



National
Maritime
Foundation

Visakhapatnam Regional Chapter





**Vice Admiral
Pradeep Kaushiva**
UYSM, VSM (Retd.)
Director
National Maritime
Foundation

Welcome to New Director and good wishes for a successful tenure

Visakhapatnam Regional Chapter extends a cordial welcome to the new Director of National Maritime Foundation Vice-Admiral (Retd.) Pradeep Kaushiva who took charge on August 1, 2011.

During his service in the navy, Admiral Kaushiva has served as commandant of the National Defence College and Flag Officer Commanding of the Indian Navy's Eastern Fleet.



VISAKHAPATNAM REGIONAL CHAPTER

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Finetuning Foreign Policy...

Foreign policy is not an exercise in sainthood wrote E.H. Carr. The Palmerstonian dictum of 1820s that nations pursue permanent interests not lasting friendships, dictated the agenda of the big nations in their relations with one another for almost a century. The proclamation of the famous Fourteen Points by President Woodrow Wilson of the United States of America, hailed as the modern messiah of peace and his arrival in Paris to a rousing reception to take part in the Peace of Paris at the end of the First World War provoked French Prime Minister Clemenceau to quip that God was satisfied with ten but Wilson was not with fourteen! The collapse of four great empires and the birth of the League of Nations in 1920 heralded the dawn of a new world order.

That was also the year in which began a new era in India's history under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. "For the external affairs you are my guide," conceded Gandhiji in a letter to Nehru who was deeply influenced by Ashoka's quest for peace and Gandhi's nonviolence in designing the architecture of India's foreign policy. Though he abhorred the term 'neutrality' Nehru made it clear that India would always remain neutral not between right and wrong but between hatred and fear. At Haripura Congress in 1938, when the great powers were preparing for the Second World War, Nehru spoke of India's commitment to peace and global harmony. As vice-president of the interim government in 1946 and three years later in his address at Columbia University as India's Prime Minister, Nehru declared that India stood for world peace, equality and justice for all and elimination of discrimination and poverty in all countries. Good relations with all and close relations with neighbours was proclaimed as the motto of India's foreign policy. The foreign policy of a nation reflects its total culture according to an expert and India's foreign policy structured in the Gandhi-Nehru framework reflects India's culture and heritage. The release of the Visakhapatnam Regional Chapter's biannual issue, due in July, was kept on hold to incorporate highlights and photographs of the two day seminar organized in Vizag on July 14 and 15 by the Eastern Naval Command and National Maritime Foundation at *Samudrika* on "Strategic Contours of India-China Relations". Thanks to Vice Admiral Anup Singh FOC-in-Chief, Eastern Naval Command who hosted the event with superb organizational skill, 'a special address was delivered to the City of Visakhapatnam' on the eve of the seminar on July 13 by the distinguished diplomat and former foreign secretary Shri Shyam Saran on "*Transition From Look East to Engaging East.*" The participation of a galaxy of experts, analysts and top brass of the defense forces led by Shri Shyam Saran, Admiral Arun Prakash and Vice Admiral Anup Singh in the two day seminar lent substance and significance to the event, the first of its kind to be organized in Visakhapatnam, aptly described as *the gateway to the east*.

Eighteen centuries ago on the Andhra coast, three hundred kilometres from Vizag, lived Nagarjuna, the celebrated founder of the Mahayana system of Buddhist philosophy, whose teachings reached out to countries in *the eastern arc from Ceylon to Indonesia and beyond*. The timing of the seminar and the choice of the venue were both perfect and appropriate.



*Shri Shyam Saran's
special address to the
City of Visakhapatnam
on July 13, 2011*



**Public Lecture : Special Address to the City of Visakhapatnam by
Shri Shyam Saran on *Transition from look East to Engaging East*
on July 13,2011 at Hotel Taj Gateway.**

Newspaper reports on Shri Shyam Saran's public lecture

“India must engage East” ASEAN is the platform needed...

The Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) is the platform for India to emerge as a major force in the region, former Foreign Secretary Shyam Saran observed here on Wednesday. The Eastern seaboard is a vital area and in this arch (of nations) and the east coast of India has a major role to play and Visakhapatnam would be a nodal point. for making itself a major force. India must assert itself and it was working in this direction of late, Mr. Shyam Saran said while speaking on *“transition from Look East to Engaging East”* at a programme organised by the Eastern Naval Command and the National Maritime Foundation.



Strategies were needed in the economic, security and energy areas and India should be able to occupy the driver's seat, the former Foreign Secretary said. Earlier, he described the Look East policy of the Government pronounced by the then Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao and the developments thereafter. India was getting closer to the ASEAN as perceptions have changed and a new awareness was witnessed. While India could emerge as a strong nation with the help of ASEAN, SAARC must also be revived, Mr. Shyam Saran said. ASEAN countries have centuries old cultural relationships with India but it was not “one-way traffic”. India too gained a lot from the South East Asian countries. India should approach these countries with humility and modesty.

Two emerging powers, India and China are there in the region. “To be relevant in the region, we have to fast-track our own integration with ASEAN. This might be the reason why the Prime Minister felt the need for setting a deadline”. On the security strategy he said India was dominating in the eastern seaboard which was important for itself, China and other countries for their economic survival. Answering a question Mr. Shyam Saran pointed out that India did not recognise Central Asia as a major energy production centre because of geographical and political reasons. Some opportunities had gone, by default, he said. Flag Officer Commanding-in-Chief of ENC Anup Singh, secretary of NMF and Defence analyst C.Uday Bhaskar and regional director of NMF A.Prasanna Kumar spoke.

(Courtesy : The Hindu)
July 14, 2011

Foreign Policy Initiatives...

“ How to manage our own emergence with the emergence of another great power in the region is both a challenge and an opportunity and India must strive to be in the driving seat along with other rising Asian states,”. The focus should be on security, energy and trade, said Mr. Shyam Saran showing how during the last two decades economic factors have replaced political considerations as the main determinants of foreign policy. Responding to a question, he conceded that look east policy should not be at the expense of other ties, especially with central Asian states.

(Courtesy : Deccan Chronicle) July 17, 2011



Seminar on Strategic Contours of India-China Relations



*at Samudrika, Eastern Naval Command
July 14-15, 2011*

Strategic Contours of *India - China Relations* *Opportunities and Challenges*

Welcome address by
Vice Adm Anup Singh PVSM AVSM NM ADC
FOC-in-Chief, Eastern Naval Command



Admiral Arun Prakash, Chairman National Maritime Foundation, Shri Shyam Saran, Chairman, Research and Information Systems for Developing Countries, Lt Gen Bikram Singh, General Officer Commanding in Chief, Eastern Command, Lt Gen NC Marwah, Commander in Chief Andaman and Nicobar Command, Shri Shakti Sinha, eminences amongst speakers, members of media, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen; it is indeed gratifying to see the whole-hearted participation from such a varied spectrum of people in this seminar.



