



ISSN 23939729

CLAWS

No. **120**

2025

MANEKSHAW PAPER

**Review Essay of
General Anil Chauhan's Book
entitled "Ready, Relevant and
Resurgent: A Blueprint for the
Transformation of India's
Military"**

Gautam Sen

CENTRE FOR LAND WARFARE STUDIES

Field Marshal Sam Hormusji Framji Jamshedji Manekshaw, better known as Sam “Bahadur”, was the 8th Chief of the Army Staff (COAS). It was under his command that the Indian forces achieved a spectacular victory in the Indo-Pakistan War of 1971. Starting from 1932, when he joined the first batch at the Indian Military Academy (IMA), his distinguished military career spanned over four decades and five wars, including World War II. He was the first of only two Field Marshals in the Indian Army. Sam Manekshaw’s contributions to the Indian Army are legendary. He was a soldier’s soldier and a General’s General. He was outspoken and stood by his convictions. He was immensely popular within the Services and among civilians of all ages. Boyish charm, wit and humour were other notable qualities of independent India’s best known soldier. Apart from hardcore military affairs, the Field Marshal took immense interest in strategic studies and national security issues. Owing to this unique blend of qualities, a grateful nation honoured him with the Padma Bhushan and Padma Vibhushan in 1968 and 1972 respectively.



Field Marshal SHFJ Manekshaw, MC
1914-2008

CLAWS Occasional Papers are dedicated to the memory of Field Marshal Sam Manekshaw

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Centre for Land Warfare Studies
New Delhi



Editorial Team : CLAWS

ISSN : 23939729



Centre for Land Warfare Studies

RPSO Complex, Parade Road, Delhi Cantt, New Delhi 110010

Phone +91-11-25691308 Fax: +91-11-25692347

Email: landwarfare@gmail.com, website: www.claws.co.in

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Published in Bharat by



Sabre & Quill Publishers, New Delhi, India

www.sabreandquill.com/sabreandquill@gmail.com

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Foreword

In today's rapidly changing world, where technology advances at breakneck speed and geopolitical landscapes shift constantly, understanding the nuances of national security has become more important than ever. Since the requirement for comprehensive treatment of India's military transformation is coming from none other than the Chief of Defence Staff, General Anil Chauhan, I am motivated to offer my own comments on a very educative analysis of the book by Prof Gautam Sen, who has undertaken a dispassionate look at the contents. The Book, "*Ready, Relevant and Resurgent: A Blueprint for the Transformation of India's Military*", offers valuable insights that are both timely and critically relevant. As a seasoned military leader with vast experience, the CDS's work is not only a reflection of India's strategic vision but also a guiding light for young scholars, policymakers, and military professionals seeking to understand the complex interplay of power, ideas, and modern warfare.

This review essay takes a deep dive into the core ideas of the book and emphasises that the book is much more than a mere collection of speeches or thoughts; it is carefully crafted and provides a structural map for the transformation of India while maintaining balance in this Brittle, Anxious, Non-Linear and Incomprehensible (BANI) World. What makes this work particularly compelling is its ability to bridge the gap between theoretical ideas and practical strategies. It encourages young minds to look beyond conventional military doctrines and explore innovative approaches needed for modern warfare, including the importance of jointness, indigenisation, and resilience.

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A notable aspect of the book is its engagement with the foundational theories of international relations—namely, Realism and Constructivism. The author, through this essay, argues convincingly that modern warfare and security strategies are rooted in these theories, with a shift towards understanding power as both material and ideational. This analytical framework offers young scholars in a robust way to interpret global security dynamics, encouraging critical thinking about how India's strategy can evolve amidst these complexities.

Most importantly, the essay highlights the CDS' vision that promotes resilience and self-reliance—values that are deeply embedded in India's civilisational ethos. He advocates for an Indian-centric approach, emphasising indigenous solutions, technological innovation, and strategic autonomy. As India strives to become a developed nation by 2047, this work will inspire young analysts and students to see themselves as active contributors to this national journey.

In conclusion, this book and its review serve as a vital resource for the new generation of scholars and military leaders. It encourages them to think critically, stay informed, and adopt a strategic mindset that is adaptable to future challenges. Whether you are a student of security studies, a young officer aspiring to be a leader, or a policy analyst, this work urges you to look beyond conventional borders and embrace the complexity and opportunities of modern strategic thinking. It is an invitation to learn, debate, and contribute to India's ongoing transformation and global role in a world in transition.

September 2025

Lt Gen Dushyant Singh
PVSM, AVSM (Retd)
Director General, CLAWS

Review Essay of General Anil Chauhan's Book entitled "Ready, Relevant and Resurgent: A Blueprint for the Transformation of India's Military"

PROLOGUE

Introduction

This review Essay of the book authored by General Anil Chauhan, PVSM, UYSM, AVSM, SM, VSM (henceforth referred as **Anil Chauhan**) presently the serving Chief of Defence Staff of India, is an anthology of his thoughts, speeches and understanding of the intricate relationship between the past military thoughts—from the ancient to the contemporary India, covering the larger canvas of national security, nature of war, evolving battlefield architecture in modern time, substantiated by his experiences as a soldier and a military leader holding the highest rank in amongst the combined services of Army, Navy, and Air Force. The content and the context of deliberations in the book can be dubbed as a primary document for future scholars of Defence and Strategic studies, policy makers, political decision makers and infrastructure developers, procurement specialists and military strategic analysts. It will aid those who will evolve the future doctrines and strategies, and attempt to restructure to further transform the Indian Armed Force to take on the challenges of security that India has to face in the 21st Century, where the world is in transition and has been dubbed as an age of uncertainty. Though, from a military affairs point of view,

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Anil Chauhan has made the discourse Indo-centric, but it applies to the military affairs of all nation-states globally for “Force Application”.²

Anil Chauhan’s deliberation constantly suggests to the readers this aspect, sometimes directly and most of the time indirectly. More pertinent is Anil Chauhan’s attempt to bridge the gap between the realm of ideas and the domain of geostrategic policy making, to achieve the status of self-reliant (atmanirbhar) India by making the Indian Armed Forces Ready, Relevant and Resurgent (RR&R), to ink a Blueprint for the Transformation of India’s Military.

