

India Studies in Business and Economics

Anshuman Behera
Sitakanta Mishra *Editors*

Varying Dimensions of India's National Security

Emerging Perspectives

 Springer

India Studies in Business and Economics

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Editors

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Editors

Anshuman Behera
Conflict Resolution and Peace Research
Programme
National Institute of Advanced Studies
(NIAS)
Bengaluru, Karnataka, India

Sitakanta Mishra
School of Liberal Studies
Pandit Deendayal Energy University
Gandhinagar, Gujarat, India

ISSN 2198-0012

ISSN 2198-0020 (electronic)

India Studies in Business and Economics

ISBN 978-981-16-7592-8

ISBN 978-981-16-7593-5 (eBook)

<https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-16-7593-5>

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This Springer imprint is published by the registered company Springer Nature Singapore Pte Ltd.

The registered company address is: 152 Beach Road, #21-01/04 Gateway East, Singapore 189721, Singapore

Acknowledgements

In the process of completing this volume, we have received enormous support from many for which we sincerely thank each one of them. The idea of this book was conceived following a two-day conference on 'India's National Security: Challenges and Option', jointly organised by the School of Conflict and Security Studies, National Institute of Advanced Studies (NIAS), Bengaluru and School of Liberal Studies (SLS), Pandit Deendayal Energy University (PDEU), Gandhinagar, in March 2020. The collaborative efforts by our respective institutes motivated us to enlarge the scope of the topic and plan for a volume.

Accordingly, we would like to thank Dr. Shailesh Nayak, Director of NIAS and Professor Nigam Dave, Director, School of Liberal Studies, PDEU, for their support and guidance in the completion of this volume. We would also like to thank Dr. Prashant Chandra Panda for spearheading the conference. We owe a sense of gratitude to all the faculty members and students of both institutes for their support. The comments and suggestions we received from the anonymous reviewers have immensely enriched the content and the scope of this volume. We cannot thank enough for their valuable contribution. We also thank Ms. Nupoor Singh, Editor, Springer India, and her team for their constant and patient support in the publication process.

Contents

Part I Introduction

- 1 India's National Security Discourse: A Conceptual Introduction** 3
Anshuman Behera and Areeba Ahsanat Moazzam

Part II State-Centric Security Concerns

- 2 India's National Security Narratives: Scope and Challenges** 19
Rajiv Nayan
- 3 India's Quest for Security Through Its Neighbourhood Policy** 35
Ashok Behuria
- 4 'Secrecy as Security Strategy' in India's Nuclear Governance** 47
Sitakanta Mishra
- 5 India's Higher Defence Organisation: Recent Reforms and the Way Ahead** 61
Arun Vishwanathan
- 6 India's Cyber Security Landscape** 75
Sameer Patil
- 7 Competitive, Cooperative and Convergent Maritime Security and India's National Security** 91
Haans J. Freddy and Adarsh Vijay
- 8 India's Internal Security: Issues, Challenges and Options** 107
Mathew Sinu Simon
- 9 Illicit Drug Trafficking and Dumping of Chinese Goods in India via Myanmar: A Case Study of Manipur** 121
Ningthoujam Koiremba Singh

10 National Security and the Role of Media in India	137
Rudra Narayan Mohanty	
Part III Human-Centric Security Issues	
11 Economic Security of India: Position, Policies, and Prospects	153
Bikash Ranjan Mishra and Lopamudra D. Satpathy	
12 India's Energy Security at the Macro and Micro Levels	179
Hippu Salk Kristle Nathan	
13 Climate Change and Human Security in India Evidence, Opportunities, and Challenges	197
Chandra Sekhar Bahinipati and Unmesh Patnaik	
14 Stunted Food Security: Time for Universal Entitlements	215
Swati Narayan	
15 Corruption and National Security: Insights from the Indian Experience	235
Niranjan Sahoo	
16 Geographic Information System (GIS) for National Security	249
Amit Mukherjee	

Editors and Contributors

About the Editors

Anshuman Behera is Associate Professor in Conflict Resolution and Peace Research Programme at National Institute of Advanced Studies (NIAS), Bengaluru. Prior to joining NIAS, Dr. Behera worked in Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA) and Institute for Conflict Management, New Delhi. Dr. Behera earned his Ph.D. from University of Hyderabad. He is Co-Editor of *'Reasoning Indian Politics: Philosopher Politicians to Politicians Seeking Philosophy'*, Routledge, 2018, and Co-Author of *'Militant Groups in South Asia'*, IDSA, 2014. Dr. Behera's research areas include socio-political conflicts, political violence, political theory, and South Asian Politics. His academic writings have featured in both international and national journals. Apart from his extensive writing on Maoist conflict and religious fundamentalism and terrorism in India, he also writes on political process and change in Nepal, Bangladesh, and Myanmar.

Sitakanta Mishra is Associate Professor at School of Liberal Studies (SLS) of Pandit Deendayal Energy University (PDP), Gandhinagar, Gujarat (India). Previously, Dr Mishra was Research Fellow at the Centre for Air Power Studies (CAPS), New Delhi. He was also Visiting Research Scholar at Cooperative Monitoring Centre, USA. He has authored three books, two monographs, many chapters, and research papers related to India's neighborhood policy, Indo-Pak relations, India's foreign policy, and nuclear policy and security.

