Indian Foreign Affairs Journal Vol. 14, No. 1, January–March 2019, 70-81

BOOK REVIEW

Arvind Gupta, ***How India Manages its National Security,*** (New Delhi, Penguin Viking, 2018), Pages: 440, Price: 599.00

Those with an interest in any or many of the questions concerning India's defence, foreign policy, policing, or arms acquisition would have observed that, in recent years, the term 'national security' has acquired greater resonance and repetition in public discussions. There was a time when national security was taken to be almost synonymous with 'defence' and was conceptually limited to safeguarding our borders. Today, there is awareness of the multiple dimensions of the term, its complexities, the wide range of issues involved, as also the diverse agencies and actors associated with it.

The book under review is an excellent introduction to the subject, and a primer for the students and researchers entering the field. It answers questions such as: how does one conceptualise 'national security'? What are its many dimensions? Which are the principal agencies in India tasked with ensuring national security? How are these agencies constituted and run? And, what is their efficacy? The book also points to new areas apart from covering traditional threats, and looks at future challenges for the Indian establishment.

Arvind Gupta, the author, is uniquely qualified to undertake this project in public education. A professional diplomat from the Indian Foreign Service, Gupta opted for academic specialisation and pursued his interests at India's premier think-tank for defence and strategic studies, the IDSA, having served as its head. He also came to occupy senior positions in the National Security Council Secretariat (NSCS) and, eventually, to head it in his capacity as the Deputy National Security Advisor. He is currently heading the Vivekananda International Foundation and, in that role, is at the intersection of India's thinking on major national issues, internal and external, macro and specific, strategic and tactical. His eclectic interests also include civilisational and cultural issues, environment and economy. He brings to the book, his vast expertise and experience as also a reflective mind that has pondered on many of the challenges described.

The Preface lays down the purpose of the book neatly:

> Having survived numerous security challenges since independence, India is on course to emerge as a major power. The path ahead, however, will

be difficult. Over the years, the security environment has become more complex and challenging. What are the sources of insecurity for India? What are the institutional mechanisms that India has set up to deal with these challenges? How effective are these institutions? This book looks into some of these issues.

The book is neatly organised. It begins with a comprehensive description of India's national security environment, a necessary starting point for an analyst. In an overview, the basic setting and structural aspects that frame India's position - geography, diversity, history of partition, and hostilities caused by history (primarily Pakistan and China) are briefly covered. There are short summaries of our relations with other neighbours, especially from the security point of view. Gupta also lists out the internal challenges, among them J&K, left-wing extremism, communalism etc. Other aspects such as border management, natural disasters, governance deficits, and non-traditional security threats, are also introduced. The role of technology, especially some critical ones in security, is identified.

Next, the institutional framework currently available to deal with the threats and challenges is summarised. Much of this is dealt with in separate chapters. Thus, there are independent chapters on: the armed forces; police; border management; intelligence; diplomacy; and technology. The outline of different institutions covered should be of interest to a non-specialist outside the government as it introduces the basic ethos and structure of diverse actors in managing security challenges. For example, the chapter on 'the police forces' gives a sound summary of the concepts of crime and punishment in Indian texts, how the police forces came to be organised under the colonial regime, the structure of the police in independent India, the changing nature of contemporary policing, and many ideas under the rubric of 'police reform'. Brief mention is made of central police organisations too. A useful feature is that each chapter has a 'conclusion' and, thus, draws the attention of the reader to the need for 'next steps'. There are similar descriptive accounts of 'intelligence', 'diplomacy', and 'armed forces', among other areas.

In introducing the ideas of non-traditional security threats, the author states:

Traditional security is about the protection of a country's sovereignty and territorial integrity and concerns military power. Questions of war and peace dominate the traditional security discourse…The traditional security discourse has been very state centric….However the discourse has been shifting rapidly (p. 267).

The recognition of newer unconventional threats is thereafter delineated. These include, at one level, critical areas, such as terrorism, genocide, organised crime, human rights violations and, at another level, issues that affect human wellbeing, such as climate change, water, and food shortage. Gupta recognises that the line between traditional security threats - generally coercive in nature - and other non-traditional factors that affect human wellbeing, is getting blurred. Therefore,

> What is required is a comprehensive and holistic understanding of security that combines traditional and non-traditional aspects. Anything that weakens a nation weakens its security. Anything that adversely affects individuals on a large scale is a security challenge…Seen from this perspective, it is necessary that a country develop its comprehensive national strength… (p. 268)

A separate chapter is devoted to cyber security challenges. The scope, scale, and the urgency of understanding this dimension come through.