The Framework

The book is contained in four sections and covers nineteen issue areas. Each issue area, as we will analyse later, is brief and precise. Sometimes it gives the idea of reading a precis and not a long-winding deliberation. His address to the 144th NDA Passing out Parade on 30 May 2023, is the briefest that has been given by a Reviewing Officer but impactful – all of two pages!! It sums up his idea of the ‘emerging role of young generation’. However, all through his deliberation he underlines the philosophy of India’s security perspectives in the changing ontology of geopolitics, national security, nature of war, necessity of reforms and transformation, necessity to indigenisation, globalisation of world politics, reforms in the armed forces in a wider perspective, establishment of theatre command, jointness and creating two parallel and complimentary streams for ‘Force Application’ and ‘Force Generation’, securitising international relations and the necessity to develop the strategic culture. Anil Chauhan understands the necessity to create a framework of analysis. It is my informed suspicion that in his unwritten form, he understands and recognises that an in-depth study of the problems related to the

cultural and civilisational aspects of our national security, calls for a truly multidimensional perspective where many components of academic disciplines of science, technology and management science and social sciences must also come together for the formation of an integrated theoretical orientation. Therefore, the problem of national security for a country like ours, which has experienced a series of catastrophes from within and a continuing threat from without, has to be formulated in terms of the larger goals and aspiration to which this civilisational community has committed itself. Briefly, one could think of three such objectives, namely:

1. National stability and integrity
2. Cultural, Social, Political and Economic aspiration and compulsions
3. Peace and stability in our relations with other states

Hence, I will go on to gold plating his ideas by recording that the problem of national security for a country, therefore, must be seen in terms of these larger goals. If this may be called the cultural dimension of the problems of national security, we also have to look at the problem from the political and technological impact perspective as well. Here we have to consider a complex interaction between the perceptions of our neighbours beyond the borders as well as those of the larger major powers, including their objectives. This must necessarily also include the remaining superpower. It is within this matrix of relationships that the specific goals of our security policy will be structured.

The cultural and political aspects of the problem creates a texture of tasks and priorities of decision-making, and the possible options for actions. The actualisation of our objectives as modulated and structured requires an adequate process of

institutionalisation, ranging from the economic to the administrative and the legal. The institutionalisation of our national security efforts themselves creates further problems and difficulties. Hence, all three dimensions viz. the cultural, socio-political and institutional enter in a complex interaction calling for skills and patterns of leadership at all levels of the problems. Therefore, we need to arrive at multiple dimensions of leadership. This calls for a creative response to the complexities of the problem—a clear articulation of various facets of the situation, their complex relationship and also the sharp awareness of the possible contributions, tensions and pressures that must be overcome. Hence, indirectly Anil Chauhan is hinting implicitly the contribution of scholars in the cultural and philosophical disciplines as vital for examining the normative aspects of the problems of security in light of ideals to which we are committed, i.e., national security, social justice and global peace. Anil Chauhan is thus looking at a framework of analysis to create a Blueprint for the transformation of India's Military, which will be resilient, integrated and enable a civil-military fusion in a seamless fashion for nation building. Further, in his framework of ideation, he has very specifically enumerated the role of the three Service Chiefs as Heads of their services and further clarified that in the role that is envisaged to be played by them.³

To sum up the framework of Anil Chauhan's work, it will be prudent to say that his work in due course of time will act as a catalytic agent to other militaries around the world. The blueprint as we assess in detail every one of the 19 issue areas, is geared towards the incorporation of 'Resilience' in its functional modalities. Ever since the conflict involving Ukraine, Israel, and Iran has taken centre stage, the concept of Resilience and the utility of the same have come to the forefront and have been demonstrated amply by underdogs in the conflict. On the other hand, India has a

history of applying resilience to every conflict or war situation that she has faced in the past 74 years, which can be termed as *Passive Defensive Resilience* and has paid the heavy price for it. Anil Chauhan's thesis is to rectify the follies of the past, give a mid-course correction and provide a blueprint for the transformation of India's military.

The Problematic

What needs to be followed up on, in his vision, is to conceptualise the parameters of Deterrence and Deterrent. Deterrence operates by default. Hence, historically, Deterrence has operated and will continue to be functional only at nuclear level. Deterrent has to be subscribed to and hence is *de facto* and *de jure*. Once a nation state achieves the capability of Deterrence, it becomes a one-time investment and hence requires periodic updates and regular maintenance.

Deterrent is *de facto* and *de jure*. It has to be subscribed. Deterrent being on a subscription mode, requires updating, regular investment to be relevant to newer situations or circumstances and the cost factor is based on the level of deterrent that needs to be maintained against the adversary. Since it has a legal precondition, it can be implemented in practice without being escalatory and can be used as a game changer in the age of shifting nature and character of war. Every nation-state, small or large, can create a deterrent to prevent a stronger adversary from playing a zero-sum game. Hence, in the modern age of technology incorporation in the conduct of warfare, it can strategise tactics and act as a game-changer. Weapons and platforms used for deterrent can operate successfully in non-contact mode as well as in kinetic mode of warfare, allowing pre-empting the adversaries' tactical or strategic intents at conventional levels. In the Indian context, during Operation Sindoor, the Indian military planners used Deterrent

successfully in a non-escalatory mode. Unlike Pakistan who has always raised the nuclear bogey, India has stood by its principle of 'no first use'.

