INTRODUCTION

India’s National Security Environment is determined by its geographical attributes, historical legacy, socio-economic circumstances as well as regional and global developments. India is the seventh largest country in the world with an area of 3.2 million square kilometers, a land boundary of 15,000 kms, peninsular coastline of 7,700 kms, 600 island territories and an Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) of 2.5 million sq. km. Island territories in the east are 1,300 kms. Away from mainland and virtually adjacent to India’s ASEAN neighbours. India shares its land boundaries with six countries like Bangladesh (4,339 kms.); China (3,439 kms.); Pakistan (3,325 kms.); Myanmar (1,380 Kms.); Nepal and Bhutan and maritime boundaries with seven countries like Pakistan, Maldives, Sri Lanka, Indonesia, Thailand, Myanmar and Bangladesh. New Delhi is the capital city.

The Russian Federation is a country that stretches over a vast expanse of Europe and Asia. With an area of 17,075,400 Sq. (6,595,600 Sq. miles), it is the largest country in the world, covering almost twice the territory of the next largest nation, Canada. It is only the eighth most populated country in the world. The Russian Federation has existed since 1991 when the The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) was dissolved after nearly 70 years of power. Russia became the largest of 15 segregated states, but has since struggled to rebuild the power and influence it held as the head of the Soviet Union. Russia is located in Northern Asia (that part west of the Urals is sometimes included with Europe), bordering the Arctic Ocean, between Europe and the North Pacific Ocean. Due to the immense size of Russia its terrain varies greatly. The most pronounced characteristics are broad plains with low hills, west of Urals; vast coniferous forest and tundra in Siberia; uplands and mountains (Caucasus range).
along southern borders. The country is bounded by Norway and Finland in the northwest; by Estonia, Latvia, Belarus and Ukraine in the west; by Georgia and Azerbaijan in the southwest; and by Kazakhstan, Mongolia, and China along the southern land border. The Kaliningrad Region is an exclave on the Baltic Sea bordered by Lithuania and Poland. Russia is having a total land boundary of 19,990 kms (12,421 mi) and a coastline of 37,653 kms (23,396 mi). Moscow is the capital and largest city and is located in the eastern part of the country.

All the nations of the world are most concerned with their security in the modern phase of International relations and the security issue depends on the activities that are acted or played by a particular nation in the sense of harmony or antagonism. When the question of India’s security comes, two names come as major security threats that are Pakistan and China. However, current economic dependence does not allow antagonism.

National security and the influence of neighborhood on it, is regarded as one of the most concerned question for every nation, so in the formulation of its foreign policy, a great concentration is paid to the relations with other countries of the world. In modern phase of international relations, actors pay similar concentration to economic relations as they pay to strategic relations. Neighborhood of every country plays a vital role in development of a nation.

Though, all activities or interactions with other countries are as important as the relation with China and Pakistan. Here, it is also quotable that the past experiences show that Pakistan independently is not in the position and has no courage to attack without any strategic help of China or the others on the care may be.

In international relations, it is a fact that no state can have a smooth dealing with all the nations of the world. So it is same with India, India is a country of vividness. The believer of 'Ahinsa' (non-violence) and Panchsheel (Peaceful coexistence) had a bitter experience of five wars with her neighbours such as four wars in 1948, 1965, 1971 and 1999 (Kargil conflict) with Pakistan and one in 1962 with People is Republic of China.
Besides the evolution of technology, ‘the world has become a common market, so the regional and international importance for each other is growing speedily. All relations between nation states have their own importance but only few relations are considered most crucial for peace and stability of the world.

Meaning/Definitions

a) 21st Century

Calendars based on Christian era, the 21st Century is the current century lasting from 2000-2099. This is the first century of the 3rd millennium (2000-2099).

b) National Security

National security is the requirement to maintain the survival of the nation-state through the use of economic, military and political power and the exercise of diplomacy. The concept developed mostly in the USA after World War II. Initially focusing on military might, it now encompasses a broad range of facets, all of which impinge on the military or economic security of the nation and the values espoused by the national society. Accordingly, in order to possess national security, a nation needs to possess economic security, energy security, environmental security etc. Security threats involve not only conventional foes such as nation states but also non-state actors such as terrorist organizations, narcotic cartels and multi-national organizations; some authorities including natural disasters and events causing severe environmental damage in this category.

There is no single universally accepted definition of "National Security". A typical dictionary definition, in this case from the Macmillan Dictionary (online version) emphasizes the overall security of a nation and a nation state. "The protection or the safety of a country’s secrets and its citizens."

However, a variety of definitions provide an overview of the many usages of this concept. The concept still remains ambiguous, having originated from simpler definitions which initially emphasized the freedom from military threat.
and political coercion to later increase in sophistication and include other forms of non-military security as suited the circumstances of the time.