Contributors

Chandra Sekhar Bahinipati Indian Institute of Technology Tirupati, Yerpedu, Tirupati, India

Anshuman Behera National Institute of Advanced Studies, Indian Institute of Science Campus, Bengaluru, India

Ashok Behuria Manohar Parrikar Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (MP-IDSA), New Delhi, India

Haans J. Freddy Department of Political Science at the Madras, Christian College, Chennai, India

Bikash Ranjan Mishra NIT, Rourkela, India

Sitakanta Mishra School of Liberal Studies, Pandit Deendayal Energy University, Gandhinagar, Gujarat, India

Areeba Ahsanat Moazzam Political Science, University of Hyderabad, Hyderabad, India

Rudra Narayan Mohanty Kelton Tech, Hyderabad, India

Amit Mukherjee National Institute of Advanced Studies, Bengaluru, India

Swati Narayan Inequality and Human Development Programme, National Institute of Advanced Studies, Bengaluru, India

Hippu Salk Kristle Nathan Institute of Rural Management Anand, Anand, India

Rajiv Nayan Nuclear Issues and Arms Control, Manohar Parrikar Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, New Delhi, India

Sameer Patil Gateway House, Mumbai, India

Unmesh Patnaik Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai, India

Niranjan Sahoo ORF, New Delhi, India

Lopamudra D. Satpathy Sushilavati Government Women's College, Rourkela, India

Mathew Sinu Simon Law and Political Science at Presidency University, Bengaluru, India

Ningthoujam Koiremba Singh Sikkim University, Gangtok, India

Adarsh Vijay Department of Political Science at the Madras, Christian College, Chennai, India

Arun Vishwanathan Centre for Security Studies, School of National Security Studies, Central University of Gujarat, Gandhinagar, India

Acronyms

AEC	Atomic Energy Commission
AEZ	Agri Export Zones
AFSPA	Armed Forces Special Powers Act
AIM	Atal Innovation Mission
AIP	Air Independent Propulsion
API	Active Pharmaceutical Ingredients
APMC	Agricultural Produce Market Committee
ASEAN	Association of South-East Asian Nations
ATS	Amphetamine-type Stimulants
BCIS	Bandaranaike Centre for International Studies
BJP	Bhartiya Janata Party
BRI	Belt and Road Initiative
CAP	Civic Action Program
CAPF	Central Armed Police Force
CBLO	Collateralized Borrowing and lending operations
CCS	Cabinet Committee on Security
CDR	Consumption Discount Rate
CDS	Chief of Defence Staff
CENJOWS	Centre for Joint Warfare Studies
CISC	Chairman of the Chief of the Staff Committee
CMC	Central Military Commission
COAS	Chief of Army Staff
COIN	Counter insurgency
CPI	Consumer Price Index
CPI-Maoist	Communist Party of India-Maoist
CPI-ML	Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)
CTBT	Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty
CVC	Central Vigilance Commission
CWC	Central Water Commission
DCGS-A	Distributed Common Ground System—Army
DFEC	Duty-Free Export Credit

DIME	Diplomacy-Intelligence-Military and Economy
DMA	Department of Military Affairs
DoP&T	Department of Personnel and Training
DPC	Defence Planning Committee
DRDO	Defence Research and Development
EEZ	Extensive Economic Zones
EU	European Union
EUNAVFOR	EU Naval Task Force
EVD	Ebola virus disease
FARC	Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia
FCI	Food Corporation of India
FCS	Future Combat Systems
FD	Fiscal Deficit
FDF	Finished Dosage Formulation
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FII	Foreign institutional investments
FMS	Focus Market Scheme
FOB	Forward Operating Base
FPS	Focus Product Scheme
FRBM	Fiscal Responsibility and Budget Management Act
FTA	Free Trade Agreements
GATT	General Agreement of the Traffic and the Trade
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GIS	Geographic Information System
GML	Geography Markup Language
GoM	Group of Ministers
GOSL	Government of Sri Lanka
GST	Goods and Services Tax
HADR	Humanitarian and Disaster Relief Operations
HDI	Human Development Index
HLC	High-Level Committee
HM	Hizb-ul Mujahedeen
IAP	Integrated Action Plan
ICDS	Integrated Child Development Services
ICESCR	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
IDU	Injecting Drug Users
IED	Improvised Explosive Devices
IGCAR	Indira Gandhi Centre for Atomic Research
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IMO	International Maritime Organization
IMS	Indian Medical Service
INDC	Intended National Determined Contribution
IOR	Indian Ocean Region
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change

