CHAPTER-1

NATIONAL SECURITY ENVIRONMENT

Over the past few years, we have witnessed sweeping changes in the global scenario. USSR has disintegrated and ceased to be a power: It is no longer even a single unified country, as it has divided into a number of states, the largest being Russia. Japan has emerged as an economic giant. China is fast emerging as a major power in Asia and soon perhaps in the World, with its economy growing at a tremendous pace. America has emerged as a single supper power. While the cold war confrontation has ended, the form of 'New World Order' which might replace it remains unclear.

International Security Scenario

Over a period of time, India had established a special relationship with erstwhile USSR which had stood by her at various critical junctures. Indian Armed Forces had acquired Soviet Russian weapons and equipment and were also dependent on her for majority of spares and munitions. Besides, with the disintegration of USSR, India no longer has the support of a permanent member of the Security Council. The emergence of America as single super power with her unipolar pressures on world economy, control over world resources as also over unbal-
anced the strategic environment. This situation is disadvanta-
geous to developing nations such as India, who were earlier non-aligned or dependent on Soviet political support and tech-
nological aid on soft terms. India has to re-consider her policy and find pragmatic solutions to economic, social and security concerns, which could also be acceptable to USA and various world bodies.

The end of Soviet power has released a substantial number of Chinese Army divisions and support formations for employment on the Indian border: These today pose a latent danger to India. Besides, China to-day has an advantageous relationship with smaller neighbours such as Mongolia, North Korea and the newly independent Muslim States of Central Asia.

The situation with regard to China in the global as well as regional context is more complex and of great interest to India. During the cold war period, USA found it advantageous to normalise relations with China, to accrue the benefit of splitting the communist monolith? Pakistan played a mediators role in this regard between USA and China during President Nixon era, for which she was suitably rewarded by both the countries. However, the 'Tiananmen Square Incident' made USA alert to the ground realities, giving rise to grave misgivings about the future of democracy and human rights in China. But, now the situation has changed, as China is making tremendous progress in
her economy and seems destined to become a reckonable power and a potential rival to the USA.

The fears and threats arising out of the Afghanistan situation are no longer haunting Pakistan. It has gained marked superiority over India in context of Nuclear capability. On the other hand, India is beset by serious internal problems in J&K, Punjab and Assam: The 'Ayodhya Fiasco' and such other incidents during the past few years, pose grave dangers of divisiveness and integrity of the nation. Pakistan is exploiting the situation by aiding insurgency and doing everything in its power to spread the flames of communalism in India.

By all accounts therefore, the security situation for India has worsened and her position has become more vulnerable both at home and abroad. As against that, both of her immediate adversaries, Pakistan and China, have shed many constraints between them and have emerged stronger. It is therefore important, that notwithstanding the winds of change and the worldwide shift of emphasis from the military to the economic problems, our security requirements would demand greater resources and more vigilance.

Any stable international system has to have strong nodes. The 'Cold War' was built on the adversarial relationship between the two nodal powers - Washington and Moscow. With that
order passing, now in South Asia, India is the regional node because of her central position, size, its economic strength and scientific, technological and industrial capabilities and vast manpower. She is a central pillar on which the regional prospects for peace rest.

In the South Asian region, India has always been a haven of stability, which seeks to provide for the political ambitions of constituent people being peacefully realised through the democratic process. She is a moderate, liberal and enduring democracy in the region. If however, India is also to be a strong node for the weaker neighbouring countries then she will have to realise her power potential by acquiring both Power (military clout) and economic potential: the two main indices of a country capable of holding not only herself together but also the region.

Impact of Recent International Developments on India's Defence

India's former Defence Minister C Pant, had opined that "the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the break-up of the Warsaw Pact military alliance, the consequent dissolution of the Super-Power rivalry and related events, have complicated
India's Defence plans".1

In a nutshell the dilemma India faces is how best to deal with the increased number, variety and sources of threats to her security, at a time of growing constraints, mainly the lack of economic resources and the uncertainty of assured supplies of Defence spares and replenishment stocks for not only maintaining existing readiness levels but also modernise.

The post World War II Bipolar System brought in predictability, which helped various countries to plan and execute long term strategies and tactics in a context where moves and counter-moves could be anticipated. Thus, if the USSR was on one side, the chances were good that the US and the Western alliance would be on the other. On this basis, a coherent policy and plan of action on any particular issue could be set in motion.

With the USSR, no longer in the rivalry, the US is the 'long prop' of an international edifice which is far from stable. Will the US assume the role of the lone international policeman? It is a question which is after raised Americans

1. KC Pant, Former Indian Defence Minister, on "The role India can play in the New Word Order", at South Asia Seminar at Harward Centre for International Affairs, Hindustan Times, 06 Oct, 1991.
may not be ready to pay for this new role of US. In such a situation, the likelihood is that each country herself would be engaged perhaps in freewheeling contests with traditional rivals and newly entrenched foes.