**Walter Lippman** gave one of the early definitions in 1943 in terms of a nation and war, "A *nation has security when it does not have to sacrifice its legitimate interests to avoid war, and is able, if challenged, to maintain them by war.*"

A later definition by **Harold Lasswell**, a political scientist, in 1950, looks at national security from almost the same aspect, that of external coercion, "*The distinctive meaning of national security means freedom from foreign dictation.*"

**Arnold Wolfers** (1960), while recognizing the need to segregate the subjectivity of the conceptual idea from the objectivity, talks of threats to acquired values, "*An ambiguous symbol meaning different things to different people. National security objectively means the absence of threats to acquired values and subjectively, the absence of fear that such values will be attacked.*"

The 1996 definition propagated by the **National Defence College of India** resembles the accretion of the elements of National Power, "*National security is an appropriate and aggressive blend of political resilience and maturity, human resources, economic structure and capacity, technological competence, industrial base and availability of natural resources and finally the military might.*"

**Harold Brown**, US Secretary of Defense from 1977 to 1981 in the Carter Administration, defined national security in his 1983 book *Thinking about national security: defense and foreign policy in a dangerous world*. The definition includes elements such as economic security and environmental security, "*National security then is the ability to preserve the nation's physical integrity and territory; to maintain its economic relations with the rest of the world on reasonable terms; to preserve its nature, institution, and governance from disruption from outside; and to control its borders.*"

In Harvard, history professor **Charles Maier**'s definition of 1990, national security is defined through the lens of National Power, "*National security... is best described as a capacity to control those domestic and foreign conditions*"
that the public opinion of a given community believes necessary to enjoy its own self-determination or autonomy, prosperity and wellbeing.”

The United States Armed Forces defines national security (of the United States) in the following manner: A collective term encompassing both national defense and foreign relations of the United States. Specifically, the condition provided by: A. a military or defense advantage over any foreign nation or group of nations; B. a favorable foreign relations position; or C. a defense posture capable of successfully resisting hostile or destructive action from within or without, overt or covert.

In 2010, Barack Obama included an all-encompassing world view in his definition of America’s National Security interests as: The security of the United States, its citizens and U.S. allies and partners; A strong, innovative, and growing U.S. economy in an open international economic system that promotes opportunity and prosperity; Respect for universal values at home and around the world; and An international order advanced by U.S. leadership that promotes peace, security, and opportunity through stronger cooperation to meet global challenges.\(^4\)

**Background**

For any meaningful understanding of the Indo-Russian Strategic Relations and India’s Security in the 21st century, it is important to understand and analyze the Soviet and post-Soviet security perspectives towards the region.

The world is never static and events move fast. Relations between nations keep changing from time to time. Yesterday’s enemies could become friends today and the today’s friends could become adversaries tomorrow. Thus while dealing with the subject of international environment it would be useful to study the past background of countries and the development of their relations with others over a period of time. This enables better understanding of actions and reactions of different nations in a given situation in the international arena.

When we look back to ancient times about 600 years ago, India has found a place in Russian legends and fables and a thirteen century book “The relation
about India or the story of India the Rich” are testimonial of it. There are ample evidences to view or visualize regular trade flow and cultural ties between people of both the countries India & Russia.

In 15th Century (1466-72) Afanasi Nikitin visited India and stimulated interest among his countrymen to know more about “India the Richi” beyond Himalayas. After this we have a reference of a Bengali merchant Sheikh Bhikhu of Maldah, in the book “ Statistical Account of the district Malda” by W.W.Hunter published in 1876. According to W.W.Hunter, “about 300 years ago one Sheikh Bhik who used to trade in Maldah clothes such as Katar and Musri set sail for Russia with three ships laden with silk clothes and that two of his ships were wrecked somewhere in neighbourhood of the Persian gulf………”. Later in 1880 year George C.M.Birdwood Referee Kensington Museum wrote in his book The Industrial Art of India that “It was on record that in 1577 Sheikh Bhikhu of Maldah sent three ships of Maldai clothes to Russia.”

At the beginning of 17th century, Indian merchants groups (traders of silk, cotton, precious stones etc.) also made a colony in Volga deltra at Astrakhan. On the other hand, in the end of 17th century, Armenian merchants also settled in Calcutta and in turn they had played an important role in economic life of India.

Russian visitor Gerasim Lebedev was the founder of European style theater in India under the name of Bengalee Theater on Nov.27, 1795 at Domtala Lane (presently Ezra Street), Calcutta. He stayed in Bengal for several years (1785-1797) or may be called the Father of Russian Indology. When he returned to Russia, he emphasized the need for a scientific study of Indian Society & Culture. He also formulated a scheme of starting Cultural exchange between both countries.

