CHAPTER II
STRATEGIC FACTORS AFFECTING INDIA'S NUCLEAR POSTURE

While assessing the variables that have influenced India's nuclear posture and the role these variables might play in shaping the country's future, it is important to recognize the strategic environment of India and its relationship with its neighbouring countries.

South Asia comprises seven nations - India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan, Sri Lanka and the Maldives. Of all the nations in South Asia, India is the largest, stretching from the Himalayas to the Indian Ocean, with the second largest population and the seventh largest territory in the world. Pakistan and Bangladesh are ranked tenth and eighth respectively in the world population with high density and large territory. Nepal and Bhutan are landlocked Himalayan states, while Sri Lanka and Maldives are island communities in the Indian Ocean. India constitutes about 75 percent of South Asia in terms of population, territory and natural resources. India is the only country in the region, whose boundaries touch, by land or water the territories of all the other six states in the region - four by common land borders and two by common maritime borders. India also has close physical proximity to Afghanistan in South West Asia, China in East Asia, Myanmar in South East Asia, as well as Indonesia by adjoining territorial waters.

STRATEGIC ENVIRONMENT OF INDIA

After the end of second world war, there was a radical change in the global alignment pattern and power equations creating a new strategic environment throughout the world. South Asia remains one of the most volatile regions of the world because of
the nuclear arms race between China, Pakistan and India. Pakistan and China are considered by India as the two potential threats to its security.

According to the Ministry of Defence (MOD) of India, four regions have a bearing on India’s national security. They are the Gulf and West Asia, the oil rich Central Asia, the Asia Pacific and South East Asia where Japan, Taiwan, South Korea and North Korea have developed advanced nuclear weapon technologies and finally the Indian Ocean region.

India, eventhough betrayed on several occassions by its neighbouring countries Pakistan and China, had always tried to develop and maintain friendly relationship with various countries aimed at promoting peace and harmony.

INDO-PAK RELATIONS

Since the conception of Pakistan, India and Pakistan have had no friendly ties. Pakistan was born because of the unrest between the Hindu and Muslim community. After India’s independence both the nations have fought three wars, which further strained their relationship.

To have a detailed outlook of Indo-Pak relationship, it is necessary to know the way in which these two countries have allowed enemiety grow between them. The Kashmir problem was a child of Partition. The Indian Independence Act of 1947 terminated British power in India and simultaneously created Pakistan, following which a climate of war was created because of the Kashmir issue.
FIRST INDO-PAK WAR (1947-48)

Soon after the Indian independence, Pakistan started a large scale invasion in the Jammu and Kashmir region. Immediately the government of India sent large contingents of Indian troops to Jammu and Kashmir. The Indian troops were in a strong position and they pushed back the invaders. Soon after these incidents, the Pakistan offensive had lost momentum. Thus finally on January 1, 1949, the ceasefire came into effect and finally Article 370 was enacted for Kashmir giving its separate constitution which is different from the common constitution that other states have.

This war between India and Pakistan came within two months of independence and this caused much of India’s foreign and defence policies to be centred around Jammu and Kashmir.

SECOND INDO-PAK WAR (1965)

The first Indo-Pak war of 1948, resulted in an UN sponsored ceasefire but large portion of the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir became Pakistan occupied Kashmir. The ceasefire between both the nations did not resolve the issue but simply shelved it. This was not the end of Pakistan’s ambitions, it was just the beginning. Once again, Pakistan planned a large scale invasion for the second time to liberate Kashmir. From July 1965, Pakistan began sending a mixture of military personnel out of uniform and others as infiltrators, under two groups named the Salaudin force and the Ghaznavi force. Despite the Indian Prime Minister, Lal Bahadur Shashtri’s warning, Pakistan continued sending trained guerillas into the Indian territory. China was providing arms to Pakistan to continue the invasion, which was strongly condemned and warned by the US.
Secretary General of the United Nations, U. Thant, had been endeavouring ever since the Pakistani infiltration started into Jammu and Kashmir on August 5, to bring the fighting to an end and to have the ceasefire line respected by both sides.¹

These efforts yielded fruits and the ceasefire came into force on September 23rd. But even after the ceasefire, Pakistan violated the rules with the view of capturing more territory. Pakistan continued the infiltration, raids and attacks in the Jammu and Kashmir region. To put an end to all these things, both India and Pakistan met in Soviet Union and a summit conference was opened on January 4, 1966 between Shastri and Ayub. As a result of this, an agreement known as the "Tashkent Declaration" was signed on January 10, 1966. Soon after the Tashkent agreement, the military commanders met and resolved the various problems concerning the implementation of the agreement. After this agreement, the Prime Ministers of both the nations agreed to create good neighbourly relations between India and Pakistan.

THIRD INDO-PAK WAR (1971)

India played a key role in the formation of Bangladesh. The period between March to December, 1971 was a testing time for India. Thousands of refugees came to India from Bangladesh to escape the massacre and onslaught of the Pakistani army. Tension was mounting on the Indo-Pak border. India had tried her best to avert the war and obtain a diplomatic solution to the problem of East Pakistan. But Pakistan attacked India and Mrs. Indira Gandhi declared emergency in the country. Eventhough, Pakistani troops spread their defences along the line close to the border India enjoyed air supremacy. The

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Pakistani high commission did not envisage that India would launch a full-fledged offensive, instead calculated that India would capture sufficient territory to facilitate the return of refugees.

When the war started it was found that within days, the Indian troops had moved forward and managed to penetrate into East Pakistan and put Pakistan at a disadvantage and on December 7, 1971 the Indian army requested Pakistan to surrender. Then Pakistan contacted United States Consul General in Dacca to arrange a ceasefire and the United States approached the Indian government for ceasefire on the same day. India said that the ceasefire was acceptable, provided the Pakistan Army in East Pakistan surrenders to the Indian forces. Thus, Pakistan accepted India’s unilateral ceasefire and the Pakistani war ended. The Indo-Pak war of 1971 helped to refurbish India’s image and the Indian Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi had achieved an international stature.

