitra tradition. One tradition which was devoted to knowledge and the other which worshipped power. The Vashishta tradition is immersed in the pursuit of knowledge and social welfare, while the Vishwamitra tradition is obsessed with acquisition, protection and expansion of power.

The Vishwamitra tradition turns history around by confining ancient history to memory and moving its focus to the creation of modern history. On the other hand the Vashista tradition with its dedication and devotion attempts to influence the present, through an analysis of the past. However, through its focus on power, the Vishwamitra tradition mocks at the Vashista tradition, while on the other hand; immersed in its focus on knowledge, the Vashista tradition looks down upon the Vishwamitra tradition. From the ancient times, till today, both these traditions have not lost track of their roots. Even today, the scholars who worship knowledge look down upon those who are devoted to the acquisition of power, while those in power always mock those, who are intellectuals.

It would be no doubt easy for keen observers to realize that today the “practical” approach of the intellectuals and the callousness of those in power has increased to some extent. As a result, despite looking down upon power, intellectuals today value the need to maintain a relationship with power, that could serve them in good stead and those in power have started patronizing intellectual, to show that they value knowledge. As a result those who believe in intellectual purity and integrity still fall prey to the entrapments set up by those in power. Realizing this weakness, those in power use the intellectuals to support them through their improper actions.

Hence, policy makers and scholars need to be brought on the same platform. And therefore, there is a genuine need for a journal like yours, where the thinkers, practitioners and policy makers jointly contribute to the thought process in a positivist manner.

This second issue also contributing to this movement and contains usual columns like research articles, military history, book review and many more. Stay connected!

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KAUTILYA AND GRAND STRATEGIC PERSPECTIVE – A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

Conduct and strategy of war has always been shaped by technological advancement. As the Technology advances, wars seem to resemble less and less with previous ones and yet other factors such as leadership, human factors, political compulsions alliances and diplomacy remains the same. It is therefore eminent that the modern strategists draw lessons from the classical works on war. Traditionally, long term strategy is associated exclusively to military strategy. The father of modern strategic studies – Gen Carl von Clausewitz defines strategy as use of combat for the purpose of war. Moltke, Associates strategy to the ability to adapt to the resources made available to the General for the achievement of the good. Sun Tzu wrote – Art of war about 2500 years ago says – The Art of war is of vital importance to the states. It is matter of life and death, a road, either to safety or ruin. Hence it is subject of enquiry which can on no account be neglected. While the work of Sun Tzu, Machiavelli, Clausewitz are amongst the most studied by the strategic studies expert of the world, Kautilya's Arthashastra, wrote in 4th Century BC, and seems to be the most relevant even today. This Article purports to analyses the above stated work and its relevance.

Clausewitz is essentially theater centric and talks about conduct of war. Sun Tzu deals with higher level of work that includes diplomacy – before, during and after the war.

“Do not allow your enemies to get together.”

“.....look into the matter of his alliances and caused them to be served and dissolved.”

Thus Sun Tzu is more strategic in nature. But both agree that war is to serve political purpose. While Clausewitz says – War is politics with other means for SunTzu – ideal military leader is he who holds his personal interest in abeyance and serves political leaders and political purpose. Machiavelli deals with less with warfare and more with state craft. Kautilya is truly a grand strategist. He covers entire spectrum from running a state to organization of army, foreign policy to intelligence gathering.

Methodologically, Clausewitz is more analytical, logical. Art of war is like succinct guide, as SunTzu recognizes that staggering complexity of war precludes shape and course thru mechanical applications of principles. Price of Machiavelli deals with behavior of the leader, diplomacy, world order thru the lens of realism. For him end justifies the means. Arthashastra deals with a much wider canvass with extra-ordinary analytical precisions, blended uncertainty and complexity beyond the limitations of time and space.

International Relations (IR)–

For Clausewitz and Sun Tzu both political master are in command of war and politics is the objective of war, although Clausewitz is much more reductionist. Machavelli deals with 5 basic principles of IR –

1. Prevent foreign power from getting involved.
2. One must either live within or colonized conquered territory.
3. One must exert the power on the other nations.
4. One must ally the neighboring lesser.
5. One must always look at future and emerging threats.

“Prince must have different approaches towards different foreign conquered territories.”

However, Kautilya's contribution is much more relevant and robust than the others. He talks about –

1. Making peace when relative decline.
2. Waging war when enemy shall attack.
3. Staying quite when neither are likely to harm other.
4. Preparing for war by augmenting one's own power.

5. Seeking support by getting protection of another.
6. Dual policy with different states.

Perhaps the most important contribution of Kautilya in this context is the well-known “Rajmandala Concept”

Treaties, Diplomacy and winning without war –

To fight and conquer in all your battles is not supreme excellence. It consist in breaking the enemy’s resistance without fighting. – says Sun Tzu

Mechavelli is concerned with security against external threats and internal disharmony. For him, there are two ways of contesting – ONE by law and OTHER by force. The Prince is always to conquer and expand.

For Kautilya, if one has the army, once ally remains friendly and even enemies remains friendly. Both Kautilya and Mechavelli, did not think treaties as binding. Mechavelli states – rise from low conditions to high conditions, rank without employing either force or fraud but by breaking treaties.

For Kautilya it is good to have allies as long as there is self-interest. He says – one keeps ally not because it is goodwill or moral obligation but because one is strong and advance one’s own self-interest.

Diplomacy is described as a subtle act of war. If challenged by alliance of nations, a king should secretly sow dissention within the alliance until one or more parties in alliance becomes weak and they violate the treaty.

Kautilya’s writings are most relevant in explaining the outcome of World War II –

1. Did Germany expand without understanding Grand Strategic Perspective?
2. Why did Germany ally with Italy and Japan? And kept their alliance for too long?
3. Why did he attack USSR, despite the treaty?
4. How did Churchill bring USA in to the war?
5. Why did Pearl Harbor happen despite USA being a strong Nation?
6. Why McArthur had to stop in Korea?

One finds answers to these questions and the results in deeper understanding of Grand Strategic View rather than theatric view.

Today, the world is getting increasingly inter-connected. System has emergent behavior. Complex nature of responses is causing Lawrence Effect. Anything happening in any part of the world would have a profound effect at any other remote corner.. This causes ambiguity, uncertainty and volatility. Thus Security has no longer confined to the borders.

This paradigm necessitates looking at Security in integrated manner.

Kautilya describes state craft and intelligence gathering so relevant today in the age of asymmetric Warfare. His description of running the welfare state along with covert operations explain the ways, we could treat Maoism today. Psychological warfare is what would explain and support war against terror.

Integrated security including non-traditional security threats would require a Grand Strategic Approach.

Kautilya seems to be ever more relevant today.

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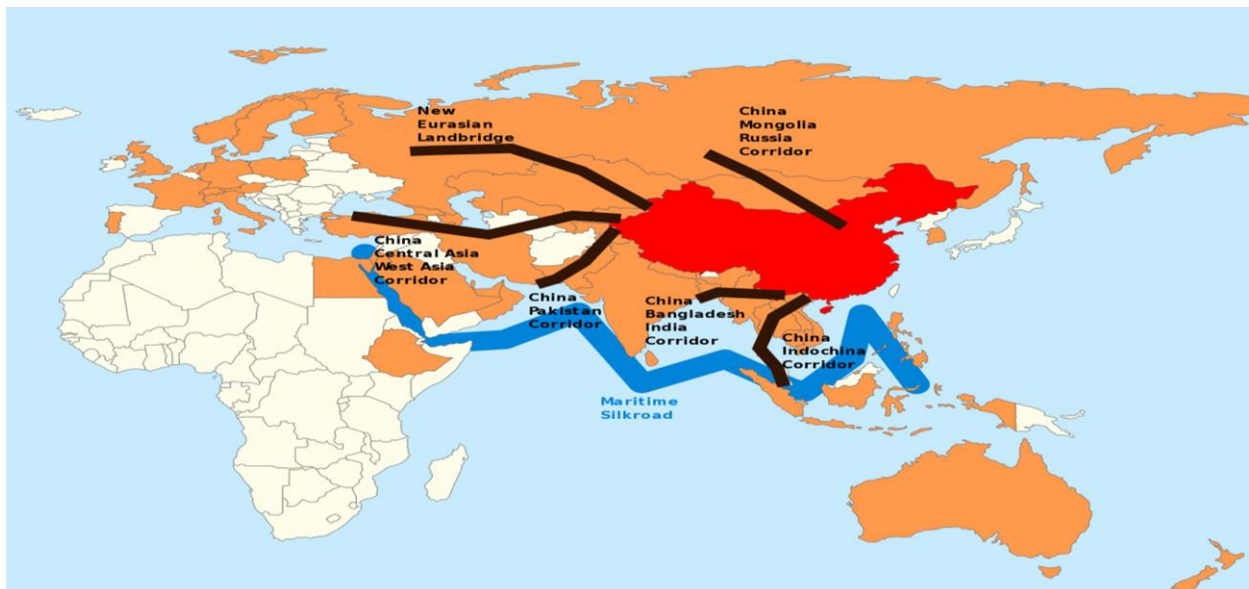
By Adv. S.N. Desai