Moreover, every country in the vicinity of the Soviet Asiatic republics will have their threats compounded by the distinct possibility of expensive Islamic fundamentalist and sub-nationalist movement, spilling over the borders and becoming a source of intrigue and power play, internal subversion and plain terrorism, all beyond the control of the big powers or even regional hegemonies.

In the present fluid international context, the threats India confronts may be divided into four types:

(a) Nuclear Conventional.
(b) Nuclear Unconventional.
(c) Conventional Military.
(d) Unconventional Military.

The 'Nuclear Conventional Threat' to India is posed by the neighbouring Chinese nuclear weapons: Chinese nuclear-tipped missiles aimed at Indian targets and emplaced in the Lanzhou and the Chengdu military districts in the Aksai Chin and opposite the Indian states of Arunachal Pradesh and Sikkim, respectively. As estimated by some Non Government experts,
some 100 odd intermediate range ballistic missiles with warheads in the 100-250 kiloton range may be conservatively estimated as actually targeting Indian military centres and assets. There is also Chinese IRBM threat from her nuclear-powered submarines, establishing naval presence West of the Malacca Straits and well inside the territorial sea rim formed by the Andaman and the Nicobar Islands. Besides, there are Super power nuclear weapon platforms (ships, submersibles, etc) transiting or pre-positioned in Indian Ocean waters. Also included in this sub-category, are the British and French ships equipped with Nuclear Weapons, with a residual fleet presence in India's proximity.

The 'Nuclear Unconventional Threat', a cause for the greatest apprehension and uncertainty for India is two pronged: One prong, is the fairly clear cut threat from the Pakistani nuclear weapons capability. The fact that the Bush Administration, which like its predecessor had over backwards and stretched it: credibiltiy to the point of disbelief, in certifying that Pakistan possessed no nuclear weapons in September 1991 refused to do so once again, is the surest evidence that Pakistan has crossed the nuclear weapons threshold. The other prong is the nuclear threat emanating from strategic nuclear missiles and bombs as well as tactical nuclear armament of Soviet rocket forces hitherto emplaced in the newly independent Islamic republics. Until there is a verifiable proof that all
of these nuclear weapons, especially the small and compact tactical ones are accounted for and removed from these near-sovereign and unstable Soviet Republics, and a centrally designated authority has reasserted its command and control over every individual nuclear strategic and tactical weapon, the threat is palpable. The danger is also from the transfer of these weapons for the purposes of nuclear terrorism, there being no dearth of motivated and brinkmanship-oriented underground and guerilla groups in the region.

The 'Conventional Military Threat' to India is basically from China and Pakistan. Both China and Pakistan have taken great measures to modernise and expand their Defence Forces. This has in turn pressurised India to take similar steps. The formidable complications faced by Indian armed forces, as per the erstwhile Indian Chief of the Army Staff General SF Rodrigues, is the "LOC/LOAC-IB" problem, meaning that 'part of the border is disputed and the rest is the accepted international border'. Out of the 1,300 miles (approximately) long border with Pakistan, over 500 miles (approximately) is in the state of Kashmir does not fall in the category of the undisputed border, nor more worryingly does the entire stretch of the 1,500 miles (approximately) border with China. These long disputed borders require intense policing and presence in strength, to deter the other side from capturing territory and
absorbing it pending a final settlement. Even parts of the formally recognised International Border (IB) with Pakistan are porous and terrorists and gun-runners move to and fro across the IB. In essence then, Indian forces have to treat the IB as if it were LOC/LOAC and mount serious vigil, necessitating enlarged defence expenditure and border security efforts.

The 'Unconventional Military Threat' to India is basically from the foreign support to subversive/terrorist activities, meant to destabilise the country, as also impede the developmental process. It may be recalled, that India surrendered inherited treaty rights in Tibet and championed Communist China's admission into the United Nations Organisation and in the Security Council, in order to earn Chinese goodwill. All it earned us was the loss of a buffer state in Tibet. China today is on India's doorstep, a position on the Himalayan watershed China used to inflict a military defeat in the 1962 winter war, forcible occupying some 40,000 sq miles of Indian territory in Aksai Chin.

The US Government also tested our nerves in a crisis: She ordered the nuclear weapons equipped Seventh Fleet into the Bay of Bengal during the 1971 Indo-Pakistan war. It is learnt that, this Fleet was meant to deter Indian plans to switch forces from the East to the West for the isolation and destruction of East Pakistan.
South Asian Regional Security Scenario

The de-escalation of tension at International level has not had an apparent positive impact on the South Asian region. There are continuing uncertainties and new signs of instability.

Overview of India's Relations with Neighbouring Countries

An overview of India's relations with her neighbouring countries in the region, is discussed in the succeeding paragraphs.

Pakistan

Indo-Pakistan relations continue to be adversely affected by the tension generated due to Pakistan's abetment of terrorism in Punjab and J&K. Pakistan continues to bring up the 'Kashmir Issue' at every forum and has intensified efforts to internationalise it, especially through allegations of 'violation of human rights', by Indian military and para-military forces in J&K. Pakistan is actively arming Punjab terrorists and Kashmiri militants, providing training in the camps set up in Pakistan/POK. Besides, she is known to be providing material and financial support to these terrorists. Notwithstanding this, India has continued her efforts of confidence building
measures as a consequence of which she has been able to ratify implementation of two agreements regarding advance notice of military exercises and prevention of air space violations. Besides, a joint declaration on the complete prohibition of Chemical Weapons was signed at the end of sixth round of Foreign Secretaries level talks in 1992.