The Eastern Naval Command welcomes all participants to this dialogue. On my part, I can only urge all present to cast away the worries, enjoy the serenity of the East coast despite the polluted industrial township and freely indulge in intellectual volleys, points and counterpoints. We have had a new winner at the Wimbledon this year; the mood everywhere is for change and freshness of ideas. I am sure our deliberations, on the Strategic Contours of India China Relations will help redefine our thoughts and throw up refreshing new objectives and perhaps future directions.

The path for the seminar, its aims and objectives, have been defined by Cmde Uday Bhaskar, Director NMF. A couple of points to garnish that path. The first is about neighbours and neighbourhood. There is no gainsaying that the logic of geography dictates who we have as our neighbours.

History is testimony to the fact that though a nation cannot choose its neighbours, it sure can choose its friends, its values, its principles and its strategic thought: - things that one can be identified with and things that personify a nation's posture. The question that goes abegging in Tom Friedman's Flat World is – How and what defines neighbourhood? Is it only the land frontiers or should we include the convergence of interests on far shores as well?

Welcome Address...

The second point is about perceptions. India and China are not mere Neighbours, they are two rising powers, who are flourishing nearly simultaneously, an economic and geopolitical phenomenon unrivalled in recorded history. Policies between the two are a direct reflection of their perceptions of each other. Academic literature and media coverage on India's perceptions of China are bountiful. But, how much do we know about the Chinese perception of India? How does the Chinese political, military and economic establishment view India? Have we a common understanding from a Chinese view point on How to Approach the Elephant? A contextual understanding of this aspect will help smoothen the process of Taming the Dragon.

Therefore, the final point is about understanding and correctly inferring China's pronouncements. What are we to infer from the statement in a position paper on the New Security Concept published by the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs where it insists that "China will steer clear of the great-power- rivalry trap and that its rise will be peaceful", or for that matter its statement that: "Force cannot fundamentally resolve disputes and conflicts, and a security regime based on the use of force or the threat to use force can hardly bring about lasting peace". Do these broadcasts hold any relevance for India or are they statements to assuage and mislead the West. How do we view this in the context of Chinese Communist Party's national goal of "rich country, strong military".

It is in this background that seminars, such as today's, have particular relevance. They provide a medium for free flow of information and frank exchange of ideas, points and counterpoints. The Eastern Naval Command alongwith National Maritime Foundation is indeed fortunate to host the distinguished panel of chairs and speakers. Welcome once again to the gateway to the East.

May I now request Shri Shyam Saran to kindly deliver the keynote address.



Opening Remarks



- Cmde (Retd) C Uday Bhaskar
Director, National Maritime Foundation

Shri Shyam Saran, Chief guest, Admiral Anup Singh, Flag Officer Commanding-in-Chief, Eastern Naval Command, Admiral Arun Prakash, Chairman, National Maritime Foundation, Lt Gen Bikram Singh, General Officer Commanding in Chief, Eastern Command, Lt Gen NC Marwah, Commander in Chief Andaman and Nicobar Command and many others distinguished participants and speakers. As the Director of the National Maritime Foundation, allow me to welcome you all to the seminar on 'Strategic Contours of India - China Relations; Opportunities and Challenges' being conducted under the auspices of Flag Officer Commanding-in-Chief Eastern Naval Command. I have been associated with the city of Vizag for a very long time and today, we are meeting here at a very crucial time as far as India and the challenges are concerned and perhaps it was most vividly brought to bear yesterday evening, when we have just concluded the public address by Shri Shyam Saran in the city.

I have been associated with the city of Vizag for a very long time and today, we are meeting here at a very crucial time as far as India and the challenges are concerned and perhaps it was most vividly brought to bear yesterday evening, when we have just concluded the public address by Shri Shyam Saran in the city.

So if you allow me, I would request all of you to stand up in the memory of those who have lost their lives in Mumbai yesterday and the continuing challenges that India faces. While I was making my notes this morning, I remember many years ago, we had a very young and dynamic Captain who had just taken over as Director, ASTT. From then to now, we at NMF are delighted to have continued support from Admiral Anup Singh, Flag Officer Commanding-in-Chief, Eastern Naval Command. At the very outset, I would like to acknowledge and thank him on behalf of NMF for his

sterling contribution that he has done over the years and specifically for the Vizag chapter. I would also like to acknowledge the support we got from Admiral Arun Prakash, former Chief of Naval Staff and also Prof Prasanna Kumar, Regional Director of NMF, Vizag and various other members of NMF, Vizag chapter.



That having been said, a quick word on the subject and why we have chosen this topic. It is very important to understand that China will remain India's principle interlock. It was India's wake up call, way back in 1962; very soon we would be recalling the event of 1962 at the fiftieth anniversary next year. The question that is often asked is whether India's leadership and strategic community have drawn the right lessons from 1962 and where we are poised now as far as the bilateral relation between India and China is concerned, which is why I have chosen the phrase that - China will remain India's principle strategic interlock. The same can be said from China's perspective, while we are not number one for them, there are many misconceptions. Just last month, Admiral Arun Prakash, Chairman NMF and a group of us had the occasion to visit Beijing for what was termed as first ever Track Two interaction with China in Beijing on nuclear and other strategic issues. It was very useful, because many of the misconceptions were brought out in open. So we felt, that it made sense to have a group, looking at and trying to understand China in a continuous manner and which should not be just an event.

I am also delighted that we have General Bikram Singh, GOC-IN-C of Eastern Army Command amidst us. It is our wish that the Air Force could also join us in this endeavour. We are also constantly trying to reach out to all the China watchers, whether they are in Government or Academia or the think tanks. We are hoping that the Commands of Armed Forces would be able to sustain the 'think China' Ecosystem, of people of various age groups and experiences, who are able to look at and understand China in a continuous manner and not as one of event. While we are dealing with China, it is important to be 'equipoise' in our relationship, neither differential nor belligerent. This equipoise can only be achieved from our deep sense of confidence and the belief on the kind of capabilities and capacities that we can acquire.

I am also looking at the young faces in the audience, as our stake holders of the future, who would carry on the act of management of the India – China relationship. At the national level, the postures and policies of the nation is governed by 'national capability' underpinned by 'national will' and that is where this seminar is part of, a modest effort to nurture India's 'think China' Ecosystem.

Thanking you ladies and gentlemen.



Keynote Address

- Shri Shyam Saran
Chairman, RIS

Admiral Anup Singh, FOC-IN-C (East), Admiral Arun Prakash, Chairman NMF, Cmde Uday Bhaskar, General Bikram Singh, GOC-IN-C(EC), General Marwah CINCAN, Mr Shakti Sinha, Chief Secretary Andaman and Professor Prasanna Kumar, Regional Director NMF, distinguished guests ladies and gentleman,

It is a great privilege for me, to visit the wonderful city of Vizag and also to deliver the keynote

address, for what promises to be a wonderful and very lively discussion on 'Strategic Challenges on India and China relations'. I will not go into the details of India's China policy but I will try and give you a sense of key elements of it, while articulating one of the key challenges that India faces in years to come.

