CHAPTER-3

INDO-RUSSIAN POLITICAL AND DEFENCE RELATIONS : 2000-08

Strategic relationship is one of the most frequently used phrase in foreign policy but perhaps one of the least understood. Scholars have traced its appearance in international relations at the end of the Cold War. Countries that were until then arranged in blocs, allied to one of the two superpowers, suddenly found themselves on their own and began to find new bilateral alliances, usually with states more powerful than themselves.

Nations define their relations with other countries variously. When two countries describe their relations as strategic their ties are deemed to have risen to a new level. But foreign policy is still struggling to define it conceptually. What exactly does it mean? The oxford dictionary defines strategic as anything relating to long term interests and goals. A strategic partnership by extension, would relate to long term shared interests and ways of achieving them Strategic partnerships are commonly associated with defence or security related issues. A survey of formal strategic partnership around the world reveal they can also be quite a hold-all covring a wide range in bilateral relations from defence to education, health and agriculture and quite commonly economic relations, including trade investment and banking.\(^1\) Political and Strategic relationships between both the countries are at high level since 2000. There were annual summits and visits at high level taking place between the two countries. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, World entered into new phase. This phase was described as US hegemony all over the world. His unilateral pre-emptive action, regime change in democratic cloak, use of UN as a pawn, NATO expansion towards Eastern Europe are the main examples. Besides these issues, there were many issue in Indo-Russian relations, which provided framework for convergence such as terrorism, multipolar world order, reforms in UNO, Chechnya and Kashmir issue.

\(^1\) Nirupama Subramanian, "In the Promiscuous World of International relations, elements of a Strategic Partnership", *The Hindu*, January 12, 2012.
Reforms : UNSC

The state visit to India by the President of the Russian Federation Vladimir Putin was a significant landmark in Indo-Russian political relations. The Russian President paid homage to the father of the nation Mahatma Gandhi at Rajghat on 3 October 2000. During visit, the Russian side appreciated the steps taken by the Government of India in combating terrorism and restoring in normalcy in Jammu and Kashmir. He called for the issue to be resolved on a bilateral basis and unconditional response for the "Line of Control" (LoC). He also provided political support saying that foreign interference to be ceased. President Putin extended Russia's unqualified support for India's permanent membership to the United Nations Security Council.1 The idea of reforming the United Nations has been more and more advocated in the past few years. Besides the proposal of reforms there was also criticism of the UN mechanism coming from different states like violation of international law by the USA and Britain, which began with air attacks on Iraq in 1998 and the NATO operation against Yugoslavia in 1999 without the United Nation Security Council Sanction. During the June 20, 2000 meeting of President Vladimir Putin of Russia with Defence Minister George Fernandes of India, both sides emphasized the need for strict compliance with International law and the principles of the UN Charter. Both Russia and India regarded the UNSC as an effective Instrument of maintaining international peace. During the NATO attack on Yugoslavia in 1999, India joined forces with Russia in protest against the NATO aggression. India believed that crisis should be settled peacefully under the UN auspices.2 India wants reforms in UNSC as one of the largest contributing nation with around 8000 personnel working under the UN flag where the Blue Beret UN Peace keeping operations are underway. India alongwith some other countries wanted expansion in the UNSC so that emerging economies have a greater say in the functioning of the forum.4 The change underway

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4 The Tribune, January 13, 2015.
offers an opportunity to bring about an International order that is more democratic, inclusive, based on the Respect for International law and consistent with the objectives and principles of the U.N.O. For strengthening the concept of multipolarity, Russia is also supporting India's permanent membership in UN Security Council. Russian permanent representative in the UN Security Council, Andrai Danssov stated, "Russian Federation stand by its decision to membership." Both sides agreed on the necessity of continuing the reforms in the United Nations Security Council with a view to make it more representative and effective.

The Russian Federation reaffirmed its support to India as a deserving and strong candidate for the permanent membership in the Security Council. During Putin's visit to India from December 3-5, 2002, Russia reaffirmed its support to India as a strong and appropriate candidate for permanent membership. Putin said that in the Security Council the South has little or no say. Apart from India, Germany, Japan and Brazil are the willing candidates for Security Council's permanent membership. These four countries signed an agreement in September 2004 in order to achieve this objective. Mexico, Italy, China and Pakistan these countries also known as "Coffee Club" which were against the willing candidate for permanent membership in Security Council. The claim of India to permanent membership of UNSC is strong because of its huge population, rapid economic development and its active role in the peace contingents of the UN.

The State visit to India by President Putin from 2 to 5 October 2000 was a significant landmark in Indo-Russian bilateral relations. The following points were mutually agreed:

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7 www.embassy of India (Moscow) 30.12.2005-India-Russia relations, an overview files.
1. The Russian side welcomed the steps taken by India in combating terrorism and in ushering normalcy in Jammu and Kashmir. Putin called for the issue to resolve on a bilateral basis.

2. President Putin extended Russia's support for India's candidature for permanent membership of the United Nations Security Council.

3. Russia appreciated India's voluntary moratorium on nuclear testing. So, expansion in UNSC emerged as an important issue between India Russia, where both can cooperate for each other. Russia wanted expansion in UNSC for multipolarity and India wanted to play active role as a major power and South Asia's point of view.

**Afghanistan**

India is seriously worried over the developments in Afghanistan. The Indian government which is traditionally pursuing a policy of secularism, fears the strengthening of Islamic fundamentalism in the region. Strengthening Islamic fundamentalism is also a matter of concern for Russia from Central Asian point of view, which Russia described as "near abroad". Problems of international terrorism were discussed prominently during Putin-Fernandes talks they also discussed the need to Combat terrorism and religious extremism. Russia's concerns about Afghanistan stem mainly from its impact on their neighborhood through narcotics, trafficking and export of islamic radicalism. China's growing economic footprint is also a worry. Continuing turmoil in Afghanistan complicated Russia's policy of economic and political "reintegration of the former Soviet space". Russian foreign minister Sergai Lavrov registered Moscow's strong opposition to the permanent deployment of United States military base in Afghanistan and in former Soviet Central Asia. Indian External Affairs minister S.M. Krishna stressed the need for

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11 Kozhokin, no.3.

foreign powers to help Afghanistan in its against the fight menace of terrorism.\textsuperscript{13} The departure of the America and their allies from Afghanistan is a matter of serious concern for India, Russia and China. All are worried about the possible spill-over effects of civil war in the country. Representatives of India, Russia and China met in Moscow. All three have national interest in stable and secure Afghanistan. India and China are interested in Afghanistan. Both does not want that Afghan territory become a place of militants training camps. Both have crucial investment in Afghanistan $2 billion and $3 billion respectively by India and China. As for Russia, it is the primary security provider to the Central Asian states.\textsuperscript{14} Historically, Afghanistan's role can be described into four broad stages. Firstly, pre-modern phase for Afghanistan as a route for military access to India. Second stages start up with the "Great Game" era and territorial definition of the Afghanistan decided by the imperial expansion between British India and Russia. During this phase, Afghanistan played role as a buffer state between these two empires. The Anglo-Russia treaty in 1907 provided a semi-mental status to Afghanistan. In 1979, with Russian invasion, third phase started for Afghanistan. The reaction of this intervention led to the destruction of the Afghan state and beginning of the externally sponsored Taliban in 1990s. Post-2001 development opened the contemporary phase. Today Afghan has become a safe heaven for the Islamic terrorist. Afghan govt is its self struggling to make the country stable and peaceful. Stable and peaceful Afghanistan is equally important for India, Russia and China. In the post 9/11 phase India, prior Afghan-Centric Cooperation with Iran, Russia and Central Asia simply dried up. But now the regional conversation have resumed. For India, progressive pluralistic state in Afghanistan is an antidote to radicalism in South Asia. For China the spectre of radicalism hovering its western region.\textsuperscript{15} India has had traditional relations with Afghanistan Strains marked these relations during 1996-2001 when Taliban were in power. India faced mainly two

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{13} Vladimir Radyuhin, "India, Russia differ on foreign Presence in Afghanistan", \textit{The Hindu}, November 18, 2011.
\item \textsuperscript{14} Manoj Joshi, The great American betrayal" \textit{The Hindu}, March 11, 2013.
\item \textsuperscript{15} Zorawar Daulat Singh, "Can India, China Cooperate on Afghanistan?", \textit{The Tribune}, March 6, 2014.
\end{itemize}
problems from Taliban regime. One, their religious extremism that encouraged Kashmiri separatists and cross-border terrorism; and two, Taliban were seen as a production of Pakistani military agency Inter Services Intelligence (ISI). Via Taliban, Pakistan wanted domination in Afghanistan to access the control to central Asia. India, along with Russia and Iran actively supported anti-Taliban forces. India had a worst experience with Taliban regime when Indian Airlines plane was hijacked in Kathmandu. Ministry of External Affairs took Taliban as a serious threat to the peace and security of the whole region by breeding terrorists and producing opium and illegal flow of narcotics in the world. India and Russia decided to Cooperate on Afghanistan issue by setting up Joint Working Group Institutional Mechanism for regular consultation. Afghanistan situation became worst in 2001 with the terrorist attack on World Trade Centre, known as 9/11. Then US launched a ‘Global War on Terror in Afghanistan’. India supported the war as the war for establishment of a democratic regime in Afghanistan. India actively supported the building up and strengthening of the democratic infrastructure as an alternative to Taliban and Al-Qaeda in Afghanistan. India actively and directly got involved in Bonn process by which the interim authority was established in 2001 under the leadership of Hamid Karzai 2002 (2001 the grand tribal council' (Loya Jirga) to elect Hamid Karzai as head of Afghanistan government).

The Bonn process was completed in September 2005 with holding parliamentary and provincial council elections. But India was not participated in the US led war against Taliban and Al-Qaeda. India's role was limited to rebuild Afghanistan Institutions and economy. Issue of democratic institutions and terrorism strengthened the Indo-US Cooperation. Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh Joined a 'Global Democracy Initiative with US President Bush in Washington 2005. But India did not support America" concepts such as pre-emptive action and regime change. India supported the view that democratic assistance was not military nature and democratic assistance can not be imposed from outside.