The 21st century will usher in the age of 'deterrent' over 'deterrence'. It will emphasise the role of non-contact warfare, supersede kinetic warfare and use coercive force over military targets rather than civilian targets⁴. Deterrent can thus become an integral part of adopting and acquiring 'Resilience' by all nation-states to refrain from contact warfare or conflicts devoid of boots on the ground. Lastly, Deterrent can be both defensive (passive) or offensive in nature, depending on the conflict situation.

In the following pages, we will examine the four sections and their 19 issue areas in the light of India's aspiration to be a developed nation by 2047. Anil Chauhan further adds that "We need to find Indian solutions to Indian problems. Our ancient wisdom is a source of motivation and inspiration" and underlines the ethos of a self-reliant, self-assured, self-confident Indian military supported by the principle of self-reliance (Atmanirbharta)⁵. To substantiate this we have added a classic piece written by K C Bhattacharyya entitled "Swaraj in Ideas".⁶ It is a powerful essay on self-reliance. The 21st century will usher in the age of "deterrent" over "deterrence". This is what can be termed as the third revolution in strategic analysis over defence analysis. It will emphasise the role of non-contact warfare, supersede kinetic warfare and use coercive force over military targets rather than civilian targets.

Deterrent can, thus become an integral part of adopting and acquiring "*Resilience*"⁷ by all nation-states to refrain from contact warfare or conflicts devoid of boots on the ground. Lastly, Deterrent can be both defensive (passive) or offensive for depending on the conflict situation to be faced.

This review essay which is based on Anil Chauhan's book is for serious contemplation both by the theorists of Security and International Relations as well as the practitioners of policy making in the government. Both the groups have to realise that they have to be complimentary to each other, be interdependent and independent as they rationalise the conceptualisation of national security through their differing conceptual lens and have a constructive attitude to understand the theoretical premise as well as the generative understanding of strategic nuances and outputs based on experience and judgement required to produce actionable intelligence supported by facts for policy and doctrinal formulation on national interest, national security and strategic outlooks.

On 18 July 2025, Anil Chauhan, addressing a conference, stated that "...can't win today's wars with yesterday's weapons". This statement must have been at the back of his mind while composing the text of his book. Thus, the four sections of Anil Chauhan's book with 19 issue areas will be looked at through the prism of Realism⁸ and Constructivism,⁹ for augmenting policy formulation towards Strategising Tactics for Force Application. Thus, in the application of coercive military power, it will provide the higher directions in war, managing conflict for a win-win outcome, monitored by the Chief of Defence Staff, who is in charge of military affairs. It is under this umbrella that a theatre commander is envisaged to operate. On the other hand, the premise of Constructivism for policy formulation by Tacticising Strategy will be undertaken by the transformed role of the Service Chiefs, who will be in charge of Force Generation, colloquially called 'Rise, Train and Sustain (RTS) function'¹⁰.

ANALYSING THE CONTENT OF THE BOOK

Conduct of war lies in the domain of Realism, while management of war remains in the realm of Constructivism

Gautam Sen

Abstract

The book, titled 'Ready, Relevant and Resurgent: A Blueprint for the Transformation of India's Military', is an unusual one written by a serving Chief of Defence Staff of India, General Anil Chauhan. He has attempted to wade through the geopolitical domain of the present century when the world is undergoing transition. The aim of the book has been an attempt to bring about the transformation of the three Services into a modern force capable of facing the future threats and safeguarding the perspectives of India's National Security Strategy¹¹ and National interests¹² across multiple domains. He emphasises the need to achieve jointness as well as integration within the individual services as well as amongst the three services in an interdependent and unified manner. This approach, as the title suggests, will provide a roadmap leading to the total transformation of India's Military. He further writes that such an approach of laying the foundation of jointness and integration "will allow us to go back to the basics and see what our ancestors knew, wrote and spoke about warfare, statecraft and diplomacy". Further, he emphasises "Resurgence will lead to Resilience which is what we aspire for". He writes that the need to "go back to the basics is a must and see what our ancestors knew, wrote and spoke about warfare, statecraft and diplomacy". The contents of the book reflect the marking of a new era in India's Higher Defence Organisation. Through a series of articles, speeches, participation in International Conferences and interviews, the author Anil Chauhan articulates a clear vision for

building a Future Ready force committed to the national goal of a Sashakt, Surakshit, Samridh and Viksit Bharat by 2047¹³.

The positivity of the contents of the book is that it touches all the conceptual, organisational, ideational and capability-related requirements of the Indian Army preparing for Third Military Revolution, Battlefield Architecture, Nature of War and Types of Conflicts. Anil Chauhan is the first one who has drawn the attention of the Strategic Community of India to understand “Tactics Led Force Modernisation” as essential to be factored in the domain of modern warfare. In this review essay, an attempt has been made to place Anil Chauhan’s work within a theoretical and intellectual moorings related to Security and International Relations, ensconced between Realism and Constructivism as a matrix of power analysis, as well as a measuring standard and implications. Suggestions have been made to further understand the concepts and developments within Resilience, Realism, and Constructivism. For the readers, an extensive review of the three theoretical premises has been conducted to understand how they drive state behaviour and power. Each of the three ideas has been extensively explained and highlighted in the footnotes for ease of understanding. The basic Hypothesis that will be tested in this Review Essay is based on the efficacy that “Warfare” has undergone massive transformational change since they will be fought in all domains simultaneously, air, ground, sea, sub-sea, cyberspace as well as in information space, traditional and social media. Hence, it is hypothesised that the contents and the context of Anil Chauhan’s deliberations must lead to empirically proving that “REALISM” supersedes “CONSTRUCTIVISM” to create the Blueprint for the transformation of India’s Military.