I pointed out that the great challenge for India is not just to cope with the rise of China but also to cope with simultaneous rise of India's capabilities, both economic and military capabilities. This gives rise to a complicated backdrop, offering us great challenges and equally important, numerous opportunities. When we talk about foreign policy or security strategy, what is it we are trying to achieve? What we are trying to achieve through foreign policy is, 'enable India to expand its strategic autonomy, which in very simple terms means that for the last several decades, the world has been governed by a small group of countries, those who sit on the side of table where rules are written, and rest of us sit on the other side where we have to follow the rules'. The destiny of India is to sit on the side of the table where rules are written.

It also means that, on critical issues which are of tremendous importance to India, issues which are of vital interest to India, there is an opportunity for India to take decision which are essentially aligned to our interests and not having to adjust to the pressures and influences that come to bear on us. This is what an autonomous great power looks like. Sometimes we have the tendency to think as to who our friends are and who our enemies are. As a democratic power, our objective should be to get to a point where for every issue we have a set of alternatives available to us, because friends as well as enemies need to know that we have alternatives. When friends think that we do not have alternatives then we are taken for granted. When enemies know that we have alternatives, they immediately exercise restraint. Therefore in a broader sense we want to get to a point where we have a large number of alternatives available to us. Therefore, in dealing with China also, it is very important for us to project, that we also have a large number of alternatives.

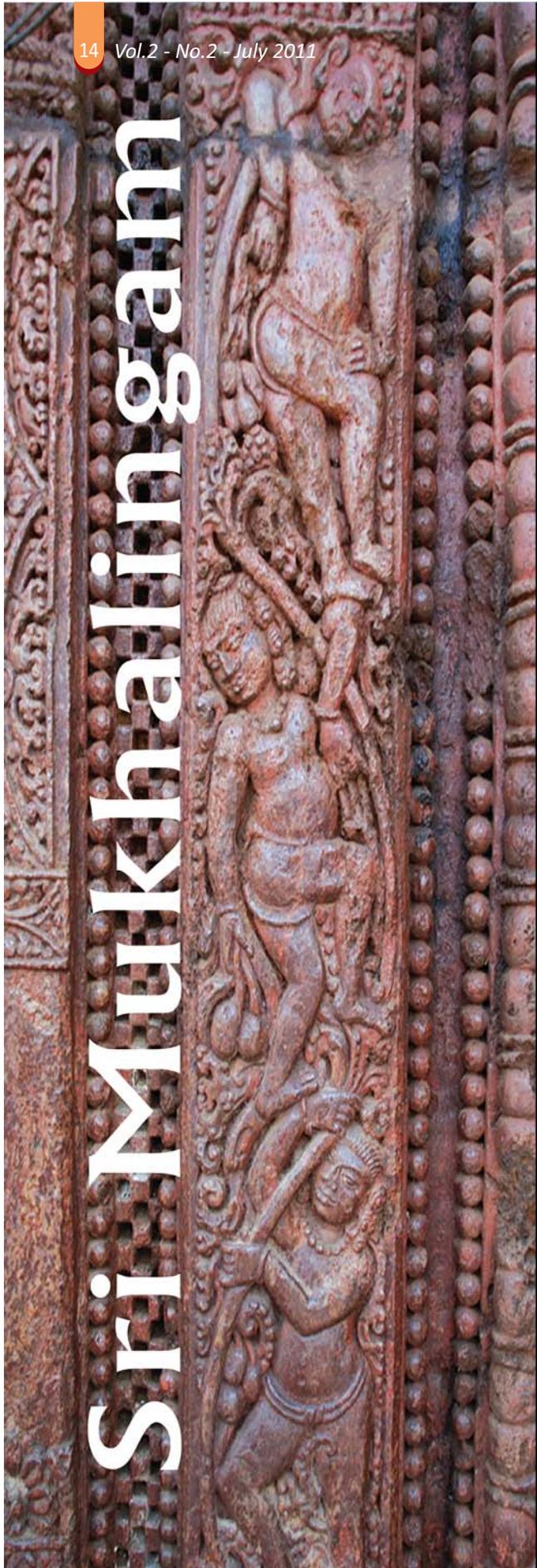
When we look at the history of events leading to 1962, and the decision taken by China to launch 1962, what we find is that, there are a combination of both internal and external drivers, which led to 1962. Before the attacks were launched China made certain key foreign policy decisions, it first neutralized USA, through Warsaw pact, where they got an assurance that there are no intentions from USA to enter into any kind of conflict with China on Taiwan issue. Secondly due to Cuban crisis, Soviet Union assured China of assistance if there are any conflicts between India and China. Having ensured both these important flanks, China took a decision to launch 1962. Therefore it is very important in now dealing with China that we must make certain, that kind of international isolation does not occur. In recent times we have seen that in 2005, during the visit of China's premier to India, we were able to achieve; China agreeing on the first ever document on settlement of boundary issues. This was possible for us because of India's own emergence economic, democratic and expanding military capability and the impact that these had on China and other countries. Therefore, it is very important for us to construct a set of relationships that give us alternatives and options in our relationships with China. Therefore, our linkages with East Asian countries, Naval relationship with countries like Indonesia, Japan, Australia play an important role in dealing with the emerging security situation in South East Asia and particularly with respect to India's relation with China.

China is very sensitive to its global growth and the changes that are taking place in international landscape. In that context, it sees that there are several international issues like climate change, international trade, G-20, and, in all these tactical alliances, it sees commonality with India. Therefore, while we are pursuing our agenda of competition with China, we should not forget that we have a certain amount of collaboration with China, on numerous issues. China certainly looks at India as an ally in numerous international forums, cognizant of the fact that India is an emerging economic power. Therefore, in areas where we have convergence of ideas, we should not deny ourselves working with China. Hence in our relationship with China, there are numerous facets, most noticeable being the facet of competition, concern of rising China's naval power and proxy support to Pakistan to keep India tethered in Indian Sub-Continent, as also on border issues.

In dealing with our perceptions regarding Chinese threats, we must do whatever it needs to be done to build our capabilities, as also look at all the opportunities in building a balanced relationship with China. One must not forget to look at the economic relationship that we have with China, amounting to 60 billion dollars of bilateral trade. The manufacturing community in China would definitely look at India as a lucrative economic partner. The challenge for us therefore is how to leverage that economic interest so as to impact favorably on a number of Indo-China issues.

I would conclude by saying that the more we are able to appreciate, the varied facets to the India – China relationship, the more we will be able to get away from the negative legacy. We need to look at 'India China relations' with a degree of confidence and assurance since India has the wherewithal to be a strong economic front ranking power in the next coming decade. If this seminar can look at these different dimensions and come up with a more comprehensive picture of our relationship with China, I think it would have done a great service. I wish all of you a great success in your discussions and once again thank the National Maritime Foundation and also Eastern Naval Command for organising this seminar.

Sri Mukhalingam



“Hindu architecture
is sculpted dance”

the **Madhukeswara temple**
is 'a dream in stone'

*in Srikakulam Dist.
North Andhra*





Concluding Address...