After the end of war, on July 2, 1972, Indira Gandhi signed the famous Simla agreement with Z.A.Bhutto, the President of Pakistan. The Simla agreement was enthusiastically received in both countries. The provisions in the agreement were promising for future cooperation between the two countries. The Simla agreement said that reconciliation and good neighbourliness was the commitment by both countries to peaceful co-existence and that both countries should respect each others territory and should not interfere in each others internal affairs.

But Pakistan, unable to bear the humiliating defeat inflicted on it by India in the past three wars, has fought proxy wars with India in the past. In Pakistan, we have the country with a failed economy, military rule and the increasing influence of religious

_Amitava Mukherjee, India’s Policy towards Pakistan, Associated Book Centre, New Delhi, 1983, p.73_
clerics preaching fundamentalist ideologies. The military coup of 1999, dealt a severe blow to the prospects for peace in the subcontinent, as the military regime is known to sponsor various terrorist outfits in the Kashmir region with sophisticated weapons encouraging them to infiltrate into the Indian boundary.

India’s attitude towards Pakistan is based not only on the military threat and the Pakistan sponsored proxy wars but it is also based on the Pakistan’s relationship with China. Pakistan’s intimate relationship with China has further worsened the Indo-Pak relationship. China has covertly and overtly helped Pakistan in the development of its nuclear programme, through selling of weapons and technology transfer. Pakistan’s collaboration with China to compete with the nuclear programme of India and its intent to occupy Kashmir are the two important reasons which has spoiled all the efforts taken so far to bring peace between these two nations. Thus, the Indo-Pak relationship has not been cordial all along these years and Pakistan has always been a dangerous and quarrelsome neighbour to India.

The primary data collected from the intellectuals through questionnaires is interpreted below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Response</th>
<th>No. Responded</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Kashmir issue</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Cross border Terrorism</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
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</tbody>
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Table - 2.1
When asked about the most conflicting issue between India and Pakistan, about 88% of the respondents have said that it is the Kashmir issue, while the rest 12% have responded that it is the cross-border terrorism.

Since independence, both India and Pakistan have been in a hostile environment. Although the two nations have various conflicting issues between them, the conflict over the Kashmir valley is the most important one which has deteriorated the relations between the two nations culminating into their acquiring of nuclear capability. The Kashmir issue still continues to be the central bone of contention and has become a hotly contested area for both the nations.

SINO-INDIAN RELATIONS

China lies at the centre of Asia, sharing land borders with as many as 15 Asian countries and maritime boundaries with eight other countries of Asia. India and China have about 3917 Km of common frontier extending north-west of Kashmir to the tripartite junction of India, Myanmar and China. The relationship between India and China has not been smooth and cordial, the reasons for which can be traced back, right from the time of India’s independence.

At the time of India’s independence, the Nationalist government was in power in China. India established diplomatic relations with that government in 1948 and K.M.Panikkar was appointed as India’s first ambassador to China. On October 1, 1949, military defeat of Kumington government at the hands of the Communist, led to the establishment of People’s Republic of China. Soon after this political change, India extended official recognition to the new regime. India took efforts to maintain friendly
relationship towards China because Nehru wanted to avoid conflict with China and maintain peace and security at India’s northern border.

India’s friendly relationship with China was strained on the Tibet issue. India protested against the People’s Republic of China for its act. The Chinese occupation of Tibet cast a dark shadow over the Sino-Indian relations. But after the Tibet issue was over, India once again took efforts to build friendly relations with China. These efforts taken by India was welcomed by China and there were exchanges of state visits by the Prime Ministers of India and China between 1954 and 1957.

As things were going quite smoothly, there was a sudden deterioration in the Sino-Indian relationship because of the incursion of Chinese forces across the Indo-Tibetan borders. Things went very serious in 1962, when China launched a full fledged attack on India and took possession of large parts of the Indian territory. The Chinese demonstrated their military preparedness and India learnt with bitter humiliation that the Himalayas cannot be relied for protection. The Chinese aggression rocked the Indian government and the Indian Defence Minister, Krishnan Menon, resigned his post and Y.B. Chawan took over as Defence Minister. After all these incidents, China announced an unilateral ceasefire and withdrew its forces from certain territory. In this war against India, China captured large portions of the Indian territory and it did not stop with that alone. In the later stage, China also extended open support to Pakistan in its war against India in 1965. Also, in the Indo-Pak war of 1971, China opposed India and supported the Pakistani government. It also severely criticised India saying that India, has committed aggression on Pakistan with the support of Soviet Union.
China also interfered in the internal affairs of India, by supporting the Communist party of India (CPI) and also fuelled insurgency in the North Eastern regions of India. While China was doing all it can to create problems for India, political equations changed in India. When Mrs. Gandhi came back to power, China was willing to revive and improve its relations with India. Following this, on October 1983, an agreement was reached between China and India to discuss the border issues. In 1984, the two countries also signed a trade agreement after a break of thirty years.

In December 1988, Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi, paid a visit to China with a view of improving bilateral relations. The main aim of his visit was to find a permanent solution to the border disputes. During the next two years, there was noteworthy improvement in the Sino-Indian relations. This improvement was reflected by the Chinese attitude towards the Kashmir issue. In that same year, China declared that the Kashmir issue should be resolved only through peaceful negotiations. In December 1991, the Chinese Prime Minister visited India after a gap of 31 years and held talks with the Indian Prime Minister.