**Indian National Movement for Independence and Soviet Russia’s Role**

Bhagwadgita was translated in to Russian in 1788 and Shakuntala in 1792. Indian studies became very popular in Russia and in 1851 a chair of Sanskrit was set up at Moscow university and in 1855 at St. Petersburg University. Russian think tank also shown keen interest in Indian uprising of 1857. Another Russian visitor Dobrolyubore wrote an article exposing the predatory nature of British rule
in India and described the uprising as a turning point in Indian History. Some Russian scholars/thinkers have been continuously showing interest in India such as Ivan P. Minayev a Prof. of St. Petersburg University, not only he paid visits to India but also met Indian leaders and he was also present in Bombay when Indian National Congress was founded in 1885. Later on he described this event in his diary that it is a symbol of feeling of Nationalism in India for unification of India.

During late 18th century to early years of 20th Century a feeling grew that Russian were friendly towards Indians. The Russian Revolution in 1905 helped to forge new bonds between national liberation movement in India against British rule and the progressive movement in Russia against the autocracy of Tsarist regime. When Gandhiji was leading struggle in South Africa was struck by the similarities between the situations in India & Russia. Gandhi Ji commented on Nov.11, 1905 on Russian movement of 1905 that If the Russian people succeed, this revolution in Russia will be regarded as the greatest victory, the greatest event of the present century.”

Lenin figured prominently the condition of India under the British rule and struggle for freedom of Indian people in his thought. Lenin continued taking interest in cause of Indian independence till the last day of his life It will not be out of place to mention here that Lenin was the first man in the world to wrote on “….the infamous sentence pronounced by the british jackles on Indian democrat ….Tilak….” in 1908. It was the feeling of solidarity that determined Soviet attitude and policy towards India after Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917.

In India Soviet Declaration on Right of Nations to self determination created considerable interest. An Indian delegation led by Mohd. Hadi met Lenin on Nov.23, 1918 and apprised him on impact of declaration on India and expressed the hope that “Our brothers in great free Russia will extend their hand in cause of liberation of Indian and all people of the world.”

In June 1918, a Blue Book the title of India to the Indians by K.N. Troyanovsky, observed “We Russians, .....ought to join hands with the unfortunate India whose fate is in many respects comparable to ours, with a view
to overcoming a common foe. Revolution in India would, for two reasons, have an influence on the political events of the world: (1) There can be no general peace without a free, independent India. (2) There can be no social catastrophe in the West as long as the West can legally exploit the humble East and live at the expense of the latter. India is the centre of Western activity in the East; India will, therefore, be the first fortress of the Revolution on the Eastern continent…..”. In 1920s and 1930s contacts between India and the Soviet Union developed in spite of obstacles put up by the colonial administration.

Jawaharlal Nehru and his father Motilal Nehru visited the Soviet Union in November 1927, when the Soviet people were celebrating the tenth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Nehru stayed in Moscow for four days. Jawaharlal Nehru was greatly impressed by whatever he saw in Moscow and his admiration for the USSR and its people grew immensely. He wrote that he was moved by “this Urasian country of hammer and sickle, where workers and peasants sit on the thrones of the mighty and upset the best laid schemes of mice and men”. He wrote to his sister from Moscow that they were “in a topsy-turvy land. All one’s old values get upset and life wears a strange aspect here.”

After Jawaharlal Nehru, the visit of Rabindranath Tagore to the USSR in 1930 played a significant role in making the people of India aware of the stupendous developments in the Soviet Union. Just like Nehru, he was immensely impressed by what he saw in the USSR. Rabindranath echoed the same feelings like Nehru through his letters, speeches etc. to his countrymen.

During the World War II, Indian freedom fighters took major steps for the development of friendly ties between India and the Soviet Union. The unprovoked and treacherous aggression by fascist Germany against the Soviet Union at the dawn of June 22, 1941, was condemned by the Indian public opinion from the outset. Indian press and people reacted indignantly. In order to mobilize Indian masses in support of the Soviet Union the Council of All India Kishan Sabha decided to observe July 21, 1941, as “Soviet Day” throughout the country. On the eve of observance of “Soviet Day” leading intellectuals of Bengal said in a statement that the Nazi attack on the Soviet Union “has opened a new and
momentous phase in world history ..... We can at least send out good wishes to Soviet and wait anxiously for the day when they will come out victorious over the forces arrayed against them.” Most significant feature of the observance of “Soviet Day” was the decision to organize local organizations of the Friends of the Soviet Union, in different cities and provinces of India. Rabindranath Tagore, had agreed to act as patron of the organization in Bengal. On November 17, 1941, an all India conference Friends of the Soviet Union held in Calcutta under All India Committee of the Friends of the Soviet Union was formed. All expressed their “fighting solidarity” people “in their magnificent resistance”.

In Bombay, working class started “Soviet Aid Campaign” through street-corner meetings, house-to-house collection etc. in support to the resistance of Soviet people to the Nazi aggression. They collected funds by selling a beautiful printed small card bearing hammer and sickle emblem with the appeal: “Pay one paisa as a symbol of your love and support for the Soviet Union; ....”.