A useful chapter deals with the 'National Security Council' and its functioning as a high-level coordinating agency to take a holistic view of all issues concerning national security. Gupta gives a much-needed perspective about the history, evolution, and performance appraisal of this institution and its secretariat. In his view, it needs to be strengthened, better staffed, and structured. It also has to meet more frequently and consider long-term challenges.

The last chapter, "How good is India's national security system?" is rich with ideas and suggestions. Gupta's considered answer is that India's institutions are evolving, are sufficiently strong to meet conventional challenges; however, there is need to focus on the emerging issues of the future, "which will not be just conventional military conflicts."

> Hybrid warfare, which is a combination of conventional military conflict, sub-conventional conflict, and warfare in cyberspace, and outer space, is more likely. Military warfare will be accompanied by economic warfare. Information warfare, which, combines cyber warfare with psychological warfare, is a distinct possibility … India will have to take into account the threat potential of these emerging technologies (p. 353).

In the concluding chapter, the author, with his deep expertise, makes a number of specific suggestions: it is emphasised that it is necessary to devise a long-term strategy or a master-plan, and not be limited to fire-fighting or daily challenges. The leaders of critical organisations should be carefully chosen, and not appointed through routine bureaucratic processes. The

coordination among different agencies is sub-optimal at present despite the NSCS and needs to be qualitatively improved. The inputs from think-tanks and the reports of earlier high-level review committees need to be acted upon. These and other ideas could have come only from a professional with long years of focused research and reflection on institutional questions. The book also has appendices, which lay out the organisational structures of key ministries associated with national security. It is a stated objective of the author that the book may be useful for students needing courses on 'national security'. The book meets that purpose admirably.

As this review was being penned in June 2019, after the assumption of office by a new Indian Government (termed as Modi 2.0), some significant developments took place. All the key ministers responsible for national security - home, defence, external affairs and finance - that have taken office come with a reputation for professionalism apart from deep domain familiarity. Further, the National Security Advisor (NSA) post has been raised to the Cabinet level. National security itself has come to occupy a pivotal priority in the agenda of this Government. Will there be a transformation in the way the associated issues are addressed in the future? The topicality of the book is, thus, assured.

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and former Consul General of India at San Francisco, USA.

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Dilip Sinha, ***Legitimacy of Power: The Permanence of Five in the Security Council,*** (New Delhi, VIJ Books (India) Pty Ltd, 2018), Pages: (HB) 332, (PB) 321, Price: (HB) Rs. 1.250.00, (PB) Rs. 595.00

If one sentence could sum up the well researched work by Dilip Sinha on the "Legitimacy of Power: The Permanence of Five in the Security Council", the sanctum of multilateral diplomacy, it is in his own words as "the story of the saga of the United States and its four allies from the Second World War, Russia, Britain, France and China - their cooperation and tribulations". If one message that the reader draws from the author's searching enquiry of the UN's entire political record is that its reform, particularly of the Security Council, is no longer an option but essential for sustaining its own legitimacy in the global order, the book would have more than served its purpose

The pithy conclusion is based on an in-depth study of the evolution of the UN's security system, the Security Council's performance, the control of the Permanent Five over it, the military actions taken by them on its behalf, and the legitimacy that it has acquired as an essential tool over the last more than seven decades. Sinha brings out the irony that those entrusted with the special responsibility to maintain international peace and security through the Security Council have based their claim to this authority on their military power and not on their commitment to democracy, rule of law, human rights, and other values that the UN seeks to promote.

The author traces the genesis of the creation of the Security Council in the new international order back to the traditional thinking in Europe of international peace as being best preserved by a group of strong and responsible powers working together. The highest organ of the UN was, thus, conceived as a small body of members in which the wider membership reposed their faith for securing international peace. The dynamics of the San Francisco Conference and negotiations on the UN Charter recalled in the book are instructive for an insight into the blatant intent behind its provisions on the peaceful settlement of disputes, sanctions, military action, and the veto power. Created by the victorious states, these were all aimed at a greater concentration of power in their own hands, and to underscore the primacy of the Security Council in the UN system.

The Security Council was and remains as the only international body where the use of force can be legitimately authorised. Having won the War

and seamlessly transformed itself into a peacetime organisation, the UN embarked on its journey as the guardian of world peace and security in pursuit of the Charter's lofty affirmation of collective determination to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war.