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16 S.D. Muni, "India's Foreign Policy: The Democracy Dimension" (New Delhi: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 102-105.

17 Ibid., pp.14-16.
During Putin’s visit to India in December 2004, Russia and India have committed themselves to remain natural, reliable and key partner in bilateral, regional and international matters. During his visit, Putin affirmed New Delhi that our two countries share common views. Over the key issues in global politics, we are jointly fighting international terrorism which has challenged our civilization. We are ready to coordinate in promoting global human rights, global and regional stability and sustainable development. In response to Putin, the Indian President Abdul Kalam stressed that "we have a shared vision" of multipolar world, based on consensus and accommodation of different views and interests.\(^\text{18}\)

**Multipolar**

During Indian Prime Minister Vajpayee's visit to Moscow on November 6, 2001 attention was paid to the creation of a multipolar world based on the principle of "Mutual Respect", within the framework of the United Nations and International Law. Both the countries hoped that multipolar world would at least reduce the threat to international peace and security.\(^\text{19}\) It is the third power shift in the past half-millennium. The first shift was the emergence of Europe around the 1500 which we know as the world of science, technology, capitalism and commerce, Industries and the agriculture revolution. It was also the world of colonialism. The second shift occurred when the United States entered in the world stage at the end of the 19th Century. During this stage the United State established its hegemony-politically, militarily and economically with global reach. USA was challenged first by Hitler and then by Stalin’s Soviet Union. But during the last fifteen years, the challenge is from Asian giants, mainly China and India. We are witnessing the emergence of a new world order in which neither Europe nor the United States will enjoy supremacy. Now we are living in a multi-polar world. The days of Western hegemony are over and it does not indicate any of the newcomers will be able to become a global hegemon. As Charles Kupchan explained that we are entering a post-hegemonic world i.e. "No one's world", neither the white man's nor the yellow, brown or


black man's world. The emergence of new world does not mean imminent decline of the old west. It is only a relative not an absolute decline. China and India are also grappling with domestic problems. For China, an ageing population and the deficiencies of democracy have the same effect as in India.²⁰

Like the USA, India has no problem with stronger Russia. India takes it as increasing multi polarity at international level. Unipolarity creates problems for small powers. India agrees with western values such as democracy and rule based system. It finds many western values on global governance and managing international security often contradicting the liberal vision.²¹ Both India-Russia have a common goal to build the world more just, democratic, resolving global and regional problems including Afghanistan.²² Emerging world order required cooperation instead of monopoly of a single nation. It indicates meaningful reforms in global institutions such as UNSC, IMF and World Bank. Since world war II, the leading military power is not the largest global economy. American political scientist John Ikenbery argues that liberal world order, it had created and dominated since World War II, is now facing new challenges from non western powers such as China. The emergence of non-western powers and increasing economic and security interdependence are creating pressures for liberal international order. About the emerging world order few have forecasted US-China bipolar order. But emerging world order is indicating it is neither bipolar nor multipolar, but a multiplex world order. It can be compared with multiplex theatre in which one can see a variety of shows, directors and actors under one roof. It implies that great and regional powers bound together in complex forms of interdependence. In this multiplex world order decrease the ability of the USA to shape and change one world order for its own interests and image. One of the main difference between the multi-polar world of one 19th Century multiplex world of future is that in the 19th Century European interdependence was based on trade and also result was this trade competition for foreign colonies. But in

²⁰ Theo Summer, will Asia rise and West Decline", The Tribune, April 22, 2013.
²² Vladimir Putin, For Russia, Deepening friendship with India is a top foreign policy priority", The Hindu, December 24, 2012.
today's interdependence is both broader and deeper. It not only include trade, but also finance, production networks and global economic arrangements that did not exist then\textsuperscript{23} Under Putin, strategic partnership was part of pragmatic foreign policy. Putin's aim was to restore Russia's glory at international level. From this perspective, India's economic emergence and independent mind could help promote multipolarity and resist united states led policies such as pre-emptive action intervention in the internal affairs.\textsuperscript{24}

Both recognize that rising powers are likely to play an increasingly larger role on the world stage in the coming decades. There is shared interests in weakening US global hegemony and in creating multipolar world. India is interested in multipolar world South Asia's point of view and Russia from the former Soviet space.\textsuperscript{25} Multipolarity is the kind of world order, both Russia and India prefer. Primakov became Foreign Minister in 1996, floated multipolarity as an alternative line to US policies. It is also important that the US factor also influences Russian policies towards India. Russia considered that USA is strengthening Unipolarity by inter-State relations. Perfect example from this point of view is increasing Indo-US ties. Even, India is supporting all US policies including policies on Iran. USA's main strategic policy at international level is that each has closer relations with the USA than with each other.\textsuperscript{26}

The National Security concept of the Russian Federation (January, 2000) Vigorously held that the age of bipolar confrontation is over and now is the era of multipolar world. During Putin's visit to India in December 2002, both sides reaffirmed the establishment of a just multipolar world.\textsuperscript{27} U.S. unilateral action against Yugoslavia, role in Kosovo, Iraq war etc. are not at all in favour of Russian interests. On the other hand, India considered itself a major player in international politics and wanted to play more important role in global institutions as IMF, WTO, UN at least at regional level. So

\textsuperscript{24} Kanwal Sibal, "Still comrades after all these years", \textit{The Hindu}, December 28, 2012.
both nations consider multipolar world, beneficial for the national interest of both the countries. A foreign policy based on unipolar world is bounded to military alliances, hegemonic policies and creation of regional hegemony that encourage regional tensions. The multipolar world focus on the inclusion of states in the world bodies. For example, Iran participated as an observer at the meeting of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) rather than isolated as outcaste. Multipolarity, thus, broadens the concept of security.  

Global Terrorism

During Putin's visit to India in December 2004, Russia and India have committed themselves to remain natural, reliable and key partner in bilateral regional and international matters. During his visit, Putin affirmed New Delhi that our two countries share common views on key issues in global politics we are jointly fighting international terrorism which has challenged our civilization.

Global Terrorism and soft security threat is another area of political cooperation between the two, even three countries. India, Russia and China have commonality of interests in fighting global terrorism. Convergence of political and economic interests of these three countries is bringing them closer to each other. During the last decade, India, Russia and China not only faced the threat of terrorism but also suffered from it. From this perspective, the three countries are natural geopolitical allies in the struggle against international terrorism. Russia is facing terrorism in Chechanya and India in Kashmir Terrorist activities increased in Chechanya after the collapse of Soviet Union as a result of religious fundamentalism and cross border terrorism. These activities impeded the growth of nascent democratic institutions and civil society especially in Russia. Like India, Russia is also victim of Jihadist movement in some region mainly Chechan, Ingushetia and Caucasus. In 1940, Chechan Fascists allied with Nazi Germany in an effort to gain Independence from the Soviet Union. Russia was the victim of major


terrorist attack in September 2004. Earlier in 2002, 800 people were made hostage at the Nard-ost theatre in Moscow leading to the death of 129 people. After the collapse of Soviet Union, there was also one demise of political structures. These events created Vacuum in Russia and this vacuum was filled by religious extremism. Chechanya that became the main generator of the terrorism surge in Russia throughout the 1990's-1994 was the year in which a major armed conflict took place in Chechanya The 11 September 2001 super terrorist attack on the United States and the USA led global anti-terrorist campaign are the most significant international developments. In the guise of anti-terrorism agenda, multipurpose strategic tool has become almost inevitable by many states (particular USA).

In the name of anti-terrorist campaign, USA started many unilateral actions which were not in favour of Russia especially USA effort to establish hegemony in Central Asia which Russia considers its sphere of influence. The radical ideologies and terrorism is an issue of convergence in Indo-Russia relations. Both nations are facing spillover effects of radical ideologies. During 1990s, India and Russia along with Iran worked as a bulwark against the Pakistan sponsored Taliban. After 2001, India supported the western intervention in the hope that it would end South Asia's geopolitical problems. Russia is strengthening Central Asia security due to spillover effects of terrorism. India's policy of investment in Afghanistan cannot be strengthened without bilateral cooperation with Russia. Afghanistan and Iran both are critical for India's greater access to the Central Asian region. India is looking for National North-South Corridor for Economic Integration with central Asia and Russia through Iran. As the menace of terrorism is being faced by both the countries, so both the sides have emphasized the importance and relevance of the Moscow Declaration on International Terrorism which was signed on November 6, 2001. Both the countries jointly decided

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33 *The Hindu*, June 30, 2013., p. 9.
to activate their efforts against terrorism. For this purpose, during the 2002 summit, a Joint Memorandum on Fight against International Terrorism was signed and a Joint Working Group to deal with this issue was formed.\textsuperscript{34} International terrorism as one of the primary threat to domestic and international security has brought greater convergence in security perceptions among one nations and defence related contacts, exchanges and cooperation. When a terrorist attack took place on a Moscow Theatre in October 2002, Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee addressed a letter to President Vladimir Putin, expressing full solidarity of his government and the people of India with the government and the people of the Russian Federation.\textsuperscript{35} India also condemned the terrorist attack in which a school was seized in Balsam by Chechanya terrorists from 1 to 3 September 2004. This resulted in approximately 350 deaths including the innocent children. There is need to curb Islamic Jihadi terrorism of which both are the victims. Combating terrorism is in the interests of both Russia and India. For India and Russia, there is a growing convergence on terrorism and the need combat it. Terrorism wanted to destroy the multicultural fabric of India and Russia specially in the Muslim majority areas. Putin condemned the terrorism saying that same Individuals, same terrorists and extremists same organizations are involved in terrorist acts from Philippines to Kosovo, including Kashmir, Afghanistan and Chechanya. He also emphasized that there is a need for countries to establish mechanism for cooperation in the struggle against international terrorism.\textsuperscript{36} In 2004-2005 both Nations made serious efforts to strengthen the bilateral ties. The second session of the Indo-Russian Joint Working Group on combating International Terrorism was held in new Delhi on 8 April 2004. The main focus of JWG was sharing information and helping each other for curbing the sources of financing terrorism and the trafficking in narcotics.\textsuperscript{37} So, terrorism in fact has become a great matter of concern for both India and Russia.