In 1992, India and China agreed to establish regular meetings between the military personnel as a part of series of Confidence Building Measures. "The Indian Prime Minister, P.V. Narashima Rao, paid a three day visit to China on September 6, 1993. During his stay in China, four agreements were concluded between the two countries. The first agreement was for maintaining status-quo along the Line of Actual Control, the second for increasing border trade, the third for environment co-operation and the fourth for media co-operation." Through these agreements both the sides agreed to maintain

peace and develop relationship between each other. However, China's desire to become a powerful nation in the world and its clandestine support to Pakistan has always made it to act against India all along these years.

**INDO-NEPAL RELATIONS**

The strategic importance of Nepal in the Himalayas and its location between India and China, makes this country crucial from the point of view of India's security. The Indo-Nepal relations have seen many ups and downs because Nepal now and then joined China and opposed India at various times.

The Indo-Nepalese relationship started from 1950 in terms of trade and commerce. King Mahendra, who ascended the throne following king Taibhnean, failed to recognize and acknowledge India's goodwill intentions in nurturing cordial relationship. Moreover, he also developed relationship with China and smuggling was highly activated across the border. The "Trade and Transit Treaty" was signed in September, 1961. The opening of the Chinese built, Kathmandu-Kodari road was a major setback and this irked India which lodged a protest on July 26, 1967 against the Nepalese government.4

King Birendra Singh, took over the reigns after king Mahendra's demise. During his reign, he improved relationships with India. In 1973, Mrs.Gandhi went to Kathmandu as a goodwill measure. From then onwards until today, the Indo-Nepalese relations has been on the right track. As a signatory to both the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT), Nepal does not wish to see any escalated nuclear arms race in South Asia and likes all the countries in the region to exercise restraint.

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V.P. Dutt, *Foreign Policy of India*, Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi, 1984, p.190
INDO-SRILANKA RELATIONS

The island nation Sri Lanka, lies barely 30 miles wide from Rameswaram, the southern tip of India. India’s dominant position in South Asia has been and will continue to be a critical factor constantly conditioning New Delhi’s policy and relations with her island neighbour, Srilanka. In the recent years, the LTTE, a militant outfit, claims a separate Tamil State in Srilanka. This broke out into a civil war in Srilanka and ended up in a crisis. During this time the Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, sent the Indian Peace Kaping Force (IPKF) to Srilanka for restoring law and order. But this help extended by India, was not properly utilised by the Srilankan government and the LTTE also fought successfully. This was regarded as a misadventure by the Indian government. Following this, an Indo-Srilanka Accord was signed by the Indian Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi and The Srilankan President, Jayawardene in Colombo on July 29, 1987. Many observers were expecting an escalation in the fight because of the involvement of India as the third party. But due to various reasons the IPKF withdrew and Indian attempts to restore peace failed which gave way to the development of terrorist group. Assassinations by suicide squads became prominent and South India became the base for LTTE terrorism and smuggling of weapons. Even though the LTTE is creating problems to both the countries, these two nations have always had friendly relations with each other. Srilanka has always reacted very cautiously on Indo-Pakistan conflicts. It has never taken sides on Indo-Pakistan disputes, and this neutral attitude of Colombo brought her more closer to New Delhi.

INDO-BHUTAN RELATIONS

Bhutan is a small nation, which lies to the North-East of India. It is a landlocked country sandwiched between India and China. Bhutan is dependent on India for many
aspects due to its geographical location. India and Bhutan exemplify and reflect the historical, cultural and geo-political inevitables in developing closer understanding and nurturing mutually beneficial relations.\(^5\)

In 1949, Bhutan signed a friendship treaty with India which put a bar on foreign relations with a third country. Only in the recent years, Bhutan has been expanding its diplomatic relations with other countries. In short, since 1947, Indo-Bhutan relations has been generally smooth without any disputes because India is a big neighbour and much of Bhutan’s internal economy and political stability depends on India. But yet, to a large extent, it has reduced dependence on New Delhi by diversifying international links.

Till today, Indo-Bhutan relations are peaceful and cordial, in fact Bhutan is the only country in South Asia to have a tension free relationship with India.

**INDIA-BANGLADESH RELATIONS**

Bangladesh is a small country with 1,44,000 square kilometers of territory and it is one of the most densely populated countries in the world. The geographical location has rendered Bangladesh virtually India-locked, as it is surrounded by India on three sides. Its sea-routes through the Bay of Bengal are guarded by the Indian Navy with no parallel in the region.

Relations between India and Bangladesh were always characterised by numerous ups and downs. The major issues which often acted as an obstacle for smooth relationship between these two countries were, those relating to sharing of water resources, border

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Anindyo J. Majumdar, *Nuclear India into the New Millenium*, Lancer Books, New Delhi, 2000, p.231
problems, ethnic insurgency problems, smuggling, illegal cross border activities, demarcation of maritime boundaries etc. The Indo-Bangladesh relations which got strained over these issues, have recently witnessed a dramatic improvement. On December 1996, an accord was reached between India and Bangladesh to a 30 year landmark agreement on sharing the Ganga water. This was signed between the Bangladeshi Prime Minister, Sheik Hasina Wajed and former Prime Minister of India, Deva Gowda. Thus, Bangladesh and India has resorted to peaceful measures through economic and development accord to maintain peace in the region.

INDIA-MALDIVES RELATIONS

Maldives is closer to India geographically and has economic and cultural relations with India. There is no gain for Maldives because of the heightened tension between New Delhi and Islamabad and also it does not endorse the strategic postures of either of the two countries. The main thrust of Maldivan foreign policy has been two fold: to ensure a tension free security environment in the Indian Ocean and to secure for Maldives assistance in its programmes for economic development. The strategic location of Maldives in the Indian Ocean, remain one of its main assets in foreign relations.

Since 1968, Maldives has been pursuing a balance in her policy action with great powers in the Indian Ocean by taking a neutral stand. It has also made a positive and constructive contribution for regional cooperation in South Asia. This independent and neutral posture of Maldives in her foreign policy performance brought New Delhi closer to her. Today India has become its closest collaborator in South Asia and both these countries have well developed mutual understanding. The Indian Prime Minister, Atal
Behari Vaipayee's recent visit to Maldives, on September 2002, is an indication of mutual friendship between these two nations.