Pakistan has always wanted to be seen as the leader of the Islamic world. She has always worked towards achievement of this goal and there is little doubt that she would exploit the internal unrest in India to her advantage. India on her part should take suitable measures to guard against this.

The resolution of Afghanistan crisis and the disintegration of the USSR have resulted in the stoppage of US aid to Pakistan. With the stoppage of US aid and resultant strains on her economy as also removal of the Soviet threat from her Western borders, Pakistan should have logically cut down her Defence expenditure. However On the contrary, there has been perceptible increase in Pakistans preparedness for war. There is also no doubt about her nuclear capability, because of which she poses a threat to India.
China

Indian efforts to improve relations with China continue. High level visits by Indian leaders have helped to improve mutual understanding. China is presently busy consolidating her economy and it is perceived that during the next few years she would be pre-occupied in management of internal affairs. Collapse of communism in the USSR has had a great impact on China. The happenings which led to the "Tiananmen Incident" highlight the desire of her people to spurn communism. Another important issue which may keep her busy will be the consolidation of Hong Kong after it is transferred to China. While so far there has been no physical reduction in the PLO forces along Sino-Indian border, mutual agreement has been signed during the visit of Mr Narsimha Rao to China to achieve this objective, as also to continue to move towards normalisation of relations. The apparent Chinese attitude towards relations with India, show a friendly and accommodative approach, indicating a desire to maintain peace on the borders.

Other Neighbouring Countries

India's other small neighbouring countries by themselves pose no tangible threat. However, the danger lies in their being subverted and exploited for ulterior motives by China and Pakistan.
Traditional close cooperation between India and Afghanistan has been hampered, because of uncertain situation in Kabul. There is however, great potential for reinstating traditional friendship with Afghanistan after the situation stabilises.

There is an increasing evidence to show that both China and Pakistan are making effort to ensure that Bangladesh, which occupies a very important place in South Asian sub-continent remains indifferent to India. Bangladesh Armed Forces are continuing their programme of modernisation with external help including China and Pakistan. India needs to initiate urgent steps to ensure that existing relations between her and Bangladesh some progress has already been made in this direction. One of the major outstanding issues with Bangladesh is 'leasing of Tin Bigha corridor' has been resolved. Other issues, such as 'sharing of waters of common rivers', 'legal immigration' and 'land boundary agreement' etc are being discussed. It is necessary that Indian Diplomatic and other thrusts towards Bangladesh aim at dispelling Bangladesh fears and Indian future posture towards Bangladesh should be such that it leads to improved friendly relations.

In Sri Lanka, any solution to the ethnic problem of Tamils is still illusive. Despite efforts by Sri Lankan Government, the Tigers have not been effectively contained. Assassination
of Rajiv Gandhi earlier and the President of Sri Lanka, Shri Premadasa recently, has complicated the situation further. India however remains committed to strengthening her relations with Sri Lanka. Bilateral issues such as, repatriation of Sri Lankan refugees from India, the economic cooperation and the problem of fishermen from both countries fishing in each other's waters, need an early settlement. No threat is expected by Indian from Sri Lanka as during the next few years the Sri Lankan Government will be involved totally in eliminating counter-insurgency within the country.

We have traditionally, close and cordial relations with NEPAL, which were further strengthened with the good-will visit of Indian Prime Minister during Oct 92.

India's traditional ties with BHUTAN have further improved by exchange of visits at the Ministerial level, where bilateral issues were discussed. Recent developments in Bhutan due to eviction of Nepalese from Southern Bhutan, have resulted in migration of refugees to India, which are likely to create problems. This issue needs to be resolved expeditiously.

The Military regime in MYANMAR has announced convening of national convention, for framing new constitution. Whatever be the political set up, Army is likely to continue to do the internal politics in MYANMAR for quite some time to come.
Myanmar's Defence oriented relations with China are growing, with her on-going acquisition of military hardware and aircraft from that country. However, there has been a tangible improvement in Myanmar's attitude towards India, after the visit of Indian official delegation in Aug 92. The dialogues have resulted in improved decisions for enhancing cooperation in trade and commerce, trans-border Narcotics traffic, insurgency, territorial violations and issue of stateless persons of Indian origin living in Myanmar.

**Internal Situation**

The internal situation in India continues to be grim, despite best efforts by the Central and State Governments. The situation in Jammu & Kashmir is worsening every day with no solution in sight. However, efforts made at political level have now started showing some results. The low intensity conflict being waged by Pakistan needs fresh initiative at political level. The situation in Punjab though showing signs of normally, is still far from normal.

The situation in Assam has deteriorated once again, even-though 'Op Rhino' is making tangible progress. There is a need for India to take a systematic view in case of North Eastern States, for attainment of permanent peace.