\textsuperscript{36} Manohar Singh Batra, "Significance of Indo-Russian Strategic Partnership", in V.D. Chopra (ed.), \textit{Global Significance of Indo-Russian Strategic Partnership} (New Delhi: Kalpaz Publications, 2005), p.81.

Political cooperation between India and Russia from terrorism point of view, is not only in favour of both the nations, rather it is in favour of all the mankind.

Central Asia

With the demise of Soviet Union, Central Asia emerged as the new hub for super power. Central Asia which is mineral and energy rich is also important from economic, political and strategic point of view for both India and Russia. The central Asian states have attracted much international attention and all great powers have been making an attempt to influence the politics of the region. It was for such geo-strategic reasons and access to hydrocarbon resources that India can gain access to this region primarily through Russia. USA also interfered in Central Asian Republics (CARs). The colour revolutions of 2004-05 that led to regime changes in Ukraine, Georgia, Kyrgyzstan and Violent uprisings in Uzbekistan were considered by the central Asian Republics as US sponsored. The US is also worried about the SCO, believing that it can become an alternative to their plans. India can take advantage from Central Asia by becoming a full member SCO.38 Central Asian region rich in oil, gas and minerals is an area of great importance for India and Russia, but this region is under threat from fundamentalist Islamic groups based in Afghanistan and Pakistan and also from US hegemonic designs. There is great need to check the American designs or fundamentalism. This can only be ensured with the close cooperation of Russia and India.39 Central Asia is very significant for India from Silk route point of view. It has been very important region for Russia. First by from the strategic, geopolitical and economic point of view ever since these Territories were incorporated by the Tsarist power in the 19th Century. Secondly, Russia considers Central Asian region as a strategic buffer against outside threats. Many geopolitical and strategic interests compel Russia to keep Central Asia within its sphere of influence. From this point of view, India is only a reliable friend of Russia which can help it.

38 Anuradha M. Chenoy, "India and Russia", in Atish Sinha and Madhup (eds), Indian Foreign Policy : Challenges and Opportunities, (New Delhi : Academic Foundation, 2007), pp. 733-736.

Rationally India is Russia's only partner with which it has no clash of interests in Central Asia. India is a balancing factor both for America and Chinese presence in the region. On the other hand, Chinese and American hegemony in this region is not in favour of India. \(^ {40}\) Central Asia is an area of political and strategic importance for India. India has historical and cultural linkages with the countries of this region and these is enormous goodwill for India in this region. \(^ {41}\) India should develop a cooperative program with Russia to gain influence in this region. Russia and India have every reason to enhance their cooperation in the region because its security and stability is vital for the interests of both nations. \(^ {42}\) Political cooperation between India and Russia is important from regional point of view. South-West in general and Central Asia in particular has reasons to promote mutual cooperation at least on three points. One to contain the growth of radical Islam in the region and more particularly in Afghanistan. Second, there is need to tap the energy resources for mutual benefit and thirdly, the stability in Central Asia. \(^ {43}\) So after the collapse of the Soviet Union, Central Asia emerged a new centre for the super power from its economic, strategic and geopolitical point of view. Central Asia became Oasis both for India and Russia. Their political, economic and strategic cooperation is beneficial for both the nations. USA hegemony in central Asia is not in favour of Russia. on the other hand, Chinese dominance in Central Asia is also harmful for India. Increasing fundamentalist forces and soft security threats are matter of concern. Therefore, for both the nations. The Indo-Russian cooperation in Central Asia is beneficial for both the countries.

Russia's diplomatic support to India over Kashmir issue at United Nations Security Council has been healthy when the traditionally strong US-Pakistan


relationships exists.\textsuperscript{44} Pakistan and China cooperate with each other against India, presenting US with two front situation. Both the nations have a territorial dispute with India and are not accepting the territorial status quo. Pakistan wants a part of Kashmir and China wants Tawang. Region of Arunachal Pradesh China is also transferring nuclear and missile technologies to Pakistan. Stable and smooth defence relations with Russia is strategically important for us as it remains the main source of defence equipment and technologies, not easily available elsewhere.\textsuperscript{45}

**Nuclear Issue**

Today, world is facing many problems Nuclear proliferation is one of them. India has not signed the NPT and CTBT because India considers that it divided the nations between haves and have nots from nuclear technology point of view. India's nuclear doctrine is based on the principle of a Minimum Credible Deterrent and no First Use. India is an original state party to the Chemical Weapons Convention and is committed to participate constructively in international efforts to strengthen norms against Biological and Toxicological Weapons Convention (BTWC).\textsuperscript{46} India became a nuclear power state in 1974 With the first nuclear test in Rajasthan desert when China had already tested nuclear weapons in 1962. India approached the Western powers for nuclear protection. She opposed to sign the NPT because the treaty does not provide full security to non-nuclear states against the nuclear attack. India's decision to be a nuclear weapon state in 1974 was to some extent influenced by 1971 Bangladesh War. During war American President Nixon helped Pakistan with nuclear armed USS Enterprise to deter India from attacking West Pakistan. Further, India justified its May 1998 Pokhran nuclear test when Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee stated that our nuclear weapons are for self defence. Indian government in 2003 approved nuclear doctrine which includes components such as: (1) building and maintaining a Credible Minimum Deterrent; (2) "No first use" as nuclear weapons will only be used in retaliation against a nuclear attack; (3) nuclear retaliatory attacks only be authorized by the civilian political leadership; (4) No use of

\textsuperscript{44} *The Tribune*, Jalandhar, January 2, 2015.

\textsuperscript{45} Kanwal Sibel, "Fortify defence frame work to combat threats", *The Tribune*, Jalandhar, January 14, 2015.

\textsuperscript{46} Annual Report, Ministry of Defence, Government of India, 2004-05.
nuclear weapon against non-nuclear weapon states; (5) In case a major attack against India by biological or chemical weapons than India have a option to response with nuclear weapons; (6) Strict controls on export of nuclear and missile related materials and technologies and strictly pursuing moratorium on nuclear tests; and (7) Commitment to the goal of nuclear free world. India's policy of No First Use and self-imposed moratorium derived from normative calculation which is now changed with nuclear tests. For this change domestic, regional and international level elements are responsible. In 2005-06 Indo-US Nuclear deal, India also agreed to categorically took decision to place its civilian and military nuclear facilities place the former under the international Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) safeguards. In response to the Kargil Crisis of 1999, December 2001 attack on the Indian Parliament, in April 2004 India developed a new war doctrine called Cold Start. It is an immediate response and an integrated operation involving its Army, Navy and AirForce. Cold Start is like a blitzkrieg style operation which includes multiple attacks on the Pakistan Army.\textsuperscript{47} "Cold Start" doctrine which would allow Indian military to attack Pakistan quickly in the event of conflict.\textsuperscript{48}

Soviet nuclear policy was motivated by a combination of strategic reputational point of view. Soviet became a nuclear power in 1949 and in 1951. Stalin declared that nuclear weapons are only to deter American nuclear attack. The demise of Soviet Union pressurised Russia to review its nuclear policy. Decline in Russia's conventional forces compelled Russia to assign new roles to nuclear weapons. In 1993, final version of Russian nuclear policy was adopted which explains that nuclear weapons would not be used" against any state party to the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty of 1968. It also mentioned that nuclear weapons could be used against Non-nuclear weapon states which are allies of a nuclear weapon state or acted with nuclear weapon state. Nuclear weapons could be used in case of attack against Russia. The changed Russian nuclear policy (1993) brought its nuclear doctrine close to the doctrines of NATO and the United States. Further in 2000 Doctrine made in crucial changes were made in the 1993 nuclear policy.

It allowed Russia to use nuclear weapons in response to attack with weapons of mass destruction such as chemical weapons (similar to the United States) and against any counter or coalition if the situation is critical to Russian national security. But Russia denied the preventive or preemptive action.49 Earlier, Russia's response to India's nuclear test in 1998 was confused. Different officials spoke in different tunes. Russia was disappointed at the test but did not display the anger as by the US and China. Russia was not in favour of sanctions against India and also refused to halt arms exports to India. India welcomed Russia's mute reaction towards India's nuclear tests. France also officially announced that sanctions are not an appropriate response to the tests. France supported India's tests saying that west turned a blind eye to China's nuclear proliferation to Pakistan. Even French government endorsed India's claim for permanent membership to the United Nations Security Council. France was against the Unipolar World order and recognized US as "hyper power".50 On the non-proliferation issue, Nuclear Suppliers Group NSG expanded its restrictions in the mid-1990s. But India and Russia decided to build civil nuclear power plants under an agreement signed in the late 1980s-called "grandfathering."51 Russia is not in favour of imposing restrictions upon sensitive nuclear technologies which were provided to India at the G8 summit 2009 at L Aquila in Italy. USA persuaded its partners to refrain from supplying the enrichment and reprocessing equipment (ENR) technologies to countries that have not signed the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). Russia is in favour of expanding cooperation in the sphere of nuclear energy with India. Indo-Russian Inter-Governmental accord which was signed in 2008 provided full cooperation in nuclear energy sector.52 Russia did not demand that India should pass special legislation to limit the liabilities resulting from possible nuclear accidents.53 India still pursuing the nuclear disarmament since the days

49 T.V. Paul, n. 45, pp. 93-104.
51 The Hindu, July 13, 2012,
52 The Hindu, September 5, 2009.
of Jawaharlal Nehru. On December 15, 1998, then Prime Minister Vajpayee explained the basic tenets of India's nuclear policy in Parliament. These consisted of preservation of India's nuclear independence, minimum nuclear deterrence, No First-Use, non-use of nuclear weapons against the non nuclear states and strict commitment to the elimination of nuclear weapons. Similarly at the Millennium Summit of United Nations in September 2000, Indian Prime Minister spelt out India's policy based an responsibility and restraint.\textsuperscript{54} Indo-Russian nuclear deal 2009 was path-breaking which provided uninterrupted uranium fuel even after the termination of bilateral ties in this field for any reason. Indo-Russian nuclear deal is better in Indo-US 123 agreement. Under the deal, there is a provision for transfer of enrichment and nuclear technology which has been denied in the 123 agreement.\textsuperscript{55} Russia has already provided two nuclear reactors at Kudankulam and agreed to provide for more with life time guarantee of fuel-supply.\textsuperscript{56} Kudankulam issue created problem for smooth cooperation. Russia does not want the KudanKulam unit 2 and 3 under the jurisdiction of civil nuclear liability law which was passed in 2010. Russian authorities warned that reactors would become more expensive if they were brought under the liability law.\textsuperscript{57} India has rejected the sixth NPT Review Conference which took place in New York from April 24 to May 19, 2000. The conference focused on the roll-back of nuclear weapons programme. After a series of nuclear tests on May 11&13, 1998, USA imposed sanctions. Russia was not in favour of sanctions. Russian approach towards nuclear issue was not exclusive rather inclusive. Russia welcomed India's voluntary moratorium on further underground nuclear test explosion.\textsuperscript{58} During his visit in December 2002, Putin stressed Russia's active participation in the construction of the Kudankulam Atomic Power Station.\textsuperscript{59} Russia

\textsuperscript{54} Gurmeet Kanwal, "From Prague to Berlin", \textit{The Tribune}, July 1, 2013.