INDIA'S RELATIONSHIP WITH KEY POWERS

INDO-US RELATIONS

America has always been fascinated by India because India has been a dynamic nation and a successful democracy with over a billion people. India's fascination with America is equally strong and this was particularly evident in the general euphoria caused by President Bill Clinton's visit in March, 2000. However, this mutual relationship has seen fluctuations in the past 50 years.

Any analysis of Indo-US relations must be made taking into account the various security perceptions of the two countries, America's view regarding South Asia in general and India in particular and finally, India's aspirations at the regional and global levels. Indo-US relations till the end of the 1980s were affected by the cold war between the two superpowers. After the end of cold war, America reassessed its prerogatives in South Asia. India also made attempts to improve its relations and opened its economy. The change can be seen from the fact that despite India's testing of nuclear weapons in May 1998, there was an American Presidential visit within two years of the blast. However, the sanctions imposed by the US after the tests and the removal of the same after the Afghan war, were all because of its own short-term and long-term objectives.

India's relations with the United States prior to nuclear tests can be examined based on various aspects regarding national security and the global environment. From the beginning, Pakistan has been a factor in Indo-US relations. The US began supporting
Pakistan from 1940s by including it first in the Baghdad Pact and then by signing a military aid pact under the Central Treaty Organisation (CENTO), which was the cause for the arms race between India and Pakistan. While extending an open support to Pakistan, it refused to support India over the Kashmir issue. India for its part, upset the US by campaigning for China to be admitted to the United Nations at the time of the Korean war. The other factor which drifted the Indo-US relationship was, India’s friendly relationship with the Soviet Union. Although, the US gave substantial aid to India, it often had terms attached to it. On the other hand Soviet Union came very closer to India and the consequent Moscow-New Delhi industrial and economic relationship which grew, continued till the collapse of the Soviet Union.

In 1980s, India did not oppose the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan which brought more problems to India. During this time the US moved very close to Pakistan which created panic for India because US military aid had earlier been used by Pakistan against India. The US also stopped the exports of its super-computers and nuclear sensitive parts to India. But things changed after the end of cold war. With the end of the cold war, the United States has emerged as the only power with an undiminished, indeed increased will to assert its global role. Since the disintegration of the Soviet Union, India has moved much closer to the US, politically and diplomatically for reasons of national security and economy.6

A notable development was seen in the American stance from the early 1990s at the end of cold war and Pakistan was not given, that much of importance in its policy consideration. In 1990, the US withheld delivery of 38, F-16 fighter aircraft for which

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P.M. Kamath, Indian Nuclear Policy: From Idealism to Realism, Printwell Publishers and Distributors Jaipur, 1999, p.59
Pakistan had already paid $650 million, on the ground that Pakistan had violated the terms of Pressler Amendment, which stipulates that countries perceived to be developing nuclear weapons may not receive aid of any sort. From 1993, the bond between US. and India further strengthened and US. banned the sales of certain hi-tech items to China after it came to its knowledge that China had sold to Pakistan, launchers for M-11 missiles, in violation of the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR). On the other hand, India's testing of the Prithvi Missile in 1994, provoked only a delayed response and its purchase of 48 Russian Sukhoi 30 MKI aircraft in December 1996 was virtually ignored.

On the Kashmir issue too, America accepted the objections raised by India against the statement made by Assistant Secretary of State, Robin Raphael, in 1993, that the matter should be resolved according to relevant U.N. resolutions. The Clinton administration quickly backtracked and agreed with the stand taken by India, calling for a resolution under the terms of Simla agreement. During this time, there was also military co-operation between US and India. On January 1995, the then US Secretary of Defence, William Perry, visited India and signed an agreement establishing a framework for military cooperation. Subsequently, in the same year both Indian and American military units conducted joint exercises on land and sea. US special forces and Indian paracommandos held combined exercise in the high altitudes of Nahan hills. Apart from this, five American and six Indian ships took part in naval exercises called Malabar-II in the Arabian sea. All these things show that India need not fear of the American naval presence in the region.

Although America and India took steps to develop cordial relationship between each other, they still had difference of opinion in many issues, the chief one being the issue of non-proliferation. "India believed that the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)
was inherently discriminatory and had therefore, consistently refused to sign it. It had also launched an Integrated Missile Development Programme under which it had continued to develop 1500-mile IRBM, Agni; 5 and 20-mile SAMs, Trishul and Akash; the anti-tank missile, Nag; the 100-200 mile Prithvi; the 500-mile ICBM, Surya.  

Realizing that India was keen in developing its nuclear programme and that it would not sign the NPT currently, the American strategic thinker’s and defence analysts suggested that America should try and take efforts to contain India’s nuclear programme until the time comes, when India will sign the NPT. Because of its motive to disarm the world, India joined United States and co-sponsored resolution in the U.N. General Assembly proposing a comprehensive nuclear test ban and a cut-off in the production of weapons grade material. India’s aim was to link the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty to a time bound programme, of total nuclear disarmament by the nuclear powers. The United States did not want itself to be disarmed and so it argued that non-proliferation should not be linked with disarmament. India, thus turned out to be a CTBT "spoiler" which frustrated America’s ambitions.

India, thus realised that America does not want itself to be disarmed, but wants only the developing nations to keep away from acquiring nuclear weapons. Following this, India boldly tested its own nuclear devices which earned severe criticism from the United States. The American policy makers commented that there is no such link between the major power status and possession of nuclear weapons. The US President Bill Clinton said that, with India’s democratic traditions, nuclear path is not a way to "greatness". He also said that, the sanctions were imposed just to warn any other nation from testing nuclear

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Anindyo. J. Majumdar, Nuclear India into the New Millenium, Lancer Books. New Delhi, 2000. p 280
devices. The sanctions imposed by America on India also affected the business of leading American companies. It was also stated that there was no legal grounds for the sanctions, since India did not sign the NPT and therefore had not violated any treaty.