- Admiral (Retd) Arun Prakash

Chairman, National Maritime Foundation

I take this opportunity to convey my appreciation and gratitude to FOCINC East, V Adm Anup Singh, for having supported this very worthy endeavour. It couldn't have been done in better style than it has. Vizag is the Headquarters of Eastern Naval Command and is the sentinel of India's eastern littoral. Therefore it is a natural choice for becoming a centre of knowledge, expertise, data bank, for anything lying East of India, especially China. I hope this will be the beginning of an endeavour.

We have very poor institutional memory, we never make enough data, we know very little about China, who is bearing down on us, looming large on all our horizons. There are hardly any Mandarin speaking people in India, we don't study their history, we don't know their motivation and what makes them do whatever they are doing. On the other hand in China, there are thousands of scholars who speak our languages, know our history, geography, culture, and analyse what we do and predict, very often quite accurately what we are going to do. The same is not true of us, it is a cultural shortcoming, but we can try and make our foray.

I hope this will trigger a process by which if young people can absorb even 50% of what is said here, if it triggers the slightest interest in you, if it makes you read on the net, and google something or other that you have heard to day, I think we have done well.

Also, I hope this will be an ongoing process. I must also make mention of the Regional Director of NMF, Professor Prasanna Kumar, and the sterling services that he has rendered to this organization, and to the maritime cause. Self propelled, self motivated person that he is, he has rendered yeoman service and I am fully grateful to him and I would like to express my appreciation for it.

It is also heartening to see that we had in our midst, the GOG-IN-C Eastern Army Command and also the CINC Andaman and Nicobar Command. It's a good sign of joint-manship. It would have been really nice to have a proffering of light blue but I'm told that the Eastern Air Force Command had other preoccupations. Hopefully this will not be the last such event, there will be others, and hopefully they will be scheduled in Kolkata or Shillong.

According to the programme I am supposed to forecast the future prospects of Sino-Indian relations. I am not going to do any such thing because it is a very foolhardy endeavour to do crystal gazing and try and make future predictions, especially after so many experts have stood here and given us insight from where we should be able to draw our own conclusions.

But the question that hangs over us is that why do nations do what they do? And that question has remained unanswered for centuries. It is the aspirations of the long term motive of the nation that makes strategic assessments so difficult and risky. Motivations are generally derived, provided we have the assessment of the capabilities and their stated intentions. Intentions are what people say what they are going to do but stated intentions are invariably unreliable. Therefore analysts have to read between the lines and decision makers have to base their decisions on capabilities. We heard this being said more than once yesterday. Nowhere is this more true than in the case of China because China lacks transparency, it's a totally opaque system. Rather than get into the philosophy of international relations which is way above me, let me address a few issues which either came out here, in this auditorium or were brought out by officers whom I met during the tea break.

First of all, it was an officer in Olive Green who yesterday raised the question of what is the role of the Army if the Navy is going to do everything out at sea. Let me state a fundamental truth - the Navy used to have grand visions, and those of us who have read Mahan, will talk of sea control and power projection etc. But slowly it came to us, mainly due to Adm Raja Menon's writings and persuasions that the Indian Navy must come down to earth and realise the fact that wars are not won at sea. Wars are won on land. It is the armies of every nation who will win wars with boots on the ground. So whether it is sea control or command of the air or whatever you talk about, eventually it is the boots on the ground.

The Navy's doctrine and the strategy state that every operation that the Navy undertakes will have something or other to do with the Army. Supposing there is a confrontation with China – they are on the higher ground, they occupy the Tibetan Plateau, they have got tremendous communication within Tibet, TAR as they call it. What can the Indian Army possibly do even with the full support of the Indian Air Force. The Army will never be full strength there, because if there is something happening on the Eastern Front there will definitely be something happening on the Western Front, and vice-versa. So we will have two fronts. So what is likely to be achievable in the North East? Stalemate at the best. And therefore the Navy should come to the support and rescue of the army at that juncture.

A mention was made of 1962 yesterday. Ambassador Shyam Saran said rightly to the civilian audience that lets not get hung up on what happened in 62, lets move on, we're a different India

today. But also, its a different China today. As far as the Armed Forces are concerned, I don't think we should ever forget 1962 because it has sparked many lessons for us and we should remember the lessons even if we get over the humiliation of that episode. There was a huge intelligence failure, the intelligence community let us down very badly, they misled our politicians. The other issue of concern is that intelligence has repeatedly been letting us down. In Sri Lanka we were let down, in 1965 we were surprised, in 1999 we were surprised. The Kargil Review Committee pointed out that intelligence needed to be fixed. Then we had 26/11 and day before yesterday again we were surprised, somebody said it was not an intelligence failure, its because the terrorists operate in a very secretive manner. Obviously they will operate in a secret manner, they are not going to be overt about their intentions. So intelligence is one lesson we must take. Government had apathy towards national security prior to 62, then there was a little phase when they woke up and did something but this apathy is again recurrent. We meet a crisis and then go back to sleep again, but that's another lesson to be taken that we need to keep bringing home to our statesmen, to our bureaucracy, to our diplomats that national security is not an on-again-off-again kind of thing. We have to pursue national security as a continuum.

The Armed Forces do not participate in strategic decision making today, that has continued from 1947. Compromises are made now and then but it is still a big hole that needs to be fixed and that's one of the reasons why there are flaws in our national security. There are 17 commands in the Armed Forces, Army, Air Force and Navy, no two Commands are located in the same place. So if the Eastern theatre is to mount a joint operation, then somebody has to fly from Visakahpatnam to Kolkatta, somebody has to come from Shillong to Kolkatta or whatever, Chiefs of Staff or whatever. There are also many ways to plan a joint operation, if you don't plan jointly, you are heading for disaster, that is the crux of the matter today.

Somebody came on TV yesterday and said we are spending 5% of the budget, why is it that I and my children cannot walk on the streets of Mumbai without getting blown up. He is a common citizen on the street – he is right. We spent Rs 167,000 crores on the defence budget last year. Very soon, in five or six years it will be Rs 300,000 crores, but are we getting the security worth that much? We are not, because of the slack in our system.

We are very proud that we are buying 126 British or German or French aircraft, we are proud that Gorshkov is coming to us from Russia, an Akula is sailing down on lease, its nothing to be proud of. 64 years after independence we do not produce a single major weapon system. The audience pointed out that we don't make an internal combustion engine, why? Sheer slackness, intellectual lethargy. We have a huge Research and Development Organisation. Why have they not delivered any major weapon system? In 1952, when the Soviets were about to pull out from China, there was

a directive from the leadership to say that before the Soviets go home, make sure you steal every bit of technological information you can get, and did. In the next 35 years, China reverse engineered every single item that the Armed Forces needed, from an AK-47 rifle to a tank, a ballistic missile to a diesel submarine, a nuclear submarine to the whole series of MIG fighter and the bomber. We have produced 4000 tanks in our ordnance factories in the last 30 years but when it comes to making our own tank we are still struggling. We have produced MIG 21s, thousands of aero engines, MIG 23 & MIG 27s but have not been able to master the technology.