\textsuperscript{55} \textit{The Tribune}, December 8,2009.

\textsuperscript{56} \textit{India's Strategic partners: A Comparative Assessment}, ENSR Group of exports (Satish Kumar, S.D. Pradhan, Kanwal Sibal et al., New Delhi: November 2011.

\textsuperscript{57} \textit{The Hindu}, October 15, 2012.


\textsuperscript{59} Bandereusky, n.34, p.14.
never publically pressurized India to sign the NPT and CTBT. Russia supported the Indo-US nuclear deal as it believed that Indo-US nuclear deal will open the way for new avenues for both countries. Putin was India’s Chief Guest at the Republic Day Celebrations on 26 January 2007. A joint statement was issued after the meeting between Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and President Putin. Russia offered to build four new nuclear power plants in India and two reactors that are already under construction. Russia also supplied 50 tons of low enriched Uranium for Tarapur. Beside these issues, there are many other issues which have a common convergence between India and Russia such as reshaping the process of globalization and disarmament.

**Indo-US Relation**

Russia was also worried about increasing Indo-US relations. The Indo-US relations have been influenced by the geopolitical shifts. India’s Look East Policy indicates intention to expand its footprint in East Asia. In 2010, US and India started East-Asia dialogue. They saw China as the most rapidly changing regional power China violated the U.N. Convention on the Law of the Sea. For both the countries freedom of navigation is absolutely critical. But there is also growing differences between the two which are not limited to one or two areas but includes most of the areas of bilateral issues, problems in implementation the US-India Civil nuclear deal, US Immigration rule, departure of USA from Afghanistan, defence cooperation and trade. Policy paralysis and haphazard in policy making in India is also creating problem. Increasing Indo-US relations does not indicate that India is favour of American hegemony. If the India has

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61 V.P. Dutt, "India-Russia Relations : Regional and Global Significance", in V.D. Chopra (ed.), *Significance of Indo-Russian Relations in the 21st Century*, (Delhi: Kalpaz Publication, 2008), p.22.


63 Teresita C. and Howard B. Schaffer, India and America batting together in Asia", *The Hindu*, March 27, 2013.

dexterity balanced relations with the USA inter alia closer ties with Russia. Moscow is also maximizing its political options meticulously with China and Pakistan. Russia lifted embargo on arms deliveries to Pakistan. Russia signed 40 billion arms deal with China for 30 years. During the cold war period, Pakistan played as frontline state for America against Soviet Union in Afghanistan and also provided military base to America. Washington rewarded Pakistan with military and development aid which was used by the Pakistan against India. Will Russian weapons for Pakistan have the same result? Moscow supply the MI-35 attack helicopter to Pakistan which as India is using an older version of the same helicopter. Sergai Shoigu became the first-ever Russian Defence Minister to visit Pakistan. Many factors are responsible for Indo-US rapprochement such as weak Indo-Russian relationship, end of Cold War, deteriorating India-Pakistan relations, emergence of cross-border terrorism and Islamic extremism. China is also a matter of concern from geopolitical and security point of view. Finally India's structural adjustment programme in post-1991 phase has provided India's lucrative market to American economy. India-USA relations shifted from estrangement to engagement. Indo-US relations reached its zenith in 2005 with US-India summit taking place. During the summit, joint statement was issued by President Bush and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh. The statement recognized India as a defacto nuclear state. Bush administration changed the goalpost from traditionally, distinction between NPT signatories and non-signatories to "responsible and "non responsible records". India which have clear record from proliferation point of view unlike a China and Pakistan. In Indo-US relationships new era began with President Clinton's visit to India in January 2004. Further Indo-US nuclear deal 2005 qualitatively transformed Indo-USA relations. But the motives behind these robust bilateral relationships are varied i.e. geopolitical interests, China's risk, new great game in Af-Pak, India's rising economic power and America's search for new allies especially after the decline of its old European allies. Indian diaspora is very crucial factor in strengthening increasing Indo-USA ties India diaspora approximately numbers

2.84 million which includes professionals, educationists, entrepreneurs and politicians.

USA policy towards Pakistan is ambivalent. It takes Pakistan as an ally in Af-Pak. On the other hand, it also recognized it as a source of terrorism. As compared to USA, Russia's stand on the issue of terrorism is foresighted and consistent. Russia's stand on the Taliban is clear like India and it does not recognise Good Taliban Bad Taliban and theory.\(^{68}\) In 2000, United States unilaterally removed restrictions against India which was imposed in response nuclear test in May 1998. It further opened the way for the development of economic, military and technological relations between the two countries.\(^{69}\)

There are well established political relations and regular annual summits and meetings between the two nations. There is need to strengthen these relations in other fields such as economic field. This field is much important among other fields because with nations have very low level trade turnover in import and export.

**Defence Relations**

Erstwhile Soviet Union fulfilled of 70 per cent of India's defence needs. Since the mid-1950's, Soviet Union was major arms supplier to India. It not only provided arms but also provided technology for manufacturing purposes.\(^{70}\) After the collapse of Soviet Union, Indo-Rusian defence relations reached at very low level. It happened due to Moscow's pro-western tilt and diversion of Interests of both the countries. More than half of the Indian defence equipments were provided by the Soviet Union. After disintegration, it reduced supply, required for defence needs. India approached other suppliers for defence needs Indian Defence Minister Sharad Pawar visited other countries such as Ukraine in 1992. He made agreement for the supply of spare parts to India for various types of armaments purchased from the former Soviet Union. Ukraine agreed to supply armaments and spare parts to India in return for medicines and textiles and a partial payment in hard currency. During the Yeltism visit in 1993, both countries signed

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\(^{68}\) India's Strategic Partners: A Comparative Assessment FNSR Group of Experts C Satish Kumar, S.D. Pradhan Kanwal Sibal et al.), New Delhi November 2011.


a Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation to be valid for 20 years.\textsuperscript{71} Indian Prime Minister P.V. Narsimha Rao's Moscow visit in June 1994 further strengthened the ties. Both countries signed the "Moscow Declaration" which exhorted both the countries to protect the Interests of pluralistic societies. Another important development that took place in the same year was the denial of arms supply to Pakistan. The Prime Minister Primakov's tenure as foreign minister in 1996 and as Prime Minister in 1998, witnessed a further boost to bilateral relations. Primakov described pro-western policy as "Mistake" which was strictly followed by his predecessor especially Kozyrov. He also floated the idea of a strategic triangle (Russia, India and China) to counter the US hegemony and as a strong pillar for the multipolar world structure.\textsuperscript{72} During the visit of Indian Prime Minister H.D. Deve Gowda to Moscow in March 1997, Russia provided full assurance in establishing nuclear power plant in Kudankulam in Tamil Nadu. After the collapse of Soviet Union, Russia had become successor state of the erstwhile Soviet Union. there was three phases in Indo-Russian Relations:

1. First phase of 1991-92 during which period Russia adopted pro-western approach and main supporter of this policy was Kozyrov.

2. Second phase started under the leadership of Prime Minister Yevgeny Primakov.

3. Third phase of partnership from 2000 onward witnessed assertion of mutual friendship. Russian President Putin visited New Delhi in 2000. The word Putin was also described for plane, Uranium, tanks, Infrastructure and nuclear power. Putin visit further strengthened the defence ties. The signing of the strategic partnership document, holding on annual summits & meetings, common understanding in the emergence of multipolar world order, common stand on the issues of West Asia, Central Asia, Iran Iraq etc. were noteworthy during Putin's visit. Defence relations were not limited to buyer-seller relationships rather entered into a new stage of development and design. Brahmos Missile is noteworthy. KudanKulam nuclear reactor in Tamil Nadu was established with the


\textsuperscript{72} Rama Sampath Kumar, "Russia, India and China: Geopolitics of Counter Balance", in P.L. Dash and Andrai M. Nazarkin (ed.), \textit{India and Russia Strategic Synergy Emerging}. (Delhi: Authors Press, 2007), pp. 211-232.
help of Russia under the Integrated Long Term Programme. Agreement was also signed in the fields of oil, science, technology, metallurgy. India's investment in Sakhalin-I about $1.5 billion is one of the major achievements in the energy sectors.

The relations at political and military level between the two countries can be described as best in the world. There are many issues of convergence between the two countries in the 21st century, whether it be Kashmir issue or Chechenya issue, the role of the UN or the issue of democracy.