It was further noted that the United States had no moral authority to impose unilateral sanctions on India because it had itself violated its obligations to achieve disarmament under the NPT and developed and stockpiled thousands of new nuclear weapons and conducted over 350 nuclear tests after 1970, when the NPT had come into effect. Due to the intense pressure, sanctions began to be eased shortly. The United States still believed that it could persuade India to roll back its nuclear programme. As a result of this, it held several rounds of talks with India and this was the first time in 50 years that the US has held such prolonged negotiations with India.

After 1990, the Indo-US relations have shown an amazing growth despite India’s nuclear testing. The talks between India and United States has led to a deeper understanding of each others threat perceptions, aspirations and interests which can be considered as the beginning of genuine cooperation. The outcome of this understanding is already seen in their fight against cross-border terrorism.

After Geroge W.Bush.Jr.came to power, bilateral relations between these two countries was further strengthened. Following the terrorist attack on the American World Trade Centre (WTC), America gave a call to all the nations of the world, to join hands against global terrorism. India responded this call, saying that it wished to cooperate with America to crush terrorism. America welcomed this Indian response and in return it promised some military help. The United States on February 20, 2002 said that its defence equipment manufacturers were preparing to offer arms to India in a big way.

\textit{ibid.}, p.287
Another indication of the importance attached to military ties, is the upgrading of the delegation to negotiate the sales of weapon locating radars - the first American sale of military equipment to the Indian Army in decades.  

Thus for the moment, despite the divergencies in perceptions and strengths and the long period of mutual distrust during the cold war, improvement in relations between the United States and India appear to be based on stronger roots. Today it is seen that the US is continuing the process of improving relations with India multilaterally.

INDO-RUSSIA RELATIONS

India and Soviet Union developed close relations during the cold war. The Soviet Union saw India vigorously opposing China and this brought both Soviet Union and India closer to each other. India’s relationship with Soviet Union had political and strategic importance. The former Soviet Premier, Alexei Kosygin took the responsibility to bring peace between India and Pakistan. As a result of this, the Tashkent Declaration was signed. Soviet Union while having friendly and cordial relationship with India on one hand, also tried to develop friendly relations with India’s rival, Pakistan under the pretext of peaceful co-existence in the region. This move by the Soviet Union frustrated India. The then Jan Sangh leader, Mr. Atal Behari Vaipayee, criticised this move by Soviet Union, saying "It was a clear-cut betrayal of Moscow." This act of Soviet Union also aroused serious criticism within Soviet Union. Despite all these things, the Soviet’s assured that Moscow had no intentions of terminating its relationship with New Delhi.

After the disintegration, of Soviet Union, the famous ‘Moscow Declaration’ was signed on June 1994. A significant move was the Indian offer to Russians to utilise ten
percent of the rupee debt to set up projects with the infrastructure in India. In India, the annual report of the Defence Ministry for 1995-96, spoke of Russia as "a dependable source of defence modernisation programme". Russia was also not willing to lose its annually $2 billion worth of arms sale with India, especially, at a time when the nation was starved of foreign exchange.

**INDO-RUSSIA DEFENCE DEAL**

The visit of former Defence Minister, Jaswant Singh to Moscow, in the first week of June 2001, heralded a new high in the Indo-Russian defence co-operation. Russia has even offered to build a missile defence system for India, to convince it to withdraw its tentative support for the US. proposed National Missile Defence system.

The Russians have pushed ahead a mega package which includes T-90 tanks, aircraft carrier, Admiral Gorshkov along with Mig 29K, Shipborne fighters and SU-30, MKI air superiority fighter. India had already signed an agreement to purchase 124 T90s.\(^\text{10}\) In the future, the Russians have invited India to take part in the construction of a new fifth generation light weight frontline fighter. The Russians have also agreed on joint production of a new multi role military transport plane.

Apart from this two Russian built nuclear submarines will join the Indian Navy in 2004. "A Russian daily, Novye Izvestia said that India would lease two project-971 nuclear-powered multirole submarines (codenamed Bars in Russia and Shohuka-B in NATO classification), whose construction has been frozen for several years because of funding problems."

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*India watch, Civil Services Chronicle, August 2001, p.40*

The submarines will help India balance China’s growing presence in the Indian Ocean and the Bay of Bengal region. These deals have given a significant boost to defence cooperation between India and Russia. From the Indian point of view, the shift from transfer of technology from Russia to joint production has been a major gain in the recent years.

INDIA-Pakistan-CHINA: THE VOLATILE TRIANGLE

The security of India in the future will be largely determined, by the way it manages the threats posed by its two closely aligned regional adversaries, China and Pakistan. Because of the close partnership between China and Pakistan and their history of jointly operating against India, has compelled India to device strategies against these powerful regional adversaries, not separately but jointly. In the world, no other nation is placed in such a hostile regional environment. In fact, India is the only country which shares disputed land border, with two nuclear armed neighbours that have a long record of close strategic collaboration. In such a situation India has combined strong defence strategy with diplomacy and it is also looking for strategic partnerships.