According to the author, the effectiveness of the Security Council's authorisation of military action is a mixed one, and which continues to be debated. It evolved erratically, and varied widely in content, in different situations. The mandate was precisely defined in some instances, and left vague in others. All resolutions were based on the determination by UNSC that there existed a threat to peace and security, but its restoration was not the stated objective of all. He rightly reminds us about the equally relevant concerns about the Charter - that the compatibility and legality of these military actions have never been independently examined. In the absence of a judicial review, rightly emphasised by the author, questions remain whether the Security Council's actions meet the tenets of international law. It is also not without significance that all military actions were taken by Western countries led by the USA and NATO. Britain and France participated in most, while the Soviet Union and China stayed away from all.

Evaluating the Security Council's performance since 1945, Sinha identifies four distinct phases of two decades each. The first under Western control; the second under the Soviet Union working with the South; the third led by the West with the cooperation of Russia and China; and the fourth in which the East-West divide has come back.

The book examines a range of case studies of how the Security Council has acted in critical moments since its inception, both from the political and legal angles. The overview is based on debates in the Security Council and the General Assembly, UN documents, archival material, and authoritative commentaries. This academically sound methodology has the added advantage of a practitioner's perspective on the real world give and take in negotiations. The added significance of Dilip Sinha's study lies in his objectivity to draw hard conclusions on salient patterns, and his intellectual candour in throwing light on systemic flaws in the functioning of this apex body.

The review starts with some initial successes enjoyed by the Security Council in the early years, such as its ability to select its headquarters, elect Norway's Foreign Minister in exile, Trygve Lie, as the first Secretary General. It mediated ceasefires in Palestine and Kashmir even though it could not resolve the disputes, and tasted its first success in mediating Indonesia's independence when the Dutch tried to reoccupy it after Japan's defeat. But,

as the unity of the principal allies started unravelling, the UN's goalposts started receding. The Rules of Procedure of the UNSC could not be finalised, and the P-5 could not reach an agreement in the Military Staff Committee on the UN military force. A serious lacuna continues to be the absence of any reference to a quorum, and any automaticity in convening a meeting of the Council when asked for by a member. Likewise, the idea of a standing UN military under the command of the Council, pushed vigorously by the Americans in the early years, was revived several times after the end of Cold War, but met no success. Yet, Kofi Annan's attempt to bring a closure in 2005 to abolish the military staff committee was blocked by the P-5 who were not ready to make an admission of failure.

Korea remained one of only two instances of the Security Council authorising military action by member states. But, the Korean operation was a hurried response to an emergency, made possible by the Soviet boycott, and could not become a paradigm for future action. The other was an issue related to Britain, which was authorised to enforce sanctions against Southern Rhodesia in 1966. However, within four years after the War, the Allies were split in two rival camps. The formation of NATO in 1949 marked the end of cooperation among the three main founders.

Peacekeeping as an 'innovative compromise' has emerged as the singular contribution of Security Council to maintain international peace and security. Interestingly, though now seen as a regular feature of the UN, it does not figure in the Charter. A reader of the book will discover the genesis of this idea: it was initiated by UNSG Dag Hammarsjkold. Faced with a deadlock in the Council, he devised this mechanism by using troops from neutral or non-aligned countries, and got it approved through the General Assembly. He deployed it successfully in the Middle East and the Congo. The Peacekeeping agenda was modified by Boutros Boutros-Ghali in his Agenda for Peace when he sought to reorient the United Nations towards human security. But, under Kofi Annan, robust peacekeeping was revived once again.

The Suez and Hungary crises in 1956 exposed the variable standards applied by the permanent members (France, Britain, and the Soviet Union) in two concurrent and parallel situations. These also defined the limitations of the Security Council in dealing with military aggression by a permanent member. Such conflicts had not been envisaged in the Charter, and the Council was not designed to deal with them.

The collapse of the Soviet Union gave the Western countries full control of the Security Council. With no Soviet veto to restrain them, the USA revived

the Korean model of authorised military action to enable its forces, and those of its allies, to invade Iraq and compel it to withdraw from Kuwait. Its success emboldened them to more such operations, though with mixed results. The authorisation for the invasion of Libya in 2011 was particularly controversial. Russia blocked further military actions, except for two in Africa. The USA failed to get authorisation for coercive action in Syria despite repeated efforts.