Soviet military aid began even before the Sino-India conflict took place in 1962. Normally, military aid involves only the sale of armaments, but in the context of Soviet military aid, willingness was also shown to establish production facilities. On the other hand west was not ready for these facilities till the late seventies. India's dependence over Russian was 40, 64 and 80 per cent for the army, air force and navy respectively.\(^{73}\) In 1959, both countries signed military agreement under which the Soviet Union provided India eight AN-12 transport planes and M1-4 Helicopters. In 1962, Moscow agreed to collaborate in the manufacturing of the MIG-21 in India and under this agreement an air base factory was established in Nasik, engine factory in Karaput and fighter planes a factory in Hyderabad. During this period, Soviet Union signed "Treaty of Peace, Friendship and cooperation". This further strengthened defence ties. According to one of provisions of the treaty, both countries would help each other Incase of attack. The Soviet Intervention during Indo-Pak war in 1971 by sending its fleet to Bay of Bengal to counter the US pressure is well known. Indo-Soviet Defence relations effected during Brezhnev policy of counter balancing India and Pakistan in 1970 compelled India to buy 116 Jaguar Bomber and Sea Harrier fighters from the UK, four submarines from west Germany, 40 Mirage and 2000 H Aircraft from France. Collapse of the Soviet Union badly affected Indo-Soviet defence relations. The repairing and companies got scattered which are now in Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan. The collapse of Soviet Union brought considerable logistics problems for India. The defence cooperation started growing only in the late 1990's. In this changing scenario the bilateral defence cooperation is not limited to buyer

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\(^{73}\) Mahapatra, n. 71, p.78.
seller relationship. It included joint-research and design of arms and agreement for other countries in 2003. Agreements were signed between the two countries on cooperation in terms of joint design development ventures. In this context well known examples are Brahmos missile and the fifth generation jet fighter planes.74

It is very important to mention here that India is the only country with which Russia is engaged in the joint development and production of high tech and complex weapon system. Another milestone in Indo-Russian defence cooperation is the Indian production of the SU-30 MKI jet fighter under Russian license for sale to Malaysia. Russia was also interested in cooperation with India in fifth generation fighter aircraft, advanced warship and submarines.75

The defence relations between the two countries has not reached low level that it had in the aftermath of the collapse of the Soviet Union. During the first visit of the President Putin in October 2000, Declaration of Strategic Partnership between India and Russian Federation was signed.

**Major Joint Development and Production Projects**

The Putin era will be noted as a transformational period for Russia as well as for the Indo-Russian strategic partnership. From changing paradigm in bilateral defence relationship, it moved from buyer-seller interaction to joint development of weapons system between the two countries and their marketing over the world.

**Brahmos Missile**

Brahmos Supersonic Cruise missile jointly developed by India & Russia. The land-based version inducted into the Indian army in June 2007 and naval and air version are under process. Brahmos missile has not been designated as nuclear missile but that capability cannot be denied.76 The Brahmos, with the range of 280 KM is based on 3 m 55 only x missile designed by Russia NPO Mashinostroyenia. Brahmos was test fired in Chandipur, Orissa on 12 June 2001. Brahmos, jointly developed by Russia and India

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74 *The Times of India*, 17, November, 2003.
75 *The Asian Age*, 18 October, 2005.
reflect the increasing significance of Indo-Russian defence collaboration. It has combined the short form of Brahmaputra and Moscow. It can be fired from various platforms such as ship, land, submarine and air. When launched from a ship, it can fly at a height of 14 Kilometer. India takes pride in the Brahmos because it is the only supersonic missile in the world, the rest of these found various countries are sub-sonic. Brahmos is shining example of joint research, development & production by the India and Russia. The Indian Navy has already inducted the missile. The two countries have also decided to jointly market Brahmos to other countries by 2007. So, Brahmos is just one example of joint collaboration.77 Good tidings are in for Brahmos Aerospace Thiruvanthapuram Limited(BATL). It has embarked on its second phase of development to put in place a full-fledged missile integration complex.

The Brahmos being an Indian Russian joint venture a transfer of technology agreement would soon be signed between the appropriate authorities of the two sides to manufacture the engine in India. At present, the Brahmos engines are produced at Orenburg in Russia. Besides the BATL, one more Indian company would be qualified to make the missile's engines. The Brahmos Aerospace has India holding majority stakes 50.5 per cent to be precise, with Russia holding the rest. The BATL is its subsidiary in the business of defence and aerospace production.78

5th Generation Fighter Aircraft

Brahmos Cruise missile is the positive example of Joint development that would serve as a model for Fifth Generation Fighter Aircraft (FGFA) and Multi role Transport Aircraft (MTA) both are flagship Indo-Russian Joint projects. Both projects are to be completed in the next decade and India will acquire 250-300 FGFA and 45 MTAs. Changes in the international environment after the end of the Cold War further strengthened the close ties between India and Russia. Defence course is central to Indo-Russian relations that includes joint research, design development and Co-production. India is now locally producing many defence system including the Brahmos supersonic missile, the T.90 tank and Sukhoi Fighter aircraft. Both countries agree to further

78 The Hindu, October 25, 2011.
strengthen defence relations in content and range and also decided cooperation in sophisticated sphere of technology about which the US and other western nation do not agree.\textsuperscript{79}

For several years two sides have been considering joint development of fifth Generation Multi Role Fighter Aircraft and Transport Aircraft. The intention was reiterated during the December 2005 visit of the Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh. During the state visit of the Russian President Vladimir Putin in October 2000, Declaration on Strategic Partnership between the Republic of India and the Russian Federation was signed. This was new step towards the defence relations.\textsuperscript{80}

In the defence, the development of the fifth generation fighter plane is one of the most widely discussed issue in India. One of the Russia's longstanding partnership in defence technology, Fifth Generation Fighter Jet is joint production of both the nations. Fifth Generation Fighter programmes was launched by Soviet Union in 1980s. By the late 1990s, it became clear that Fifth Generation version would be inferior to the brand new American F-22 air superiority fighter. So in early 2000, the Russian Government decided to develop an entirely new fifth-generation fighter.\textsuperscript{81} Serious attention was given to developing a Fifth Generation Multifunctional Fighter plane and a Multi Purpose Transport Aircraft (MTA).\textsuperscript{82} India and Russia are close to each other on fifth generation fighter aircraft still. New Delhi and Russia's struggling over the differences to sign a joint US $11 billion full design R and D. India wants 200 FGFA from 2022 onwards. But now only focusing on 140 which will amount US$35 billion. Both sides acknowledged that they were close to T-50 for the PAKFA programme. PAK-FA stands for 'Prospective Airborne Complex of Frontline'. The T-50 has been built by the Sukhai Design Bureau.\textsuperscript{83}

\textsuperscript{81} Ilya Kramnik, "India, Russia to develop Fifth Generation Fighter," \textit{The Hindu}, April, 23, 2004.
\textsuperscript{82} Vladimir Putin, "For Russia deepening friendship with India is a top foreign policy priority", \textit{The Hindu}, Mohali, December 24, 2012.
\textsuperscript{83} Ajay, Banerjee, "IAF Urgently needs the force and punch for Regional air superiority", \textit{The Tribune}, February 2015.
Medium Transport Aircraft Development Programme (MTA)

India and Russia have numbers of major Joint military projects that include development of Fifth Generation Fighter Aircraft (FGFA) Multi-role Transport Aircraft (MTA), Brahmos Cruise missile and the SU 30 MKI programme. India has purchased, leased military hardware that includes T-90 tanks, Akula-II nuclear submarines, T-22 bombers, $900 million upgrade of MIG-20s, 80 M1-17 helicopters and IL-7 aircraft for the purpose of airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS).84

Another joint military venture is Medium Transport Aircraft Development Programme (MTA). Negotiation on MTA began in 1990 and 2000. The $700 million project became part of the 10 year Indian-Russian military and technical Coopération programme. Russian Aircraft maker Irkut and India’s state owned company HAL (Hindustan Aeronautics Ltd.) are both shareholders in this investment. But there was lack of consensus on this project as Russia wanted 19.5 tonnes of carrying capacity while the India was satisfied with 14-16 tonnes. Russia in favour of developing PS-12 engine to power the aircraft at the cost of $3-4 billion. India wanted to use French or US engine.85

Cooperation in Space

During President Putin's visit to India in December 2004 as agreement was signed between Roskosmos and ISRO on the joint use of Soviet era Global Navigational Satellite system (GLONASS) by making it fully functional by Joint efforts, including the launching of new Russian satellites from Indian launch pads with the help of Indian vehicles. The deal will reduce India's dependence on the US GPS (Global Positioning System). Vladimir Radyuhin, specialist on Indo-Russian relations views that GLONASS shall be used by both the countries for Civil as well as military purposes.86

84 Ibid., No.80.
86 The Hindu, December 7, 2005.
four agreements were signed India is the only country to which Russia has agreed to give GIONASS for military purpose, which will enable the Indian military to improve accuracy of its land, sea, air and space launched weapon system.87

Defence cooperation between India and Russia has Strengthened. It consists of agreement on License production and technical document for RD33 series Aero Engines and Protocol of Intert for joint development and production of Multirole Transport Aircraft. It also includes that the Sukhai Design Bureau will assist India in testing on air-to-ground version of the Brahmos cruise missile. India-Russia Intergovernmental Commission was playing important role in monitoring the progress and development of the military technical cooperation.88

Joint Military Exercise

Indo-Russian partnership in defence have broader perspective. It is not limited only to buyer-seller relationships but also include joint research and development, training and joint army, navy and air force exercise. The last joint naval exercise was held in April 2007 in the sea of Japan and air borne exercises in September 2007 in Russia.89 Joint military exercise are also important component of India-Russia military relations. Inspite of close defence relations between India and Russia Indo-US military to military cooperation has greatly expanded. But, recently, Russia has also shown greater interest in boosting military to military ties. In October 2005, the two armies and navies held joint exercises in the desert of Rajasthan at the coast of Vishakapatnam respectively. Some Indian Military and naval personal underwent a two month course in Russia to transcend the language barrier. Earlier, joint exercise was held in 2003. Both nations are willing to make the joint exercise a regular event on the lines of similar exercises with the western countries. Five warships from the Russian-Pacific fleet, including a missile cruiser and two amphibious assault ships, took part in. "Indra-2005" Joint naval exercise, Main aim of these joint exercises was to counter the terrorism threat which the both countries are

89 Kanwal Sibal, n.24.
victims. Exercises focused more on tactical part rather than a using more weapons.\textsuperscript{90} Indo-Russian Joint military exercise in October 2005 have been a step in consolidation of bilateral defence relationship. These exercises undoubtedly promote mutual operational compatibility.