The war period saw the development of closer ties between the peoples of India and the Soviet Union. The cordon sanitaire thrown by the British colonialists around the Soviet Union had to be somewhat loosened due to Soviet Union’s entry into the side of Allied Power. Soviet literature and films began to reach India and a Soviet journalist, Tass correspondent Pyotr Gladshev and his family arrived in India. Trade arrived in India. He was allowed to stay officially for the first time in India. There were touching incidents, showing Soviet appreciation of the goodwill and assistance of the Indian army men to the Red Army’s gallant struggle against the fascist army. For their distinguished services in the transportation of arms, materials and food to the USSR, the Soviet Government presented Soviet decorations to the officers and men of British and Indian armies. Subedar Narayan Rao Nikkam and Havildar Gajendra Singh decorated with the Order of Red Star, Captain Ram Singh with the Order of Kuluzov, III Class, Subedar Pirtha Singh Kurung with the Order of the Patriotic War, I Class, and Lt. Col. W.R.B. Williams with the Order of Nevsky.

During Pre-independence Period in April, 1945, Supporting Indian’s demand of independence, the Soviet Foreign Minister in his speech at the San
Francisco Conference of the United Nations declared, “We have at this Conference an Indian delegation, but India is not an independent State. We all know that the time will come when the voice of an Independent India will be heard, too.” After the Second World War Soviet statesmen and the Soviet newspapers began to refer to the political situation in India more frequently and repeatedly expressed their whole-hearted support for the demand of independence of India. On September 7, 1946, Conveying India’s greetings to the Soviet Union in his very first broadcast over the All India Radio, as the Vice-President of the Interim Government of India, Jawaharlal Nehru declared, “They are our neighbours in Asia and inevitably we shall have to undertake many common tasks and have much to do with each other.”

**Relations between both countries after Independence of India during cold war era**

A cordial relationship with India that began in the 1950s represented the most successful of the Soviet attempts to foster closer relations with Third World countries. The relationship began with a visit by Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru to the Soviet Union in June 1955 and Khrushchev's return trip to India in the fall of 1955. While in India, Khrushchev announced that the Soviet Union supported Indian sovereignty over the Kashmir region and over Portuguese coastal enclaves.

The Soviet relationship with India rankled the Chinese and contributed to Sino-Soviet enmity during the Khrushchev period. The Soviet Union declared its neutrality during the 1959 border dispute and the 1962 Sino-Indian war, although the Chinese strongly objected. The Soviet Union gave India substantial economic and military assistance during the Khrushchev period, and by 1960 India had received more Soviet assistance than China had. This disparity became another point of contention in Sino-Soviet relations. In 1962 the Soviet Union agreed to transfer technology to coproduce the MiG-21 jet fighter in India, which the Soviet Union had earlier denied to China.
In 1965 the Soviet Union served successfully as peace broker between India and Pakistan after an Indian-Pakistani border war. The Soviet chairman of the Council of Ministers, Aleksei N. Kosygin, met with representatives of India and Pakistan and helped them negotiate an end to the military conflict over Kashmir.

In 1971 East Pakistan initiated an effort to secede from its union with West Pakistan. India supported the secession and, as a guarantee against possible Chinese entrance into the conflict on the side of West Pakistan, signed a treaty of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union in August 1971. In December, India entered the conflict and ensured the victory of the secessionists and the establishment of the new state of Bangladesh.

The foundation of Indo Russian friendship laid during the halcyon days of Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, Nikita Khrushchev and Bulganin, further cemented during the years of Lal Bahadur Shastri & Mrs. Indira Gandhi as “Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship & Co-operation” was signed between two on 9th August, 1971. The signing of this treaty opened a new era of Indo-Soviet friendship & cooperation. It marked important milestones in relations between two and provided a legal & political basis for strengthening of Indo-Soviet Co-operation in Political, Cultural, Technical & Scientific spheres. This treaty was a logical outcome of relations of sincere friendship, respect, mutual trust & varied ties which had been established since 1953.

Apart from 1971 experience, when Soviet Union stood ready to assist India in its war against Pakistan- while the US Seventh Fleet patrolled Indian Ocean. Moscow also always insisted that Kashmir was a dispute that must be resolved between India & Pakistan and that no third party mediation could be possible. While Soviet Union never once publically criticized India on its nuclear programme not even when New Delhi experimented with peaceful explosion in 1974 in contrast to the reactions of other western nuclear states.