IR	International Relations
ISI	Inter-Services Intelligence
ISIS	Islamic State in Iraq and Syria
IT	Information Technology
ITBP	Indo-Tibetan Border Police
ITU	International Telecom Union
JeM	Jaish-e-Mohammad
J-GES	Joint-Geospatial Enterprise Service
JKLF	Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front
JMSDF	Japanese Maritime Self Defence Force
JRY	Jawahar Rozgar Yojana
KRC	Kargil Review Committee
KSM	Key Standing Materials
L&D	Loss and damage
L&T	Larson & Toubro
LAF	Liquidity adjustment facility
LBA	Land Boundary Agreement
LeT	Lashkar-e-Taiba
LMIC	Low- and middle-income country
LoC	Line of Control
LOSC	Convention on the Law of the Sea
LTTE	Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam
LWE	Left-Wing Extremism
MAC	Multi Agency Centre
MALSINDO	Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia
MCCI	Maoist Communist Centre of India
MDM	Mid-Day Meals
MEIS	Merchandise Exports from India Scheme
MGNREGA	Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act
MHA	Ministry of Home Affairs
MIA	Multiple Indicator approach
MIGA	Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency
MMC	Maharashtra-Madhya Pradesh-Chhattisgarh
MNC	Multi-national Companies
MOHFW	Ministry of Health and Family Welfare
MoSDE	Ministry of Skill Development & Entrepreneurship
MSC	Maritime Safety Committee
MSP	Minimum Support Prices
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NCA	Nuclear Command Authority
NCB	Narcotics Control Bureau
NCIIPC	National Critical Information Infrastructure Protection Centre
NCSC	National Cyber Security Coordinator
NDA	National Democratic Alliance
NFFWP	National Food for Work Programme

NFSA	National Food Security Act
NIA	National Investigation Agency
NKM	Nuclear Knowledge Management
NMP	National Manufacturing Policy
NPCIL	Nuclear Power Corporation of India Ltd.
NPT	Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty
NRHM	National Rural Health Mission
NSA	National Security Advisor
NSAB	National Security Advisory Board
NSC	National Security Council
NSCN-IM	National Socialist Council of Nagaland (Isak-Muivah)
NSS	Nuclear Security Summits
NTRO	National Technical Research Organisation
OCHA	UN Office for Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
OGC	Open-Source Geospatial Consortium
OGL	Open General List
ONGC	Oil and Natural Gas Corporation
ONOR	One National One Ration
OROP	One-Rank, One-Pension
OSINT	Open-Source Intelligence Technology
PC-COSC	Permanent Chairman-Chief of Staff Committee
PDS	Public Distribution System
PLA	People's Liberation Army
PLAN	People's Liberation Army Navy
PMGKAY	Pradhan Mantri Garib Kalyan Anna Yojana
PMKVY	Pradhan Mantri Kaushal Vikas Yojana
POCA	Prevention of Corruption Act
PPP	Public-Private-Partnership
PREPAK	People's Revolutionary Party of Kangleipak
PRTP	Pure Time Preference Rate
PSU	Public Sector Unit
PWG	People's War Group
QDR	Quadrennial Defense Review
RAN	Royal Australian Navy
RBI	Reserve Bank of India
RIN	Royal Indian Navy
ROKN	Republic of Korea Navy
RTI	Right to Information
SAGAR	Security and Growth for All in the Region
SAIL	Steel Authority of India Limited
SASA	Strategic Armament Safety Authority
SATP	South Asia Terrorism Portal
SCA	Special Central Assistance
SCADA	Supervisory Control and Data Acquisition
SEBI	Securities Exchange Board of India

SEIS	Service Exports From India Scheme
SETU	Self-Employment and Talent Utilization
SEZ	Special Economic Zones
SFC	Strategic Forces Command
SHADE	Shared Awareness and Deconfliction
SHQ	Service Head Quarters
SIB	State Intelligence Bureaus
SIL	Special Import Licence
SLOC	Sea Lines of Communication
SMAC	State Multi Agency Centre
SPG	Strategic Policy Group
SRE	Security-Related Expenditure
SUI	Stand-up India
TCG	Technical Coordination Group
TCOC	Tactical Counter Offensive Campaign
TI	Transparency International
TOR	The Onion Router
TRF	The Resistance Front
UCP	Unified Command Plan
UK	United Kingdom
ULFA	United Liberation Front of Asom
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
UNGGE	United Nations Group of Governmental Experts
UNLF	United Liberation Front
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
UPA	United Progressive Alliance
UPI	Unified Payments Interface
US	United States
USI	United Services Institute
USOF	Universal Services Obligation Fund
UWSA	United Wa State Army
VPN	Virtual Private Network
WFS	Web Feature Service
WHO	World Health Organization
WHR	World Health Report
WTO	World Trade Organisation

Part I
Introduction

Chapter 1

India's National Security Discourse: A Conceptual Introduction



Anshuman Behera and Areeba Ahsanat Moazzam

Introduction

Considering the porous scope of the discipline, the discourse of security is rather obscure in nature. Buzan's (1983, 1984) thesis attributes this obscurity to the polarized attempt made to engage with the security discourse. To Buzan, security has been obscured by the realists who focus on power and the idealists who dwell on peace. Arguably, the discourse of 'national security' is not free from such obscurity. However, despite this obscurity, thanks to the polarization between the pursuit of 'power' and 'peace', there seems to be some certainty in terms of stressing upon the state-centric security that has a dominance in the national security discourse. Engaging with the national security discourse, one would observe that it has gone through multiple changes in terms of widening its scope. The post-World War era witnessed the engagement of the national security discourse through the prism of foreign policy and national interest. The stress on the robust foreign policy frameworks for furthering national interests articulated national security interchangeably with the interests of respective nation-states. While, in a broader perspective, one might not have a convincing criticism on 'national interest as national security', the attempts made to see the national interests through a dominant 'economic interest' paradigm certainly narrows the scope. However, economic interests as national interests through the prism of 'welfare of people' convey a wider meaning to the discourse.