**Submarine Issue**

Indian Naval Force in 1999 announced submarine plan. Under this plan the target to acquire is 24 modern submarines by 2030,\textsuperscript{91} Just when the Russian nuclear powered Akula-II submarine joins the Indian Navy as INS Chakra. To put matters in perspective, India in 1988 had procured the Soviet Charlie I class nuclear attack submarine renamed INS Chakra on a three-year lease. The vessel came without strategic weapons, with the sale purpose of familiarizing naval personnel on training an maintenance of nuclear-powered submarines. The rules of engagement spelt out that INS Chakra would not be used in war. The hidden part of the deal was that Soviets would help India in its indigenous Advanced Technology Vessel (ATV) both materially assistance to the ATV programme which culminated in the launch of 80 MW nuclear reactor S-2 vessel (to be called INS Arihant on Commissioning) by Prime Minister Singh on 26 July 2009 came in fits and starts the technology of the 6,000 tonne vessel is between first and second generation vintage. By, comparison, the U.S. has ninth generation nuclear-powered submarine which do not require refueling throughout their lifetime.\textsuperscript{92} Significantly, the recent acquisition on a 10-year lease the 'Chakra' Russian Akula II class nuclear attack submarine is an extremely perspicacious departure from the past for it is a concrete step towards the translation of the theory and realisation of the larger strategic maritime posture that serve policy.\textsuperscript{93}

For Intensification and diversification of their strategic ties both have planned to jointly build 200 choppers under the Transfer of Technology (TOT), and licence

\textsuperscript{90} Mahapatra, n.71, p.81.
\textsuperscript{91} *The Tribune*, April 7, 2015.
\textsuperscript{92} The Hindu, January 25, 2012.
\textsuperscript{93} *Ibid.*, 
production. If two countries manufacture 200 helicopters, this is big bang\textsuperscript{94}. After the major joint defence project of Indo-Russian Cooperation such as MIG and Sukhoi Fighter jets, T-90 tanks and Brahmos missiles Now another major project is going to start by HAL-Kamov projecting 200 copters at a cost of approximately Rs. 6500 crore Rs. 32 crore per copter. It is an inter-governmental deal. Russia preferred the public sector Hindustan Aeronautics Limited over the private sector. Past experience also weighed in its favour. Currently, there services and coast Guard performing with 430 Cheetah/Chetak helicopters. They are based on the 1950s designed Alouette Aerospatiale 315B Lama of France and do not fulfill the modern requirement such as landing and omni-directional and ranging system. The twin-engined Kamov 226-T Chopper will replace the single engine cheetah/Chetak which are performing for surveillance, dropping small loads and for rescue including high altitudes such as the Siachen Glacier-Saltora Didge region. The forces required same 800 Light Utility Helicopter (LUH) over the next decade. The gap will be filled by Kamov 226-T and HAL's Dhruv.\textsuperscript{95}

Further under the proposal both nations close to sign multi-billion dollar deal for improved version of Krivak or Talwar class stealth frigates $3 billion and also expected the purchase of five S-400. This major joint production additionally involve an Indian partner under the government's 'Make in India' push. Pipaov Shipyard owned by Anil Ambani's Reliance group is also partner in the deal. Deal is under discussion for some time but has been delayed due to India's insistence on building through the 'Make in India' route and also problems related with engine issue. The engines are built by Zorya Nashproekt of Ukraine and after the issue of Crimea, Ukraine has refused to supply engine's to Russian. Tata group is also in advanced stage of discussion to set up a joint venture of spare parts for Sukhoi fighter in India.\textsuperscript{96}

Ministry of defence decided the upgradation of 106 Tejas jets which will replace MIG-21 and MIG-27 and 260 Soviet era single engine. The air force required

\textsuperscript{94} \textit{The Tribune}, July 20, 2015.
\textsuperscript{95} \textit{The Tribune}, December 30, 2015.
\textsuperscript{96} \textit{The Hindu}, December 22, 2015.
approximately 400 jets over the next 10 years. MIG-21 and MIG-27 jets will be phased out by 2022. Ministry of Defence has set a target 2018 of the first aircraft to be ready and complete production during 2022-2023. Both the nations have potential to fulfill this target under the joint production venture.\(^\text{97}\) India's one of the major market for Russian helicopters and the largest Operator of Russian copter in South-East Asia. India received first batch of three MI-17V-5 military transport helicopters. MI-17V-5, most technically advanced helicopters of Mi-8/17 type Mi-17V-5 are equipped with complex navigation and electronic display.\(^\text{98}\)

**RETARDING FACTORS IN DEFENCE COOPERATION**

Besides the above discussion which showed that Indo-Russian close defence relationships which have entered from buyer-seller to joint production, the recent developments indicate that bilateral defence cooperation is not going to be smooth at least for the coming period. The controversy regarding the Admiral Gorshkov is example in this context. Russian tactics or Russian pressure on Indian to withdraw Indian troops from Tajik air base. The present state of defence cooperation between the two countries was not only motivated by ideological or political considerations but also by the strategic and economic considerations. There are many factors which are creating problems in smooth defence cooperation such as inefficiency, delay, high cost and difficulty in obtaining spare parts and lack of modern technology by the Russian defence industry.

**Delay factor**

Since 1992, not a single defence order had been completed on time. There are also a big gap between real and official price which further added the high import duties which cannot be reduced or abolished.\(^\text{99}\) The delivery of the project 877 EKM diesel Submarine delayed for six months due to problems with the club-5 system. India denied to accept delivery of the Russian ratified submarine INS Sindhuvijay because the vessels

\(^\text{97}\) *The Tribune*, February, 1, 2016.

\(^\text{98}\) *The Tribune*, February, 4, 2016.

club-5 cruise Missile system did not work the way they should. The Indian Navy objected that in six consecutive test firings in 2007, the missile failed to hit its target. The 3M54E1 anti-ship missile and the 3M-ME land-attack missile are also delayed. Admiral Gorshkov is the recently limelight example in delay factor which deteriorated Indo-Russia defence relations. The aircraft carrier, Admiral Gorshkov purchased at the cost of $1.5 billion was to be refurbished in the sevmash dockyards in Russia. It was estimated to be ready in 2008 but Russia has now announced that it would further cost of $1.2 billion and delivery can take place only in 2012. 100 Under the proposal Russia will hand over the refurbished aircraft carrier, Admiral Gorshkov to India, before the end of 2012. The 45,000 tonne Gorshkov was now undergoing mooring trials and would begin sea runs at May end of 2012, RIA Novasti said. It entered service in 1987 but was inactivated in 1996 for Lack of funds in post soviet Russia. Under 2004 agreement aircraft carrier was to be delivered to India in 2008 but its refit was delayed as Russia demanded tripling of the original price of $974 million, complaining that the cost of renovation had been badly underestimated 101 Admiral Sergei Gorshkov had became chief of the erstwhile Soviet navy at the age of 45. He then remained in that chair for nearly 18 years. During his tenure, navy grew into a powerful seagoing force and it was during his tenure that the Soviets, until then decisively opposed to aircraft carriers considering them vulnerable to sea shore based air and missile attacks turnaround began to build these ships. One of them commissioned after his death was to bear his name. This is the story of the Russian carrier, Gorshkov. Its purchase created controversies in India. The comptroller and Auditory General (CAG) has made scathing remarks about its cost condition and delay. Actually the vessel was sold free but contracted at cost of Rs. 974 crore for its refit and modernization. The revised demand for $2.9 billion could have finally be settled around $2 billion, but CAG said it's an overspend for a vessel which in his view, 20 years old and said that a new could be built at the same cost. In the context of its age in 1987, we acquired a much older aircraft carrier, HMS Hermes from the British and renamed INS

100 Mahapotra, n. 71, p. 87.

Viraat. It has already been in services for 22 years. The first aircraft carrier INS vikrant was also purchased in 1961. Joint production project of fifth generation Fighter Air Craft (FGFA) is still facing serious difficulties. There are two parts of the FGFA project. Research and development (R and D) worth $ 11 billion under one part for long-term development of the jet under second part. Its ratification has been pending since 2013. Issues which are creating delay such as New Delhi wants a more powerful engine, a greater share in the joint production and is demanding some planes in an off-the-shelf deal and not to wait any longer time. Due to the delay factor, IAF decreased number of aircraft as its demand near about 127 FGFA's now IAF demanding just three squadrons (Around 18 planes in each squadrons). Indo-Russian defence relationship pillar of Indo-Russian relationships. However Defence relations are also facing negative publicity because of the delay factor.

India tried to accommodate the delaying factor. Russia have a privileged position as the major source of defence supplier to India but feel upset when it-loses some tenders.

Diversification of the Sources

Due to rising economy of India, there are many companies in the developed countries such as the US, Israel and France which agreed to provide more cost effective arms package to India in comparison to Russia because they wanted to capture the Indian market. Israel is India's second largest defence supplier and the defence ties between the two countries amount to about $ 7 billion. Director General of the Israeli defence Ministry Pinches Buchris, during his visit in January 2008, signed deals on intelligence sharing and joint production of the Python quick reaction missile. India's Cabinet Committee on Security cleared a $ 2.5 billion joint production deal for the missiles


103 *The Hindu*, Mohali, October 20, 2015.

manufacture in India.\footnote{Krishna Missile, "India Israel Sign. Intel Sharing Missile Production Deals" http://www.up.com/internationalsecurity/industry/analysis/2008/01/02/analysis-indiasdefence-sector/3677/.
} The UK is another emerging partner in the growth of the Indian arms sector in 2007. The arrival of two MK 132 Advanced Jet Trainer (AJT) aircraft from UK to India is notable. These development clearly indicate the trend towards diversification of the requirements of the Indian military.\footnote{Ministry of Defence, Year and Review 2007, http://.NK.in/release.asp?refid=34262} India is currently providing military and industrial base for Russia. Economic hurdles retard purchase of defence equipments from Russia. Currently Russia requires hard currency which India has been unable to pay. Due to this problem, India also attempted to diversify its supply of military equipments.\footnote{David J. et. al, "Military Relations between US and India : Assessment and prospects in Ashok Kapur (ed.) India and the United States in a changing world, (New Delhi Gyan Publication 2002), p. 320.}

For hard currency, Russia has shown some interests in selling armaments to Pakistan.\footnote{J.N. Dixit, "India's Foreign Policy Challenge of Terrorism", (New Delhi Gyan Publishing House : 2008), p. 76.} Increasing Pakistan-Russia military relationships are creating problem between the time tested Indo-Russian relations. Russia-Pakistan ties are growing as a reality that India will have to live with as part of Moscow's growing engagement with other nation in the region such as Bangladesh and Sri-Lanka. But India enjoys a privileged military and technical cooperation over Moscow.\footnote{The Hindu, October 9, 2012, p. 2.}

**No More Friendship Prices**

Soviet Union's main motive behind the arms transfers to India was geo-political and strategic interests. On the other hand, Russia also transferred arms to India from commercial point of view, adopting the free market philosophy. They started demanding unreasonably high price for their hardware. From cost point of view Russian arms now are now equal to western arms, but lag behind from quality point of view. Now Russia is not prepared to supply weapons to India on prices and terms offered by the former Soviet Union. The rupee payment regime has come to an end. Now Russia insisted on hard
currency payments. Former Indian Navel Chief Admiral Arun Prakash is a strong critic of this emerging trend. He said that once you buy a foreign system you create a dependency for its lifetime. Foreigners will continue to exploit us and we need to find alternative, focused on developing indigenous capabilities. He made an indirect reference to the uncertainties in Indo-Russian defence cooperation such as cost overrun delay and poor quality that India must "beware of foreigner bearing gifts".