Belt and Road Initiative: A Civilizational Perspective (part 1)

Introduction

China and India are two ancient, continuous civilizations. They survived the onslaughts of invaders through the last millennium and although imperialism ravaged and impoverished them, they ‘stood up’ again in the 1940s. They experimented with imported economic models of Marxism and Fabian socialism respectively for a considerable period, but have emerged as important economic powers in the 21st century, after unleashing the entrepreneurial genius of their people. China got a head start over India as she adopted ‘reform and opening up’ policy in 1978, while India pursued liberalization only from 1991. In 2018, China is the second largest economy in the world with more than 11 trillion dollar Gross Domestic Product (GDP), far ahead of India at approx. 2.25 trillion dollar. The new wealth provides China with an opportunity, before India catches up, to establish the predominance of her civilization in Asia. Another divergence between the two countries is that China adopted a totalitarian system of Communist Party-state in 1949 and India became a parliamentary democracy in 1947. As a result, China has been brutally efficient in implementation of her policies and in crisis management, while India takes more time in building a political consensus on any policy or crisis, accommodating diverse points of views.

After 1978, the Chinese grand strategy has been a combination of ancient wisdom, old-style realpolitik and mercantilism and authoritarian capitalism. The One Belt One Road (OBOR) initiative is a new component of this grand strategy. It was announced by the head of the Chinese Party-state, President Xi Jinping in 2013 and has emerged as the biggest foreign policy project of China till date. It is inspired by the ancient Eurasian trade route called by historians as Silk Road that connected China, India, Persia and Rome and the maritime expeditions of Chinese Admiral Zheng He between 1405 and 1433. Therefore, it has two dimensions: one continental, Silk Road Economic Belt and one maritime, 21st-century Maritime Silk Road. In 2016, OBOR was renamed as Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). The first summit meeting of Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation was held on 14-15 May 2017, attended by 30 heads of state and government.



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BRI incorporates various existing infrastructure linkage projects of China with other countries and it is not something that is being built from scratch. The Belt consists of China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), China-Central Asia-West Asia Corridor, New Eurasian Land Bridge, China-Mongolia-Russia Corridor, China-Indochina Peninsula Corridor and Bangladesh-China-India-Myanmar (BCIM) Economic Corridor. China is investing in roads and

railways, oil and gas exploration and pipelines and port development, e.g. Gwadar, Pakistan. The Road includes strategic and commercial activities in the South China Sea and the Indian Ocean as well as Polar Silk Road in partnership with Russia to explore the Arctic Sea. These large projects, requiring hundreds of billions of dollars, are supported by newly created financial institutions like Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) and Silk Road Fund, besides the China Development Bank and Export-Import Bank of China.

China's Grand Strategy and Civilisational Ambitions

In the Chinese language, China is called 中国 (Zhōngguó) or the Middle Kingdom. In civilisational terms, it means that China is at the centre of the world, emphasising the superiority of Chinese civilisation and centrality of nationalism to her domestic and foreign policies, despite Marxist doctrines that consider civilisation and nationalism as false consciousness. The ancient Sino-centric order, called 天下 (Tiānxià) or All Under Heaven, divided the world into three parts – the Middle Kingdom, the tributaries and the barbarians (Kissinger 2011). The countries that accepted the superiority of the Chinese order by offering homage and gifts to the Chinese emperor, also called the Son of Heaven, were given the status of tributaries. They received benefits of trade and non-aggression from China. However, the countries antagonistic to the Chinese order were considered serious threats by China and were termed as barbarians. Chinese military strategies have always been oriented towards countering threats from the barbarians (Johnston 1995). The Communist Party-state does not disown this civilisational understanding of international relations (IR).

In the contemporary context, the discourse on hierarchical international order based on civilisation seems politically incorrect. Nevertheless, mainstream IR theory also contains terms such as unipolar moment, hegemonic stability, regional hegemon, great powers and spheres of influence. Only difference is that these terms denote superiority of military- economic hard power, not civilisational soft power, while the Chinese concept of power, measured by Comprehensive National Power (CNP), denotes hard as well as soft power (Pillsbury 2000). The last four decades of China's economic rise has not been devoid of the civilisational or soft power element. It has been accompanied by the Sinicisation process in Asia, i.e. increase of China's ability to influence other countries (Katzenstein 2012). Thus, emergence of China as the predominant power in Asia does not only mean reordering of power structure but also civilisational transformation from Westernisation to Sinicisation (Katzenstein 2012).

Besides the international dimension, China's grand strategy also has a domestic dimension, viz. continual economic growth and political stability, ensuring legitimacy of the Party-state. Unlike democratic systems, in which legitimacy of the government is based on periodic, free and fair elections and peaceful transfer of power if the government is defeated, the Party-state system in China gets its legitimacy from the awe and reverence of the people. Since ancient times, the Chinese state has stood for certain virtues, viz. truth, benevolence and glory, which legitimise its existence (Shue 2004). But whenever the state has been unable to sustain these virtues, due to natural calamities, foreign aggression or incompetence of the ruling dynasty, there have been rebellions, which have led to end of the dynasty and emergence of new dynasties. Ultimately one of them has succeeded in reuniting China. This concept is called the Mandate of Heaven. 'The empire long united must divide, long divided must unite; this is how it has always been' (Romance of the Three Kingdoms).

If we envision a civilisational continuity, we can say that the Communist Party is the latest dynasty to unite and rule China. Parallels can be drawn between the ancient virtues of truth, benevolence and glory and the Communist Party-state's emphasis on control over information, economic growth and nationalism (Shue 2004). Firstly, like any totalitarian regime, the Communist Party seeks to control the thought process of the citizens by censorship, propaganda and education system. The majority of Chinese people do not have access to information on Taiwan, Tibet, Xinjiang and the 1989 Tiananmen Square Massacre because there is heavy-handed censorship by the Party-state on internet, press, TV, radio and any other means of communication. Even a peaceful religious sect like the Falun Gong was banned in 1999 and its followers

persecuted, as any alternative version of truth is not allowed to become too popular. Similarly, other religions are also restricted. Secondly, the Chinese political system has been sustained by her unprecedented economic growth that has brought abundance to the people, lifting hundreds of millions out of poverty in a few decades. The stability of the Party-state regime depends on its capability to ensure sustainable prosperity through employment opportunities and rise in household incomes. Finally, the Communist Party has to ensure the national glory of China as a great power, independent of any foreign domination and with ability to influence other countries, especially in the neighbourhood. In the nationalist discourse, the US and Japan are the biggest external threats to China and separatist movements in Taiwan, Tibet and Xinjiang are the internal threats. The Party-state cannot compromise on these threat perceptions due to popular sentiment, indeed has encouraged nationalist public demonstrations against these threats.