Content

Anil Chauhan, in his deliberations, has left nothing imaginable to justify the need to achieve Jointness, Integration and Theaterisation to bring about the transformation of India's Military. The deliberations comprise of collection of his writings, addresses in conferences, addresses to senior commanders of the three Services, ideation of the conduct of warfare in the 21st century, keeping in mind the changing nature and character of warfare due to the impact of technology, without forgetting the legacy of ancient Indian wisdom and its relevance in modern strategy and statecraft. The book is contained in four sections.

1. General
2. Warfare
3. Reforms
4. Important Talks

We will review each section one by one and analyse within a theoretical framework to rationalise whether it belongs to the 'Realist' school of thought or the 'Constructivist' school, or it is a combination of both. It is essential to point out that the conduct of "War" is in the domain of "Realism."¹⁴ For realists, the key variable or factor driving state behaviour is power. The principal form of power is force or military power. This is assumed to be true for two reasons. First, there is the overall distribution of violent capabilities across all states. The changing but inherently unequal distribution of military power is identified by realists as the skeleton structure of global order. Posited is a direct but still largely unclear and contestable relation between the ever-changing distribution of material power, notably state military capabilities, and the outcomes of conflicting demands made by states on each other, while "Management of War" is in the realm of "Constructivism."¹⁵

It is an approach to social enquiry. Constructivism applies to all fields of social enquiry and is a way of studying any type of social relations. Constructivism has been especially important in portraying individual and state security constructs susceptible to limitless reformation over time by willing and wilful actors rather than as a static concept. Constructivism in security studies emerged in the late 20th century as an influential approach within the broader field of international relations and emphasises the objective reality and the pursuit of power. Thus, by juxtaposing the theory of *Realism* and the approach to social enquiry contained in *Constructivism*, we will rationalise how this book has contributed towards presenting a blueprint to transforming India's Army. For this, we have to understand why Anil Chauhan has divided his book into four Sections, as given below:

Section A: General. Contains

1. Military Geography
2. Geography as an Element of Strategy, Politics and Economics
3. Ancient Indian Wisdom and its Relevance in Modern Strategy and Statecraft
4. National Security: A Conceptual Framework

Section B: Warfare. Contains

1. The Nature of War and Types of Conflicts
2. Evolving Battlefield Architecture
3. Tactics Led Force Modernisation
4. Preparing For the Third Revolution in Military Affairs

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Section C: Reforms. Contains

1. Jointness and Integration 2.0
2. HDO: Past, Present and Future
3. Atamanirbharta in Defence
4. Indigenisation and Innovation: The Road Ahead
5. Transformation and Management of Change

Section D: Important Talks. Contains

1. Global Future 2035: Future Security Challenges
2. Geo-Political Impacts of Indo-Pacific Maritime Trade and Connectivity
3. Transforming the Armed Forces Through Restructuring Technology and Atmanirbharta
4. India's Quest for Strategic Autonomy: Opportunities and Challenges in the Emerging World Order
5. Artificial Intelligence (AI) Transforming Warfare
6. Emerging Role of the Young Generation

Each of the above four sections, while concentrating on the domain aspects of its title, looks in this book, through the conceptual lens of security and strategy, to achieve optimal power in amongst the comity of nations at the global, regional and subregional level. Such an aspiration is quite logical for a nation which in seven decades after gaining independence has blossomed into the largest democracy in the world, has reached a \$4 trillion economy with a demographic dividend of a young population offering a massive trained manpower to augment

infrastructure development, an enviable diaspora spread all over the world to act as an impressionable influencing factor in the international flora of trade, commerce, technology on one hand and leaderships in corporate, private and multinational institutions functioning internationally and in the domestic arena. It is thus natural for India to be a *Sashakt, Surakshit, Samridh and Viksit Bharat by 2047*.

Realism

1. For realism, the key variable or factor driving state behaviour is power. The principal form of power is force or military power. The changing but inherently unequal distribution of military power is identified by realists as the skeleton structure of global order.
2. Realism emphasises the role of the state, national interest, and power in world politics (notably the balance of power between states). Realism focuses on abiding patterns of interaction in an international system lacking a centralised political authority.
3. Realism is generally pessimistic about the possibility of radical systemic reform. Hence, Realists frequently claim to draw on an ancient tradition of political thought for creating strategic culture.

Constructivism, on the other hand

1. Constructivism portrays individual and state security constructs susceptible to limitless reformation over time by willing and wilful actors rather than as a static concept.
2. Constructivism in security studies has influenced the broader field of international relations – live and let live.

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3. Constructivism explains the behaviour of nation-states by emphasising the role of social norms, ideas, and identities in shaping state actions. This contrasts with realist perspectives, which prioritises material power and security.
4. Constructivism explains international conflicts by focusing on the role of ideas, identities, and social norms in shaping state behaviour.

Hence, the verdict of Anil Chauhan's concepts and ideas as a military leader can be summed up as follows:

1. **Section A: General.** All four deliberations fall in Realism, and Anil Chauhan is a Realist. Bharat needs a Realist in the present age and time.
2. **Section B: Warfare.** The Nature of War and Types of Conflicts and Evolving Battlefield Architecture fall in Constructivism while Tactics Led Force Modernisation and Preparing for the Third Revolution in Military Affairs falls in the category of Realism.
3. **Section C: Reforms.** Jointness and Integration 2.0, HDO: Past, Present and Future, falls under the category of Constructivism, while Atamanirbharta in Defence, Indigenisation and Innovation: The Road Ahead: Transformation and Management of Change falls in the category of Realism.
4. **Section D: Important Talks.** Global Future 2035: Future Security Challenges, Geo-Political Impacts of Indo-Pacific Maritime Trade and Connectivity Falls under Constructivism while Transforming the Armed Forces Through Restructuring Technology and Atmanirbharta, India's Quest for Strategic Autonomy: Opportunities and Challenges in the Emerging

World Order; Artificial Intelligence (AI) Transforming Warfare Emerging Role of Young Generation fall under Realism.