During the 1980s, despite the 1984 assassination by Sikh extremists of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, the mainstay of cordial Indian-Soviet relations, India maintained a close relationship with the Soviet Union. Indicating the high
priority of relations with the Soviet Union in Indian foreign policy, the new Indian Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi, visited the Soviet Union on his first state visit abroad in May 1985 and signed two long-term economic agreements with the Soviet Union. In turn, Gorbachev's first visit to a Third World state was his meeting with Rajiv Gandhi in New Delhi in late 1986. Gorbachev unsuccessfully urged Gandhi to help the Soviet Union set up an Asian collective security system. Gorbachev's advocacy of this proposal, which had also been made by Brezhnev, was an indication of continuing Soviet interest in using close relations with India as a means of containing China. With the improvement of Sino-Soviet relations in the late 1980s, containing China had less of a priority, but close relations with India remained important as an example of Gorbachev's new Third World policy.

As Indo – Soviet Treaty for peace, friendship & co-operation was extended on 8th August, 1991 for 20 years joint declaration described the extension as momentous & historic step forward in deepening and strengthening the traditional time tested relations between two countries. Soviet Union became source of bulk of sophisticated military hardware to India. 60-70% of India’s military imports came from Soviet Union.

Relations after disintegration of USSR during post cold war era

After the break up of Soviet Union (26th December, 1991), Russia emerged out as its actual successor or inheritor state of Soviet Union. India continued its efforts to constantly maintaining relation between two in post cold war. Then problem in seeking export market was that primary customers of Russia were purchasing equipments for ideological reasons not on commercials terms. Thus some of what might be called tradition customers of Russian Industry of the traditional customers of Soviet Union, India remained one of the key partners in this sensitive & most important security sphere.

The Scope of contracts signed with India in recent years is enormous because life has shown that there is no other alternative to these collaborations. Frankly speaking in post cold war era, “Russia needs India just as India needs Russia”. In today’s violent world, surviving alone is practically impossible.
Further development of our collaboration in Political, Economic, Cultural, Defence & Defence technology field will depend precisely on this premise.

Political contracts & open and confident atmosphere of dialogue between two helps in exchange of opinions and mutual understanding upon a whole lot of major issues such as expansion of NATO, situation of Balkans, Middle East, Asia & pacific region, Afghanistan, Central Asia etc.

Second, the qualitative peculiarity of Indo Russian Strategic partnership lies in the fact that it does not possess any spirit of confrontation in it & is not directed against third countries. Having signed “Delhi Declaration” India & Russia, as they say in our country are not directed against any other country.

Indo Russian Strategic collaboration is also special because it is useful for both. This collaboration can became initial base for creating a fundamentally new security system in whole of Asia.

Likewise Defence contacts, Indian Air Force is receiving Sukhoi SU-31 MKI, SAM III missiles, fighters from Russia & Hindustan Aeronautics Ltd. is manufacturing aircraft under License, as same in MIG helicopters & fighters. As collaboratively developed PJ-10, a surface-to-surface cruise missile successfully tested at Chandipur; Supersonic Cruise Missile ‘BrahMos’ having three-time speed than sound speed was also successfully test fired & inducted.

Progressively, we are overcoming “the Buyer-Seller” mode of Interaction and have actually entered a phase of jointly implemented projects. Implementation of SU-30 MKI project heralds a new phase in history of Indo-Russian military technical cooperation. The designers & specialist from two have been working as a united team on development as a united team on development of technologically sophisticated project. The experience obtained has allowed our countries to proceed to more advanced stage.

The Russian side values within framework of Strategic partnership between two. This framework has contributed to substantial expansion of mutual co-operation in both civil & military sphere. As to the further, we continue to look forward to significant co-operation, India will participate in joint development programmes with Russia & will also be looking for increased technology transfer.
As Ambassador Alexander M. Kadakin quoted, “Strategic Partnership is the optional model of Bilateral & Foreign Policy. We look in for further with confidence. Relations with India are amongst the highest priorities of Russia’s Foreign Policy. It is no wonder that they are the subjects of close, permanent & personal attention of the President of Russia. The forth-coming visit to India of President will no doubt expand our partnership’s agenda. It will open up new vistas of co-operation in all fields & help strengthen the tradition of affection & amity between India & Russia.”

In fact continued multi dimensional friendship between India & Russia cemented Indo-Russian Strategic Partnership. As President of Russian Federation Mr. Vladimir Putin addressed Indian Parliament on October 4th, 2000 & quoted “I would like to say that our relation with India have always been, and remain on the most important areas of Russian Foreign Policy and they have a special influence and significance for us. Our relations are relation between equal partners”, after signing declaration of strategic partnership. Reviving old defence cooperation with India, the declaration highlights defence and military technical cooperation, service-to-service cooperation, joint research, development (R&D) and training itself. While it is not out of place to mention here that India feels secure at global level to be with Russia as Russia provides strategically & politically strength besides providing defence technologies & arms in Army, Navy & Air force as well. Russia’s support on Kashmir issue is well known.