Talking of the national security discourse, one can observe three dominant narratives: state security, human security, and comprehensive security. The state-centric

A. Behera

National Institute of Advanced Studies, Indian Institute of Science Campus, Bengaluru, India

A. A. Moazzam (✉)

Political Science, University of Hyderabad, Hyderabad, India

narratives basically come from a classical formulation of security discourse. Accordingly, security revolves around how the states use their power (read force) to manage threats, primarily, to safeguard their territorial integrity, autonomy, and domestic political order from external aggressions (Bajpai, 2003). This classical formulation of security shifts its focus from the welfare of the people to secure the state from external aggression. Arguably, such a shift of focus can be attributed to as an impact of the Cold War and the threat perception of the proliferation of external aggression during this period. The classical formulations of security, however, overlooks social reforms and internal threat perceptions and other human-centric issues such as national security. Not as a contrarian position, but the formulations of human security narratives make a case for safeguarding more humane issues that should be regarded as universal agenda for the national security domain (Singh, 2004). A much desired, rather agreed upon, at least in the academic and popular discourse, national security through the prism of human-centric approach is seen as easier, more humane, and less costly to deal with (Haq, 1999). If we can add a judgement to this, engagement with the human security issues also has the potential to minimize the threat perception emerging from the external aggression. A comprehensive narrative tries to strike a balance between the human as well as the state-centric security issues to offer a holistic understanding of the national security discourse. Accordingly, the security concerns relating to the territorial integrity of a state can interact with more humane issues like economic development, climate change, food security, and so on.

From these multiple narratives, it can be safely argued that the discourse of national security is normative in nature. Accordingly, it is not merely what the discourse is, rather, it is more about what the discourse ought to be. It would hardly be wrong to mention that the multiple perspectives on national security discourse invariably point towards specific goals that a nation-state should achieve and to this extent it is prescriptive in nature. Hence, we can argue that the scope of national security is ever expanding. The word 'security', as Arnold Wolfers, would articulate 'covers a range of goals so wide that highly divergent policies can be interpreted as policies of security' (Wolfers, 1952). However, Arnold Wolfers would also term the national security discourse as an ambiguous symbol. Does the ever-expanding scope of national security discourse contribute to its ambiguity? The answer, to us, is no. It is because the ever-expanding scope of the national security discourse allows the scholars and the policy makers alike to bring together security issues concerning the state and the people, which otherwise are engaged in isolation. Hence, security concerns might be dependent on the priorities and values that each state might assign.

Accordingly, as some scholars argue, 'security is a value of which a nation can have more or less and which it can aspire to have in greater or lesser measures' (Wolfers, 1952). Such a position on 'security as a value' offers a wider meaning to the national security discourse. An interesting observation on this aspect is being offered by Arnold Wolfers. According to him, 'nations like individuals or groups may value things not because they consider them as good or less evil than their alternatives; they may value them because they satisfy their pride, heighten their sense of self-esteem or reduce their fears' (Ibid). If we can add to this, the states might select some issues as security priority and engage them as national security objectives that

have the potentials to address the public grievances in terms of securing their health, food, education, economy, and political stability which in effect enhance the human capabilities. We have examples of some of the South Asian states like Bangladesh, Nepal, and Sri Lanka that prioritize domestic political stability and fighting violent internal conflict as national security issues. In the states like India, Pakistan, and Afghanistan we have the combination of external as well as internal issues that find their place in priority of national security concerns.

In addition to 'security as a value' some scholars have also offered a 'national security approach'. The national security approach acknowledges that power plays a key role in the behaviour of nations and the functioning of the international system (Leffler, 1990). This approach believes that a nation's power depends on its political stability, social cohesion, and economic productivity as well as its military strength (Ibid). Accordingly, this can be argued that national power can be understood as national security. In fact, such an approach offers a comprehensive understanding to the extent that it considers the social, political, economic, internal as well as external issues for national security. To further investigate the national security discourse (read India's national security discourse), this chapter has three major sections. The first section critically engages with the theoretical and conceptual aspects of national security. It does so by situating the issue of national security within the larger platform of international relations. The subsequent section reflects on the national security scenario in India. The third section highlights the major themes of this volume.

National Security Discourse: Conceptual Engagement

National security is a profusely used concept in the domain of International Relations Studies (IRS). The pertinent questions that need contemplation in regard to any discussion on security are: What constitutes national security? What ensures security for a state? In an international system that is mostly considered as 'anarchic' or without a central authority, how can security of a state be ensured? An attempt is made to answer these questions in this chapter within the domain of mainstream IR theories. The chapter also traces the genesis of the concept of national security and how national security has transformed from dealing with 'hard' aspects of military security to 'soft' aspects of human security.

Security, be it individual or collective, has been recognized as the motivating factor information of a state/civil society in political philosophy. Thomas Hobbes stated in his book, *Leviathan: Or the Matter, Forme and Power of a Commonwealth, Ecclesiasticall and Civil*, that without security 'there is no place for industry... no arts, no letters, no society; and which is worst of all, continual fear, and danger of violent death; and the life of man, solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short' (Hobbes & Oakshott, 1946).