Assessing Anil Chauhan's inputs in Nation Building

This scientific enquiry of Anil Chauhan's Book in the form of a Review Essay shows that, out of the nineteen issue areas, *He has advocated Realism in 13 issue areas and balanced the deliberations in 6 issue areas through Constructivism*. It is very laudable that Anil Chauhan, who has had no formal post-doctoral training in the scientific methodology in social science research or in the conduct of a scientific enquiry in the theory and causes of war, has produced a cogent presentation based on his enormous experience and judgement of 45 years in the profession of Arms. There are no footnotes in his entire presentation as corroborating evidence, but each observation and statement in the manuscript is perfectly crafted. A single observation, "Resurgence will lead to Resilience" is almost the essence of the theoretical premise of "Resilience", on which an enormous amount of research writings has come into existence in the cognitive domain. He has not dwelt with it any further but left it at that. He has indirectly, again, by his experience as a soldier, indicated that he is aware that "Resilience" as a theory will be the hallmark of strategic analysis while analysing the future of warfare in the 21st Century. It is useful to quote General David Petraeus, who recently warned us that:

"Warfare has undergone massive change... We are coming to grips that warfare will increasingly be fought with remotely piloted and, over time algorithmically with unmanned weapon systems enabled by complex intelligence surveillance... They will be fought in all domains

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simultaneously air, ground, sea, sub-sea, cybers space as well in information space, traditional and social media". David further states "Human will still be in control to all this and they will need to be to understand complexities and dimensions of future war aided in every aspect like AI learning and able to adapt to situations required. There still will be an enormous premium on strategic leadership at the very top above all of us to get the big idea".

Conclusion

I hope that this Review Essay will be of use to the young generation of military leaders to understand the role of theory to assess military affairs at the grassroots levels. It is also my fond hope that more and more young military leaders get initiated to bridge the gap between academia and the professional soldier in integrating the thought processes. In the end, I will once again draw the attention of readers of this Review Essay to note first, the critical assessment of the theories related to Security and International Relations and the summary of three very important theories of Resilience, Realism and Constructivism placed as footnotes. Lastly, Anil Chauhan's deliberations conform to the hypothesis as stated in the Abstract.

- 1 Prof Gautam Sen was Savarkar Chair Professor and Head of Deptt of Defence and Strategic Studies at Pune University for 27 years, and also served the Indian Army prior to that.
- 2 Anil Chauhan, *Ready, Relevant and Resurgent: A Blueprint for the transformation of India's Military*, (Pentagon Press LLP, New Delhi, 2025.), pp. x-xi. Though the term has been used in the narrowly focused Indo-centrally in relation to sharing of operational power between the Theater Commanders and the Service Chiefs, with the former being responsible for Force Application and the Service Chiefs providing Force Generation. The twin application can be universal. However, in terms of Indo-centricity it is truly transformational and is likely to produce roughages and will be time consuming before being fully operationalized. Internal debates are likely to continue long after his book is read and introspected by one and all globally in the profession of Arms and Military affairs. Anil Chauhan has himself pointed to the same in the succeeding paragraph.
- 3 Anil Chauhan, op., cit., pp. x-xi
- 4 See Future of Warfare at <https://youtu.be/mwcYhGXznSY>
- 5 Chauhan op.,cit., pp xi-xii
- 6 Lecture delivered by Krishna Chandra Bhattacharya (1875-1949) in October 1931 under Sir Asutosh Memorial Lectures series, organized at Chandernagore by Charu Chandra Roy. (As the lecture contains some ideas and views of the great philosopher likely to stimulate thinking in our own day, it was considered worthwhile to resuscitate it from his old papers and present it before our readers. From *Visvabharati Quarterly* 20, 103-114 (1954)
- 7 See Katarína Svítková, *Resilience in National Security Discourse*, in (*Obrana a Strategie Defence & Strategy*, October 2017), Charles University in Prague. The portion of the paper is cited here with references in brackets:

“The concept of ‘resilience’ has turned into a powerful discursive tool in science and public policy on multiple scales and levels. From engineering to psychology, development studies to urbanism and security studies – innumerable analyses have appeared across the board trying to understand, measure and quantify resilience. The latter is generally defined as a capacity of a system to withstand disruptions while maintaining its basic functions and structure. In the field of public policy, resilience of things and against things has become a fashionable term. Yet, capturing a true essence of resilience is virtually impossible. Who is to be made resilient, by whom, using what means, and with what effects? It is clear that one’s definition of resilience is shaped by their social and spatial positions – as well as their political agendas. This does not mean that resilience becomes any less powerful as a discursive

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tool – it simply means that political declarations and policies relying on resilience require some careful analysis. The objective of this paper is two-fold, which is reflected in two sets of research questions that it poses. The first one concerns the recent proliferation of resilience discourse in the field of national security, focusing on two specific cases: the United States and the United Kingdom. How is resilience understood and used in the US and UK security discourse on the strategic level? What are some specific issue-areas and objectives in which resilience – in both of the studied cases – appears as a dominant framework? And finally, what are the similarities and differences between the resilience discourse in the US and the UK? The analysis suggests that resilience is remarkably adaptable and regarded as an analytical tool, a principle, a quality, or an objective – all at the same time. It is therefore used for a variety of purposes, and acquires different meanings based on the context in which it appears. In any case, it is evident that resilience emerges as an extremely useful framework for national security discourse and policy throughout the period of 2010-2015. Also, by analysing the discourses through the lens of resilience, remarkable similarities between the studied cases are uncovered with regard to the specific issue-areas; these include emergency management, protection of critical infrastructure, global prosperity, conflict management, climate change and global development. At the same time, the analysis identifies an important difference in ontology of resilience understood normatively on one hand, and practically on the other. The second part of the analysis discusses the surge of resilience on a multinational level.