Moreover, coming closer of three large countries - Russia, China & India - can help in countering the US Unipolar pressure. Being located in a single geopolitical space, three thought of a bonding to promote prosperity, security & stability in the region. Main idea is to build a multi-polar world that would enables the creation of a just & fair international economic & political order. Formation of Russia India and China “Strategic Triangle” as meeting of Foreign Ministers of above mentioned countries in June, 2005 for trilateral cooperation is also significant. This process is moving very fast to reach new avenues.

While visit of President of Russia in 2004 and visit of Prime Minister of India and Mrs. Sonia Gandhi, Chairman of UPA (United Progressive Alliance) to
Russia also cemented bilateral & strategic relations. Russia is providing support in Koodankulam Nuclear Power plant in Tamilnadu to fulfill our energy needs. During visit of President of India Dr. A.P.J. Abdul Kalam to Russian Federation on May 22-25, 2005, both sides noted the Strategic partnership between them served their long term national interests, provided the impetus to enhance their multifaceted bilateral co-operation & contributed to regional and international peace & security in particular. The Russian Federation re-affirmed its support to India as a deserving & strong candidate for the permanent membership of the UN Security Council (UNSC). On August 18, 2005 quoted in ‘The Tribune’ India and Russia signed an inter governmental agreement for the licensed production of Russia Jet Engine by Hindustan Aeronautics Ltd. (HAL) for HJT – 36 intermediate Jet trainers. Director of the Federal Service for Military and Technical Cooperation Alexander Denisov said the signing of the agreement was part of the tender on the development of an engine for the Indian HJT-36 trainer.

Where as the United States of America (USA) is world leader after breakup of Soviet Union. USA openly supporting Pakistan particularly on defence matters on one side USA imposed sanctions on India on nuclear issue whereas USA spared Pakistan. Total ignoring the facts and threats to global security environment, USA maintained double standard. It is very funny that USA knows that countries like Pakistan supported by him on strategic issues to counter India and Russia in special reference to South Asia security environment and totally disregarding the personal security of USA itself. While USA knows very well significance of India and its role along with contribution towards global peace and security.

It was only in July 2005 that India was admitted as Observer to the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO) at the Astana Summit due to only heartily and strong support of Russia.

Dr. Man Mohan Singh the Prime Minister of India delivering his second speech from the ramparts of the Red Fort on the Independence Day (15th August, 2005) “Focused attention on the changed circumstances in the International System caused by various reasons, particularly the end of cold war, the changes
in International Hierarchy of power, 9/11 and war on terrorism. He pointed out that the world wants us to do well and take our righteous place on the world stage”. As noted Indian Defence Analyst K. Subrahmanyam quoted in ‘The Tribune’ on August 19, 2005 that “Today it is a globalizing world, which is calling on India to become one of the players in the global balance of power systems, which would stabilize peace. Even the Chinese leadership has understood the new developments and talks of India as a global player in the wake of the US announcement of 25th March to help in assisting India to become a world power in the 21st century”.

During official visit of PM Dr. Manmohan Singh to the Russian Federation on 4-7 December, 2005. several agreements/documents were signed including mutual protection of Intellectual Property Rights in bilateral military-technical cooperation.

President Dmitry Medvedev paid a successful visit to India on 4-5 December, 2008. President Medvedev was the first foreign Head of State to visit India after the Mumbai terrorist attacks, and the issue of terrorism was discussed at President Medvedev’s meeting with the Prime Minister in New Delhi. Russia expressed its readiness to cooperate with India in every possible way in punishing the perpetrators of the terrorist acts. India and Russia strengthened their ties further by inking 10 agreements, including a pact on civil nuclear cooperation and decided to intensify their cooperation in combating terrorism. Describing the agreement on civil nuclear cooperation as a “new milestone” in bilateral relations, Singh told, “The signing of the agreement on civil nuclear cooperation with Russia marks a new milestone in the history of our cooperation with Russia in the field of nuclear energy.”

Dmitry Medvedev said that, “Relations with India have always been and I am sure will be one of the most important foreign policy priorities of our country. Our mutual ties of friendship are filled with sympathy, and trust, and openness. And we must say frankly that they were never overshadowed by disagreements or conflict. This understanding - this is indeed the common heritage of our peoples. It is valued and cherished in our country, in Russia,
and in India. And we are rightfully proud of so close, so close relations between our countries. The Indo-Russian summit at Delhi has in many ways opened a new chapter” in our bilateral relations.

As a feather in cultural relations of both, In India, ‘Year of Russia’ was observed in 2008 and in Russia, ‘Year of India’ in 2009 and a long series of activities taken place through out.

During the visit of the Prime Minister of India Dr. Manmohan Singh, to Russia at the invitation of President of the Russian Federation, Mr. Dmitry Medvedev, for the Annual Summit from December 6 to 8, 2009. A joint declaration on deepening the strategic Partnership to meet Global challenges was signed.