A feature of the strategic triangle is that for several years Pakistan and China have concentrated their efforts on posing indirect threats to Indian security. China realised long ago that raising indirect threats to Indian security through Pakistan was a more cost-effective and politically shrewd way, than directly waging war against India. By employing Pakistan to fight against India, China avoids presenting India as a rival and can talk, as it did after the 1998 nuclear and 1999 missile test on the subcontinent about the need to avert an Indo-Pakistan arms race. In a similar fashion, it advised India and Pakistan in 1999 to resolve their differences over the Kashmir issue through negotiations.
Looking at Pakistan, it has always seen India as an enemy and its proxy war and support to terrorist outfits are rooted in strongly held belief that internal contradictions would inevitably lead to India’s Balkanisation. A look back at the history, shows that Pakistan never liked the land given by the British to be Pakistan. Pakistan’s architect, Moahammad Ali Jinah, said that the British has given a "moth-eaten" homeland for the sub-continents muslims. This shows that Pakistan’s hostility towards India is rooted in the flawed nature of its creation as a separate Islamic nation that would ‘protect’ the subcontinents muslims from ‘Hindu India’. By accepting partition, which was done by the British in a manner not only to prevent the rise of a powerful India but to keep it struggling in regional problems, Indian independence leaders fell prey to their cunningness, although they had little other choice.

Eventhough Pakistan has been creating problems to India now and then, the major problems of the strategic triangle in Southern Asia have been made more complex by the ambitions of China which see’s itself as being a global player and not part of any region. It is determined to become a world power, setting aside all the major powers. Soon after the disintegration of the Soviet Union, China emerged as a powerful nation in world affairs. China’s aim is to achieve military and economic superiority which would impose limits on the capabilities of its potential rivals. It is this Chinese motive, that has driven China all these years to stop India from achieving a nuclear status.

India has always tried ways and means to lessen the effects of the security burden imposed by the regional strategic equations. This attempt to ease the security burden imposed on it has been central to Indian foreign policy. During Nehru’s period, India tried to move closer to China through diplomacy and in the subsequent years it developed cordial relationship with Soviet Union. Following this, in the recent years it has tried to
build a mutually beneficial and strategic relationship with the United States. Even though India’s diplomatic moves have mitigated its security burden after 1970, the overall results have been unfavourable to India. The disintegration of Soviet Union was a major blow to the Indian strategic calculations.

Regionally, Kashmir still remains to be the root cause of India’s territorial disputes with Pakistan and China. In the Kashmir issue, Pakistan violated the UN resolutions of 1948 and 1949. The UN mandated certain steps. First to bring a cease-fire in Kashmir followed by the withdrawal of Pakistani forces from all occupied areas and finally the thinning of Indian military presence. Pakistan has been clearly in breach of the UN decree. It has also violated the cease-fire provision by infiltrating troops and armed extremists into the Indian Kashmir. From the three wars, Pakistan waged against India, it had come to a conclusion that it is impossible to win a war against India. As a result of this after 1990, it began to support and motivate the Muslim terrorist outfits against India, thereby waging a proxy war.

Pakistan’s transfer of "Azad" Kashmir to Beijing and China’s annexation of Jammu and Kashmir territories, were all done in the face of the UN resolutions. By handing over Shaksgam valley to China and providing base facilities to US. forces in Gilgit in the cold war years, Pakistan won the silence of these two powers over its seizure and arbitrary rule over Gilgit and Baltistan.

Thus, the occupation of a portion of the territory in the Jammu and Kashmir region by China and Pakistan is considered to be the main reason for arms race between India and these two countries. A glance at the Indian Defence Ministry’s annual report presented for the year 2000-2001 on May 31, 2001 gives a clear picture of this regional
strategic triangle. Apart from the Kashmir dispute, this report also brings out the Chinese nuclear strength as against India and also the collaboration between China and Pakistan and their threat to India.

INDIAN DEFENCE MINISTRY ANNUAL REPORT (2000 - 2001)
AN ANALYSIS

The report reveals that China is way ahead of India in the nuclear strength and not only that, it has also helped Pakistan to build missile and nuclear capabilities. China is working towards the goal of achieving super power status and rapidly modernising its armed forces. Every major Indian city is within the range of Chinese missiles and it is reported that this capability is being further augmented to include Submarine Launched Ballistic Missile (SLBM).\textsuperscript{12} China is not only developing its nuclear programme, targeting India, but also has a border dispute with India on the perception of the Line of Actual control (LAC).

China has occupied 38,000 Sq.km of Indian territory and claims 90,000 sq.km in Arunachal Pradesh. Besides, Pakistan has illegally given China, 15,180 sq.km of Indian territory from the Pakistan occupied Kashmir. Having such rival neighbours, the report calls to maintain military preparedness. The report also says that India should maintain a credible minimum deterrence against the use of weapons of mass destruction.

On Pakistan, the report says that there has been an escalation in level of Islamahad's sponsorship of cross border terrorism by training of major Pakistan based terrorist groups and supplying them with weapons and communication equipment. The report has also indicated that the intelligence agency of Pakistan - the Inter Service

\textit{Civil Services Chronicle, August 2001, p.42.}
Intelligence (ISI) has been trying to exploit some areas of Nepal and Bangladesh to instigate terrorism in India, particularly in the North east and the Kashmir region. The report also says that, containing terrorist activities in Jammu and Kashmir should be the primary task of the Indian security forces.

The publication of the report has attracted sharp criticism from China. It also criticised the objection raised by India over its military Co-operation with Pakistan. Rejecting China’s criticism, the Indian Defence Ministry has asserted that the report was correct.

Thus, a broad outlook of the report shows that, China and Pakistan continue to be India’s major threat. The presence of these three nuclear powers in the same region has not only created tension in South Asia but has sent ripples across the globe. Hence, this is a global problem and not a regional one. To assess the intensity of threat posed on India, it is important to analyse the threat perceptions, from its two nuclear neighbours China and Pakistan.

EXTERNAL THREAT PERCEPTIONS

Nuclear Threat from Pakistan

More than fifty years after independence, still Indo - Pak relationship has shown no noteworthy improvement. When India got independence after almost a century old struggle, it was widely expected that newly emerged nations, India and Pakistan would work jointly for the betterment of life for their respective population. However, religious based partition of the sub-continent marked with communal violence and three full scale wars within a span of 25 years has further aggravated Indo-Pak relationship.
Pakistan's nuclear tests and the revelations regarding its missile programme suggest that India now truly confronts a nuclear-armed neighbour on its western borders.\(^{13}\) The uncertainties that existed about Islamabad's nuclear capabilities were permanently laid to rest in May, 1998, when Pakistan demonstrated that it possessed nuclear devices that were capable of producing militarily significant yields. The Indian policy makers got alert because now Pakistan has nuclear capability with which it can mount serious threats to India.