Meanwhile, the head of the Party-state President Xi Jinping has concentrated more and more power into his hands after he came to office in 2012-13. Recently, he has been reappointed as General Secretary of the Communist Party in 2017 and President of China in 2018. The 1982 Constitution of China has also been amended to remove the two-term limit on the President. He also legitimises his preponderance through truth (anti-corruption campaign), economic growth (above 6% GDP growth per annum) and nationalism (South China Sea). The anti-corruption campaign has been used by Xi to weaken his rivals from all three factions of the Communist Party, viz. Shanghai clique (led by former President Jiang Zemin), Tuanpai or Communist Youth League faction (led by former President Hu Jintao) and princelings (children of Communist Party veterans). Xi Jinping himself is a princeling. Some important persons prosecuted for corruption are Zhou Yongkang (former head of internal security under Jiang Zemin), Ling Jihua (former chief political advisor to Hu Jintao) and Bo Xilai (a popular princeling and former Party secretary of Chongqing). Through his campaign, Xi has tried to legitimise his rule as a custodian of truth and emerged as the paramount leader of China.

Thus, the multifaceted nature of China's grand strategy can be understood to be a combination of international and domestic dimensions and economic and political considerations.

Multiple dimensions of BRI

1. International order: Through BRI, China intends to gain strategic foothold in all parts of Eurasia and Africa. She has built massive infrastructural assets in many countries. Chinese companies, technicians and workers have strong presence in these countries, as more and more projects are contracted to China. Some countries, e.g. Sri Lanka in Hambantota port development project, have fallen into debt trap, unable to repay China on her investments and have had to lease their assets to China. In this way, China is emerging as the predominant economic player in most countries of Eurasia and Africa, replacing the United States, European Union, Japan or India. China is already ahead of others, as a manufacturing hub and exporter, but BRI will allow her to become also the predominant investor and eventually banker of the world. As China becomes the centre of the world economy, through Sinicisation process, the global narrative can be changed to favour Chinese values. With China replacing others as the leading economy in the region, the narrative on democracy and human rights would be supplanted by that on the superiority of authoritarian capitalism, especially in many small, developing countries. It would be a modern Sino-centric international order.
2. Regional influence: Since ancient times, China has developed policies on her neighbourhood based on the tributary-barbarian dichotomy. Applying the dichotomy in context of the responses to BRI, we can understand China's influence in different regions. In Northeast Asia, despite very close economic engagement, China does not have much leverage due to strong regional powers – Japan and South Korea, her relations with them turn sour from time to time due to territorial disputes or legacy of World War II with the former and North Korea with both. North Korea has assumed a posture of intractability,

with her nuclear weapons programme and nuclear and missile testing, which apparently puts China in a difficult situation as they are allies. However, China is taking advantage of the international focus on North Korea, to quietly proceed with BRI.

In Southeast Asia, there is a clear divide, with Cambodia, Laos, Thailand and Malaysia quite favourable to Chinese influence, while Vietnam, Singapore and Indonesia quite sceptical of it. There has been considerable shift in Philippines' and Myanmar's relations with China, the former amending misgivings and the latter departing from China's bandwagon. Thus, it has become difficult for Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) to have a coherent response to BRI.

In South Asia, the regional power India is sceptical of BRI. On the other hand, Pakistan, the hostile neighbour of India and all-weather friend of China, has provided the strategic access of Persian Gulf and Africa to China through Karakoram Highway and Gwadar Port. Because of this, China can bypass the chokepoint of Malacca Straits that Indian Navy can blockade in case of hostilities. The Karakoram Highway and the connecting roads to Gwadar (all part of CPEC) pass through PoK, which is a sovereign territory of India, illegally occupied by Pakistan. Hence, there is a clear divergence in the approaches of India and Pakistan towards BRI. Besides, China is utilising her vast economic power to influence other neighbours of India, like Nepal, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Afghanistan, which we are unable to match. However, the civilisational bonds between India and these countries are so strong that it is not possible in the short-term to turn them hostile to our national interest. They also recognise the dangers of debt trap and Chinese hegemony, if they participate in BRI without cooperation with India. Nevertheless, India should not take the situation for granted, as Chinese influence on them is growing. Among the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) countries, besides Pakistan, only Maldives has adopted a unilateral approach, even abandoning democratic practices to imprison the entire opposition that supports good relations with India. On the other hand, Bhutan has maintained very cordial relations with India, despite lot of pressure from China, as evident from the cooperation between them in the 2017 Doklam Crisis.

In Central Asia, as Russian power is gradually declining, China is emerging as the preponderant power. The region forms a crucial part of BRI.

In West Asia, dominated by the US, with Russia playing important role in support of Iran, China has a low profile. BRI may help China to improve her position in the region.

In Africa, where the US and the EU are the most powerful actors, China is taking advantage of their agenda of democracy and human rights, to cut deals with authoritarian regimes that fear regime change and export of democracy by the US. China also has to counter Asia-Africa Growth Corridor, an India-Japan collaboration that provides a democratic alternative to BRI.

3. Economic growth: Economics is the driving force behind BRI. China has multiple challenges to her economic prosperity, one of the pillars of legitimacy of the Party-state. There is a serious regional imbalance in China's growth story. The wealth is concentrated in the Eastern plain and coastal regions, which are both industrial and agricultural belts of China and ethnically Han Chinese. On the other hand, the Western region, consisting of mountains, plateaus and deserts, is minority-dominated, pastoral economy. BRI is an opportunity for China to link its Western region to neighbouring countries and provide avenues of employment and income, infrastructure development and national integration in the Western region.

Chinese economic growth rate has been slowing down over the last few years, as the demand for more goods is declining in the global market and foreign manufacturers are shifting their bases to other low cost countries like Vietnam and Bangladesh. Domestic consumption has not increased fast enough in China and many industries, e.g. cement, steel, automobile and railways, suffer from overproduction. BRI provides impetus for growth by providing new markets to Chinese industries, paid for by Chinese investments, also providing business for Chinese banks and institutional investors. Moreover, Chinese managers, engineers and skilled workers go abroad for BRI projects, generating employment and income. Thus, BRI is vital for the next phase of China's growth story.

4. Political stability: All the strategic and economic advantages derived from BRI, in the end, strengthen the Communist Party-state in China, especially the leadership of President Xi Jinping. Xi Jinping has emerged as the most powerful leader of China after Mao Zedong, as he shifted the polity from collective leadership system established by Deng Xiaoping to his personal leadership of all national policy institutions. BRI bolsters his image as a strong leader with international influence and the architect of China's 21st century.

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NON PARTICIPATION IN OBOR - REASONING & OPTIONS

“God invented war, so that Chinese study geography”

China seems to be having diplomatic problems all over. It is true that three sided growth of Chinese economy, military strength and political standing was perfectly in harmony in the late 1980's and 1990's (after 1989 interval), but that was only because China was not yet strong then. As China grew in strength, it rubbed a lot of countries on wrong side be it nine dash line or border disputes. Today besides Laos, Cambodia and rogue states like Pakistan & North Korea, China has no friends.

Prior to the initiation of economic reforms and trade liberalization 36 years ago, China maintained policies, that kept the economy very poor, stagnant, centrally-controller, vastly inefficient, and relatively isolated from the global economy. Since opening up to foreign trade and investment and implementing free market reforms in 1979, China has been among the world's faster-growing economies, with real annual gross domestic product (GDP) growth averaging nearly 10% through 2014. In recent years, China has emerged as a major global economic power. It is now the world's largest economy (on a purchasing power parity basis), manufacturer, merchandise traders, and holder of foreign exchange reserves.

The global economic crisis that began in 2008 greatly affected China's economy. China's exports, imports, and foreign direct investment (FDI) inflows declined, GDP growth slowed, and millions of Chinese workers reportedly lost their jobs. The Chinese government responded by implementing a \$ 585 billion economic stimulus package and loosening monetary policies to increase bank lending. Such policies enable China to effectively weather the effects of the sharp global fall in demand for Chinese products. However, the Chinese economy has slowed in recent years, due in part to sharp slowdowns in the growth rates of export and fixed investment. Real GDP fell from 10.4% in 2010 to 7.8% in 2012, to 7.3% in 2014. The IMF projected that China's real GDP growth has been 6.8% in 2015 and 6.3% in 2016.