The most popular arguments about the 'state of nature' recognize that a state is formed when an individual agrees to forgo some of her liberties for the sake of common interests and, most importantly, because she wants to overcome her sense

of insecurity that is prevalent when in the struggle for survival, there is 'war of all against all'. In short, it can be said that a state comes into being to provide security within the state of nature paradigm. And in return for giving up certain liberties, individual hopes to receive security of life and property along with liberty to pursue opportunities that the state provides. In order to provide security, the state maintains and manages the military and other armed forces. Traditionally, the state was expected to provide security from invasions and aggressions from other states in order to protect a state's physical borders, which would in turn ensure protection from rampage of life, property, land, resources, traditions, and culture. Historically, the majority of the wars in Europe and the rest of the world have been due to religious and ideological reasons. Hence, follows the argument that security from the imposition of values, religions, culture, and notions of other states was fundamental to the question of national security. This will be dealt with in detail later in the chapter but what needs emphasis is that traditionally national security entailed physical territorial protection from foreign invasion. And this explains the preoccupation with military in any analysis of national security.

Feeling of security is psychological, whether it is for an individual or a collective, like a state. In order to feel secure, both an individual or a collective would require feeling a sense of being unaffected and undisturbed by either fear or danger of any kind. Some scholars like Richard Ullman (1983) have also argued that it is the decrease in vulnerability that constitutes security. Danger or threat could be from, but not limited to, other human beings (other citizens or foreigners), human nature, other states, international system among other perceptions of threats. Also, diverse states experience threats differently depending upon their economic, political, and ecological environment, especially due to their geographical locations.

Security may also include in contemporary analyses protection from starvation, identity theft, devastation from wars and natural disasters, poverty, and impact of climate change and environmental degradation. A comprehensive definition of security is captured by Hedley Bull when he states, 'Security in international politics means no more than safety: either objective safety, meaning safety which actually exists, or subjective safety, meaning safety which is felt or experienced' (Bull, 1995). Safety or security in IR is consequently a prerequisite for human relations. Security has connotation of order, predictability, and familiarity or maintaining a safe/secure status quo.

How Mainstream Theories of IR Understand National Security?

It is the environment or the setting that gives a sense of security to an individual and also the state. The international system with a lack of central authority hardly succeeds to offer security to states. Accordingly, security is then 'each state for itself' (read it as a version of the realists). National security for the realists (a theory of IR

that maintains that it reflects the realities and changes in the world) is states that ultimately rely on 'self-help as a guarantee for their security'. In *The Prince* (1532), Machiavelli stressed that 'a leader's primary concern is to promote national security' (Antunes & Camisao, 2017: 16). And the tools available for managing insecurity are 'the balance of power and deterrence. The balance of power relies on strategic, flexible alliances, while deterrence relies on the threat (or the use) of significant force' (Ibid: 19).

On the contrary to the realists, the liberals argue that an international order can be improved to include peace and progress and it could be a guarantee against the lawlessness in the international system (Meiser, 2017). The English School asserts that a form of society of states, an 'Anarchical Society' of sorts, exists at the international level which is governed by shared norms and behaviour (Stivachits, 2017). Social constructivists point out that the states and their social relations which are based on shared interests and values create the environment that is prevalent on the international scene (Theys, 2017). "Anarchy" is what the states make of it', Alexander Wendt famously formulated. Feminist theory brings to the fore the 'soft' issues of security, which are protection of women from rape, sexual assault, domestic violence, and forced prostitution as a contradiction to 'hard' issues of military security. The securitization theorists determined five sectors in understanding security, namely the economic, societal, military, political, and environmental sectors (Eroukhmanoff, 2017: 105). Hence, from these arise the questions— if security is being surrounded by like-minded friends? or belonging to a group of states subscribing to similar ideology? or having relations with the powerful states? Or ensuring security for women and security for individuals from hunger and sense of danger to their dignity and life?

Any sense of insecurity has to be recognized as the potential to guide a state behaviour in the international system. A state tends to amass armaments when it feels threatened by its surrounding states or any powerful state that does not share its values. A state improves relations with powerful states by signing bi-lateral/tri-lateral agreements in order to secure its interests. A state also joins regional and international organizations in order to secure and enhance its interests. It is in this context that it becomes pertinent that an account of various approaches and theories of international relations is taken for a comprehensive understanding of national security.

Reasoning Importance of National Security

Security is often ensured by states' shared set of acceptable values, norms, and international laws. It is one of the reasons why the discipline is called International Relations as the relations between states (whether political, economic, trade, and so on) are based on certain values, norms, and laws that shape those relations. Moreover, any study that focuses on these relations falls within the gambit of international relations.

National security is integral to nation-states. In fact, it is so crucial that it was the number one priority for the United States, along with economic prosperity and promotion of democracy abroad, on Bill Clinton's National Security Strategy for the twenty-first century (A National Security Strategy for a New Century, 1998). National Security 'has thus come to refer to all those public policies through which the nation state ensures its survival as a separate and sovereign community and, in so doing, the safety and prosperity of its citizens'. It is the capability of a state to safeguard its core values, argued Lippmann (1943).

National security is a concept that has been used to justify 'maintenance of armies, the development of new weapons systems, and manufacture of armaments'. Almost a fourth of the United States and Soviet Union's federal taxes have been used for National Security during the Cold War (Brown, 1986). National security integrates all elements of national power: 'diplomacy, information, military and economics' (Deptula, 2007). The discourse on national security revolved around 'coordination across instruments of power', leadership, and improving capabilities related to non-traditional warfare, disruptive threats, and catastrophic attacks during the war on terror (Davis, 2010).