Russia, India and China are pursuing common goals in their international policies and economic development through their strategic triangle. In what is the latest step to promote trilateral cooperation in a variety of fields the foreign ministers of China, Russia and India met for two days last week (Nov. 2010) in Wuhan, capital of central Hubei province. Tenth of its kind, the meeting was shown as being conducive to deepening trilateral ties between Beijing, Moscow and New Delhi. China, Russia and India have a common strategic need to strengthen their ties. In today's world where international relations are undergoing profound changes and multi-polarization continues to accelerate, the three nations are on similar positions in a multitude of international issues. All advocate the democratization of international relations and the establishment of a new international order based on universally recognized international laws.

Indo-Russian trade gets a Putin boost when the Prime Minister of the Russian Federation, Mr Vladimir Putin, arrived in New Delhi on a working visit, in March 2010. “The visit is noted for the success in taking this vital strategic partnership forward, giving the much needed economic impetus. A host of steps aimed at scaling up the current $7.5 billion bilateral trade to $20 billion by 2015 are set in motion,” said an official.10

The Sixteenth Session of the India-Russia Inter-Governmental Commission on Trade, Economic, Scientific, Technological and Cultural
Cooperation (IRIGC-TEC) was held in New Delhi on 18 November 2010. Both sides expressed satisfaction at the recent increase in bilateral trade and investments while recognizing that the level of economic engagement remained below its potential given the size of the two economies. In this context, both sides identified concrete steps to further develop economic relations in priority areas of cooperation.\textsuperscript{11}

Economic and strategic alliances like G-8+5, G-20, BRIC, SCO etc. are also creating impact and providing the platform to countries to discuss various avenues/issues/factors which are responsible for peace and security environment globally.

In nutshell, “The Russia India Strategic Partnership has been a time-tested and enduring one for more than a quarter of a century. Geo-strategically and geopolitically Russia has stood by India under trying circumstances and contributed to India’s national security interests. Russia, creditably, has never indulged in balance of power strategies in South Asia and provided strategic ballast to India’s South Asian predominance. India can still count on Russia to act as “the sheet anchor of its foreign policies”.

In an emerging world that is turning increasingly multipolar and where the G-2 (comprising the US and China) are planning to rule the roost, India can ill-afford to ignore or neglect such a dependable partner like Russia.

Therefore, the Russia-India Strategic Partnership serves India’s national security interests more effectively than the US-India Strategic Partnership. As on date the Russia-India Strategic Partnership encompasses a wide spectrum of providing muscle to the Indian Armed Forces by supply of advanced military hardware, predominantly underwriting India’s economic growth with the large number of civil nuclear reactors contracted for and provision of other high technologies including joint R & D and production of futuristic weapon systems.

\textbf{Study of the Problem}

The study analyses the problem and try to signify it in detail. As India and Russia are the strategically important nations in the world, so the international
security scenario is influenced by the cordiality and adversity between these two. My research is also highlighting the significant and geo strategic presence of China, Pakistan & USA.

In the North, China poses a security threat to India’s security. The boundary with Nepal and Bhutan prove complicated and uncomfortable. The state of Sikkim became sensitive regarding security concerns, due to its shared boundary with China. The presence of China as a strong neighbor influenced India’s security most. Though India has the unstable neighbor like Pakistan who posed a threat to India’s security, however Indian defence policies never undermine China, though some time they can Pakistan. So it is important to analyse Indian relations and India’s security in 21st century, because in the changing Geopolitics of the world, the review of relations take the primary attention of the scholar of international relations and National security. Here the problem is loaded with the Russia and India on International stages and the National security concerns.

While we look overall relations in this modern time in current world order are moving strongly on economic, political and strategically heads to maintain global peace and security environment, hence these both entities India and Russia can play a greater role in this multipolar world.

**Concepts**

The concepts highlighted in the conceptual model deal with the cooperation and military assistance with technical knowhow in the security environment of India. China and Pakistan both have the stream of hostility for Indian Union the presence of both are of great concern India particularly after the defeat in the 1962 border war with China. There are extra regional power and major players like USA. While USA & Russia have been closely associated with the two countries in the wake of growing power of India to balance the power structure in the region. Extra regional involvement is in the form of China and the US and China and Russia. The growing power of India is of great concern especially for China, which dreams of becoming an Asian power. US interest in
the region is to maintain its hegemonic position in the world and to contain the Russia involvement in this region.

India and Russia are time tested friends and no confrontation from old times has been seen. While both are supporting issues which are responsible for stable peace and security environment through out the world. Russia China friendly relations and sale of weapons and other joint communiqués definitely pour an impact on India’s security Environment besides China’s strategy to encircle India by building a string of pearls to undermine India’s security measures. Role of Russia at international fronts and support to India is always remarkable and enhanced the relationship meanings as well.