Earlier growth has been attributed to high rate of domestic savings, productivity gains and Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), but the things have changed now:-

1. China's internal debt is 377% of GDP, total outstanding bonds are 37 Trillion RMB, maturing at the end of this year. Growth of outstanding bonds is 23% at GDP growth is stagnant below 10%.
2. Many of China's soft power projects have failed like dry canal project in Colombia & Nicaragua, Mexico has cancelled \$ 43 bn project, Honduras project is a non-starter due to environmental problems.
3. Many are worried about RMB devaluation as it may trigger currency wars or shady hedge funds especially when RMB has golden basket status by International Monetary Fund (IMF).
4. There is a large over capacity in infrastructure, cement and steel industry. This has resulted large scale lay-offs to the extent of 16-25 mn. workers and large NPAs with banks to the extent of \$ 40 bn, 20% of which is in infrastructure companies resulting in re-valuation of credit ratings.

On this background, OBOR (now, Belt & Road Initiative) should be analyzed. China has announced 13th 5 Year Plan “New Normal”. This changes the emphasis from heavy industry to higher end of the value chain like electronics and telecommunications. This requires low resource extraction. Also Chinese overseas direct investments are yielding good return on investment to the extent of 19%. While this should be their focus, China is still keeping up investments in large infrastructure projects, typically with 14 years pay-back period. Last year these projects grew by 18.4%. Interestingly, China has acquired Holcim Sri Lanka Cement Company with valuation of \$

18.4%. Interestingly, China has acquired Holcim Sri Lanka cement company with valuation of \$ 250 mn. China paid \$ 500 mn. primarily to get hold on Trincomalee Port. Thus it must be noted that, for China there is nothing economic, Defence, foreign affairs but everything is strategic.

Belt Road Initiative is Xi Jinping's dream project, which many suspect is strategic in nature, besides to consolidate Xi's position and divert attention from internal problems. Hence, India must be very cautious in dealing with BRI (OBOR). It must be borne in mind that wherever Chinese have given soft loans, the costs are exorbitant. China has provided Sri Lanka over \$ 5 Bn from 1971- 2012 for infrastructure development and \$ 2 Bn. for deep sea port at Hambantota, Mattala Airport and Colombo City Port at 6.3% interest rate and as Sri Lanka is unable to repay the debt, it has been converted into equity. Today China has 80% of total share and 99 year lease of Hambantota. Similar is the fate of China-Pakistan-Economic-Corridor (CPEC). Besides, CPEC passes through Gilgit-Baltistan and POK and therefore is absolute no-no for India.

BRI which spans 65 nations, 62% of world's population and 30% of economic output, is estimated to be \$ 7 Tr. Project. Nearly \$ 500 bn. worth of projects and M & A deals were announced 2016 across seven infrastructure sectors including utilities and telecoms, a decline from 2015. A third of those deals are in China which has committed, merely \$ 115 bn. as extra funding. Thus many thinkers are skeptical about the economic feasibility itself on the project. China itself is apprehensive about CPEC due to,

- a) competition among political parties in Pakistan for power grabbing
- b) religious rivalries among Shias & Sunnis and resultant turbulence
- c) Tribal afflictions in CPEC adjoining areas.
- d) terrorist activities in Balochistan
- e) Interference of western countries, meaning primarily the US.

Here the author has used two quantitative techniques to assess India's position:

- i) Braess's paradox: This is an explanation for India's position of non-participating in the BRI based on Network Theory. This paradox suggests that India should refrain from participating in BRI.
- ii) Selfish Routing: This game theoretic approach explains how China can gain with less investment due to private information and supports India stand of not taking part in BRI.

Thus the author proposes that India does not participate in BRI.

India's Options:

1. Complete as early as possible, India-Bangladesh-Myanmar-Thailand initiative.
2. Fix North-East before Act East.
3. Expansion of Chhabar Port and connectivity through Milak, Zaranj & Delaram by Garland Road connecting Heart, Kandahar, Kabul and Mazar-E-Sharif. Supporting the development with the help of Japan and Exim Bank of India.
4. Implementing the MOU signed for financing Chhabhar-Zahedan Railway line as a part of North-South Transport Corridor linking Iran, Afghanistan and Russia. This has been delayed as Iran has not yet completed loan application to Exim Bank of India.
5. North-South Transport corridor involving ships, road and rail routes connecting India, Russia, Afghanistan, Central Asia & Europe.
6. Opening up Central Asian Connectivity.
7. For energy security India has to be very careful about Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India or Iran-Pakistan-India pipeline. Middle East to India Deep-water pipeline (MEIDP) seems a better option.

8. India's Tibet card seems less and less effective and merely symbolic. India should engage actively with Taiwan, not only for diplomatic reasons but also for FDI & Technology.
9. More active role in South China Sea as China enters Indian Ocean Region.
10. Frustrate Chinese ambitions with CPEC.

CONCLUSION

India, due to her unique geographic position is a major force in the new Global Order. India should recognize China's strategic designs and refrain from taking part in Belt Road Initiative (OBOR). India needs to develop her own trade links and open sea lines of communication to support strategic and economic initiatives like Make-in-India.

By Prof. Rajiv Gupte

Prescriptive Measures - Urban Maoism

INTRODUCTION

India has witness remarkable growth and dynamism in the recent past and while it continues to develop numerous challenges to its internal security have hindered such development and plagued the nation to say the least. Amongst these hindrances the biggest threat is posed by Naxalism, a Maoist insurrection that, in the past decade, has grown in scope, breath and violence in, what is popularly known as the Red Corridor, stretching from Nepal to Tamil Nadu. Despite this insurgency being declared by India's former Prime Minister, Dr. Manmohan Singh as the greatest threat to internal security that the country has ever faced, it is the most overlooked and analytically neglected movement. Given India's history with separatist and communal violence, such a pronouncement is truly startling and if not swiftly and effectively countered it will prove extremely disruptive of India's further growth and development.

PRESCRIPTIVE MEASURES

The Communist Party of India (Maoist) has been declared as the world's fifth largest terrorist organisation with the sole aim of destabilization of India. They essentially want to establish a Maoist ideology which is a total authoritarian state with the destruction of democracy, the constitution and everything that India stands for.

They are believers of pure Maoist ideas and not of Marxist Leninist or the Deng Xiaoping ideals where the State acts as a representative of the proletariat. As against the dictatorship of the proletariat and total elimination of the bourgeois as advocated by pure Marxist or Maoist ideals.

The only way to tackle Naxalism is to first, stunt its growth. The question is, should we be tackling the rural or the urban networks first to stunt the growth? The answer is quite simple. Maoists operating in tribal areas are mere puppets of their intellectual strategists operating from the urban areas. Therefore, unless the urban networks are destroyed, it is near impossible to end this problem of Maoist violence. It is the urban Maoists who are the masterminds of this war against the Indian state where they cleverly misuse the provisions of democracy against democracy.

To counter this issue effectively, we need a comprehensive, all-round strategy. We require a multi-dimensioned, prolonged strategy of development while ensuring that we are rooting the causes of grievances altogether. Following are the major areas that need to be looked into and measures that must be taken to tackle this problem before it is too late.

1. IDENTIFYING AND CUTTING OFF FUNDING AND WEAPON SOURCES

The first major measure that must be adopted by the Government to stunt the growth of Naxal terror is to identify what their sources of weaponry and funds are. Once these sources are discovered, measures must be taken to reduce the money flow into these terrorist groups thereby affecting their capability to function to a large extent.

A terrific example of such a measure was the November 8, 2016 demonetisation that was undertaken by the Narendra Modi Government. This event made a strong impact in the region with 564 Maoists and their sympathizers surrendering before the authorities. Most of the cash held by the Naxals are in big denominations notes which they hide inside the forests. Along with this, demonetization also meant that the Naxals were severely handicapped and could not produce firearms, ammunition, medicines, pay salary to the cadres or obtain commodities of daily use. While this particular event did not achieve as much success as it was intended to, it was a step in the right direction.

Let's now try and understand through what sources do these Maoists gain their funding and weaponry.

1. Liberated Zones

The Maoists have declared certain areas as Liberated zones which means that they are free from any form of state function. It is almost as though these zones are parallel states run by them. Their income from such zones is collected through levying taxes and tolls for any movement of goods. Since the cadre is full of people from the local area, this means of fund collection is accepted. A lot of areas in Andhra Pradesh, Chattisgarh and Odisha are now liberated zones wherein the state cannot exercise any control making it helpless in curbing Maoism.