I was in Beijing a month ago. It was a bilateral talk at a Track 2 event. When we tried to raise the issue of nuclear confidence building measures, short of laughing at us they said why are you talking of nuclear weapons? We do not think of India as the nuclear threat. 'Our nuclear weapons deterrent' are meant for somebody else. They said, we have nothing to do with Pakistan. It took me by surprise that here we were a nuclear weapon state and they do not believe they need to talk to us. The fact is that china has handed over plans, drawings and material for nuclear weapons, tested these, given missiles and set up the entire nuclear arsenal of Pakistan. This has never happened before ever, even the USA did not do this for the UK, making it a unique transaction in history. By setting up Pakistan as a nuclear weapon state China pushed us to become a nuclear power also. They have destabilised the sub-continent for many decades to come, and have disregarded India's vital interest. We need to think why China has done this in the sub-continent. They continue to supply conventional weapons to Pakistan. We need to ponder on this – why does China talk of Arunachal Pradesh, why do they protest when the Indian Prime Minister visits Arunachal Pradesh. There is a huge Chinese presence in Pakistan occupied Kashmir, there are Chinese soldiers who have changed the contours of the Sino – Indian border. I am not scare mongering or trying to create panic. We should look at China with our eyes open.

In the maritime sector, there are three or four factors that I wish to remind you. Professor A Prasanna Kumar brought out the decline of US power. US naval power will decline because ships are expensive while their economy is going down, they are not able to shoulder the responsibility that they were doing till now. In fact in 2005 Admiral Mike Mullen had mooted the proposal of a thousand ship Navy and he was looking for help from allies. The maritime space which is slowly being vacated by the US has to be filled up by the others. Definitely China is going to be there, India is going to be there, non state actors will be there, but we have to keep in mind that as the space is vacated by the US Navy, China is going to become a big player. It is not illegal or illegitimate, Chinese presence is to be expected.

One of the reasons is that China has huge economic disparities. When I was in Beijing for a

few days, I saw only Mercedes vans, Lexus etc. The taxi I drove in was new Mercedes. When I tried to find out how a taxi driver could buy a car that costs Rs 30 lacs in my country, I could not get an answer out of him, his English was not good enough. They have created a prosperous middle class, but from what I hear, there are other classes and sections of society that are deprived. So the Chinese Government is now obliged to bring everybody up to a certain level, to avoid social problems. This requires a sustained double digit GDP growth, supported by uninterrupted energy flow. This is the key reason why their maritime power must grow. Their shipbuilding industry is growing by leaps and bounds, shipping is growing, Chinese flagged merchant ships have increased in large numbers. There are the regions reasons why the Chinese Navy must grow. It will come out into the IOR when they have sorted out the first island chain. Then, the Chinese Navy will be free to forge into the high seas and I think we will see the PLA Navy in the Indian Ocean. I'm not predicting that China will be a threat. Is a conflict inevitable? I don't think so. It doesn't make any sense for China to go to war. However, it could happen due to miscalculation, overconfidence, or just if someday thinks he can get away with it. So you could have conflict and our job is to be prepared, if there is conflict.

Finally, I think I must put to you two theories of international relations, which I found quite fascinating. First is called the Hegemonic Stability theory which says that the international system will remain more stable if there is a hegemon. A hegemon is somebody who dominates everything around him. When there is a single hegemon the system remains more stable than when there are three or four hegemony. The other theory is called the Long Cycle theory propounded by George Modelski. By looking back about five hundred years he cites the example of Portugal, the Netherlands, Britain and postulates that hegemonic bubbles occur in a series of cycles. Countries come up and then they go down with each cycle being approximately a hundred years. According to his analysis, the US was the present hegemon and past hegemon, USA has now peaked, and therefore it is logical that some other hegemon will come up. I think it is also inevitable that China will become the hegemon. This is a fact that we have to accept and prepare for. What options do we have, how can we accelerate our growth, get our act together, generate more money, build up our Armed Forces so that we can match China.

Another alternative is we find allies either bigger or smaller than us so that we have a lot of friends who can collectively stand up to China. If that is not acceptable to our diplomatic postures then what I can suggest is to hold water, make sure there is no conflict, and give ourselves some breathing space. Our economy will in about 30 or 40 years put us in a position where we can assert ourselves.

Thank you, Jai Hind.

a tribal woman of north Andhra...



...displaying her skill
in making toys



Excerpts from some presentations at the Seminar

Shifting Balance of Power in Asia

- RAdm (Retd) K Raja Menon, Mentor NMF

The greatest mistake India could make is to give the impression that Chinese entry into the Indian Ocean is a matter of no consequence. Of course under peace condition PLAN presence in the Indian Ocean cannot be contested. But Beijing must be clear that in times of tension and hostilities the Indian navy is too formidable to play around with. To give this impression the Indian Navy also needs its own strategy. What could make a Chinese naval presence in the Indian ocean untenable is maritime air strike, long range missile forces and attack nuclear submarines, all operating under superior satellite based maritime domain awareness. If we fritter away our money on other things we certainly will not frighten the Chinese. At the same time there is no suggestion that we should be offensive in our language. The Chinese can make their own calculations, so without using offensive language we must build up a blue water sea control and sea denial capability that is so visible that both the Chinese and the nations in Asia can make their own calculations. Lastly what we cannot do because of limited resources we have to make good by leveraging foreign policy. The British won the Falkland war because they had access to satellite surveillance from the United States. In this area I am mystified as to why we have failed to sign the enabling agreement with the United States like logistics agreement and communication agreement when we are confronted by a country whose GDP is three times ours and growing faster than us.

***The distinguished gathering offered warm greetings to
Shri Raja Menon on his birthday on July 14.***

Excerpts from some presentations at the Seminar

Responding to China's Rise : India's Policy Challenges



- Dr. C. Raja Mohan

Senior Fellow, Centre for Policy Research

We need both internal balancing and external balancing of China. In order to deal with China's rising power, India must concentrate on internal balancing which would mean strengthening yourself; strengthen your capabilities and economic power so that you can deal with rising threats. Internal balancing is about strengthening one's own defence and industrial capabilities and full mobilisation of domestic resources to counter the China challenge. In a strategy of external balancing, India will have to pool its resources with those of other powers to limit the Chinese dominance of Asia and the world. This in turn raises a number of questions for India—the question of alliances with small and big powers, tension between defending its traditional sphere of influence and seeking new ones, military and economic diplomacy, reclaiming primacy in the subcontinent, promoting a stable Asian balance, and gaining a say in the management of the global order. External balancing would mean, pool in powers with other countries, so that you increase your own power to deal with challenges of China's rising power.

Dr Raja Mohan studied at Andhra University in the early seventies and obtained the

M.Sc degree in Nuclear Physics. Visiting Vizag for the first time, almost four decades after that,

the renowned expert and analyst on strategic affairs found time to visit his alma mater during his three day stay at Vizag.

Excerpts from some presentations at the Seminar



Indian & Chinese Influence in South Asia

- Shri B Raman

Director, Centre for China Studies, Chennai

India must harness inherent strengths to improve strategic ties with neighboring countries. For example, we improve trading relations with neighboring countries by giving them concessions or avoid taking rigid decisions concerning our neighbours, which can be detrimental to long term relationships. Overall aim must be to improve strategic ties with countries of South Asian regions by offering India as a lucrative trading market. Also, we could exploit our strength in imparting education in South East Asian region. In respect of soft power, we are far ahead of China and many of the countries from South East Asian regions look up to India. We need to use our soft power to strengthen our strategic presence in South East Asia.



