# DEFENCE & SECURITY REVIEW

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GEOPOLITICS, GREAT GAMES AND INDIA

From Non-alignment to Strategic Stabilizer: The Indian Mind is Getting De-cluttered in an Evolving Global Disorder

DEBA R MOHANTY, DSR, APRIL 05, 2022

ey actors in global politics appear to be receiving conflicting signals from India's position on the Ukrainian imbroglio every passing day. A few pointers are in order for further consideration. First, India has abstained from voting against Russia at the United Nations at least twice in the past, pleasing the Russians with its tacit support. At the same time, its latest abstinence at the UN actually went against Russia, making the Russians curious about Indian intents. Although Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov's latest visit to India may not fathom India's latest move, the visit appears to revolve around more tricky issues like rupeerouble trade arrangements, SPFS (Russian alternative to SWIFT) - UPI (Indian version of payment gateway) transaction possibilities, payment



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facilitation of USD 1.3 billion 'committed liabilities' (Indian milestone payments) for past military hardware purchases or even a probable Rupee-Yuan-Rouble model to dodge possible sanctions. Vocal criticism notwithstanding, India has been toying with different possibilities to maximize its economic interests and mitigate resultant risks from war.

Second, India's approach toward the Ukraine situation in the past few weeks has baffled at least four major players – US, EU, Russia and China – in different ways. In the diplomatic domain, India's position has been steadily ambivalent from the beginning - a source of major discomfort for all players, except for Russia. During the initial days, US and major European states had pleaded with India to play an active role in diffusing the conflict situation by speaking to Russian President Vladimir Putin, with whom Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi enjoys a very cordial personal relationship. Modi spoke to both Putin and Ukrainian President Zelensky on different occasions. However, talks revolved around evacuation mechanisms and humanitarian assistance with Zelensky and adhering to peaceful resolutions through negotiations with Putin. As time passed, pleadings by the US started turning into assertive yet shuttle threats like branding India's stand as 'shaky' by the US President Joe Biden or 'there will be consequences for countries that actively attempt to circumvent or backfill sanctions against Russia' by the visiting US Deputy National Security Advisor Daleep Singh. In between, foreign ministers of Australia, the UK and other countries have shown regrets over the Indian approach. China has kept mum on India all these weeks, while its foreign minister Wang Yi recently paid an unscheduled visit to India. Again, India's stand on Ukraine has been interpreted differently by

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different players, to say the least.

Third, while Indian foreign minister S Jaishankar has been vocal throughout in rebutting Western position by asserting India's position as consistent and based on sound principles, he has been equally brutal in reminding the West about Europe's continuing energy purchases and mincing no words in conveying the Chinese Foreign Minister that unless border issues are resolved, India will not budge from its stated position. The Indian central bank and Ministry of Finance have been toying with different ideas and mechanisms to manage larger economic fallouts and financial transactions with an increasingly isolated Russia in the domestic sphere. West appears furious when it gets to know that unpolished Russian diamonds are finding ways into India, in which payments are made in Euro or when Russia offers India a discount of up to 35 percent from the market price on oil. The fact is that unless sanctions are circumvented with concrete evidence, there is little that the West can do to countries like India. China's avowed opposition to Western stance on Russia as well as bitter criticism of Quad by a



new nomenclature 'Asian NATO' has become headaches for the US and others. When the West argues that Russia would not be a reliable supplier of military hardware or take a definitive stance against China in case the India-China border standoff turns further complicated, or for that matter, China would pay a heavy price if it supports Russia in any eventual confrontationist scenario, India has tacitly conveyed to the West that neither it relies on Russia for any support nor it cares much about threats from China.