The private and Government corporations that function within these zones pay the Maoists what they call 'protection money' so that they do not trouble them or destroy their businesses as do local politicians.

The Maoists also force the farmers to cultivate drugs such as opium which is a major source of their revenue.

2. Foreign And Anti-National Sources

The Government of India has strong reasons to suspect that the Naxals are receiving financial assistance from foreign intelligence agencies such as the Pakistani Intelligence (ISI), Chinese Intelligence (MSS) and the Bangladeshi Intelligence (DGFI).

Further reports link Naxalites to various criminal and militant groups in South Asia and point them as the major sources of weaponry in exchange for safe haven. These groups include Maoists from Nepal, insurgent groups of Northeast India, Islamist groups from Bangladesh and Myanmar.

The Government has also uncovered a relationship between the Naxalites and ULFA where the Naxals have agreed to smuggle drugs through the Bangladesh border in exchange for ammunition and weapons.

3. Looting

Earlier, the Naxals depended completely on human strength to fight their battles. Soon they realized that their fight was against armed men of the State and therefore they started looting arms and ammunition from the local police outposts that were situated in Naxal infested areas. Before long, they gained enough confidence to start ambushing the police forces and security patrol parties and looted their ammunition and equipment such as night vision devices, bullet proof jackets, communication sets and other arms.

Where looting was not possible, the Naxalites bribed and coerced the corrupt members of the security agency personnel to sell or give their ammunition, equipment and firearms.

This surge in confidence along with the presence of corrupt security force personnel has resulted in the fact that today, a major percentage of the arms that the Naxals possess were looted from government armouries.

4. Self-Made Weaponry

Today, the Naxalites have become self-sustainable to a large extent with regard to weaponry. They now not only have their own local arms factories where they not only manufacture arms but also produce homemade mortar rounds and components for improvised devices but also have test laboratories where these arms and explosives can be tested.

Where they cannot copy and manufacture, they simply procure them from mining contractors and fertilizer distributors that are known to maintain stock of blasting caps, detonators and explosives, all operating in the Naxal-controlled areas.

An article published in 2009 showcased that a single naxal commandment spent over three-quarters of their budget on weaponry which goes to show that their effort to procure weapons from outside have certain limitations; and obtaining them locally would be far cheaper.¹

Thus, if the Indian Government can target the internal sources first and cut off their funding by shutting down their arms factories, regaining control in liberation zones and maybe even increasing the salary of the security forces so they are not easy to buy out, it'll put immense

pressure on the Naxals to try to procure weapons from outside which will then be impossible due to fund-shortages that they will be facing.

2. EDUCATE

Education is the worst enemy of Maoism. Deep inside the district of Bastar, Naxals have gone as far as to issue fatwas that no child will attend school after fifth standard. The objective behind this measure is quite clear- the Naxals want the youth to be literate but not educated enough to be employed.

While Maoist supporters and their urban strategists on one hand, sell the ideologies of Maoism as a battle of justice for the tribal people and their rights, they themselves oppress the basic human rights of the local people in these areas. They therefore mainly target schools to stop tribal children from being educated to ensure supply of cadres for their Dalams.

The Government must use the educated public from the cities to start a literacy drive in the entire region along with teaching them how to use the internet, social media and digital payment portals. This will not only increase the literacy, spread awareness of the Naxal situation and the rights that they are entitled to but will also cause social upheaval in the areas.

3. EQUIPPING THE POLICE FORCE

Equipping the Police force adequately is probably one of the most important measures that ought to be taken to stifle the growth of the Maoist movement. The State police forces are under purview of state government and have a clear pathway for exchange of intelligence from IB and other agencies and among central paramilitary forces.²

This means that the police force, if equipped better may have made headway in disbanding the revolution by now. Therefore, it is time to modernise the forces in efficiently in the following areas.

1. The Police forces are underpaid and highly overworked because the departments are always understaffed. They must be paid in proportion to the work they put in because if our security personnel do not get job satisfaction or a morale boost, it will be very difficult to stop them from being bought over so easily by the Maoists. If the State took care of them and their needs, the Maoists would have nothing to lure them into assisting their cause through providing weapons from the State armory because unfortunately, in today's day and age, monetary incentives get results faster than anything else.
2. Secondly, most of the police force is trained only in law and order enforcement. They use very rudimentary methods in the case of riot management, crime investigation, intelligence gathering and urban jungle warfare methods. They need to change their strategy and this can be achieved by combining their training with the country's other defenses.
3. Jungle warfare in an unfamiliar terrain is one of the major challenges faced by the security forces. The state mostly uses the CRPF to fight against Naxalites. The Naxal Dalams are made up of cadres belonging to the local areas who are well aware of the difficult terrain and thus can use it to their advantage. But unfortunately, the CRPF or at least majority of them are outsiders who are at a loss and therefore cannot compete against the Dalams.
4. In addition to all these issues, the Maoists front organisations operating under the guise of non-governmental organisations raise numerous fake cases of human rights violations and abuses against the police forces to demoralize them.
5. The final barrier that the police force faces is that of Guerrilla zones. These are zones where the Maoists train and enact guerrilla warfare to their newly acquired militia. They suddenly attack the state elements, loot their weapons and food and go into hiding. It therefore becomes very difficult to attack something that is always on the move and follows no set pattern.

But what the forces can and must do to turn their situation into an advantageous one is to try and build the confidence of the local people. This will help them in carrying out surprise attacks which will help lower the morale and strength of the Maoists substantially. This would also allow them to obtain Intel from the locals as to when and where there is a possibility for the Naxals to attack.

4. DEVELOPMENT

Naxalites have often been compared to parasites that infect and feed on regions that lack proper care and infrastructure. They come to the region under the banner of justice and struggle for the poor and once they gain acceptance they oppress them in the name of revolution.

They have always made a conscious effort to derail all development projects initiated by the Government by killing or taking hostage engineers, doctors and civil service officers. They have blocked road projects and destroyed any progress made, overnight. This is because they are aware that once the areas start to develop, the support that they have shall begin to wither away. And without any local support, it won't be long before the Naxals are hunted down and the revolution disbanded.

Thus, the Government needs to start taking steps in the direction of developing these areas a little more seriously than they have in the past. They must ensure the safety of the people working on the projects and have twenty-four seven reliable security available on the project sites. They must also try to provide greater opportunities for employment to the locals to which will ensure their lesser participation and lesser recruitment to the Maoists. In a nutshell the war against the Naxals can be won only by developing the Naxal-infected tribal areas and ensuring proper law and order in the same.

5. POLICY MAKING

While all other measures will only prove to be a start of this tedious journey to disband the Naxal revolution, the major issue and only solution lies in the policy making of the Government. A large section of the Indian population does not expect anything from the Government but a life free from any sort of exploitation. Because it is exploitation which was the root of the eruption in Naxalbari where the Naxal movement began. While education may be an answer to the solution, it is not adequate. One might be educated but that does not ensure that he will be able to stand up against a corrupt system. The population requires nothing but for the Government to perform its duty to protect all its citizens equally. Once the people see and realize that there is no incentive in joining the Naxal movement, it will eventually halt its growth.

The Government must then step in and offer its assistance in the form of rehabilitation programme for those that are willing to lay down their arms. For those that are unwilling to do so, harsh action can be taken against them. While this might not completely kill the movement but it is important that an opportunity must first be given along with adequate reasons for the people to be given a reason to trust the Government and believe that they are in fact working for their best interest and show them that the Naxalites are doing nothing more than oppressing and manipulating them into destruction.

But at the end of it, the most important measure is the political will to tackle and coordinate the efforts, police autonomy and budget required and the determination to maintain such coordination until the final victory. Other States and the Central Government that are not battling Naxalism on an urgent basis must provide logistical support to the States that are threatened by the movement and try to curb and confine them to the forests. But this can only be done with the continuous support and coordination from all the Governments.