Specifically, to what extent has resilience been adopted by key international organizations in the North Atlantic area, namely the NATO and the EU? The analysis suggests that resilience has indeed proliferated in a set of high-profile declarations of these organizations throughout 2016. However, it has not yet reached the degree of prominence that it enjoys in the discourse of national security. Given the short timeframe, the purpose of this part is not to draw conclusions regarding the implementation of Resilience. Instead, it is to reflect on the surge of resilience in the strategic discourse of the EU and NATO, and relate it to the national security context. The paper by Katarína Svitková stops short of claiming a direct causal relation between the British and US national security discourse on one hand, and the NATO and EU declarations on the other. However, one can notice a remarkable degree of consonance in principles and terminology as used by the mentioned actors, reflecting their shared strategic environment.

EVOLUTION OF THE CONCEPT

The concept of resilience can be generally characterized as a capacity of a system to constantly evolve and adapt to disturbance while maintaining its basic function and structure. (WALKER, Brian – *SALT, London: Island Press,*

2006). Given this general definition, one can intuitively sense the wide variety of applications and purposes of the term in security policy and practice. The concept first appeared in its English version in the 17th century dictionaries to be later adopted by the 19th century mechanics and the 20th century ecology and psychology (ALEXANDER, David, 2707-2716.) Since the 1970, (HOOLING, Crawford, 1973; FOLKE, Carl, 2006; and METZGER, Panscale – ROBERT, Jeremy, 2013) the principle of resilience has dominated the field of ecology in particular, and has been applied to countless systems on different spatial scales. Across the broad discipline of Security Studies, the understanding of resilience differs fundamentally in terms of its meaning and purpose. Throughout the 2000s, a rather positivist approach to resilience gained ground in the field of strategic studies (FJ.DER, Christian) and emergency management. (ROGERS, Peter, 2017) This perspective sees resilience as a problem-solving tool which opens up security to a range of new actors, and thereby leaves the state behind to a certain degree. Taken up as an analytical and practical tool, resilience helps to make sense of the complexity that defines the current security environment, and ‘democratizes’ the responses by engaging – and empowering – other actors. Around 2010, an alternative stream of resilience literature emerged to challenge the problem solving approaches. Government resilience discourses became scrutinized with regard to the practices they tend to legitimize. That is, political questions were raised about what resilience does and to whom. This approach sees resilience as a largely neoliberal tool, with a state – albeit dressed up in the logic of empowerment – contributing to the existing and unequal power structures. (CHANDLER, David, 2014) Scholars have argued that one’s ability to be resilient depends on their social and spatial position – that is, resilience does not work on a level playing field. It is therefore seen as fundamentally political – and questions are asked about who is to be made resilient, by what means, and with what consequences. (VALE, Lawrence J, 2014) In extreme cases, resilience-labelled security measures can be seen as undermining security rather than enhancing it. (COAFFEE, Jon, 2015) As noted by Alexander, one man’s resilience may be other’s vulnerability. (ALEXANDER, ref. 2.) Much of the critical security scholarship focused on ‘urban resilience’ – a booming research agenda especially after 9/11, with many cities seeking anti-terrorist measures ranging from defensive urban planning (COAFFEE, Jon, 2009) to militarization of urban public space (GRAHAM, Stephen, 2011) and surveillance. (LYON, David, 2003) It was also evidenced by the creation of a specialized journal titled Resilience: International Policies, Practices and Resilience has therefore gained a firm ground in Security Studies throughout the last decade, with Discourses. In early 2017, Routledge Handbook of International Resilience (CHANDLER, David – COAFFEE, Jon, 2017) was published, edited by David Chandler and Jon Coaffee. Mirroring its rise in the academia, ‘resilience’ also became widely adopted in

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national security policy, particularly after 2010. While countries around the world incorporated resilience into their national security strategies, others – such as Canada, the Netherlands or Australia, even adopted specific ‘resilience strategies’.(FJ.DER, ref.) Rather than promising ‘total security’, which is unattainable in today’s complex security environment, resilience accepts a possibility of occurrence of disruptions and crises. It is no longer about if these will happen – it is rather about how to withstand when they happen. As becomes apparent when analysing security strategies and declarations in the next section, the range of possible security threats that can materialize is virtually limitless. Therefore, two types of resilience are distinguished - specified vis-à-vis known risks and anticipated security events, and general as for coping with the unknown.(SCHOLZ, Robert et al,2012) In the national security arena, Fj.der argues that resilience challenges the traditional role of the state as a security provider.(FJ.DER, ref. 6) A broad range of other actors on different levels come into play, reflecting the variety of domains covered by resilience. As will be shown in the following sections, resilience incorporates issues from public health and social cohesion to industrial disasters and terrorism. In terms of its scope and objectives, it far overreaches a government or military authority. Resilience also aims to go beyond the material dimension of security by highlighting the interconnectedness of the natural, environmental, demographic and social domains.(PICKETT, Steward et al,2014) Blurring of these different dimensions, and of the formerly clear distinction between internal and external security, becomes clear in analysing resilience discourse of states and international organizations. The studied strategies and high-level declarations tend to use the language of threats, risks and vulnerabilities on one hand, and offer principles of resilience on the other. Protection, adaptation, collaboration, empowerment and capacity building are among the terms often used in relation to the referent objects of security – be it states, societies, critical infrastructure networks, or vulnerable communities.”