It is interesting to observe that while the geo-economic, geo-political and geo-strategic scenarios are getting murkier in coming times with chaos overwhelming the current fragile global order, where power calculations and equations are going haywire with no clear picture emerging, India's stance, actions and intents are getting de-cluttered. Its stance is clear: it wants peace through a peaceful resolution to the Ukrainian conflict

through dialogue. Its actions are pragmatic: while it loses no time in sending goods for humanitarian purposes, it is preparing for meeting the economic consequences of war through pragmatic steps. Its strategic intents connote clarity in the otherwise grey zone of geopolitics: it intends to play an autonomous role and is not afraid to succumb to pulls and pressures; it is flexible enough to change course as and when required, and it is determined to protect its national interests. Symbolic or otherwise, Prime Minister Modi's call for Atmanirbhar Bharat (self-reliant India), call for deepened regional cooperation (reference: Modi's address to BIMSTEC meet recently), and call for preparing the country to face unintended consequences of the global disorder are evidence of an India, who is not hesitant to abandon non-alignment but eager to embrace a quasi-alignment model, where Modi can call Putin a true friend, dodge Biden's bitter words through Jaishankar's vociferous defence and maintain composure vis-à-vis Xi Jinping.

A de-cluttered national mind has already moved from non-alignment. It may probably attain a great power status in coming times through indigenous might from within and a strategic stabilizing player from without. Ukraine's situation provides a fertile ground for validating India's global power ambitions.

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### BRIEF: No.1 **NATIONAL SECURITY**

### **Landscaping Indian Unmanned Systems Manufacturing**

### **DEBA R MOHANTY**

**DSR** 

ormer Secretary of the US Navy, Ray Mabus, in April 2015, had said that Lockheed Martin manufactured F-35 Joint Strike Fighter (JSF) will 'almost certainly be the last human-crewed strike fighter aircraft the Department of the Navy will ever buy or fly,' signalling a transition from manned to unmanned systems by arguing that 'unmanned systems, particularly autonomous ones, have to be the new normal in coming times'. Long before Mabus, the then Defence Secretary Leon



Development Organisation for the Indian Armed Forces.

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Panetta, under Barak Obama administration in 2011, had written obituaries of both F-22 Raptor and F-35 JSF. In March 2020, celebrated innovator and entrepreneur Elon Musk declared before a USAF audience that the era of the fighter jet 'had passed'. He said 'drone warfare is where the future will be. It's not that I want the future to be – it's just, this is what the future will be.' (CNBC February 28, 2020). It was not the cost-prohibitive nature of manufacturing large human-operated systems the main reason for their demise. The military combat technologies were transforming into more precision-induced autonomous unmanned domains with futuristic unmanned combat aerial vehicles (UCAVs) or unmanned underwater aerial vehicles (UUAVs) already demonstrating their combat effectiveness vis-à-vis manned systems. While big birds still fly, smaller ones have started swarming the sky as well.



ADAMYA: Autonomous Underwater Vehicles (AUVs), L&T, DefExpo 2020.

While different versions of unmanned systems - popularly known as 'drones' for civilian or dual uses or 'combat drones' for exclusive military use - had already been used by many armed forces worldwide, India was obviously not oblivious to such systems. While at least 24 types of UAVs and UCAVs are in a different stage of development by DRDO in partnerships with foreign companies like Israeli Aerospace Industry (IAI) or Indian companies like Adani Defence or IdeaForge, the propeller for the recent thrust on indigenous drone manufacturing is partially attributable to increasing numbers and instances of drones found or eliminated by the Indian security forces that were delivering drugs and weapons into the Indian territory. It is learnt that such drones would deliver contraband goods and arms across the whole border from Gujarat to Jammu and Kashmir in no time. Instances of drone use by the Chinese have been taken note of. The Indian government is also concerned about the possibility of the same problem proliferating not only in western or northern border areas but also in northeast India. This has not only prompted a national effort in designing and manufacturing drone technologies but also in anti-drone technologies and systems. Primary security considerations are also blended with wide civilian uses of drones, which has led India to attempt an indigenous route to manufacture for

Indian military and civilian uses and aim to become a major player in the global drone supply chain.

