

Editorial

Significant developments have taken place since the publication of the April–June 2014 issue of the *Journal of Defence Studies*. The rapid spread of the jihadi upsurge in West Asia, Africa and in our immediate neighbourhood is a matter of grave concern. In West Asia, in particular, the past few weeks have seen the Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham (ISIS) declare the establishment of a new Islamic ‘caliphate’, having overrun major parts of Iraq. What we are seeing is a redrawing of the familiar map of West Asia, a map that owes its existence, as do many modern nation-state constituents of the region, to the Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1916, when imperial Britain and France carved out their respective spheres of influence in the hope of an Ottoman defeat in the First World War. The resultant violence has affected large sections of the society in many countries in the region, and the spectre of failing and failed states looms large. Also worrying is the number of Indian nationals trapped in the conflict-ridden areas of Iraq; the Indian government has undertaken all measures to ensure the safety of these people as also arrange for safe passage back home. Conflict in West Asia, especially in or near the Persian Gulf, impacts India almost immediately. We are dependent on the region for the bulk of our energy imports and any shortfall will be felt by the economy instantaneously. Moreover, the safety of our citizens—which estimates put at 7 million—in the Gulf region alone is another continuing concern.

Nearer home, the attack on the Indian consulate in Afghanistan in May, days before the new government was to take charge in New Delhi, highlighted the turmoil in our immediate neighbourhood. With the imminent withdrawal of American troops from Afghanistan towards the end of the year, concerns regarding the movement of terrorists from that country into J&K assume greater importance. Evidence to this effect includes a recently surfaced al Qaeda video that calls for jihadis to ‘liberate Kashmir’. It would thus be a fair assessment to say that we might see a stepping up of terror activities targeting India in the future. Although terrorism-related incidents in India have come down over time, we cannot

be sanguine about escaping the adverse impact of developments in our immediate and extended neighbourhood.

Given this context, we have a timely and informative article by Vivek Chadha titled “Terrorism Finance: Sources and Trends in India”. Chadha opines that terror financing is the life blood of terrorism, and one of the most important factors sustaining its continuing threat, both from within and without. He contextualizes the reality of terrorism finance in India and provides an alternative framework for a better understanding of this threat. The article analyses both the external and internal sources of terror finance and emerging trends in the country in order to provide a better understanding of the nature of the threat, as a prelude to countering it at the policy formulation level. It also reinforces the findings through a case study of the United National Liberation Front, a terrorist group in North-East India. There is little or no Indian contribution to literature on the subject and this article will be a valuable addition to existing scholarship.

In May 2014, India elected a new government with a clear majority, and it should, in all probability, be in place for a full term. The Prime Minister has made the right overtures to India’s neighbours, which, in turn, have responded positively to New Delhi. However, contradictions remain: while China would gain much through greater economic engagement with India (and vice versa), its overtures should be viewed with caution. China has recently released new maps showing Arunachal Pradesh, our easternmost state, as Chinese territory. Old issues have, therefore, resurfaced. It is hoped that the government would prioritize the focus on India’s North-East while engaging China more positively so as to find a mutually acceptable resolution to persistent bilateral issues.

The likelihood of a conventional war involving India has receded but has not vanished altogether. We have to be prepared to fight and prevail, if and when forced to do so. We thus retain our focus on the issue of modernization of the Indian defence forces, which is an absolute imperative. This would require updating of operational concepts and doctrines, re-thinking force rationalization, and technology upgradation. Maintaining a modern force necessarily entails huge expenditure; therefore, obtaining the best equipment and well-trained manpower most economically is necessary. The new government has much to do in this regard. It should prioritize reforms in the defence procurement process and put in place a process of strengthening the domestic defence industrial base. The long-term aim—and this should not be approached in piecemeal or ad hoc

fashion—should be to indigenously produce increasing quantities of modern defence hardware. This is an achievable target and there are many examples—notably South Korea, Turkey and China—where countries went from being big defence equipment importers to becoming exporters of such equipment. They did so by spending more on indigenous research and development (R&D) and technology absorption. India, on the other hand, has been relatively content to import equipment or work on the licencing model, except in niche areas like strategic missile technology. If our aim is credible and strong deterrence, then we need to put considerable effort into developing a rich, competitive and indigenous defence R&D sector. Delay in decision-making has opportunity costs, in terms of readiness and financial implications which the country can ill afford. The debate on percentage of FDI in defence, therefore, is much needed and an attempt should be made to achieve a win-win situation for all stakeholders, especially Indian ones. We need only to look at the success of our Space programme where the necessary impetus has given us a technological edge over many others.

In this issue, we carry yet another perspective piece by Amit Cowshish titled ‘Distortions in the Discourse on Modernization of Armed Forces’. Cowshish reiterates that the strategic discourse on defence and security matters in India tends to revolve around familiar themes and sub-themes: the absence of a clearly articulated national security policy; higher defence management; civil-military relations; and modernization of the armed forces. He points to the issues of inaccessibility of primary sources of information and raw data, the obsession with confidentiality, lack of scholarship based on credible research, among others. He then goes on to discuss five methodological postulates in the modernization discourse, saying that red herrings such as ‘unplanned and ad hoc’, ‘approval not granted’, ‘lack of long term commitment’, to list just a few, should not deter those concerned from focussing on the real problems and finding solutions for them.