For a comprehensive understanding of the concept of national security, there is a need to trace its genealogy: how the concept developed. In the next section, an attempt will be made to trace the concept as early as the seventeenth century to contemporary times.

Development of National Security Discourse

National security as a concept emerged in the seventeenth century. The Thirty Years War of Europe along with the Civil Wars of England gave way to the need to regard a nation-state as sovereign and disregard wars and slaughtering of adversaries on the basis of religion (or any other universal principles). The need to recognize the sovereignty of a state in all matters external and internal developed after the Peace of Westphalia. The notion that an international system be based on equilibrium of states that respected sovereignty and self-defence started gaining acceptance until Immanuel Kant offered the ideas of a more secular and enlightened world order inspired by Enlightenment in his famous 1795-piece, *Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch*. The liberal institutionalism and internationalism notions of supranational institution with the power to govern international affairs globally, partly reflected in the manifestation of United Nations comes from Kant's ideas that emphasized nation-states' subordination of national interests to the Common Good and International Law (Holmes, 2015).

After World War II, national security gained 'an overwhelmingly military character, rooted in the assumption that the principal threat to security comes from other nations' (Brown, 1986). The focus on military threats surpassed the imminent threats with which even the military could not cope (Ibid). National security as a concept gained currency in the second half of the twentieth century. Neocleous (2006) argues

that it is 'relatively new'. He observes, in the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, that the term national security had no entry. By 1968, however, when the title of this same work was known as the *International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, there was not only an entry for this term but also the suggestion that the concept had long been used by politicians and military leaders (Mercurio and Logan, 2012: 315).

Most researchers of IR acknowledge that both the fields of IR and International Security have evolved; from revolving around understanding and explaining war, peace, and the international system, where the survival of states, their security, and their shared power dynamics held the centre-stage, the studies have expanded to include non-traditional security concerns like human security, cyber security, food security, etc. along with issues of climate, environment, terrorism, poverty, migration, and even organized crime.

Some scholarship identified the rise of human security paradigm at work after the end of the Second World War and the establishment of the United Nations where emphasis on human rights and humanitarian law started taking centre stage. Yet, there are others who trace the philosophical moorings of human security in Immanuel Kant who emphasized moral priority to humans and draws attention to international laws that are based on human values that have always been prevalent without employment of the term, human security.

It is with the end of the Cold War that a debate over what constitutes security in IR arose between 'narrowers' and 'wideners'. The narrowers focused on analysing the military and political stability between the United States and the Soviet Union. Discontent with such an analysis, the wideners attempted to include other types of threats that were not military in nature and that affected people rather than states. This included human security and regional security, together with ideas of culture and identity. Consequently, the end of the Cold War indicated that security was an essentially contested concept—'a concept that generates debates that cannot be resolved by reference to empirical evidence because the concept contains a clear ideological or moral element and defies precise, generally accepted definition' (Fierke: 35). Critical approaches to the security point to the contested nature of the theme by arguing that 'security is not necessarily positive or universal, but context and subject dependent and even negative at times' (Eroukhmanoff, 2017: 104–105).

Approaches to Study of National Security

National security can be understood within two broad categories: traditional, and non-traditional. National security traditionally referred to the protection of a state against a military attack. But with development in science and technology and changing global dynamics including the collapse of the Soviet Union, the emergence of new centres of state power and the rise of non-state groups with strategic capabilities national security was altered in its priorities and structures. Deptula (2007) identified globalization, knowledge economy, and advancement in information technology as the

reasons behind the transformation in all aspects of society, including national security. National security has come to include non-military aspects of security including cyber security, women security, human security, economic security, energy security, food security, environmental security, security from violent non-state actors, like terrorism, narcotics, among others, and technology-enabled threats that include risks from misuse of GPS.¹

Holmes (2015) identifies two schools of thought on national security, namely Neo-Kantian, dedicated to United Nations and International Governance, and realists who stress supremacy of nation-state. Even the strategies used by states changed as was captured by Caudle (2009), who argues that ‘a fundamental change is taking place in how countries view, approach, and implement strategies to protect their national security’. The strategies of national security in the past were directed towards threats that could be tackled by diplomatic and military means, but national security has come to have a broader and nuanced connotation that focuses on preserving that, which makes a country unique, including the intangibles like culture and what physically lies within its borders.

National security as a concept began transforming when scholars began focusing on newer aspects. A very good illustration would be Brown’s insistence on environmental security even during the Cold War period. As early as 1986, Lester R. Brown argued that it was the environment security that should be the focus of the superpowers, namely the United States and the USSR. The dangers of oil depletion, soil erosion, land degradation, shrinking forests, deteriorating grasslands, and climate alteration had the potential to threaten not only the national, economic, and political security but also the international economy.