Resilience represents an all-encompassing principle, serving to understand and analyse threats and responses on any level and scale desirable. Also, resilience in a sense of persistence, renewal and continuity, has an important normative aspect to it, which is difficult to counter-argue. In sum, a remarkable analytical utility and flexibility of the concept have turned it into one of the principal buzzwords in today’s security discourse”.

8. **Realism:** For an excellent discourse on Realism, Neorealism and liberal institutionalism see Kolodziej, E A, Security and International relations, (Chapter 4, pp 127-174, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK, 2005); Very briefly Kolodziej states that “For realist, the key variable or factor driving state behaviour is power. The principle form of power is force or military power. This is assumed to be true for two reasons. First, there is the

overall distribution of violent capabilities across all states. The changing but inherently unequal distribution of military power is identified by realists as the skeleton structure of global order. Posited is a direct but still largely unclear and contestable relation between the ever-changing distribution of material power, notably state military capabilities, and the outcomes of conflicting demands made by states on each other.”

Briefly, Realism, set of related theories of IR that emphasizes the role of the state, national interest, and power in world politics. Realism has dominated the academic study of IR since the end of World War II. Realists claim to offer both the most accurate explanation of state behaviour and a set of policy prescriptions (notably the balance of power between states) for ameliorating the inherent destabilizing elements of international affairs. Realism (including neorealism) focuses on abiding patterns of interaction in an international system lacking a centralized political authority. That condition of anarchy means that the logic of international politics often differs from that of domestic politics, which is regulated by a sovereign power. Realists are generally pessimistic about the possibility of radical systemic reform. Realism is a broad tradition of thought that comprises a variety of different strands, the most distinctive of which are classical realism and neorealism.

Classical realism in international relations

Realists frequently claim to draw on an ancient tradition of political thought. Among classic authors often cited by realists are Thucydides, Niccolo Machiavelli, Thomas Hobbes, Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Max Weber. Realism as a self-conscious movement in the study of international relations emerged during the mid-20th century and was inspired by the British political scientist and historian. Carr attacked what he perceived as the dangerous and deluded “idealism” of liberal internationalists and, in particular, their belief in the possibility of progress through the construction of international institutions such as the League of Nations. He focused instead on the perennial role of power and self-interest in determining state behaviour. The outbreak of World War II converted many scholars to that pessimistic vision. Thereafter, realism became established in American political Science departments, its fortunes boosted by a number of émigré European scholars, most notably the German-born political scientist and historian Hans Morgenthau. It is the realism of Carr, Morgenthau, and their followers that is known as classical. Most often Realist look at balance of power theory as one of the best way to explain how states relate to each otherf

- 9 **Constructivism:** Nicholas Onuf one of the leading founders of this school of thought observes “Constructivism is not a theory”. It is an approach to social enquiry..... Constructivism applies to all fields of social enquiry and is a way of studying any type of social relations. Constructivism has been especially

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important in portraying individual and state security constructs susceptible to limitless reformation over time by willing and wilful actors rather than as a static concept.

Constructivism in security studies emerged in the late 20th century as an influential approach within the broader field of international relations. It offers a contrasting perspective to traditional theories like realism, which emphasizes the objective reality of anarchy and the pursuit of power. Constructivism explains the behaviour of nation-states by emphasizing the role of social norms, ideas, and identities in shaping state actions. It is a theoretical framework where the fundamental elements of international politics are conceived of as social constructs. This contrasts with realist perspectives, which prioritize material power and security. How does constructivism explain international conflicts? Constructivism explains international conflicts by focusing on the role of ideas, identities, and social norms in shaping state behaviour. It posits that the international system is not an objective reality but a social construct shaped by human actors and their interactions.

What are the main differences between constructivism and realism? Realism and constructivism are two major schools of thought in international relations with differing views on the nature of the international system, state behaviour, and the factors that drive international politics.

Key Differences Between Realism and Constructivism:

- **Nature of International System:** Realism views the international system as anarchic, where states are the primary actors and must rely on their own power for survival. Constructivism, on the other hand, sees the international system as socially constructed, shaped by shared ideas, norms, and identities.
- **State Behaviour:** Realism posits that states are rational actors primarily motivated by self-interest, particularly the pursuit of power and security. Constructivism argues that state behaviour is shaped by social norms, values, and identities, which can change over time.
- **Role of Ideas and Norms:** Realism largely ignores the role of ideas and norms, focusing instead on material capabilities and power dynamics. Constructivism emphasizes the importance of ideas, norms, and values in shaping state interests and behaviour.
- **Anarchy:** Realists believe that the condition of anarchy means that the logic of international politics often differs from that of domestic politics, which is regulated by a sovereign power. Constructivists argue that

anarchy does not inherently lead to conflict but that the meaning of anarchy is shaped by the shared understandings and practices of states.

- **Truth:** Realism emphasizes the role of power and self-interest in determining state behaviour. Constructivism holds that all institutions, including the state, are socially constructed, in the sense that they reflect an "intersubjective consensus" of shared beliefs about political practice, acceptable social behaviour, and values.

What are some examples of constructivism in action?