Latest Trends in China's Ground and Nuclear Forces Modernisation

Brig (Retd) Arun Sehgal

Senior Fellow, Institute for Peace and Conflict Studies

Chinese nuclear weapons program has been expanding, in terms of delivery platforms as well as fissile material. The mainstay of Chinese nuclear deterrence are the long, medium range ballistic missiles. An anti-ship ballistic missile is under development with a claimed range of about 4000 km (CEP of 1-3 m). Delivery platforms under production/ development are the 094 Jin class submarines with JL12, SLBMs and possibly the type 096 submarines with more advanced ballistic missile system with respect to India. The relevance is of comparative capabilities of Chinese missiles deployed in Tibet/ Junan / Hainan; from where the East coast or central India is within striking distance. Our capacity to hit population centers or to degrade capabilities on the East coast of China is limited due to range constraints.

Excerpts from some presentations at the Seminar



Chinese and Indian Economic Trajectory: Future Prospects

- Dr Zorawar Daulat Singh
Centre for Policy Alternatives

Is the dragon running out of steam? We certainly have signs where the structural growth rates in China are beginning to slow down. Structural pressure will be magnified on China because of the simple reason that it had in a sense, given the intent, positioned itself as a hub and developed large scale operations on its East Coast. Any slowdown will have a further impact on its own unemployment and the capacity that is being build up. Today the Chinese leadership is focusing on the readjustment process by increasing the share of consumption and lowering the share of investments. However, there is a lot of resistance for this process in provincial regions of China, who do not want to disrupt the cosy crony capitalist economy that they have created. I will just give you an example of how difficult this transition will be. It is estimated that if US savings rate were to rise by just 5% then the reciprocal impact in China would imply that the consumption will have to rise to 17% of its GDP. So an extraordinary amount of adjustment is required over the next 10 years. China also faces the prospect of dollar denominated reserve loosing value over the next decade. This is the reason that it no longer controls what happens in the US economy. What happens after the Beijing stimulus effects are exhausted. This is where we the current debate is centered. But certainly the prospects of China facing dual demand short, where domestically the bubble in a sense faces slow down and there is no external demand pickup. I would argue that contrary to the popular perception that the global economic crisis has actually exposed the buildup of imbalances in China economic system and this is going to be extremely challenging phase in the next 5 to 10 years, how China's leadership transitions towards more regionally or domestically oriented economy.



The 'fishermen's village' may have been transformed into a modern city but its coastline continues to bustle with fishing activity. Along the Vizag coast there are 62 fishermen's villages with a marine fishermen population of 1,10,000 of whom 28,464 are active fishermen. There is a large fleet of vessels in operation ranging from the modern well equipped vessels to the old country boats with 701 mechanized boats, 982 motorized boats and 251 traditional craft. During 2007-2008 Vizag recorded a total catch of 55,907 tonnes of which 49,448 were fish and 6459 prawns. Among the institutional facilities provided are 35 fish lending centers 71 fishermen cooperative societies and 29 fisherwomen cooperative societies. AP Fisheries Development Corporation oversees the fishing operations with the Marine Product Development Authority promoting exports. With Visakhapatnam as the main player Andhra Pradesh accounts for Rs 2500 crores of the Rs 7000 worth exports of marine products from India.



*the catch on way to the market
at the Vizag fishing harbour*



Two decades of India's Look East Policy

India's Look East Policy initiated in 1991, enabled India not only to (re)engage with Southeast Asia, but also its extended neighbourhood of East Asia, over the last two decades. Southeast Asia is both historically and culturally close to India, that was only artificially kept aloof due to two geopolitical factors, first, caught in the time warps of the colonial legacy before independence, and second, the cold war equations, after the second world war. The context for India's (re)engagement with the east, is the new geopolitical dynamics that unfolded in the post cold war era, a defining moment of a changing paradigm of the international system governed by the new wave of globalization and emerging multi-polarity.

India's constructive economic and strategic engagement with South East Asia and East Asia finds expression in its association with various regional groupings and forums in the region, such as ASEAN, ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TAC), ASEAN Defence Ministers' Meeting (ADMM+8) Forum, Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC), the Mekong-Ganga Cooperation (MGC) and, the East Asia Summit (EAS).

The admission of new countries to ASEAN during the post cold war period (Vietnam in 1995, Laos in 1997, Myanmar in 1997 and, Cambodia in 1999), brought ASEAN to the doorsteps of India. India's bilateral trade with ASEAN countries has grown from US\$ 2.4 billion in 1990 to US\$ 44.66 billion in 2008-09. By 2008-09, India- China trade in goods stood at US\$41.8 billion. China and India will continue to be competitors, but also increasingly important collaborators for sustainable development.

The ambit of India's engagement with the east has found new expression with the establishment of the ASEAN Defence Ministers' Meeting Plus Eight (ADMM+8) forum, comprising ASEAN plus the six members of the East Asia Summit — China, Japan, the Republic of Korea, India, Australia and New Zealand — and also the US and Russia as key stakeholders. India signed the comprehensive economic partnership agreement (CEPA) with South Korea, and free trade agreement with Japan recently. Today, India sees her growing engagement with East Asia, as building blocs of a broader Asian Grouping to serve as an 'arc of advantage, peace and shared prosperity in Asia'.



Dr. MV Lakshmi

is Professor of Geopolitics and International Business at GITAM School of International Business, GITAM University.



Dr. B. Meena Rao

is Professor of International Studies & India's Foreign Policy, at the Dept. of Politics and Public Administration, Andhra University.

Closing Remarks



- Cmde (Retd) Uday Bhaskar

Director, NMF

At all our interactions, whether at Delhi or Chennai or here in Visakhapatnam we have tried to invite and include schools. In Delhi for instance, we have a few schools which are part of the NMF system and they participate regularly in our seminars/ conferences. We have done a similar thing in Chennai and I am delighted that now in Vizag, courtesy of the Eastern Naval Command, we have been able to invite schools for this particular event. Over the last three days, we have had three schools – the Timpany School, the Naval School and Sainik School, Korukonda. It has also been one of my principle objectives to involve not just the Armed Forces but also academia, civil society, and I hope the industry at some point.

Admiral Prakash drew a line to Modelski, now I do not know how many of the younger officers here have actually heard of Modelski or have read Modelski. If you have not, I take the liberty of urging the ENC to perhaps get ten copies of Modelski and Sea Power and distribute it. He does a survey of five hundred years of sea power, and I would urge you all to read it and discuss it, and see it's contemporary relevance. Admiral Prakash has just given me the permission to announce the equivalent of NMF Award for the best written essay on Modelski in particular. So this year we will work on Modelski, next year we will work on Sea Power and I hope the Eastern Naval Command will be able to help us in taking this further.