The UN also expanded the machinery for implementing its newly acquired powers - international criminal tribunals for trying individuals; peacekeeping operations with Chapter 7 powers; and international transitional administrations. The Charter injunction against interference in the internal affairs was gradually side stepped by the Security Council in cases of 'grave humanitarian threat'. Once it became politically convenient for the big powers, state sovereignty came to be viewed as an impediment to global governance and, in this new era of activism, humanitarian intervention was turned into the responsibility of the international community. The concept of R2P is intended to make the UN the protector of the people of countries ruled by repressive regimes, and can be invoked for committing any of the four identified international crimes agreed at the World Summit in 2005. But, the R2P enthusiasts are not averse to including Human Rights in this list.

The author makes a trenchant critique of the addition of these new mandates without an amendment to the Charter. He rightly argues that, "if the Security Council deserves the power to intervene in domestic matters of a state to perform such functions as enforcing human rights or delivering humanitarian assistance, the UN Charter should be suitably amended". Moreover, the link between human rights violations with international peace and security itself has remained ambivalent even in Resolution 688(1991) on Iraq, which is considered to have drawn such a link. Although projected as one of the pillars of the UN, the permanent five have vetoed human rights resolutions against their allies and friendly states.

Based on his study of the Security Council in different eras, a deliberate expansion of its mandates without amending the Charter, and the lack of public support for such interventions in the countries championing these powers, Sinha concludes how a divided Council can no longer exercise the powers that were given to it by the Charter to fulfil its primary mandate. The fundamental assumption that the Council will be operated by the permanent members acting in unison made its functioning hostage to equations among the Permanent Five. Over time, this has led to inaction or the refusal to provide troops, compelling the Council to resort to

outsourcing military action. Even more confounding is the revelation about the Security Council's deviation from the original intent of its founding fathers, when it started lending its brand equity to endorsing military action by member states due to "the Organisation's incapacity for decisive intervention in and control of international relations". Sinha does not hesitate to describe this new trend as the "franchising of military action by the Security Council to powerful member states".

Clearly much needs to be done to bridge the gap between what the Security Council is expected to achieve, and what it has accomplished on the ground. It remains as a reflection of an outmoded Cold War order in which many important players justifiably complain about being left out. The argument is clear for reform and the restructuring of the Security Council which has been talked about since its inception. On the reform debate, the author comes to the conclusion that it is a struggle over political turf, where there is little incentive for the permanent membership to open the door for new members, and for the other members of the UN to vote them in. But, by bringing a spotlight on its mixed record during critical moments in its history of more than seventy years, the book serves to underline the urgency of the much needed change of the Security Council for it to better serve its mandate.

The book is highly readable, and a valuable addition for an insight into complex issues in multilateral diplomacy for scholars, practitioners, and students of international relations. A multilateralist himself, and with long standing experience of working in the UN in senior positions at headquarters and as India's Permanent Representative in Geneva, Dilip Sinha's informed assessment and experienced voice brings the force of conviction to the widely held view on the urgency of the reform of the Security Council. The book makes a compelling case for the international community to think back on how the UN was set up, how its apex body was constituted, and why it must be adapted to meet the challenges of today if it does not want to end up undermining the primary purpose for which it was created.

Ambassador Neelam D. Sabharwal
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Former High Commissioner of India to Cyprus

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T. V. Paul (Ed.), ***The China-India Rivalry in the Globalization Era,*** (Hyderabad, India, Orient Blackswan, 2019), Pages: (HB) 368, Price: Rs. 1,195.00

The India-China relationship is a complex and 'multi-layered' one that has evolved over a period of time. Today, both the countries are more engaged with each other than ever before, with 14 pairs of sister cities, Bollywood, Yoga, and the celebration of the International Day of Yoga having become popular in China. However, from time to time, skirmishes/stand-offs such as Doklam disrupt the momentum. The 73 day-long India-Bhutan-China standoff at Doklam was resolved by the 'expeditious disengagement' of troops from both sides. It is the biggest lesson drawn by both sides: that there is a need to deepen mutual understanding so that 'differences do not become disputes'. On a positive note, on 1 May 2019, China designated Masood Azhar as an international terrorist under the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) 1267 sanctions committee. Nevertheless, other irritants in the bilateral relationship, such as Sino-Pakistan nexus, the China Pakistan Economic Corridor, an unsettled border, and the looming trade deficit, still persist.