Pakistan's nuclear potential has got a new dimension with its nuclear weapons and the number of delivery systems it has developed. This would be a real menace for India for the first time in the post Independence history because Pakistan has acquired the ability to attack significant Indian assets such as major population and industrial centres and important military facilities located great distances from Pakistan. So India's vulnerability to be attacked by Pakistan, has created a dramatic change in the strategic balance between both countries.

In the past years, New Delhi had an upper hand over Islamabad, in the sense that it could threaten to attack any part of Pakistan while remaining immune to any comparable attack directed against India. Even if Pakistan posed any real threat, India had the ability to stop it, right at the frontiers, with the vast area of India's heartland lying beyond Pakistan's reach. But today things have changed very much. The addition of long range missiles to Pakistan's arsenal has altered the strategic equations in the South Asian region.

The capacity of Pakistan to borrow military power from abroad has been viewed by India, to be responsible for much of the tensions in Indo-Pakistan relations. New Delhi thus holds Pakistan's external patrons largely responsible for fuelling arms race between the two neighbours. It also holds Pakistan's allies responsible for undermining the natural balance of power in the sub-continent. The Sino - Pakistani connection, which has steadily strengthened since the early 1980s has placed Islamabad at an additional advantage. China has also been involved in a significant degree of nuclear co-operation with Pakistan. It has been widely reported that China has provided Pakistan with specific technologies such as ring magnets, special nuclear materials such as heavy water, highly enriched uranium and tritium; integrated nuclear facilities, including the Kushab research reactor for the production of weapons - grade plutonium.

China has also helped Pakistan acquire missile delivery system which are of highly advanced technology and the Chinese assistance is suspected even in the development of Pakistan's first indigenous missiles Hatf-I and Hatf-II which were derived from sounding rocket technologies, imported from France by Pakistan. In 1992 China also sold M-11 Ballistic missiles to Pakistan. These missiles with a range of 300-km capable of carrying an 800-kg payload, represented the first Pakistani missile system that was capable of carrying nuclear weapons.

In 1996, the US intelligence agencies reported that Pakistan had finished developing nuclear warheads for its missiles. By delivering M-11 missiles to Pakistan, China indirectly violated the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR). Apart from

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this, Pakistan received Chinese assistance in the establishment of a missile production complex at Tarnawa, outside Rawalpindi.

Pakistan is now said to have two long range missiles, the Ghauri and the Shaheen-I, ready at hand. The Shaheen-I which was finally tested in April, 1999, is probably the same missile that one US official has identified as a Tarmuk. Pakistan is adding new missiles with various range to its arsenal, year after year. Today, Pakistan has acquired the ability to target most of the Indian fixed assets of great distances from the frontier and this capability will only grow over the years thereby reducing the size of the Indian territory even further.

**Nuclear Threat From China**

The immediate impact of China’s emergence as a nuclear power was felt more in India than in any other country. Eventhough Pakistan’s nuclear capability is an important factor affecting India’s nuclear posture, the strategic development in China will have even more significant effect. India regards China as a dangerous neighbour possessing serious threat to her national security.

India’s perception of China as a threat may consist of the following two arguments.

a. China is expanding its nuclear arsenal.

b. China’s various connections with Pakistan.\(^\text{17}\)

\(^{16}\) *ibid.*, p.49.

China has a large nuclear arsenal with several classes of nuclear-armed ballistic missiles and long range bombers. China's land based missile force and their accuracy to hit the target remains India's primary concern. The Indian policy makers know very well that China has a large number of nuclear armed missiles but they are still not clear of the exact nature of this threat. As early as 1988, India faced threat from China, when the Chinese missiles were deployed in the Tibet region. The following year, the then Defence Minister of India, K.C.Pant, told that the Chinese missiles deployed in Tibet were mainly targetted against India. Ten years later, in 1998 when India conducted its nuclear tests, the Indian Defence Minister reiterated that China has deployed missiles with nuclear warheads in Tibet targetting India. There are several missiles deployed by China in the Tibet region, of which three of them, the CSS-2, CSS-5 and CSS-3 are long range missiles. China is said to possess CSS-2 IRBMs each armed with a 1-3 megaton warhead and capable of reaching targets of a range of 2800 km. The CSS-5 IRBMS are shorter range weapons that are capable of reaching targets at a range of about 1800 km. Both these missile systems are capable of covering important Indian targets. The new Chinese inventory, the CSS-3, which has an enormous range of 4750 km, can cover even those targets which are located along the Southern tip of India and which lie beyond the range of the CSS-2 and CSS-518.

A news report, based on a leaked American intelligence says that these Chinese missiles have been deployed, targetting India. This shows that with the range and lethality of these weapons, it is no doubt that China is the principal security threat to India in the long-term.
So far, however, Indian policy makers have not responded to the ongoing modernisation of the Chinese nuclear systems. China’s clandestine assistance to Pakistan and China’s increased presence along India’s periphery has made it clear that China is India’s main rival.

Apart from these external threats from its neighbours, there are also internal threats for India which have posed serious problems in the recent past.

INTERNAL THREATS

Low Intensity Conflicts (LIC)

Today, India is witnessing an increase in the number of conflicts which is said to be low in intensity. Such conflicts have become very destructive and increasingly difficult to contain and has altogether provided a new dimension to military strategy.