An important aspect of a nation’s influence is its ability to assert itself over three domains: land, air and sea. The growing capability of the Indian Navy is but a reflection of our command of the maritime domain. Maritime security has gained much importance in recent times, as indicated by the maiden visits to the Navy of the Defence Minister followed by the Prime Minister. The importance of the maritime domain for India is due to our need to ensure security of energy supplies besides

continuing trade and commerce. Contests over global commons and rising maritime challenges in our near seas and oceans only serve to underscore the focus on building up a strong naval force. The recent induction of the aircraft carrier, INS Vikramaditya, and the soon to be inducted INS Kolkata will add to the Navy's capability. However, much more needs to be done in terms of speedy acquisition of undersea vessels, especially conventional and nuclear-powered and nuclear missile-armed submarines. Similarly, in the case of the Army, the acquisition of modern artillery and weapons is paramount. The Indian Air Force too requires more modern equipment and air defence systems as well as replacement of the ageing MIG 21 fleet. The visit of the French Defence Minister to New Delhi has raised hopes of a quick and satisfactory culmination to the Rafale deal. Washington has also announced that it is open to selling India the submarine-launched Harpoon missiles. Such news is welcome as this would help us enhance our surveillance and quick reaction capabilities. We hope that some of these requirements would be addressed in the government's maiden budget, presented in Parliament on 10 July 2014.

Sitting at the apex of the Indian Ocean, India is uniquely positioned a leadership role in the region. Lee Corder interrogates this in 'Indian Ocean Maritime Security Cooperation Needs Coherent Indian Leadership'. He begins by saying that maritime security in the Indian Ocean Region is a concern of both regional and extra-regional actors as traditional and non-traditional security challenges converge at sea, impacting economic, environmental, energy, human, food and national securities. Corder states that as the major regional power and an emerging Asian great power, India's willingness and capacity to provide strategic leadership is critical to engendering a cooperative spirit of shared destiny. While its growing naval capabilities indicate a strong commitment to maritime security, the ambiguity of strategic policy and lack of transparency only serve to undermine trust and confidence. Allegations of civil-military dissonance and the lack of political will for reform raises questions about strategic competence, and India's willingness and capacity for cooperative regional security leadership presents regional risks. He concludes by saying that the new government would face significant challenges to reform domestic politico-bureaucratic-military arrangements in order to enhance external and internal consistency and credibility, and improve openness and coherency.

This year also marks the Centenary of the First World War, the inconclusive end of which laid the foundations for the Second World

War just 21 years later. Both wars altered the global order in more ways than one—while we tend to be more familiar with the Second World War’s aftermath, we should look back further to the First World War. The War stands out for the fact that it showcased, more than ever before, the fruits of the Industrial Revolution. No other war before or since then has heralded the end of known ways of fighting wars or the scale of technological innovations. The First World War saw mechanical warfare gaining ground over cavalry, the use of air power, trench and attrition warfare, all of which were a substantial change from known methods of fighting. The War is also significant in that it was almost entirely global in span, owing much to the fact that imperial European powers controlled two-thirds of the globe. As part of the vast British empire, Indian troops too took part in various theatres—Europe, especially in France and Belgium, Africa, and Mesopotamia—and acquitted themselves creditably. Keeping in mind this rich historical military legacy, we have decided to carry periodically in future JDS issues various articles highlighting the Indian military contribution to the two World Wars.

We begin this endeavour with three pieces related to both World Wars. Australian military historian Peter Stanley contributes a piece on Indian soldiers in the Gallipoli campaign of 1915 titled ‘Indians, Anzacs and Gallipoli, 1915’. Stanley tells the tale of a disastrous campaign to take the Gallipoli Peninsula (and eventually Constantinople, the Ottoman capital) by the British and French armies. As part of the empire, Indian troops were thus fighting in Gallipoli with the Anzacs (the Australia and New Zealand Army Corps). The article reminds us of the immense contribution of the Gurkhas and Sikhs to the British war effort, narrating the events of the year-long military campaign. The article carries old war-time images that remind us of the gruelling effort put in by Indians and their Anzac counterparts in Gallipoli, and also tells us how much the Indians were appreciated by their peers and superiors.

Arvind Gupta contributes a review essay on publications that further highlight the Indian contribution to the First World War. All of the reviewed works span almost an entire century of scholarship on the subject: *India’s Services in the War* (1919), *India’s Contribution to the Great War* (1923), *India and World War I* (1978) and ‘First World War: Purchasing Indian Loyalties: Imperial Policy of Recruitment and “Reward”’ (2005).

Hemant Singh Katoch contributes an article on the ‘The Battle of Imphal: March–July 1944’, to mark the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Battle of Imphal. The article looks at who fought it; how and where

the fighting unfolded in Manipur; how it was a battle fought in the air as well; and the link with the INA and the Chindits, with accompanying vintage and more recent photographs. The article also notes the many reminders of the Second World War in Manipur today and concludes with a brief overview of the state's overall experience of the war. The aim, in effect, is to introduce the reader to the Battle, an extraordinary event in India's history that has received little to no attention till date.

The issue also carries four other book reviews: Stuti Banerjee reviews *Wars by Pakistan*; Vijai Singh Rana reviews *Internal Armed Conflict in India: Forging a Joint Civil–Military Approach*; Y.M. Bammi reviews *Countering Terrorism—Psychological Strategies*; and Sanjeev Srivastava reviews *Afghan Endgames: Strategy and Policy Choices for America's Longest War*.

As readers are aware, JDS has a 'Letters to the Editor' section where we publish letters/comments from our readers. We would like to hear more from you on the Journal's current issue as well as on topics you feel should be addressed by the journal so do write in at nkohli.idsa@nic.in. We also invite contributions for forthcoming issues on emerging security threats and scenarios; civil-military relations; higher defence planning; doctrines and concepts; organizations and structures; command and control mechanisms; logistical support and sustainability issues; budgeting procedures and practices vis-a-vis the Indian Armed Forces; military history, especially on wars fought by India and Indian participation in the First and Second World Wars; participation in UN peacekeeping operations; and bilateral/multi-lateral defence cooperation, among others. We hope that along with our growing readership, we would also see more contributions to future issues.