In March 2021, the Indian Ministry of Civil Aviation came out with Unmanned Aerial Systems (UAS) Rules. Deliberations have been going on within relevant ministries for more clarity and effectiveness of such rules. Except for DRDO or ADA (Aeronautical Development Agency), which have some foreign collaborations, most private sector participants are now gearing up for collaborative partnerships with foreign companies and forging ties with different scientific R&D institutions, even with young individual innovators. Skylark Drone from Bengaluru has bagged small projects from the Indian Army in the past, while there are about 211 startups engaged in different aspects of drone manufacturing. Some prominent smaller and startup players include IdeaForge, Skylark, TartanSense, HuvAir, AUS, IoTech World, Hindustan UAV Systems, General Aeronautics, etc. It is estimated that close to USD 3 billion has already been invested by prominent investors like Infosys or Blackrock and more than 300 venture capitalists and angel investors. Big players like Tata, Adani and DCM Shriram are already in the field, while medium and small players like InfoEdge, Paras, Rattan Indian Enterprises, Zen Technologies and many more are now investing heavily in this domain. Rattan India announced recently that it would invest INR 100 crore in drone manufacture.

Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi recently inaugurated the 'Kisan Drone Yatra', organized by Garuda Aerospace Private Limited, to symbolize the importance of drones for civilian markets. INR 120 crore has already been earmarked for the Performance Linked Incentive (PLI)scheme for the drone industry, which is likely to grow up to INR 300 crore in the next few years. The government's seriousness in encouraging indigenous drone manufacturing is evident when it recently scrapped a lucrative USD 3 billion deal for 30 Predator drones from the US, imposed a ban on the acquisition of drones from foreign sources (except for military and security purposes, which will be decided on a case to case basis) and incentivized Indian industries for capability development in all unmanned technologies.

Indian intent is clear — to achieve self-reliance in drone technologies and manufacturing. The success of intents would depend on how all the stakeholders take it forward.

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#### BRIEF: No.2

#### **Bilateral Relations**

### LOCATING AUSTRALIA IN INDIA'S STRATEGIC CALCULUS

#### **DEBAR MOHANTY**

n the presence of Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi and Australian Prime Minister Scott Morrison, Indian Minister of Commerce and Industry Piyush Goyal and Australian Trade Minister Dan Tehan signed an interim trade agreement on April 2, 2022, at the signing ceremony of the India-Australia Economic Cooperation and Trade Agreement. Minister Goyal hailed the agreement and said

bilateral trade between the two nations would jump from the current USD 27 billion to nearly \$50 billion over the next five years, covering most of the goods and services traded under liberalized tariffs between both countries. This is the first such trade pact with a developed country as the Indian Prime Minister hailed the deal by saying, 'this is a watershed moment for our bilateral relations .... together, we will be able to increase the resilience of supply chains and contribute to the stability of the Indio-Pacific region'(Economic Times, April 3).

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Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi and Australian Prime Minister Scott Morrison

About five weeks back, both countries had agreed to sign this agreement, which would be converted into a full-fledged Comprehensive Economic Cooperation Agreement (CECA) in the next 12 to 18 months as a logical next step forward. With liberalized tariff model in place, the number of items for mutual trade will increase from the current areas like textiles, mining, pharmaceuticals, education, renewables, railways, tourism, defence and others. India will likely allow Australia market access for coal, mineral ore, wines and agricultural products. At the same time, Australia has hinted that it will not engage in sensitive spheres like dairy, beef, wheat, rice, sugar, iron ore and medical devices. While fine prints of this agreement and their consequent results are likely to see some procedural hiccups from both sides, such bottlenecks will eventually be sorted out by bureaucracies from both sides as they need each other in economic and security spheres for achieving larger strategic goals.