After the end of Cold War and the emergence of discourse on War on Terror, scholars began identifying novel aspects of security, including psychosocial security. To cope with terrorism as a threat to society, scholars have gone so far as to develop a ‘national strategy for enhancing psychosocial security’. Claude and Chemtob (2005) argues that the ‘proposes to redefine’ the concept of national security policy to go beyond the traditional military aspects of defense to include establishing psychological countermeasures that define maintaining psychological safety as a key marker of the defense against terrorism. Hence, over the period of time, both traditional and non-traditional security threats have been part of the national security discourse. Moreover, within the non-traditional security concerns, more human security issues are increasingly engaged in the national security discourse. As mentioned before, this volume adopts a comprehensive approach to the extent of including the traditional, non-traditional, and human security issues in the national security discourse in India. Before we reflect upon the major themes of the volume, the next section briefly introduces the national security discourse in India.

¹ A paper on National Security Assessment on Semantic Scholar argues, ‘Although GPS can support U.S. and allied military activities, it can at the same time create a dependency. Furthermore, enemy uses of GPS can threaten U.S. forces and broader security interests. This dual aspect of GPS—its utility in American and allied hands, along with the risks of dependency and enemy use—highlights a fundamental dilemma for decisionmakers seeking to maximize the benefits of GPS technology while minimizing its risks’.

National Security Discourse in India

The discourse of India's national security, at least the statist version, has evolved through multiple phases. The major task of the post-colonial Indian state, in terms of its national security discourse, was to Indianize the colonial-era armed force and the intelligence system (Joshi, 2014). In the following decades, as Manoj Joshi (Ibid) very aptly articulates, the national security discourse of India was mainly around the issues of modernizing the armed forces which were necessarily guided by the changing geo-political realities that the Indian state witnessed. The set of challenges appeared in terms of formation of alliances between neighbouring Pakistan with the United States and subsequently numerous wars that the country fought China in 1962 (Ganguly, 2015) and Pakistan. The striking feature of the national security discourse mostly remained around the external threat perception to the Indian state. However, the Kargil War in 1999 with Pakistan brought in the issues of non-traditional security threats like the cross-border incursion and terrorism to the national security discourse. The issue of terrorism as a crucial aspect of India's national security discourse was even more strongly realized, especially after the terrorist attack in 2008 and in the following years. There have been multiple committees formed by successive governments with objectives to bring about reforms for effectively dealing with the national security threats. The latest National Security Task Force 2011, popularly known as the Naresh Chandra Committee (NCC), came up with a set of recommendations: Appointment of a Permanent Chairman, Chiefs of Staff Committee (CoSC), Integration of Service HQ and Ministry of Defence by allowing more cross-postings, shifting the focus of India's national security strategy from Pakistan to China, better intelligence coordination between all agencies (Gokhale, 2012). This task force also stressed on India's internal security, cyber security, securing strategic resources, and infrastructures.

A closer and critical analysis of the evolution of India's national security discourse highlights the primacy of state security and somehow inadequately, if not completely, addresses multiple issues related to human security. It is also important to mention that such an understanding of the national security discourse is more or less a commonality across the countries. However, one can observe changes, if not complete shift, in India's engagement with national security issues. While the state-centric issues continue to dominate, numerous human-centric issues have emerged to be engaged by scholars and policy makers as national security concerns. For example, in the process of dealing with the internal security issues that are perceived to have direct threat perceptions to the Indian state, the security aspects of the individuals in terms of their economic development, social cohesion, and political (in)equality are also being engaged (Hwang, 2010). A report by an expert group (2008) to the erstwhile Planning Commission of India highlighted the rationale of dealing with the socio-political and economic issues in Indian state's response to counter the threats of extremism.

Drawing from these developments in the national security discourse in India, this volume has brought together some of the important issues on this subject. Stepping

away from any polarized school of thought, this book, as mentioned earlier, follows a comprehensive approach of taking in account state and human security issues in its endeavour to discuss varying dimensions of India's national security. We would also like to highlight that the purpose of structural allotment of certain issues under a category is not intended towards creating a binary but for academic convenience. The next section of this chapter highlights the major themes of the book.

Major Themes of the Book

Following the introduction, the next chapter highlights the challenges and scope of national security narrative in India. This chapter argues that at any given time, the national security narrative of a country has to consider international and regional security concerns. India has witnessed changes in the global security framework, yet it confronts some of its security challenges ever since its independence. India is also facing external and internal challenges besides what is being called 'Non-Traditional Security'. The chapter maps India's security issues and challenges which the country is facing.

The next chapter is on 'India's Quest for Security Through Its Neighbourhood Policy'. Most of India's endemic security threats originate from the neighbourhood and arise out of the complex and complicated historical legacy issues that continue to bedevil the region. The diversity of security challenges for India, and the internal–external threat continuum that characterizes them, make it complicated for India to frame the right kind of foreign and security policy/approach towards its neighbours. The complexities involved need to be deconstructed and reinterpreted for a better appreciation of India's security vulnerabilities and its approach to addressing them. This paper outlines the security challenges for India emanating from the neighbourhood.

'Secrecy as Security Strategy' in India's nuclear governance is the theme of the subsequent chapter. This chapter argues that any attempt to fathom the exact contour of India's nuclear inventory would be futile as India adheres to a great deal of 'secrecy' as a security strategy. 'Secrecy', as the chapter argues, has been a constant factor ever since India intended to develop 'operational nuclear forces under the gaze of a hostile nonproliferation regime' and its lead enforcer, the United States. In addition to little effort to ensure deterrence while maximizing nuclear security, India's self-imposed NFU posture necessitates 'opacity and ambiguity' which can be viewed as a stabilizing factor in nuclear South Asia. This chapter delves into the rationale and necessity of secretive strategy in India's nuclear discourse while putting forward, at the end, a list of policy prescriptions for concerned authorities to think for bringing in some controlled and calculated transparency measures.