Along with this, the other suggestion that I have is that we have made a small reader that is quite useful for those of you who are trying to get an understanding in the sense that we have culled from interesting articles on China and East. Please write to us, keep the forum alive, share your thoughts with us but do not breach any of the intelligence or security requirements. Finally in the same breath I do want to add to the thanks that have been conveyed, but I am sure that some of you have noticed the aesthetics with which this whole conference has been put together.

Technological Transitions from Wind blown to Fuel drawn...



The trajectory of change in Maritime Communities of North Coastal Andhra Pradesh



- **Prof. P.Vijaya Prakash**

Member, National Maritime Foundation
Visakhapatnam Regional Chapter
and Research Project Director

The NMF Visakhapatnam
Regional Chapter has taken up

a pilot project sponsored by the Visakhapatnam Port Trust on *Traditional Maritime Knowledge*. Preliminary results of the study have revealed manifold understandings towards changing lifestyles and living standards of maritime communities. There are perceptible changes consequent to the advent of mechanization and globalization in some facets of their life. Most of them are technology driven than need based. Erstwhile, in fishing economy, they used to have eco-friendly navigation by sail-boat, blown by wind but now we have fuel drawn diesel engine boats. Earlier (3-4 decades ago) fish harvest was on indigenous traditional technologies with local investment for the domestic market, as against the mechanized technologies functioning on capital intensive corporate organizations for international exports. Hitherto the coastal waters were used as traditional training grounds, where the children used to learn and adapt to maritime conditions and knowledge. Unfortunately now increase in pollution and decrease in fish population have altered their living conditions.

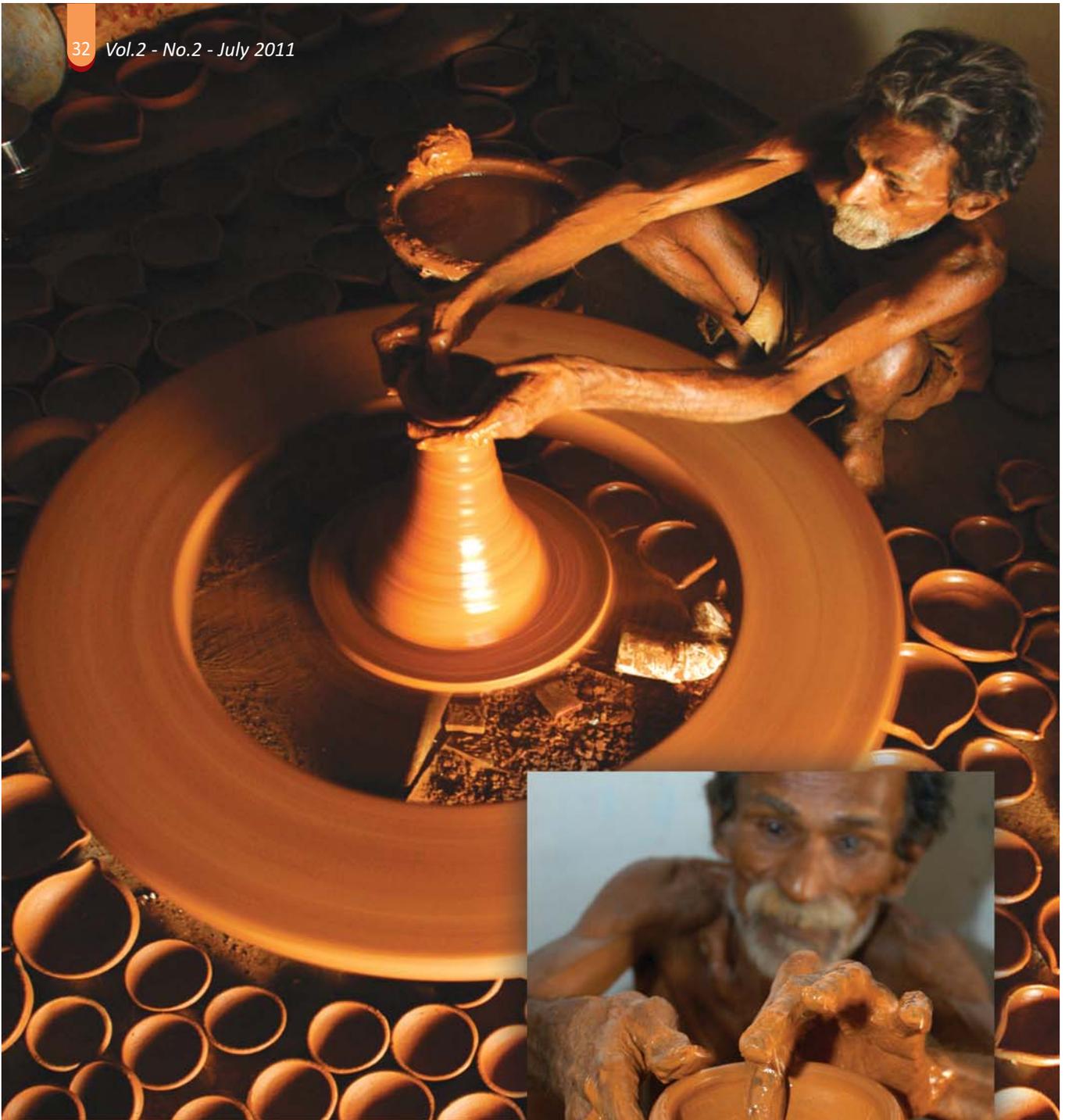
The Research Project on Traditional Maritime Knowledge in the three north Andhra coastal districts undertaken by Prof P.Vijaya Prakash and his team with generous financial support provided by Chairman Visakhapatnam Port Trust Shri Ajeya Kallam, IAS, is nearing completion. Hopefully the work will be extended to the other six coastal districts of Andhra Pradesh, India's largest maritime state.

...Eight hundred year old inscriptions

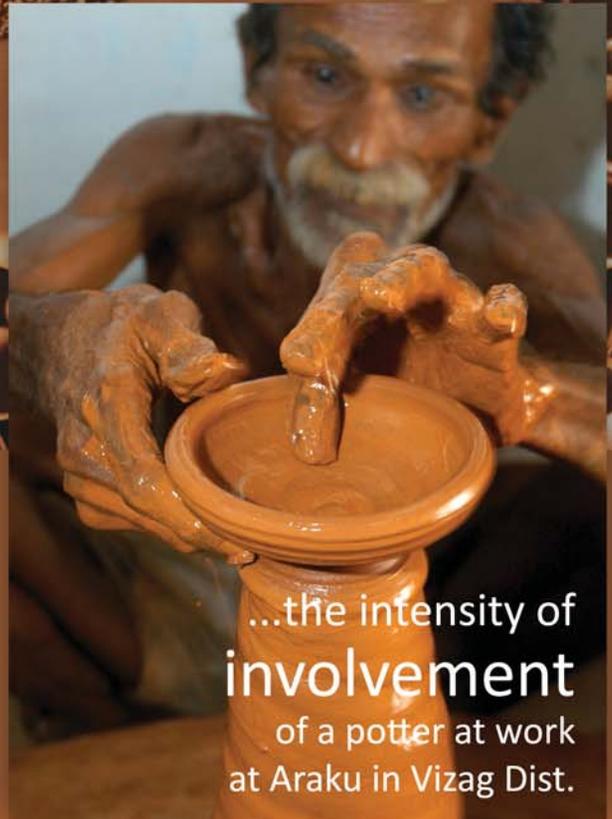


Srikurmam temple...