The term Low-Intensity-Conflicts (LIC) is of recent origin. The US Pentagon has classified the conflicts to be ‘high’ medium and ‘low’ intensity levels. A major conventional war with the use of weapons of mass destruction in the final stages such as in world war-II is termed as ‘high’ category. ‘Medium’ level conflicts would consist of a conventional war between two or more states such as the Indo-Pakistani wars. The low-intensity conflicts have various forms such as insurgencies, guerilla wars, etc. These essentially involve regular forces on one side and irregulars on the other. If these conflicts are left unchecked they could prove extremely destructive and if confronted unsystematically, they could escalate into a higher intensity threat.
"Low Intensity Conflicts (LIC) occur due to various factors. They are

a. A segment of the population perceives unwillingness on the part of the government to improve their conditions.
b. Rapid modernization and consequent socio-economic pressures.
c. Diverse ethnic, religious and minority groups, each seeking best deal for itself.
d. An unstable political system."¹⁹

Small scale wars are seldom seen these days, on the other hand incidents of low-intensity conflicts have been on the rise. This is so because it is much cheaper compared to conventional operations and also it is accessible even to the least powerful segments of the society and yet so effective.

After having suffered two humiliating defeats in 1965 and 1971 and thereby failing to annex Kashmir, Pakistan has come to realise that her ambitions cannot be achieved purely by military means. India’s mishandling of the Kashmir and Punjab issue came as an opportunity to Pakistan, which without any mistake grabbed it to fuel insurgency in both these states. This, it has been doing with an idea to annex Kashmir with least military effort.

Ayub and Yahya had lost their Presidency when they fought a war with India. Following their downfall, Zia came to power and he realised that militarily Pakistan could not defeat India and therefore no military solution in Kashmir was possible while as the liberation of Kashmir continued to be the national objective of Pakistan. He

Indian Journal of Strategic Studies, Department of Defence and Strategic Studies, University of Allahabad, Allahabad, 2001, p.42.
therefore, decided that a low intensity conflict with India should be initiated to wear down India\(^2\). Moreover, he also realised that to generate support for his rule it was important to keep the Kashmir crisis on the boil, so that public opinion will be in his favour. With this he thought, he could also win the support of religious organisations in Pakistan.

The same tactic was followed by the military leader Gen. Pervez Musharraf who came to power after overthrowing the Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif. As soon as he came to power he promised Pakistan, that he would do all he can to the Kashmiri brethren in their struggle to capture Kashmir. He, like Zia has intensified covert support to the militant outfits for conducting proxy war. He has no other option because military victory is completely ruled out and a nuclear threat or blackmail will invite the condemnation of the whole world. Low intensity proxy war is the only option he has and he has no intentions to stop it and reduce cross border terrorism. If he tries to stop supporting the militant outfits fighting in the Kashmir region, he will be thrown out of power by the fundamentalist element of the army and the militant outfits.

The Kashmir issue remains unresolved bothering the two nations, India and Pakistan and governing their relations since independence. The Indian army which has traditionally countered only external threats in the Kashmir region has now turned its attention against separatist militants who are fighting against India in the valley of Kashmir.

To occupy the Jammu and Kashmir territories, Pakistan has intensified militancy in Kashmir. The Harkat-ul-Ansal, Lashkar-e-Toiba, Al-Barq, Al-Jehad and Hizbul-Mujahideen and some other smaller militant groups increased their proxy war.

They were backed and funded by Pakistan. All these militants were trained in the Pakistan soil. Knowing that Pakistan is solely responsible for the insurgencies and low intensity conflicts, India brushed aside a Pakistani suggestion for an agreement, by which either side would deny the use of its territory for cross border terrorism and reiterated that Islamabad had not responded positively to its demand to check infiltration. The reason behind India's frustration is that Pakistan has not attempted to curb this infiltration.

The Kashmir issue being on one side, India faced yet another problem due to the low intensity conflict in the state of Punjab in the 1980s. The story of operation Blue Star is about the nefarious activities of an individual. Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, through his preachings, brainwashed millions of Sikhs, who overnight became his followers. They took a solemn pledge to help him in the fulfillment of his struggle for an independent sovereign state of Khalistan.

The Indian government at the centre, failed to take action at the right time due to which law and order became very poor. The ultimate decision to use the army was taken unwillingly when all the other options were ruled out.

After this evacuation of militants from the Golden Temple of Amritsar, in Indira Gandhi period, the separatists had once again occupied the Golden Temple and the launching of "Operation Black-Thunder" had become necessary. This operation was carried out during Rajiv Gandhi's period which was done very shrewdly with the past experience in such a way, that till today in Punjab separatism has not raised its head.


But neither in Punjab nor in Kashmir could militancy be sustained without the active help and encouragement of Pakistan. There is now enough circumstantial evidence of Pakistan’s involvement in India’s internal conflicts in the Punjab during the 1980s and subsequently in Kashmir. Pakistan is doing this because it is one way of taking revenge against India for its role in the liberation of Bangladesh.

Thus, there are various strategic factors affecting India’s emerging nuclear posture. Externally, India has been constantly under threat from both its neighbours China and Pakistan for the past five decades and internally India’s stability has been constantly under threat because of low-intensity conflicts and insurgencies.

The primary data collected from the intellectuals (regarding the primary security concern for India) through questionnaires is interpreted below.

**The Security Concerns - For India**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Response</th>
<th>No. Responded</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Size and population</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Rivalry with China and Pakistan</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Strategic location</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>50</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
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</tbody>
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Table - 2.2

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When asked about the important security concern for India, about 78% of the respondents have responded that rivalry with China and Pakistan is the main concern, another 14% have said that the strategic location of India is the primary concern and the rest 8% have said that the size and population of the nation is the important problem for India. This shows that majority of the people feel that India’s rivalry with China and Pakistan is the important security concern for India because China and Pakistan are the two countries which have waged wars against India in the past. These two countries not only have border disputes with India but also have missile programmes aimed at India. This is the main factor which has forced India to emerge as a nuclear power.