CONCLUSION

Naxalism is eating away the fabric of our society and if the Government doesn't realize how serious this issue is now and takes appropriate action, this terrorist organisation will destroy our nation, our constitution and everything that India stands for. It is high time that the Governments acknowledges its responsibility towards the locals of Naxal infested areas and frees them from the clutches of these manipulative oppressors who fight in the name of struggle for justice. They must ensure that these areas are developed and the people are educated enough to gain employment so that they no longer see any incentive to join the movement and the Naxals no longer have recruits to fill their Dalams and slowly the movement shall stifle.

¹ Anil Kamboj "*How and from where do the Naxalites procure their weapons*" Institute for Defence Studies and Analysis

<https://idsa.in/askanexpert/Naxalitesprocuretheirweapons> (Accessed June 05, 2018)

²

By Shireen Kapur

PAKISTAN'S TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS: INDIA'S DILEMMA

“People are concerned more with the psychological construction of the world rather than the perception of the actual world”¹.

While Pakistan has always maintained that, its nuclear doctrine and strategy is wholly and solely India – centric, “Nuclear deterrence has assumed that life – saving property for Pakistan.”² Pakistan already has around 20 – 25 conventional nuclear weapons more than India, and refuses to define precise trigger points for nuclear use.

“..... a policy of ambiguity would appear to be best for Pakistan’s security. Spelling out its nuclear doctrine would detract from the imperative of uncertainty only when a nuclear strike as a last resort would reinforce maximally credible nuclear deterrence by raising the threshold of Indian calculations of unacceptable risk.”³

In April 2001, Pakistan conducted a test of tactical nuclear weapon with short range missile. Pakistan’s Inter Services Public Relations Directorate described Nasr as a Quick Response Weapon designed to support “full spectrum deterrence” with a range of 60 Kms.⁴ apparently as a response to India’s “cold start” strategy (Vijayee Bhava and Sudarshan Shakti), which Gen. V.K. Singh (2003) argued could be accomplished in less than 7 days.

Proliferation optimist Sumit Ganguly postulates that, the availability of nuclear arsenal in South Asia would contribute to the regional stability and would continue to be so, unless India obtained and deployed effective Antiballistic Missile System. While the proliferation pessimists (S. Paul Kapoor) maintain that, Pakistani possession of nuclear weapon shielded them of all-out Indian retaliation near the turn of the century, thus would increase the aggressive behaviour.

“While Pakistan moves towards tactical nuclear weapons, there is an increasingly high risk of nuclear theft.” (NDTV.com)

Despite repeated statements from the highest quarters from Pakistan, it is Pakistan – not India that is the Revisionist Power.⁵ As India has never been an existential threat to Pakistan.

Pakistan’s tactical nuclear posture needs to be looked at from the point of view of the literature on the Hybrid Regimes, especially by O’Donnel and Zakaria who state Pakistan to be exclusive, delegative, illegal, tutelary, pseudo democracy.⁶ And to assume that, Pakistan is on a path to consolidation would be a misreading of the power structures within the country that are unlikely to change in the short to medium term.

At the same time, we need also to look at the risk and futility of Pakistan’s tactical nuclear programme.

As Kyle Demming of Centre For Strategic And International Studies opines,

1. As the tactical nuclear weapons are forward deployed, they would have relatively little time to make crucial decisions.
2. Flexibility to respond to changing conditions would be low. As the procedural restrictions has been brought down to two persons, this may lead to unintended use.
3. The risk of nuclear theft in Pakistan looks to be too high. It needs to be noted that Pakistan Air Base at Karma was attacked in 2007, 2009, 2012 by Taliban.
4. Pre-delegation multiple use.
5. Exacerbates other problems like break downs of C-3 risk accidents and miscalculations.

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5. Exacerbates other problems like break downs of C-3 risk accidents and miscalculations.

At this stage, the author wishes to take a look at the possibilities of deterrence. Any policy of Brinkmanship, that exploits uncertainty and propagates irrationality would not assure deterrence. Brinkmanship clearly does not imply that states necessarily engaged in bold or reckless behavior.⁷ Hence, the author wishes to use the following models :-

A) Brinkmanship and Rogue States – Conclusions:

1. The resolve of a Rogue State declines as the opponent's national missile defence increases.
2. The resolve of the Rogue State declines as people to people dialogue increases.
3. The resolve of the Rogue State declines as the economic blockade increases.

B) Modified Ultimatum Game with Brinkmanship Addendum (Based on Justin Pollard,2009)

This game tests the hypothesis that the spread of nuclear weapons could in fact make the expected cost of conventional war so high (due to the potential nuclear strike) that no country would be willing to take the risk. And hence that would contribute to a more peaceful world.⁸

This game includes uncertainty and risk and is especially suitable for this situation.

Question : Does spread of nuclear weapons deter conventional war ?

Answer : The computer simulation with or without Brinkmanship says, the probability does NOT change.

C) **Cognitive Theory :**

As decision making is not always rational, the author here wishes to use "Prospect theory" using "Gains frame".

At times, the objective outcomes indeed become unimportant because the same decision can be framed in several different ways and different ways need to different decisions.¹⁰ Here, the International diplomacy needs to play the crucial role. The author wishes to look at three different possibilities on the basis of the work done by Jeffrey Berejikian and infers that,

Mutual Deterrence in a Gains Frame				Mutual Deterrence in a Losses Frame			
Player X				Player X			
		Cooperator	Defect			Cooperator	Defect
Player Y	Cooperate	3, 3	1, 4	Player Y	Cooperate	-1, -1	-2, 1
	Defect	4, 1	-1, -1		Defect	1, -2	-3, -3

Unilateral Deterrence				Unilateral Deterrence			
Player X				Player X			
		Cooperator	Defect			Cooperator	Defect
Player Y	Cooperate	3, -1	-1, 2	Player Y	Cooperate	3, -1	1, 2
	Defect	4, -2	-2, -3		Defect	4, -2	-2, -3

- 1) As Walter Ludwick writes, even after the attack on Indian Parliament and before formalizing “cold start”
- Indian Army took too long time to mobilize and gave Pakistan the time to internationalise the problem.
 - India’s strike could have no surprise and even modest Pakistani Surveillance capabilities could have detected the movements.
 - India did not have the offensive power.

Thus, India already had “mutual deterrence in losses frame” before “cold start”.

- 2) While India merely took a corrective action to balance the game, Pakistan has with its tactical nuclear weapons has converted this into an “unstable game with Unilateral deterrence” as India has “No-first-use” strategy.

Here, before we take a look at India’s no first use, we need to note that, the geographical spread is going to lead to different implications. An increasing number of weapons is probably leading to an increase in numbers of locations as well. An outcome possibly of old Col. Blotto’s game.

In order to annihilate any Indian troops advancing, Pakistan would be nuking itself. According to the calculations made by Jagnath Sankaran, Pakistan would have to use 30 Kiloton weapon on its own soil as this is the minimum required to render an effective strike on 50% of an armoured unit.⁹ If one uses Lahore as an example which is 25 Kms. from Indian border, 30 Killotons would mean killing about 52000 persons on the outskirts of the city. As a Indian Troops move closer and as a population increases, this would mean as many as 3,80,000. Of course, it also depends upon wind velocity & direction; radiation

All of a sudden, notes Sankaran, Pakistani tactical nuclear weapons do not look so much fun to any Pakistani who thinks through the maths.

As Pakistani Army proceeds further, if Nasr were positioned 20 Kms. (roughly 1/3rd its range) back from the Front Line of Friendly Troops (FLOT) the effective forward range would only be 40 Kms . If the decision were to move the launcher closer to the FLOT, to expand the range then the FLOT itself could be in danger. Further, the weapon moved closer to the FLOT, higher the corresponding requirement to de-conflict terrain with friendly maneuver forces to determine where the launcher could and shall be positioned (McCausland). Moreover, as a positioning systems move closer, to the FLOT, this would increase the security concerns above the interaction between the strategic forces command and control and conventional units.

Pakistan further has serious geographic problems. It has less than 300 Kms. International border and Lahore is about 25 Kms. from the Indian Border. While Pakistan has created this disequilibrium by creating tactical nuclear weapons and tacitly supporting terrorism, the stability of South Asia has been jeopardized. Now Pakistan has to ensure that the Contextual Tipping point is not reached.¹⁰

A	1, 1	o, v
B	o, v	1, 1

If parameter v is less than 1, the game has three equilibria. Two the pure strategies and one unstable mixed.