**Problem of spare parts**

The easy availability of cheap spare parts from Russian side because obstacle in Indo-Russian defence relations. The problems exist even during the Soviet period. Soviet weapons were cheap but not the spare parts. India was at the mercy of the supplier for spare parts. There was lack of openness on the part of the soviet side and also lack of communication and understanding of each other's system. So, problems of spare parts as well as maintenance and repair from Russia for the weapons system emerged. These issues are now being addressed in progressive manner.

**Quality concern**

There have also been complaints from quality point of view. A number of lacunae is visible in the latest T-90 tanks supplied to India. Russian defence sector also facing the financial problems. Most of the Russian defence companies are controlled by the government and private companies are not allowed to invest in it. According to Sergei Ivanov, the former Russian Defence Minister, Only 16 out of 37 holding companies had been established by late 2007. Newly established companies are still unable to produce high quality weapons. In India, a social movement has been gathering storm over the years on the problem of MIG-21 crashing frequently, earning the sobriquet of "flying coffin."

110 Bakshi, n. 85, p. 455.
113 Dash, n. 77, p. 85.
Major Indian Arms Imports from Russia (Year Range 1997 to 1996)

Table 2
Transfer of Major Conventional Weapons From Russia to India. (The Table Shows Deliveries or Orders Made for the Year Range 1997 to 2006)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. ordered</th>
<th>Weapon designation</th>
<th>Weapon description</th>
<th>Year of order/licence</th>
<th>Year(s) of deliveries</th>
<th>No. delivered/produced</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Fregat/ Half Plate</td>
<td>Air/sea surveillance radar</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>1997-2001</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>AK-100 100mm</td>
<td>Naval gun</td>
<td>1986</td>
<td>1997-2001</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Kite Screech</td>
<td>Fire control radar</td>
<td>1986</td>
<td>1997-2001</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>MR-90/Front Dome</td>
<td>Fire control radar</td>
<td>1986</td>
<td>1997-2001</td>
<td>18</td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>AK-176M76mm</td>
<td>Naval gun</td>
<td>1990</td>
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<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>AK-630 30mm</td>
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<td>1990</td>
<td>1998-2005</td>
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<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>53-65K</td>
<td>AS torpedo</td>
<td>1993</td>
<td>1997-2001</td>
<td>15</td>
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<tr>
<td>225</td>
<td>9M38/SA-II Gadfly Garpun/Plank Shave</td>
<td>SAM Air surveillance radar</td>
<td>1993</td>
<td>1997.-2001 1997-2004</td>
<td>225</td>
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<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>SET-65E</td>
<td>ASW torpedo</td>
<td>1993</td>
<td>1997-2003</td>
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<td>78</td>
<td>V-46</td>
<td>Dieselengine (AV)</td>
<td>1994</td>
<td>1996-1997</td>
<td>78</td>
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<tr>
<td>800</td>
<td>9M114/AT-6 Spiral</td>
<td>Anti-tank missile</td>
<td>1995</td>
<td>1998-1999</td>
<td>800</td>
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<td>24</td>
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<td>Mobile AD system</td>
<td>1996</td>
<td>1997-1999</td>
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<td>Weapon designation</td>
<td>Weapon description</td>
<td>Year of order/licence</td>
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<td>Kopyo</td>
<td>Aircraft radar</td>
<td>2001-2006</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Su-30K/Flanker</td>
<td>FGA aircraft</td>
<td>1996</td>
<td>1997-1999</td>
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<tr>
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<td>9M311/SA-19Grison</td>
<td>SAM</td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>2003</td>
<td>300</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Talwar/Krivak-4</td>
<td>Frigate</td>
<td>1997</td>
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<td>2,175</td>
<td>Type-877E/Kilo 3M-54E1</td>
<td>Submarine Anti-ship missile</td>
<td>1997-1998</td>
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<td>Klub/SS-N-27 Garpun/Plank Shave</td>
<td>Air surveillance radar</td>
<td>1998</td>
<td>2000-2006</td>
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<td>Su-30MK/Flanker</td>
<td>FGA aircraft</td>
<td>1998</td>
<td>2004</td>
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<tr>
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<td>SAM Air surveillance radar</td>
<td>1999</td>
<td>2006</td>
<td>1502</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Ka-31 /Helix</td>
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<td>1999</td>
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<td>Kashtan/CADS-N-1</td>
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<td>Fire control radar</td>
<td>1999</td>
<td>2006</td>
<td>8</td>
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<td>86</td>
<td>V-46</td>
<td>Diesel engine (AV)</td>
<td>1999</td>
<td>2000-2002</td>
<td>86</td>
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<td>1,440</td>
<td>9M120Vikhr/AT-16</td>
<td>Anti-tank missile</td>
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<td>2002-2004</td>
<td>1440</td>
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<tr>
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<td>9M317/SA-17 Grizzly</td>
<td>SAM</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>2003</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>125</td>
<td>9M38/SA-11 Gadfly</td>
<td>SAM</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>2006</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Mi-8/Mi-17/Hip-H</td>
<td>Helicopter</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>2000-2001</td>
<td>40</td>
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</table>
COMPARISON WITH OTHER NATIONS

Indo-US ties were started with fresh diplomatic assessments. Their defence relations entered into a new phase after the 1998 sanctions. Main reason for that change is India's lucrative defence market. But Russia is still the main player in Indian defence market. According to the report of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI)

116 The Tribune No. 111.
117 Ibid.
118 Ajay Banerjee, "Umbilical link to Russia", The Tribune, October 27, 2013.

, Indians share of 12 percent all the global arms trade between 2008-2012 and Russia supplied 79 per cent of these

115 Russia's shared $ 7 billion spending over the large part of the new equipment worth Rs. 86,740 crore (about $ 14.45 billion). Russia is not happy over growing Indo-US and Sino-India, taking it as an axis which is in conjunction with Japan. It US supported India for full membership in the export control regimes technology which India has never before. The export control regimes include the Missile Technology Control Regime which deals with missile system, Australia Group dual-use items for chemical and biological weapons; Nuclear Suppliers Group deals with nuclear area and Wassenaar Arrangement with armaments and dual-use items realted to conventional armaments. India wanted memberships to these clubs.116

India runs joint development programme in defence sector with Russia, France Israel and US. India and Russia were the first to start joint development in 1998, when they launched the cruise missile programme for Brahmos. India and Israel started a joint development programme in 2008 when DRDO started development of missile with Israel aircraft industries for the long-range surface-to-air missile (LRSAM) for Indian Navy. French entry in joint development with short-range surface-to-air missile (SRSAM) at a cost of $ 5.6 million.117 New Delhi and Moscow are working for the Fifth Generation Fighter Aircraft (FGFA) with the amount of $ 30 billion which is the biggest defence deal in the world. India aims to have 210 such jets after 2022. Another project is Multi-Role Transport Aircraft to replace the 100 medium transport planes and hypersonic version of Brahmos missile.118
The Prime Minister Manmohan Singh's two terms as Prime Minister will be known for strategic relations with the U.S. But he praised for Russia during his Moscow visit in October, 2013. He said, "India has benefited enormously from Russian support in every aspect of India's national development efforts, be it the development of heavy industry, the power sector, our space programme or...our defence needs. Russia has stood by India at moments of great international challenges, when our own resources were limited and our friends were few... it is this lost fact that Indians never forget.".\(^{119}\) Prime Minister further termed Indo-Russian relations as special and privileged Moscow helped us in nuclear energy when the world still avoided nuclear commerce with us.\(^{120}\)

Russia as a time tested friend was the first country with which India established a strategic partnership in 2000 under the leadership of Putin. Before Putin, under Boris Yeltsin, Russia had veered around west and ignored the soviet-era friendship with India. India signed strategic partnership agreement with several countries including the US, whose purpose is the establishment unilateralism. Strategic partnership with US changed the balance of Indian foreign policy. Due to disparity of power between India and US, the latter has more capacity to influence India's policies than vice-versa. As a result, that US has been able to mould changed India's stand on domestic and foreign issue.\(^{121}\) The overall India-Pakistan conflict is still in escalation phase. During the cold war, the major supplier of weapons to Pakistan was US while India received supplies from the USSR and also focused on Indigenous production. Pakistan taped the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 and strengthened US-Pakistan relations from 1979 to 1989. Pakistan took advantage not only to obtain sophisticated weapons from US but also to develop clandestinely its nuclear capability. Reagan administration provided economic package of $ 3.2 billion which included the F-16 aircraft. It established qualitatively superiority of Pakistan air force over Indian counterpart.\(^{122}\) Russian defence sales to China and Pakistan are also guided by profit motives. Russia as major arms manufacturer has recent by lost

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\(^{120}\) Ibid.

\(^{121}\) Kanwal Sibal, "Still Comrades after all these years", \textit{The Hindu}, December 28, 2012.

several lucrative contracts in India. In India their is growing competition from the US, Europe and Israel. But India and Russia are the most trusted partner for each other. By contrast, Russia always worried about China's intentions towards resource-rich and population poor Siberia.  