This agreement will boost economic ties and cultural bonding. It is also embedded with critical strategic underpinnings that need careful examination. First, a 'watershed moment' in bilateral relations, from an Indian prism, goes beyond trade and economics to a regional strategic landscape where India and Australia have a common headache called China. The intensity of mutual economic cooperation invariably leads to a confluence of aligned self-interests. For example, India is currently embarking on an ambitious semiconductor manufacturing capacity building, which attracts global giants and intends to collaborate with R&D institutions, where institutes like Sydney Nano Institute and others can always be a part of the Indian semiconductor eco-system. Fields like electronic hardware, infrastructure, capital goods, and medical devices are where Australian investment can come from, while Indians can source mining, coal and metals from Australia. Of utmost importance to the Indians would be strategic source minerals like titanium, zirconium, tantalum, antimony, cobalt, lithium, manganese ore, niobium, tungsten and vanadium, of which Australia has one of the largest deposits in each.

Second, the resilience of supply chains can be tested by both countries not only in terms of goods and services but, more importantly, by ensuring trouble-free sea-lane communication for transportation and logistics. This otherwise necessitates robust maritime security arrangements, including a military component. Bilateral and multilateral naval exercises where both countries participate should also take business interests into account. Third, free trade deals like this may also spin off into intermediate countries in southeast and east Asia like Indonesia, Malaysia, Vietnam,



and others for India and Australia, where some common interests can converge. Coal extraction and imports from Australia and Indonesia are considered important for steel and power companies like Adani, Jindal, Tatas, etc. Diplomatic efforts have

finally borne fruit as the protracted legal battle and protests against Adani Group's acquired Carmichael coal mine in Queensland have ended. The company is ready to export coal now. Defence industrial collaboration is another critical area where Australian companies may get attracted to the Indian market while India does.

Last but not least, both countries have major stakes in evolving regional Quad grouping, where both agreements and disagreements are being further fine-tuned for meeting common strategic objectives. The grouping's evolution has already attracted bitter criticism from China, which terms it as 'Asian NATO' with lurking fears of a military alliance undertone. This may not be an anti-China club, but it is common knowledge that this grouping is intended to checkmate Chinese influence in the Indo-Pacific region. India's ambivalent stance on Ukraine has made other members of the Quad, including Australia, uncomfortable. Still, trade pacts with India have the potential to offset diplomatic and perceptional discomfort if both countries understand each other's national interests. Prime Minister Modi's emphasis on the need for stability in the Indo-Pacific region is bolstered by the India-Australia interim free-trade deal.

If legendary Don Bradman saw a bit of Sachin Tendulkar in him, the whole of India is also in awe of late Shane Warne's wrist spin wizardry. This sums up how both countries look at each other in cricket and on practically every field.

The author is Editor, DSR. Views are personal.

## DSR NEWS DIGEST MARCH 2022

### MARCH 03: 'DEFENCE PROJECTS UNDER MAKE-I, MAKE-II GET APPROVAL; LIGHT TANKS FOR INDIAN ARMY TO BE MADE IN INDIA'

The Government of India, on March 3 2022, has accorded in-principle approval to four projects which are under Make-I (the government funds this) and five projects under Make-II (this is industry-funded) categories of Defence Acquisition Procedure (DAP) 2020. According to an official statement issued by the Ministry of Defence (MoD), in a landmark decision, the projects received approval – in – Principle (AIP), which was decided by the Collegiate Committee of MoD. Under this, the industry will be provided financial support for the prototype development of these projects. For the Indian Air Force (IAF), approval has been given for Communication Equipment with Indian Security Protocols. And, for the Indian Army, the long-awaited Indian Light Tank has been approved. The decision to have these tanks was taken in view of the 22 months of the standoff between the Indian and Chinese forces in eastern Ladakh along the Line of Actual Control (LAC). (Financial Express)

### MARCH 03: 'MADE IN INDIA DRONES TO DO SURVEILLANCE FOR THE INDIAN ARMY.'

The Indian Army will soon be operating Indian UAVs for surveillance. Mumbai based ideaForge has won the contract to deliver 200 SWITCH UAVs to the Indian Army. This is the first single Vertical Take-Off and Landing (VTOL) Mini UAV defence contract globally that the company has bagged. This comes close on the heels of the announcement in the Union Budget that around 68 percent of the defence capital procurement budget has been set aside for domestic. (Financial Express)