If parameter v become longer than 1, game has unique stable strategy.

Thus, as ' v ' decrease, the game has classic Bifurcation.

We as yet don't know the Diversity and Entropy of the system, but Pak has to ensure that the Tipping point is not reached.

Indian has always been a proactive and responsible nuclear state, and need to seriously reconsider.

"Securitizing the Unconscious: The Bush Doctrine of Preemption and Minority Report."¹¹

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About Prof. Rajiv Gupte

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National Security and Principles of War

National Security

Security across the borders with the neighbouring countries is a matter of great importance for any nation and its government. A nation may have certain disputes about the borders with its neighbours. In case of a nation that is surrounded by one or more nations that are hostile towards it, the security at the borders is of paramount importance. Insurgency across the borders and possibility of any hostile action is a matter of continuous concern for such a nation and therefore warrants a state of high degree of preparedness; considering any possibility of war at any time. In the event a nation is required to respond to any hostile action, it must possess the ability to quickly and effectively execute its Defence mechanism; and quickly mobilise its forces to neutralise such hostile action, lest it suffer defeat, humiliation and disgrace at the hands of its enemy. It is therefore imperative that a nation is constantly aware of the ever evolving situation across its borders.

Every nation needs to be in a state of preparedness at all times-including times of peace. In fact, the nation can ill afford to be complacent during the times of peace and must make the most of such time to enhance its strategic and tactical capabilities- men, arms, ammunition, equipment, logistics and state of preparedness in general. The government and Defence forces of such a nation need to be aware of comparative strengths and weaknesses of itself vis-a-vis the enemy nation/s and the Defence capabilities must be continually upgraded considering the technological changes.

Principles of war are the strategic rules and the guiding principles that the government and Defence forces of a nation need to follow, for strategic planning of its Defence capabilities during the times of war and peace.

Defence forces - Structure

The Defence forces of a nation comprise of 3 wings- Army, Air force and Navy, except for a land locked nation that would not have a navy. These wings in turn consist of various sub-units, broadly explained hereunder:

Wing	Sub-Units
Army	Infantry, Special Commando and paratroopers units, Artillery, Armored Corps (Tanks, vehicles), Engineering (mechanical and civil), Communications and Signaling, Transportation (Air and Road), Supply
Air Force	Fighter and combat units, Bombers, Transportation and logistics support units, Reconnaissance units-Manned and Drones, Base Stations and Ground Engineering
Navy	Battleships-Frigates, Cruisers, Corvettes, Destroyers, Aircraft carriers, Submarines, Patrol and coastal Defence units, Engineering-On vessel, Docks and Shipyards

Besides, each wing also has training, administration and accounts units.

All the wings of the Defence forces are equally important and must act in a coordinated manner. However, in certain areas, given the geographic and natural attributes, one of the wings may have a greater role to play in the Defence mechanism.

In a campaign, all the units must be involved to ensure that the nation has complete control and supremacy over its terrestrial, air and maritime areas and must be in a position to deny the enemy of any leeway to breach these defenses.

Intelligence Agency

An intelligence agency is an integral part of the nation's Defence services, which though an independent unit, operates in close coordination with all the three wings. An efficient intelligence agency plays a critical role (as critical as the forces themselves if not more) in the national security system.

While no nation openly admits the existence of its intelligence personnel in another nation, friendly or otherwise, the personnel are active under various clandestine dispensations (including business or commercial enterprises) and operate in a stealthy manner. Some staff member/s at the embassy in another nation (particularly an inimical nation), may be secretly operating as intelligence staff but largely the intelligence personnel operate in innocuous roles in the target nation.

The intelligence unit plays a very vital role, particularly in gathering the critical information of the Defence capabilities and proposed actions, if any, of another nation/s that may be perceived as a threat to its own defenses. A superior intelligence agency enables its Defence forces to be forewarned of potential designs of the inimical nation, so as to be able to effectively pre-empt or counter such devious actions.

Besides the centralised intelligence agency/ies, each of the Defence forces has its own intelligence mechanism through formal and informal channels. The informal channels rely on the information available with the locals to a great extent and such informal intelligence plays an important role for the forces to plan their actions. These very meticulously cultivated channels are equally useful during the times of peace and war alike.

Arms and ammunition

The weapons and armory systems possessed by a nation is extremely important from the Defence perspective. No nation can afford to fight with old outdated arms and ammunition. Hence, strong research and development capabilities for continuous upgrade and improvement of the arms and ammunitions as well as facilities for manufacturing these being internally available is extremely critical. A nation must, therefore, invest heavily in building these capabilities, else the nation has to depend on external entities; making its Defence capabilities vulnerable to the actions of such entities and powers that be. Adequacy and availability or otherwise of latest and contemporary weapons can tilt the balance of power during the war, in favour or against a nation.

In addition to the traditional armaments, being armed with nuclear weapons strongly enhances the Defence capabilities of a nation. Availability of guided missiles- land to land (short range, medium range, long range and intercontinental ICBM), land to air, air to air, air to land/water and underwater guided missiles have now become an integral part of Defence forces of all major nations.

The Men- backbone of the Defence forces

It is said that the man behind the machine is more important than the machine itself. Many a battles exemplify and prove the above adage beyond any reasonable doubt. The leadership, integrity, courage, valour, competence, commitment, determination and perseverance of men really define the efficiency of the forces. The confidence of the Defence personnel that the nation unequivocally supports them at all times, leads to building of a strong force. The Defence personnel deserve the greatest of respect and every citizen of the nation is duty bound to treat them with the respect they deserve, with utmost sincerity.

The men need to be selected, trained, groomed and looked after in an effective manner to ensure the superiority of the national Defence forces. Protecting and supporting the families of the Defence personnel is an obligation of the nation and every citizen.

Principles of war

The principles of war are a set of strategic and tactical actions, parameters for measuring success or failures of the actions, corrective measures that need to be taken based on the progress of war and ensuring the national paradigm of security. These are summarised as under:

1. Objective of war-selection and maintenance of aim
2. Offensive warfare
3. Surprise
4. Security and secrecy
5. Mass and economy of force
6. Maneuverability and flexibility of forces- Men and Machines
7. Timing and Tempo
8. Unity of Command
9. Simplicity
10. Logistics- Support and supply
11. Cohesion, Coordination, Cooperation (between different wings of forces) and Combative Spirit-maintaining high morale of troops

The above principles will be discussed in detail in the subsequent chapters.

Objective

The most basic principle for success in any military operation is a clear and concise statement of a 'realistic' objective and anticipated time to achieve it. It defines:

- the intended purpose of the war
- What is proposed to be accomplished
- By when

The objective can be classified into 'Macro' and 'Micro' level objective/s. The overall objective of the nation, stated or unstated, is the Macro objective whereas the operational level objectives are micro level objectives, which when successfully accomplished lead to the accomplishment of the Macro objective.

Macro Objective

The macro objective of a nation could be to expand its territorial boundaries or to defend its own territory from being encroached upon. The examples of such objectives are under:

During the 6 day Israel-Arab war of 1967, the objective of the Israeli forces was to defend its territories against a combined attack by the surrounding Arab nations. As opposed to this the objective of Pakistan in the first ever Indo-Pak war immediately post-independence, was to forcibly occupy the state of Kashmir that had signed the treaty of accession to become part of India; under the garb of 'liberating' Kashmir. (It is true that the official Pakistan defence forces were not engaged in the war, but by a 'proxy' Kabayali Pathan warriors.) The stated Indian objective during the 1965 Indo –Pak war, the first official Indo-Pak war, was to defend its territory, the unstated objective- to recapture the occupied Kashmir from Pakistan.