14.5 km from Srikakulam, in north Andhra, known for its architectural beauty has 12th century A.D. onwards inscriptions.



*The timeless potter's
wheel... the hands that
convert clay into
wheel shape the world.*



...the intensity of
involvement
of a potter at work
at Araku in Vizag Dist.



*Newspaper Report on
NMF Director Cmde Uday Bhaskar's lecture
organized by the Vizag Regional chapter on
February 7, 2011*

**Paradigm Shift needed : expert
'Gap between US and China narrowing'**

VISAKHAPATNAM: A huge paradigm shift is needed in decision making and policy making for India to be on par with the US and China, Director of National Maritime Foundation and Defence analyst C. Udaya Bhaskar said. Speaking on the topic "India, China and the US" at a lecture meeting organised by the local chapter of NMF, Cmde. Udaya Bhaskar pointed out the fact that among the top three economic powers, the gap between the No.1 US and No. 2 China was narrowing and China might overtake the US by 2020 while the gap between China and No. 3 India was more and also increasing and our country might remain a distant third.

Liberalisation policy

In the area of spending on defence, India's was just 36.6 billion dollars compared to 664 billion dollars by the US and 98.8 billion dollars by China (according to 2009 figures). Thus, though India was a large democracy and a major economic power, decision making and policy making should be changed to catch up with the US and China. China was not a democracy and India was superior to that country in this aspect, he pointed out. India should ensure a corruption-free institutional support to its large young population toward making the country a global power, the analyst said. During the talk, he also said that India had rectified some of its earlier mistakes and the late P.V. Narasimha Rao introducing liberalisation policy when he was Prime Minister was an important development. Regional Director of NMF and former Rector of Andhra University A. Prasanna Kumar introduced the topic of the lecture. Flag Officer Commanding-in-Chief of Eastern Naval Command Anup Singh released the annual news letter of NMF and the bimonthly newsletter of Centre for Policy Studies.

(Courtesy : The Hindu, February 8, 2011)

Book on Ancient Andhra Maritime History

- Prof. Mrs. B.Parvathi



Prof. Mrs. B.Parvathi has translated into English, the 1923 work in Telugu by Shri Bhavaraju Venkata Krishna Rao on the Ancient Andhra Maritime History, an arduous task accomplished with patience, diligence and efficiency.

“The Maritime History of the Ancient Andhra is a translation of Pracheenandhra Nauka Jeevana Charitramu by Sri Bhavaraju Venkata Krishna Rao, B.A., B.L. The author of the work Sri Venkata Krishna Rao had stated in his preface that he felt an inner compulsion to write the book on reading Prof. Radhakumuda Mukherjee’s Indian Shipping and Maritime Activity from the Earliest Times. What caused this inner urge was the bare mention of the contribution of the people of ancient Andhra to the glory and wealth of India in Prof. Mukherjee’s Indian Shipping. The publishers of Pracheenandhra Nauka Jeevana Charitramu namely, Jatiya Saraswatha Nilayamu of Rajahmundry, devoted to the promotion of literature, culture and history, brought out Pracheenandhra Nauka Jeevana Charitramu by Sri Venkata Krishna Rao in 1923.

But what I can say with satisfaction is that it has certainly been a very interesting undertaking for me because here a chance has come not for me merely but to the uninformed general reader to reclaim the wealth of knowledge about a past that lies buried in the sands of time and national amnesia. So much of our past is lost sight of and what is within sight is slighted by the mediocrity of both a pre and post independent colonial mindset! I was excited many a time while rendering the book into English because it was a discovery of those small places of our times which were at one time epoch making centres! and the classification of ships, the various ordinances issued by kings for the regulation and promotion of sea commerce etc. (citing literary and inscriptional evidence) took me on a respectful virtual trip to a reality of the past of the Andhras -from the times of the Satavahanas to the seventeenth century.

The book is valuable for being the first of its kind from a son of the soil about a generally little known aspect of ancient Andhra period. Considering the times in which was written 1923 – a time when nationalism was on the rise and people needed something to hold on to, to know and look up to a past, this book in Telugu must have served its purpose in throwing a glimmer of light in an otherwise gloomy atmosphere of national humiliation. My job in translating this book was not easy mainly because this is a book on history, not literature – the discipline of my training. The awkwardness of some expressions and syntax are partly my own and partly due to following the writing style of almost a century ago which, I believe, needs to be carried over into its present form in English lest its age old scent be lost.



Grateful thanks to **Cmde (Retd) C. Uday Bhaskar**

We cannot adequately thank Cmde Uday Bhaskar for his support and guidance without which our Regional Chapter would not have had such a smooth take-off. It was he who involved us in launching the Visakhapatnam Regional Chapter in September 2009. Emboldened by his expert advice and convinced by his persuasive skill we ventured to undertake the responsibility of starting the Visakhapatnam Regional Chapter of the National Maritime Foundation. The encouragement of Chairman Admiral Arun Prakash and Director Cmde Uday Bhaskar, the dynamism and guidance of Vice Admiral Anup Singh, the support of Shri Ajeya Kallam, IAS Chairman Visakhapatnam Port Trust and the cooperation of our colleagues have been a source of strength to us during the last two years. Cmde Uday Bhaskar has throughout been our 'Captain Cool' leading the team with ability and dignity.

Vizag feels proud of this son of the soil. Born in Vizag and educated in local schools Uday Bhaskar studied in Sainik School at nearby Korukonda before gravitating to Delhi for higher studies. The much-sought after analyst and expert on strategic affairs seldom rejected requests to deliver public lectures in Vizag during his visits to the Eastern Naval Command. He endeared himself to Vizagites with his scholarship, analytical skills and above all disarming humility. Members of the Visakhapatnam Regional Chapter join me in conveying our grateful thanks to Cmde Uday Bhaskar and best wishes for his good health, long life and many more years of service to NMF.

- A.Prasanna Kumar



Seminar at

Samudrika

NAVY AUDITORIUM



Standing (L to R) : Dr. C. Raja Mohan, Cdr KK Agnihotri, Brig (Retd) Arun Sahgal, Prof. A.Prasanna Kumar, Cdr SN Krishnan,

Radm MT Moraes AVSM, Cdr GS Khurana, WG CDR Sanjay Poduval

Sitting (L to R) : Cmde (Retd.) C. Uday Bhaskar VSM, Shri Shakti Sinha, Shri Shyam Saran, Adm (Retd.) Arun Prakash PVSM, AVSM, VRC, VSM, ADC, V Adm Anup Singh PVSM, AVSM, NM, ADC, Lt Gen Bikram Singh UYSM, AVSM, SM, VSM, ADC,

Lt Gen NC Marwah AVSM, Radm (Retd.) K. Raja Menon VSM, Shri B. Raman