#### MARCH 05: 'DEFENCE EXPO 2022 DEFERRED.'

Preparations were in full swing as several armoured vehicles and aircraft had already started arriving in Gandhinagar ahead of the Defence Expo 2022, which was to be held from March 10-14. However, Bharat Bhushan Babu, MoD spokesperson, cited "logistics problems being faced by participants" for postponing the event in a tweet Friday. Russia and Ukraine were among the 70 countries expected to participate in the expo. However, defence industry sources said there were lingering concerns about Russian and Ukrainian participation in the event after the war began in the first week of March. New dates for the event will be announced later. (Indian Express)

### MARCH 07: 'CHINA, INDIA HAVE ENCOUNTERED 'SOME SETBACKS' IN BILATERAL TIES: CHINESE FOREIGN MINISTER WANG.'

China and India have encountered 'some setbacks' in their bilateral relations in recent years, Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi said as he called for managing their differences over the boundary issue through equal footing consultations for a 'fair and equitable settlement. Addressing his annual press conference on the sidelines of the Chinese parliament on March 6 2022, Wang also said that some forces have always sought to stoke tensions between China and India in an apparent reference to the US. (PTI/Financial Express)

#### MARCH 07: 'DEFENCE EXPORTS IN FOCUS AS INDIA SPEEDS UP APPROVALS'

Indian Ministry of Defence defence issued 954 export authorizations for different weapons and sub-systems in 2021, compared to 829 in 2020, 668 in 2019, 288 in 2018 and 254 in 2017, attributing the nearly four-fold increase to the government's export-friendly policies to tap new markets. During the same period, the average time for issuing export approvals came down from 86 days in 2017 to 35 days in 2021. India's defence exports have recorded nearly a six-fold increase between 2017 and 2021, growing from ₹1,520 crore to ₹8,435 crores. Defence items being exported by India include missiles, the advanced light helicopter, offshore patrol vessels, personal protective gear, surveillance systems, and various radars. (Hindustan Times)

### MARCH 09: 'NSA AJIT DOVAL CALLS FOR STRENGTHENING COOPERATION AMONGST MARITIME NEIGHBOURS IN INDIAN OCEAN REGION.'

India's National Security Advisor Ajit Doval called for strengthening cooperation amongst maritime neighbours in the Indian Ocean Region to address shared security challenges and as the first responders. Doval, who arrived in the Maldives on March 8 2022, made the remarks while addressing the 5th NSA-level Colombo Security Conclave (CSC) Meeting. The two-day conclave was attended by National Security Advisors and Representatives from India, Sri Lanka, Maldives, Mauritius, Bangladesh and Seychelles. (PTI/Financial Express)

#### MARCH 10: 'NODAL BODY LIKELY FOR MAKE-IN-INDIA WEAPONS SYSTEMS.'

As a first major step towards "Atmanirbharta", or self-reliance, the Indian Ministry of Defence has approached the Union Cabinet to greenlight the setting up of an independent nodal umbrella body to meet the wide-ranging testing and certification requirements of weapon systems developed and manufactured by the Indian private sector. The new independent authority will ensure that the private sector is not at the mercy of the government's laboratories and testing ranges for getting their equipment approved for domestic sales and exports. With 68% of the defence capital procurement budget earmarked for the domestic industry in the coming financial year, it is time that the private sector started manufacturing high-end products such as armed drones, autonomous combat vehicles, aircraft engines and submarines by setting up SPVs with western defence majors who are willing to set up shop in India. (Hindustan Times)