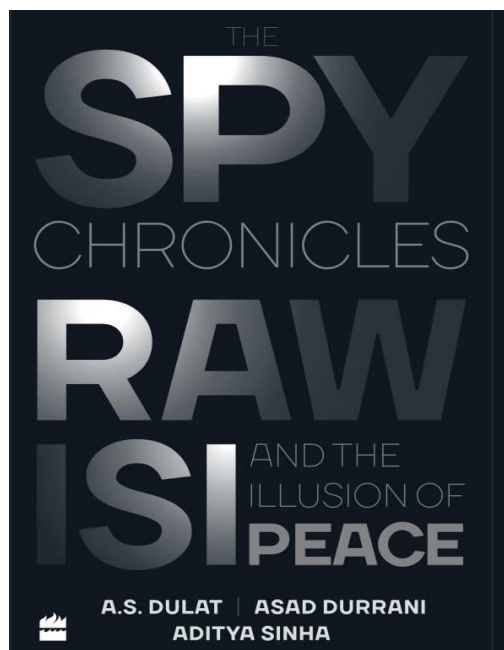
Micro Objective/s

The macro objective is achieved by a series of campaigns that are successfully accomplished. A war consists of many battles and a combination of operations, each one of which must have a clear and realistic objective. All such micro objectives when successfully achieved lead to accomplishment of the overall Macro objective.

Examples: during the 6 day Israel-Arab War, Israel had meticulously planned attacks by its air force on the Egyptian, Jordanian and Syrian air forces to achieve supremacy in air and incapacitate them from attacking the Israeli territories.

These were supplemented by action by Israeli infantry and artillery against the Egyptian, Jordanian and Syrian ground forces. Each of these actions were dictated by specific objective for each battle and successful accomplishment of all of these lead to Israeli forces comprehensively defeating the combined Arab forces.

By Santosh Nadkarni



Book Review : Spy Chronicles: RAW, ISI and the illusion of Peace

Authors: A.S. Dulat, Asad Durrani and Aditya Sinha

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The book has been co-authored by A.S. Dulat who was a former secretary of the RAW (1999-2000), Asad Durrani – the former Director General of ISI (1990-91) and Aditya Sinha who is a writer and a journalist by profession. A.S Dulat is well known in the Indian academic and policy making circles for his extensive experience in Kashmir. In his first book *Kashmir: The Vajpayee Years* (with Aditya Sinha) (HarperCollins, 2015) Dulat has propounded his path-breaking approach of engaging in constant dialogue with Kashmiris on the issues that concern them the most. Between the two of them, Dulat is the idealist and has a very humane approach toward politics. His heart beats for the Kashmiri people. On the other hand, there is Mr. Durrani - a seemingly heartless realist and a shrewd military veteran. But his arguments in this book are exceedingly pro-peace.

Dulat and Durrani recognize that it might be difficult for both Indians and Pakistanis to believe what they have to say and in all probability their integrity towards their country will be questioned by the people. Convinced, that the facts, motives and ideas put forth by them will not be accepted, they anyway venture into the enterprise of writing a book. They say “*Even if we were to write a fiction, no one would believe us*”.

Spy Chronicles covers a vast array of topics but the book is mainly about the possible ways to establish long lasting peace in the Indian subcontinent and specifically between India and Pakistan who have only been able to sever the relations. The authors do not dwell much in the negative aspects of the India-Pakistan relationship. On the contrary, they bring to the fore some of the most unknown or less-talked-about aspects of the Indo-Pak relations.

The book is divided in seven sections and thirty three chapters which deal with a variety of important issues. It is a compendium of informal conversations that took place from time to time between Durrani and Dulat in different parts of the world. Aditya Sinha maintains the flow of the conversation by asking pertinent questions.

The book starts with some personal experiences which are good enough to get an idea about the chemistry between Durrani and Dulat. Then in the second section it talks about the nature of the profession of spooks and various intelligence agencies, efficiency of these agencies and their assessment and failures. Next four sections are about the regional equations which shed ample light on the Kashmir, India-Pakistan relations, Afghanistan and various other powers and their interests in the region. The seventh and the last section is dedicated to the future of India-Pakistan ties, ties that have seemingly waned beyond repair. Both Dulat and Durrani propose ways to construct new conditions which will improve the situation between the two countries and will lead to establishment of peace and then eventually towards the prosperity.

The authors differ to some degree on certain issues. Their views are in line with the stated positions and policies of their respective countries. The American role in Afghanistan and Ajit Doval are two such issues where the authors hold almost diametrically opposite views. But the former DG-ISI and ex-secretary of RAW unequivocally agree on certain fundamentals. According to them the bureaucracy or the diplomats have been too rigid on both the sides. The India-Pakistan relations have suffered more because of this rigidity and what they call ‘cussedness’ of the diplomats who don’t want to go out of the way and take a calculated step to change the status quo. If the only job of the diplomat is to talk and deliberate and further the national interest while dealing with their counterparts, then cutting all ties and not having even a single channel of communication (apart from the one that connects the NSAs of both countries) is not a step in the right direction.

The authors highlight the importance of constant contact between the two countries. Especially, Mr. Dulat assertively puts forth the need to engage even in the worst of times. He and Durrani refute the folly of arguing that one would not deal and talk to the terrorists. Firstly, they say it is just a wrong statement because every country has not only maintained contact with the people they declared as terrorists but also bribed them and provided them with all sorts of facilities. In the Indian context there cannot be a better example than the Hurriyat conference. But in the end both Durrani and Dulat make a compelling case for an unhindered dialogue and having multiple open channels of diplomacy and communication.

The book is revealing in many ways. It appreciates the decisions and efforts taken by former Prime Minister Vajpayee, the excellent doctrine of I. K. Gujral who vouched for the sovereign equality of the neighbors of India and finally the ideas of Musharraf which remained unimplemented. Aditya Sinha says, “*Musharraf is now a fugitive*” to which Dulat responds “*His ideas don’t need to be fugitive.*” The book certainly reveals the reason why Agra Summit failed.

The best thing about the book is that it breaks the mold and unlike many other books it elaborates on the ways in which the ice can be broken between India and Pakistan. Dulat stresses the importance of various important ‘gestures’ that both countries are missing out on. On the other hand Durrani makes a more important point of having sustainable institutions that will make sure that the countries interact, engage and exchange information no matter what. So if Dulat talks about simple steps to improve the relations such as encouraging and facilitating people to people contact, cultural, arts, literary and sports meet, greater trade and softening borders etc. Durrani talks about ‘models’ or durable formal structures that will arbitrate and look after comprehensive security and cooperation between the two countries. The underlying principle in forming these institutions is that the diplomatic progress achieved during a particular period or tenure should not go in vain with a change in regime on the either of the sides. There has to be a permanent institution that will look after the continuity of the peace process. It is a theoretical attempt to regulate and institutionalize the behavior of both India and Pakistan.

The book is an absolutely must read not just for the people in policy making circles. It is in fact an important motive of the authors to bring it to the attention of those in power, that there are still many options available. Away from the widespread hostility for the neighboring nation, this book comes across as a work that defies all pessimistic and narrowly nationalistic considerations to which the Durrani calls ‘Diwangi’ (madness).

The book ends with a chapter named ‘*Akhand Bharat Confederation Doctrine*’ in which Dulat and Durrani can be seen thinking out loud about the much talked about concepts of *Akhand Bharat* and *the Confederation of India*. The chapter is absolutely intriguing as it sheds light on the uncomfortable facts (from Indian point of view) about the partition of India. One need not stretch one’s imagination to get an idea as to how the discourse was manipulated and false narratives were set in the independent India about the Partition.

The arguments made by the authors are based on certain untenable assumptions of nations and leaders being rational actors all the time. It is not that the authors don’t recognize this fact. But that’s precisely why they seek to diffuse decision making by getting intelligence officers and wise men – experts in various fields involved in the process.

Secondly, the decision making will improve and break through will be achieved only if the bureaucracy changes its attitude. It will take great bureaucratic reforms in India and Pakistan.

More importantly, Mr. Durrani Mr Durrani emphatically argues that army men of either side fight each other with dignity and there's no aspect of religious hatred involved. This argument runs the risk of generalization. Many scholars and academicians have time and again asserted that religious indoctrination is and has been an integral part of the Pakistan army. On the other hand, in the Indian army, the number of Muslims is not very high and it is not a coincidence.

The book nonetheless makes a very good read for it has looked at issues afresh and like never before.

About Vikrant Pande

Vikrant Pande is MA (hons.) in Political Science and Post Graduate in Security Studies. He Researches Foreign policy of India and Internal Security.