The present study is a modest attempt on the role of neighbouring states in India's security with special reference to Bhutan and Nepal. But before discussing the role of these states in the protection of India's security, I felt it necessary to take into account all the major threats to India's security. India since the beginning of its independence has been facing threats to its security at two levels: global and regional. At the global level, the major threat was from the politics of the Cold War. For newly independent India, preservation of independence and its use both in thought and behaviour was the most natural and coveted objective of the foreign policy of the country. The Cold War with its bloc politics threatened to take away India's independence in foreign affairs. Therefore, India refused to join any power bloc and pursued the policy of non-alignment as a foreign policy strategy to maintain its independence in foreign affairs and to ensure the security of the country.

At the regional level, India's security has been threatened from the side of Pakistan and China. Pakistan's wars with India over the question of Kashmir and its strategic linkages with Western bloc as well as with China, has been a constant threat to India's security. Therefore, India established close relationship with the former Soviet Union in order to counterbalance Sino-US
support to Pakistan and to strengthen its own security.

Next to Pakistan, a threat to India's security came from China. The emergence of People’s Republic of China in 1949, and its occupation of Tibet in 1950 posed a serious challenge to India regarding the protection of its northern borders. Against the background of Chinese threat perception, certain adjustments were made in India’s relations with Bhutan and Nepal because these states, by virtue of their geo-strategic location in the region, cast their shadows on India’s security horizon. The location of these states is significant to India’s security i.e. either to threaten or prevent any possible threat from the side of China. Therefore, Nehru adopted a strategy of "special relationship" with Bhutan and Nepal by concluding the Treaties of Peace and Friendship with former in 1949 and with latter in 1950 respectively. These treaties ensure the protection of India's security from the side of China. After the conclusion of these treaties the defence and foreign affairs of these two Himalayan kingdoms came under the guidance of India; and these states were regarded as an integral part of India’s security system.

Chinese policy towards the Himalayan kingdoms of Bhutan and Nepal has been a clear indication of its desire to wean these states away from India’s influence. With a view to establishing special relationship with these states, China expressed its willingness to solve its
Ill border dispute with Bhutan. It also supported Nepal's concept of 'Zone of Peace' and encouraged anti-Indian activities in that country. India has been strongly opposed to Chinese presence in Bhutan and Nepal because Chinese presence in these states would prove harmful to India's national interests. The basic interest of India in these states has been strengthening the security of the country. So it concluded treaties to maintain special relationship with these states.

A lot has been written on India's foreign policy and national security but as far as the role of neighbouring states in India's security is concerned no systematic study has yet been made. In this study, an attempt is made to survey and analyse the role of neighbouring states in India's security upto the first half of the 1990's.

This study is divided into six chapters.

The first chapter deals with the major global and regional threats to newly independent India and the policy pursued by Nehru in response to these threats. It also examines the nature of Chinese threat to India's security and the strategy adopted by Nehru for the protection of the security of the country. Nehru pursued the policy of deliberate friendship with Bhutan and Nepal as a strategy for the defence of the country, and these states were regarded as essential parts of India's
northern security system.

The second chapter touched upon India's policy towards Bhutan and Nepal during the post 1962 period. It hence examines the impact of Chinese aggression on India; and India's efforts to maintain the special relationship with these Himalayan kingdoms. During this period, India pursued the policy of appeasement towards these states to prevent the spread of Chinese influence in the Himalayan region. India also took certain steps to safeguard the security of the country from the side of its northern borders.

The third chapter examines India's security environment after Indo-Pak conflict of 1971 and its impact on the neighbouring states; and India's policy towards these states after the emergence of Bangladesh. It also takes into account the impact of India's nuclear explosion; the merger of Sikkim on the Himalayan Kingdoms of Bhutan and Nepal, and India's policy towards these states in the context of these developments to safeguard its northern security.

The fourth chapter deals with the Janata period. In this chapter attempt is made to analyse India's efforts for the normalisation of its relations with Pakistan and China to improve its security environment. It also reveals the changing attitude of Bhutan's towards India and its demand for updating the treaty of 1949; and Nepal proposal
of 'Zone of Peace' and its economic links with China and Bangladesh. India’s policy of bilateralism towards Bhutan and Nepal is also examined in this chapter. It also throws light on the Janata Government strategy to counter the threats from Washington-Islamabad axis to India’s security after the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan.

The fifth chapter deals with the major challenges to India’s security from the Sino-Pakistani strategic collusion after the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. It also evaluates India’s policy towards Bhutan and Nepal; and its role in solving the Sino-Bhutanese boundary dispute. India’s support to Drukpas-Nepalese marriages and democratic forces in Bhutan; India’s attitude towards the Nepal’s proposal of Zone of Peace; the impact of Soviet intervention in Afghanistan on the security of the states of the region; and the policies of Bhutan and Nepal towards India in the context of perceived threats to their security are also discussed in this chapter.

And finally, the sixth chapter deals with the recent threats to India’s security due to re-armament programme of Pakistan and China; and their support to state terrorism in India and anti-Indian movements in the Himalayan region, and India’s policy to counter such threats to its security. It also examines the foreign policy strategy pursued by India towards its neighbouring
states especially Bhutan and Nepal to chase away the Chinese as well as extra regional pressure from the Indian sub-continent; and to maintain intimate relationship with these states for the protection of its security and also for peace and prosperity in the region.

In the preparation of this thesis I have largely relied on primary sources such as the Government's Publications. I have tried my best to utilize the existing available materials on the topic.

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