Constructivism is a theory of international relations that emphasizes the role of ideas, norms, values, and social interaction in shaping state identities, interests, and behaviours. Here are some examples of constructivism in action:

- **The End of the Cold War:** The peaceful end of the Cold War is a key example often cited by constructivists. Constructivists argue that the change in the Soviet Union's identity and its relationship with the West, influenced by new ideas and norms, led to the end of the Cold War.
- **European Integration:** The development of the European Union (EU) is another example. Constructivist scholars point to the changing norms and identities among European states, leading to increased cooperation and integration. The initial aim of the EU was to reconcile former enemies and prevent war.
- **Human Rights Norms:** The promotion and protection of human rights in contemporary world affairs is influenced by constructivism. The United Nations, its allied agencies, and regional organizations have contributed to this development.
- **The Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC):** The CWC is an example of constructivism in action through the development and reinforcement of international norms. The agreement to limit or ban the use of chemical weapons in war shows how states can construct shared understandings and practices that lead to cooperative security outcomes.
- **Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs):** NGOs operate based on constructivist principles by addressing a range of human concerns and advocating for public policy. They believe that individuals working together can solve human and environmental problems through grassroots organizing and the use of information and political strategies.

What are the Challenges and critiques of constructivism

Constructivism, while influential in international relations, faces several challenges and critiques:

- Too much power to words: Realists argue that constructivism gives too much importance to discourse, suggesting that words alone can alter state behaviour. They contend that material realities and power politics often outweigh the impact of ideas and norms.
- Vagueness and difficulty in testing: Constructivism is sometimes criticized for being too abstract and difficult to test empirically. Critics argue that the concepts of identity and norms are hard to define and measure, making it challenging to prove or disprove constructivist claims.
- Limited practical impact: Realists point out that historical examples, such as the medieval communitarian discourse, had little real-world impact on the rivalrous actions of states.
- Utopian: Some view constructivism as overly optimistic, particularly its belief that changing discourse can create a more benign international environment. Realists suggest that this perspective overlooks the enduring nature of conflict and competition in international relations.

10 Anil Chauhan, op. cit p. x

11 Gautam Sen, The Conceptual Underpinnings Of National Security Strategy, An Overview, pp 1-2 in Gurmit Kanwal Ed The New Arthshastra, Harper Collins Publishers India, 2016

12 Gautam Sen, The Conceptual Underpinnings Of National Security Strategy, (National Security Strategy :Interest pp. 2-5.), in Gurmit Kanwal Ed The New Arthshastra, Harper Collins Publishers India, 2016

13 For a full discussion follow the links,
https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/defence/as-we-navigate-stormy-geopolitical-arena-there-is-rising-uncertainty-in-nature-of-future-threats-cds-anil-chauhan/articleshow/121345039.cms?utm_source=contentofinterest&utm_medium=text&utm_campaign=cppst)

14 Footnote No. 7, op., cit, p. 16 (See for a full review of the dimensions of Realism)

15 Footnote No. 8, Op. Cit.

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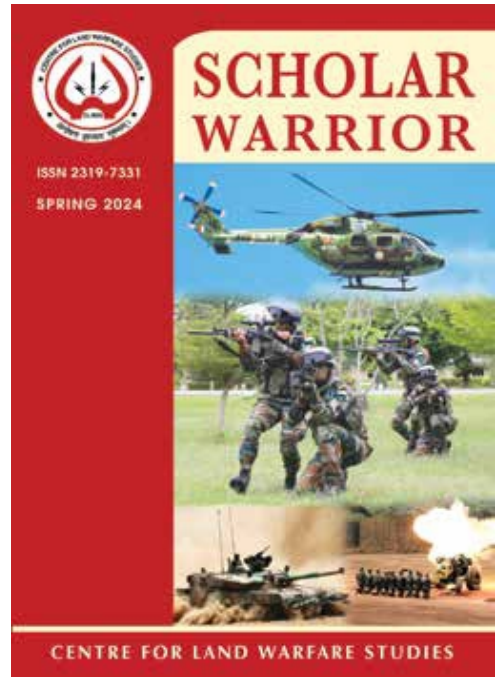
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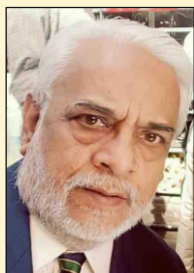
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This is a theoretical 'Review Essay' on the book written by General Anil Chauhan, PVSM, UYSM, AVSM, SM, VSM, Chief of Defence Staff of India. He has put his thoughts, speeches and understanding of the intricate relationship between the past military thoughts from the ancient to the contemporary India, covering the larger canvas of national security, nature of war, evolving battlefield architecture in modern times, substantiated by his experiences as a soldier. The content of the deliberations can serve as a primary source for all researchers. Anil Chauhan's deliberations have universal applicability for all nation states globally for 'Force Application' without escalation but through resilience. He points to the necessity of India to develop Theatre Commands and jointness and reiterates the necessity to understand the role of 'Deterrence' and 'Deterrent' in the context of warfare in the 21st Century. Anil Chauhan has attempted to bridge the gap between the realm of ideas and the domain of geostrategic policy making for self-reliant (atmanirbhar) India and the Indian Armed Forces Ready, Relevant and Resurgent (RR&R) to ink a Blueprint for the Transformation of India's Military.



Gautam Sen Pune, academician, political scientist, strategic analyst and an educationalist for over six decades. Presently he is a Distinguished Visiting Fellow, CLAWS, Adjunct Professor NIAS, Emeritus Professor PPF, Member, Accreditation Advisory Council, Gol, Founder Member, Centre for Advance Strategic Studies. Sen was awarded the Scholar Warrior Award by CLAWS and the Lifetime Achievement Award by the UGC Centre for South East Asian and Pacific Studies. Sen held The Savarkar Chair for Defence Studies for 27 Years, Subroto Mukherjee Chair of Excellence, USI, Director UGC's National Institute of International Security and Defence Analysis, Ford International Fellow at Harvard and the MIT, Jean Monnet Fellow at the European University Institute, Florence, Italy, Twice Research Fellow at the IISS, London and DG and Managing Trustee of The Indian Institute of Education. Sen has authored books and scholarly Papers and taught nearly 9,000 students at the postgraduate level over a period of five decades.



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