### **CONTENTS**

Vol. 7 No. 1, Spring 2012 (January-March)

Editor's Note VII

#### 1. K. SUBRAHMANYAM AND INDIA'S STRATEGIC CULTURE

Shri Shivshankar Menon, India's National Security Adviser, delivered the first K. Subrahmanyam Memorial Lecture organised by the "Subbu Forum" on January 19, 2012, at the India International Centre. Shri Subrahmanyam was the country's leading strategic thinker and critical of the gross lack of strategic culture in India at all level. His demise a year ago was a great loss to the country. Subbu (as he was fondly called) tried tirelessly for more than half a century, through all possible means of communication, to emphasise the critical need for people, especially the thinking elite and decision-makers/opinion shapers, to pay serious attention to the formulation and practice of a strategic approach to national security and national development. He stood tall through the Cold War to articulate India's core interests and even more eruditely after the end of the Cold War when the framework in which India had to grow toward its manifest destiny had changed rapidly and dramatically.

# 2. THE RESURGENCE OF NAXALISM: IMPLICATIONS FOR INDIA'S SECURITY

13

1

Naxalism had first reared its head in the early 1960s when it was put down more through the use of force than any politico-economic measures. **Professor S. Adhikari**, former Head of the Department, Department of Defence and Strategic Studies, University of Allahabad, has objectively looked into the reasons and causes of the resurgence of Naxalism which erupted a few years ago and spread to a significantly large part of India, with some places no longer under the effective control of the government. Adhikari brings his immense analytical

capabilities to bear on a deep understanding of the problem and its possible solutions.

#### 3. NEW FRONTIERS OF MILITARY LEADERSHIP: **ENVIRONMENTAL FORAYS**

39

For the past two decades or so, the developed countries have started to pay closer attention to the interactive relationship between environmental issues (especially on ozone depleting substances critical to military systems). It is but natural that this process has to be understood and dealt with in view of the demands of new challenges for military leaders no doubt far away from the battlefield, but nonetheless which can have an immense impact on the battle space. Group Captain Manoj Kumar, Senior Fellow at the Centre for Air Power Studies (CAPS), has argued for greater consciousness and responsibilities of the military leadership in the arena on which there are few convergences of national interests among countries and even less knowledge in most governments in the developing countries.

### 4. INDIA-IRAN RELATIONS UNDER THE SHADOW OF INDIA-US STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP

59

The US strategy of containment of Iran for more than three decades and now the serious issue of their bilateral relations on the matter of Iran's nuclear programme have raised new issues which impinge on India-Iran relations. The more recent tightened sanctions against Iran and the threats of possible strikes by the US/Israel against the Iranian nuclear infrastructure have added further complications and challenges to India in its relations with Iran. Dr. Asif Shuja, Research Associate at CAPS, examines the issues involved and tries to evolve possible options to manage the challenges to India-Iran relations in the future.

### 5. THE NEED FOR STRATEGIC CHANGE IN REGIONAL POWERS' POLICY TOWARD AFGHANISTAN FOR POLITICAL STABILITY

77

After more than a decade of war in Afghanistan, the US and NATO

have decided to withdraw their military forces from Afghanistan in stages beginning in September 2012 and completing in September 2014. Meanwhile, they expect to hand over security responsibilities to the Afghan National Army and police forces increasingly trained to support the Karzai government. However, the role of the regional powers, especially Pakistan, will be a major factor in the process of establishing political and social stability in Afghanistan. Dr. K.N. Tennyson, Associate Fellow, CAPS, argues for a strategic change in the aims and objectives of the regional powers if stability in Afghanistan has to become a reality.

## 6. RASHTRIYA RIFLES IN KASHMIR: INDIA'S COUNTER-TERRORISM FORCE

95

Alienation and terrorist violence started in Jammu and Kashmir in 1988, initially propelled by the JKLF. This erupted in early December 1989 and rapidly assumed major proportions, initially mainly in the Kashmir Valley. External support from Pakistan rapidly exacerbated the situation which the central and state police forces were unable to control and it became necessary to deploy the Indian Army. Once the scale and continuity of externally supported terrorism from its sanctuary in Pakistan and POK were recognised, a new paramilitary force called the Rashtriya Rifles was created by deputing personnel from the Indian Army. Ms. Debalina Chatterjee, Research Associate at CAPS, traces the creation, expansion and performance of the Rashtriya Rifles as a counter-terrorism force.

### 7. SHIFTING STRATEGIES AND TACTICS OF THE US/NATO FORCES AND THE TALIBAN IN THE PRESENT AFGHAN WAR

117

The war initiated by the US in Afghanistan after the 9/11 terrorist attack in the USA, to control the Taliban and Al Qaeda, has undergone many ups and downs in the past decade. In recent years, the resurgence of the Taliban has created a major shift in the challenges of an already complex situation and consequent changes in the strategy and tactics

of the ISAF, on one side, and the Taliban, on the other, especially the robust use of armed UCAVs normally referred to as "drone" attacks. Collateral damage and casualties have added to the complexities of the war and its potential resolution. **Shelly Johny**, Associate Fellow at CAPS, has tried to unravel the complexities of the changes taking place.

# 8. SELF-RELIANCE AND SYNERGY IN AEROSPACE SECTOR: THE ROAD AHEAD

141

India's large aerospace market and limited capability in indigenous design, development and production have been the objects of serious studies in recent years. Shri **S. N. Misra**, Principal Controller of Defence Accounts (Navy), has undertaken a path-breaking study on the potential, necessity and prospects of synergy in the efforts to rebuild self-reliance in the aerospace sector in India for the future.

#### 9. AIR DOMINANCE OVER THE OCEANS

167

Air power has historically played a critical role in air-to-air as well as air-to-surface operations during the past hundred years. Its impact has been increasing with exponential advances in technology. But the impact of air power in the maritime environment over the vast ocean space has been far more dramatic than in other domains. Air Commodore Jasjit Singh, Director, CAPS, points to the intrinsic quality of the vertical dimension that allows air power to control and influence the events and military forces on the surface of the earth while the reverse is not possible. Since warships and merchant ships at sea are large targets and comparatively easily located and targeted, the impact of air power is even more dominant. Through history, especially since World War II, Jasjit Singh traces the pure airto-air engagements in battles, with no direct engagement between powerful fleets and warships, that changed the course of the war and history. Inevitably, the aircraft carrier replaced the battleship as the capital ship of naval power.

INDEX 183