The theme of India's higher defence organization is discussed in the following chapter. Given this regional security environment, India's military and national security preparedness must be ready to face security threats in a very short notice. These go to the issue of civil–military relations, security strategy, and better synergy and

jointness among the three military services. The present government has taken steps in strengthening India's higher defence setup with the appointment of the Chief of Defence Staff (CDS). This essay highlights these developments and compares them with other similar efforts in other countries. It also reasons the implications of the CDS on India's higher defence management and on the military's involvement in the national security decision-making process.

India's cyber security landscape is the theme of the next chapter. With the second-largest internet user base and leading information and communications technology industry, India has quickly adopted digital technologies to emerge as a major actor in global cyberspace. This thrust on digital and information technologies is accompanied by a rapid expansion of cyber threats. While there has been no major disruptive cyber-attack, India has faced multiple attacks from China and Pakistan—two countries with which it is locked in protracted border disputes. These two sources of threat are joined by non-state actors which have used cyberspace to target Indian interests. This chapter broadly examines the sources and nature of India's cyber threats. It also reviews the government's policy measures to counter these threats. In doing so, it is argued that in tackling these threats, India maintains a precarious balance between its commitment to a liberal multi-stakeholder order in cyberspace and the pressure to protect its national security interests.

The following theme of the book is on India's maritime security. This chapter critically focuses to assess the concept of maritime security in both traditional and non-traditional security in the context of India's national security. It is in the context of India's national security and more particularly in the context of maritime security that the concepts of competition, cooperation, and convergence would be used to explain the challenges and opportunities as it presents itself for India. The chapter concludes with an assessment for India's future maritime and naval imperatives.

India's internal security concerns are discussed in the following chapter. A dominant understanding of internal security issues in India has been around four major threats—the Maoist conflict, the ethnic and identity conflicts in the northeastern states, terrorism in hinterland, and separatist violence in Jammu and Kashmir. This chapter reorients the internal security understanding within the larger national security discourse in India. The chapter offers critical insights into each of the issues by highlighting the main issues around which the conflicts play out, the spread and the threat perceptions emerging from them.

An important but overlooked area of drug trafficking and dumping of Chinese goods in India's northeastern states is the theme of the next chapter. The preservation of the state from external threat is not enough to explain the present-day discourse of national security. The issue of dumping is primarily international price discrimination, where the exporting firm benefits in a foreign market and the demand for the good is more elastic than the demand in the company's home market. On the other hand, drug trafficking is considered a global crime with serious implications of national security. This chapter explores the security implications emerging from drug trafficking and dumping of Chinese goods in India's northeast, especially in Manipur.

In order to make sense of the national security discourse in terms of popular perception and the role of media in shaping the discourse, the next chapter reflects on the role of media in understanding national security. The subject of national security has branched out so much into the public domain that gradually the security of the citizens is becoming synonymous with the security of the country and its territory. These developments have paved the way for an independent media to play a much larger role in the arena of national security in a liberal democracy. The chapter emphasizes that though the world has devised many means and methods of safeguarding national security, a free media is still the only guarantee for free speech, and it alone can provide a platform for a meaningful interface between the government and the citizens about national security.

The next set of themes covered in this book can be put under the larger heading of human security. This section begins with the theme of India's economic security. This chapter analyses the various possible dimensions of modern-version-based economic security, including social welfare, fiscal prudence, monetary security, industrial, business, entrepreneurial security, and external security, including international trade and investment. Limiting the analysis to only the last 20 years and specific key policy schemes as reform measures, our objective is to assess the current status of India's economy critically, its strength, and security promise therein. It also highlights the possible impediments and challenges that government intervention strategies face while addressing them and the way forward.

Following the economic security, the next chapter is on the energy security of India. It addresses two main challenges with respect to India's energy security. Firstly, energy security needs to have a framework that can assess energy security at both the levels of micro (household) and macro (societal). Accordingly, it proposes one such energy security assessment framework, which is a composite measure of energy availability, affordability, and acceptability. Secondly, the chapter discusses the trade-offs between renewable and non-renewable energy resources. The chapter concludes with three policy trade-offs to steer through these dilemmas to ensure energy security both at household and country levels.

Climate change as a major human security challenge in India is the theme of the next chapter. This chapter reflects upon the impact of climate change and extreme events on the different dimensions of human security. In doing so, this discusses the impact of climate change on agriculture, and across the studies, negative coefficients of climate variables on the yield of several crops are observed; therefore, it is time to address the adaptation deficit persisting in the agricultural sector in India. Further, it also summarizes the impact of floods on public infrastructure in India, and an increasing trend is observed and warrants for disaster-resilient infrastructure. The chapter also outlines the major challenges persisting with mitigation and adaptation.

Following the economy, energy, and climate change, the next theme of the book is on the food security of India. One of every four of the world's undernourished population resides in India. From the legacy of famines in British India to the continued reports of starvation deaths, malnutrition continues to plague India. Further, for decades, children from marginalized sections have been the most stunted. However, since most food security measures are not universal and relief measures inadequate,