Number of measures have shown showing increasing Russia-China relations. A gas pipeline project will by 298, bring 38 billion cubic meters of gas per year to China from Russia as compared to Europe, which the major customer of Russian gas. Russia is also showing interest in the sale of Sukhoi military planes which was earlier avoided fearing the reverse engineering of their technology. Russia has shown serious concerns about the increasing US defence share in Indian market which was earlier Moscow's sphere of influence. Moscow's concerns appeared during a visit of Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Gennady Gotilov in September 15, 2015 when Gotilov paid lip service to support for the India's candidature for permanent membership of the UNSC Rather Moscow chose join China and Pakistan which are trying to undermine the G-4 initiative for an early decision the on restructuring of the UN Security Council.

Even Moscow showed interest to play a second fiddle with China in crucial areas like Af-Pak region and in central Asia where China has effective access to energy resources. In Afghanistan case, Russia was on the back foot as China and Pakistan took initiatives seeking reconciliation with the Taliban. Russia shifted its concerns about Pakistan. Pakistan was now described by Russian academicians as Russia's "South Asian Gatekeeper." Early in 2003, the Indo-Russian joint statement insisted on that Pakistan should dismantle the terrorist infrastructure in Pakistan and Pakistan Occupied Territory (POK) During the Moscow visit of Pakistan foreign Minister Hina Rabbani Khar and its army Chief General Kayani in 2012, Russia avoided to mention any relationship between Pakistan and Terrorism. Russia further agreed that it would provide RD93 engines for JF17 fighter assembled in Pakistan with Chinese collaboration. Russia described Pakistan as closest partner. China is using Pakistan as the primary instrument to contain India.

123 Vladimir Radyuhin, "The Dragon gets a bear hug", The Hindu, March 18, 2013.
125 Parthaserathy, "Will it be a frozen Moscow winter?" The Tribune October 8, 2015.
By using Pakistan, China creating problems for India's ambitions regional and global aspirations. China is creating obstacles in the way of Indian efforts to get permanent membership of UNSC and also in major international non-proliferation groups such as Nuclear Suppliers Group. It is also creating problems for India's membership in Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO), insisting Pakistan's parallel admission.  

China is seriously expanding its efforts in South China Sea to established its dominance the Sea. China wants to prove that South China Sea is an incontestable fact. Three approaches are being applied to regulate China's behaviour i.e. legal, diplomatic and military.  

China is one country which directly impacting India's goal regionally and internationally. The unresolved boundary, dispute, the shadow of Tibet issue and using Pakistan as instrument are the major areas of conflict. China and Pakistan are creating problem from Territorial boundaries to Indian Ocean. These major issues need to solve carefully. India try to be solved these issues through a policy of engagement with China and building an areas of convergence. To counter China, India requires deterrent capabilities including upgradation of infrastructure. China factor also pushed India towards USA. On the other hand, Russia is getting closer to China. Increasing Russia-China relations may be reduce India's longstanding special relations with Russia. Russia may give up its support to India as in the past, while dealing with India-China and India-Pakistan issues. China insists and asserts that South-China Sea is its only sphere of influence. In this context, the most significant development Indo-US maritime cooperation. US is conducting the largest number of naval exercises with India. The possibility is that the joint exercise may be quadrupled with Japan and Australia. So the quadrupled cooperation, may revive strong opposition from China and Russia. India is focusing on the best alternative i.e an inclusive security in the region which includes the legitimate concerns of China as well as the other stakeholders.  

128 Shyam Soran, "India and a contested Geo-Political terrain", The Tribune, November 23, 2015.
Indo-US relations continue to enlarge with joint working group on both, aircraft carrier technology and jet engine technology. Other project are in pipeline such as Boeing P-18, Maritime Patrol Aircraft and D-M777 ultra-light Howitzers. From long term pending agreement which US termed as "Foundational Agreement" such as Communication and Information Security Memorandum of Agreement (CISMOA) logistics support Agreement (LSA) and further partnership on high technology under the Defence Technology and Trade Initiative (DTTI), Indian defence industry is the major emerging defence industry for major arms suppliers. As American Defence Secretary Ashton Carter recognised that India cannot be at par with Pakistan or Turkey. Indian defence industry is becoming hub for major arms supplier as is indicated by New Delhi’s well-established strategic partnership with major arms suppliers like Russia, Israel, France, Germany and UK. USA is continently enhancing cooperation fields like areo-engines for multi-role combat aircraft, aircraft carriers, artillery and attack helicopters. Increasing relationships with USA, also increasing pressure on other partners like Russia, from where defence industry have been experiencing problems of escalating price and poor serviceability Increasing cozy partnership in strategic fields with USA does not mean that relations with USA are aloof from problems. The increasing tripartite US-China-Pakistan partnership to promote reconciliation with Taliban. return of the Taliban, power in Afghanistan have serious consequences for India's security. Taliban history shows that it has close relations with anti-Indian groups like the Jaish-e-Mohammed and the Lashkar-e-Taiba. The USA has given up Afghan forces ill equipped to face the Taliban-ISI challenge to the country's legitimate regime. While India is helping Afghan government the need of the hour is to strengthen Afghan capabilities in areas like artillery, armoured vehicles and aircraft. India's close cooperation with Russia and its central Asian partners, neighboring Afghanistan and Iran is required to surmount the huge task. The agreement on manufacturing Russian helicopter Kamov 226 in India is the first major defence project under the "make in India" programme India decided to purchase S-400 Triumph anti-aircraft system as an

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example of the strengthening Indio-Russia strategic ties.\textsuperscript{131}

India and Russia started working on a long-term agreements, made in 2006 and 2012 over technical assistance for aircraft maintenance and spare parts which would reduced the time of the repair of aircraft, to be sent to Russia from 8-15 month to 60 days. Issue of spare parts are creating a hurdle in the major joint defence production. Both are now exploring the possibility of setting up a joint venture to improve the supply of spare parts for the Sukhoi-30 frontline fighter aircraft. Once agreement concluded it would increase the serviceability of the aircraft. Under the agreement, bureaucratic procedure will be simplified and also air force simplifying procedures like customs, bank guarantees, latter of credit and issue of price escalation. The Sukhoi, frontline fighter aircraft of the Air Force have poor availability due to spare parts and maintenance issues. The agreement will increase the serviceability rate of Sukhoi's from 56-57\% to 75 percent respectively.\textsuperscript{132}

In the context of security from India is growing challenges, both in the conventional as well as in the sub conventional domain, Indian military-industrial sector is in the doldrums situation. The import list of the armed forces is huge and running close to a hundred billion dollars. From this perspective Indian government approved the 15-year Long Term Integrated Perspective; Plan (LTIPP) that would provide guideline for weapons purchase for the period of 2012-2027. The LTIPP which includes government assessment of current and emerging threat, capabilities of armed forces, types of weapons systems, ammunition, surveillance equipment, logistic measures and support paraphernalia, need to be procured. It also identifies capabilities of the Defence Research and Development Organisation. India's increasing defence budget and growing needs due to security challenges, India has emerged as lucrative market for military hardware and allied services for foreign companies.\textsuperscript{133}

\textsuperscript{131} Sandeep Dikshit, "Yet to Walk the extra mile with consistent friend", \textit{The Tribune}, Jalandhar, December 28, 2015.

\textsuperscript{132} \textit{The Hindu}, Mohali, December 8, 2015.

\textsuperscript{133} R.S. Bedi, "Economic ties can over come strategic constraints", \textit{The Tribune}, December 24, 2012.
Indian government framed a new defence policy as an invitation for MNCS to join hands with Indian public and private sector under the "Make in India" programme. The Department of Industrial Policy and Promotion has increased the FDI limits in the defence sector from 26 percent to 49 per cent without the transfer of technology (TOT), up to 74 per cent with TOT both with the Foreign Investment Policy Board (FIPB) approval and up to 100 per cent in the case of the transfer of state of the-art technologies with prior approval of the union cabinet.\footnote{134}

Under the 'Make in India' and 'Skill Development' programme Anil Ambani's Pipavav Defence and Offshore Engineering Co. (PDOC) has signed an agreement with JSC ship repairing centre Zuyozdochka, (Russia) for medium refits and life certification of 877 EKM submarines in India. In Indo-Russian relations, it is the first time that the work on refit of submarines has been placed under the private sector in India. The estimated value of the project is about 11,000 crores. Under the agreement, Russian firm will provide help such as enhancement of infrastructure of PDOC, technical assistance, and training of engineers. Refit and modernisation of submarines is an urgent need for India's security. A refit in India will be helpful for India from transportation costs to and enhance operational availability of submarines for thousands of additional hours.\footnote{135}

Dialogue between the two countries under "special and privileged strategic ties" have been taking place since 2000. During his Moscow visit the Indian Prime Minister Vajpayee said, "Russia remained the India's "Most valued" friend in the world."\footnote{136} During Indian PM Modi's visit, defence deal near about $ 10 billion announced was with the deal Russia, once India's top military hardware supplier. After the long hiatus with the deal, Russia replaced US as the top supplier of military hardware to India from the lost few years.\footnote{137}

Political and defence relations between both the countries marked high level relations. From political point of view, there are many issues of convergence such as

\footnote{134}{Gurmeet Kanwal, "Going slow an defences", \textit{The Tribune}, February 23, 2015.}
\footnote{135}{\textit{The Financial Express}, Chandigarh, July 22, 2015.}
\footnote{136}{\textit{The Hindu}, December 24, 2015.}
\footnote{137}{\textit{The Hindu}, December 22, 2015.}
terrorism, reforms in the United Nations Security Council, multipolar world, Afghanistan etc. There are also newly emerged areas which have equal importance for both the countries, such as central Asian region and Russia's Far Eastern regions which have plenty of resources and need to be tapped. After the collapse of Soviet Union, defence relations between the two countries reached at Nadir. Russia adopted the pro-west policy and it also adopted the market economy. But with the efforts of Primakov, Indo-Russia relations returned to old days. Under Putin, new dawn in Indo-Russian relations took place. Military relations have now entered in joint military production from just buyer-seller relations. But there are also some retarding factors in the way of smooth military cooperation which need to be removed. From military and political point of view, a convergence is occurring at the bilateral, regional and global levels, thus providing the basis for a well balanced relationships in the 21st century.