The book under review is written against the backdrop of Doklam, and covers the sources, strategies, and the mitigating factors of the bilateral relationship. Notably, there are frequent references to the Doklam episode in explaining most of the aspects dealing with the bilateral relationship. The second part expounds the various sources of tension in India-China relations. Mahesh Shankar goes to state that the longstanding territorial dispute between both sides is the constant source of tension between the two countries. He argues that a limited or managed 'rivalry' persists, but it is less intense as compared to the India-Pakistan rivalry due to numerous mitigating variables, ranging from economic to diplomatic factors. Manjari Miller does an interesting analysis of the Indian and Chinese views of the international order and the contrasting the differences between them. She concludes that it is this difference, which is the major source of conflict between both sides. Further, she highlights that while China is pushing for an alternative world order, it remains to be seen if India will accept a China led order.

Calvin Chen explores the race for resources between the two countries in Africa and Central Asia. Since both the countries have their own energy renewal policies, he concludes that, when it comes to resources, at least China and India are more similar than different in theoretical understanding. This makes the prospect of a future conflict between them seemingly bleak.

Selina Ho explains the issue of the water dispute between the two countries, and also offers a list of recommendations for dealing with the issue. In fact, Calvin Chen and Selina Ho are both precise in stating that the rivalry in energy and water have been overhyped by analysts.

The third part of the book deals with the strategies of the bilateral relationship. Andrew Scobell brings out reasons for 'great pessimism' about the prospects of the relationship, and states that the rivalry between the countries is "destined to persist". He further argues that, with the advancement in technology, the Himalayas are no longer a barrier. The rivalry becomes even more acute with clashing strategic culture narratives; and the interactions of each country with the third countries complicates matters further. On the nuclear issue, Vipin Narang states that 'assured retaliation' nuclear strategies — in which both countries pledge not to be the first to use nuclear weapons in a conflict — has been the major stabilising factor.

The fourth part of the book deals with economic relations and the participation of both the countries at various multilateral fora. Mathew A. Castle explores trade as a generator of improved relations. He argues that while trade has indeed increased, this has been driven largely by increasing Chinese exports to India. The relationship is one of the many growing asymmetries. The official trade between India and China resumed in 1978. A major transformation in India-China trade has taken place in the last ten years. India-China trade that was US$ 2.32 billion in 2000–2001 is likely to reach US$ 100 billion in 2019. However, the trade is skewed highly in favour of China. Recently, significant shifts have taken place in India-China trade. However, the chapter does not show the changing dynamics for the simple reason that the data used is dated. Hence, it fails to capture the dynamism of the on-going trade. Castle goes on to state that this asymmetry in trade will be compounded by China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI).

In the multilateral institutions, both countries have a similar position on regional and global issues. In addition, they have combined their efforts in the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) and the BRICS bank which is perceived as an alternative international institution. Feng Liu, in his essay, 'China-India Engagement in Institutions' argues that while some enduring conflicts and contradictions between China and India are irreconcilable in the short term, cooperation based on common interests is still a dominant aspect of India-China relations. While he brings out the positive aspects of the engagement, he does not throw light on China's objection to India's membership at the United Nations Security Council and the Nuclear Supplier's Group

(NSG). India's candidature in both the institutions is impeccable, and cannot be controlled by any other country.

In the concluding part, Paul F. Diehl, states that India-China relations have moved from one of 'hostile rivalries' to concerns on more substantive issues, including the boundary. With both countries gaining cyber capabilities, there are chances that they might use cyber-attacks more frequently. Thus, there may be a change of tactics from the military to newer forms of competition.

Overall, the book touches on the various variables of the bilateral relationship between India and China with a new approach. As the book is written against the backdrop of the Doklam crisis, a lot of weight is given to explaining the boundary dispute between the two countries. However, it does not give much importance to the trade issue between the two sides. There is a strategic dimension to the increasing trade deficit. Reinforcing economic ties can confer significant gain upon both nations. At the moment, the trade is not a win-win situation. Also, it may not be sustainable in the long run and will become a foreign policy issue, just as it has become between the USA and China. China needs to address this deficit sooner rather than later. There is a requirement of a broad trade agreement based on reciprocity between India and China.

The word 'rivalry' in the title of the book could have been avoided while defining the bilateral relations between the two Asian neighbours. Although, the book does provide an in-depth theoretical framework to defend that it is 'rivalry' rather than anything else, the onus is on the reader to comprehend whether it is actually 'rivalry' or the management of conflict and cooperation between the two neighbours. Additionally, a major aspect missing from the book is the absence of the Indian perspective on most of the issues raised.

Nevertheless, the book is one of the well-researched and argued books based on a theoretical framework on the subject. Since it covers vast themes of the bilateral relationship, it is highly recommended for academicians and policymakers dealing with Chinese foreign policy, comparative politics, and international relations. It is certainly a valuable contribution to the existing literature on India-China relations.

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