### MARCH 11: 'INDIA SAYS MISSILE LANDED IN PAKISTAN BY ACCIDENT.'

An unarmed (without warheads) Brahmos supersonic cruise missile accidentally landed in Mian Channu, Khanewal district of Punjab in Pakistan, at around 7 pm on March 9, 2022. The missile was fired from near Sirsa in Haryana and was expected to head towards the Mahajan Field Firing range in Rajasthan. However, the missile midway veered westwards and landed in Pakistan. Raksha Mantri Rajnath Singh made a statement in the Rajya Sabha terming the incident as 'regrettable'. In an official statement issued by the Ministry of Defence, the government regrettably admitted a technical malfunction led to the accidental firing of the missile on March 9, 2022. It was during a course of routine maintenance that the accident happened. (Financial Express)

### MARCH 15: 'HYDERABAD-BASED DEFENCE STARTUP SAYS READY WITH UAV FOR HIGH-ALTITUDE COMBAT NEEDS'

A Hyderabad-based startup has claimed that its rotary-wing unmanned aerial vehicles (UAV) can fly unhindered in most hostile environments over the Himalayas at 18,000 feet above sea level for surveillance and combat needs. Ramdas M Kumbala, 42, whose Hindustan UAV Systems has been working on developing UAVs since 2015, said his three designs were apt for the Indian armed forces facing threats from enemies at the highest altitudes along the Line of Control (LOC) and the Line of Actual Control (LAC). (Indian Express)

### MARCH 19: PM MODI HOLDS BILATERAL TALKS WITH JAPANESE PM KISHIDA

Prime Minister Narendra Modi held bilateral talks with his Japanese counterpart Fumio Kishida at Hyderabad House in New Delhi during the India-Japan Annual Summit. This is the Japanese Prime Minister's first visit to India since assuming office in 2021. Both leaders discussed ways to boost economic and cultural linkages between the two countries". Kishida said that "with Prime Minister Modi of India, I plan to confirm our intention to work towards the success of the Quad summit meeting among the leaders of Japan, India, Australia, and the United States to be held in Tokyo within the next few months, as well as our cooperation." (India Today)

### MARCH 25: '107 DEFENCE ITEMS ON PHASED IMPORT BAN LIST'

Several Russian weapon sub-systems were part of a new list of 107 defence items released by India that will attract a phased import ban between December 2022 and December 2028, with the indigenization drive covering warships, helicopters, tanks, infantry combat vehicles, missiles, ammunition, and radars. The list, part of the push for "atmanirbharta" (self-reliance) in defence, was put out by the MoD at a time when the global backlash against Russia over its Ukraine invasion has raised questions about the fate of new projects with that country, procurement of spares for existing Russian-origin weapons, and maintenance and servicing of legacy equipment operated by the three services. This ban came on the back of an indigenization list of 2,851 sub-systems, assemblies, sub-assemblies and components notified by the MoD in December 2021. (Hindustan Times)

### MARCH 28: 'STRATEGIC ZOJILA TUNNEL TO SEE DEFENCE FORCES CROSSING INTO LADAKH 2 YEARS AHEAD OF THE DEADLINE.'

With the military confrontation with China in Ladakh putting extra pressure on the mobilization of men and machinery in the past two years, around 1,000 workers this winter stayed put in snow-bound Sonamarg in central Kashmir to reduce the deadline by two years to have all-weather connectivity with Ladakh through 18-km long multiple tunnels to the cross treacherous Zojila mountain pass. With the backdrop still covered with snow, Harpal Singh, the project in charge of the Megha Engineering and Infrastructure Ltd. (MEIL), exuded confidence about opening the Zojila tunnel for defence forces by 2024 and emergency services, two years ahead of the 2026 deadline. This will ensure that the mobilization of the Army and machines to the strategic cold desert is no longer affected due to five to six months of closure caused by snowfall. (The Hindu)



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#### About SSPC

The Society for the Study of Peace and Conflict (SSPC) is an independent, non-profit, non-partisan research organization based in New Delhi, dedicated to conduct rigorous and comprehensive research, and work towards disseminating information through commentaries and analyses on a broad spectrum of issues relating to peace, conflict and human development. SSPC has been registered under the Societies Registration Act (XXI) of 1860. The SSPC came into being as a platform to exchange ideas, to undertake quality research, and to ensure a fruitful dialogue.

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