**Review of Literature**

The researcher has studied the literature related to the study of the problem i.e. thesis, books, periodicals etc. and tried to find out the lapses in earlier studies & tried to analyze those lapses & gaps in the present study at most but in Social Sciences, the changes took place at the International Level quickly resulted it Dimensions of the study needs micro & macro analysis but it is pertinent to mention here that the limitation of study is there in the field of Research in Social Sciences.

*Global Significance of Indo-Russian Strategic Partnership* edited by V.D.Chopra Kalpaz Publications Delhi 2005. In the beginning of the 21st century, significant changes are taking place in the international situation and relationship among the various countries of the world. The world as it is today is unipolar with the United States as the dominant economic and military power. This indeed is the most outstanding development of the period following the disintegration of the Soviet Union. But this is half-truth. Now the world is witnessing new changes and this will have a far-reaching impact in the coming decades. Quite apart from the fact that multilaterally, bilateralism and regional formations have begun to taken shape, the most outstanding feature of the international situation is that new political and economic powers have surfaced on our planet. The most important development of this period is that China, Russia, India and Brazil have emerged
as major economic owners and the years to come these four countries will become key factors in the world. It is in this context that an attempt has been make in this book to make a study of the global significance of Indo-Russian strategic partnership. Indo-Russian strategic partnership with its multidimensional character; political, military and economic, therefore will be a key factor in shaping the international relations. In this book mainly three components have been taken up Firstly global significance of Indo-Russian relation has been examined secondly, Impact of Indo-Russian relations in the various parts of Asia and Africa has been assessed and Thirdly, a study has been made of the economic potentialities and the problems of Indo-Russian relations

**Prepare or Perish** A study of National Security by Gen K V Krishna Rao Lancers Publishers Pvt. Ltd. New Delhi 1991. This book is an attempt to study country’s past history with particular reference to the security aspects, draw lessons, analyse future threats and suggest measures to meet these so that the country’s integrity is effectively safeguarded. Matter relating to external threats as well as internal security threats has been covered.

In book titled “India-Iran Relations: A Deepening Entente” by Donald L Berlin detailed that Iran, with its Islamic government, seems a strange ally of India, a democracy until recently dominated by a Hindu nationalist party. But the two nations have overcome past antagonisms and developed close ties that will affect not just Southwest Asia but also the United States. Secondly Iran sees India as a strong partner that will help Tehran avoid strategic isolation. For India, the relationship is part of an effort to pursue Indian interests pragmatically with all significant states and especially with those nearby. This effort will continue notwithstanding the recent advent of a Congress Party-dominated government in India. Thirdly Deepening ties are reflected in the recent growth of bilateral trade that will now increase further following an agreement that Tehran will supply India with 5 million tons of liquefied gas annually for twenty-five years. The two states also are cooperating on the North-South Transportation Corridor, a project to link Mumbai—via Bandar Abbas—with Europe. They also are discussing a possible gas pipeline from Iran via Pakistan to India. Fourthly Security relations
were advanced significantly after last year’s state visit by Iranian President Khatami, when he was the guest of honor at India’s National Day. The parties forged an accord that gives Iran access to Indian military technology. Reportedly, it also gives India access to Iranian military bases in the event of war with Pakistan. Other recent developments include the first Indo-Iranian combined naval exercise and an Indian effort to upgrade the Iranian port of Chahbahar, a move that could foreshadow its use by the Indian navy. Lastly The new Indo-Iranian entente could powerfully influence such important matters as the flow of energy resources, efforts to stem the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and political developments in Afghanistan, Central Asia, and the Persian Gulf. The consequences will not always suit US interests.

**P.R. Chari in ‘Nuclear Restraint Risk Reduction and the Security-Insecurity Paradox in South Asia’** establish a link between the nuclear deterrence and the escalation of Kargil conflict into a nuclear warfare. The Kargil conflict did not extend beyond the Kargil-Drass sector. Due to the terrain problems the conflict was limited to the infantry and restricted the use of weaponry. After this misadventure the International community isolated Pakistan. Pakistan decided to increase its dependence on the nuclear weapons, as these would compensate for conventional inferiority when compared to India. During this conflict the Pakistani foreign secretary warned the usage of any weapon to defend the country’s territorial integrity. The idea was re-emphasized throughout the border confrontation of 2001-2002. These have posed serious challenges to the stability of South Asian region.

**A.K. Verma in his article on ‘Security Threats Facing India’ in Indian Defence Review**, writes, “Though China-India relations are not in much bad condition now. By the Copenhagen climate change issue both are come closer. As China is a big military and economic power then we cannot ignore the possible threats from China side. In the field of external relations two other countries stand out, meriting continuous scrutiny and caution. China and Pakistan. Unlike the US, there have been violent ups and downs in India’s relationship with them. One, therefore, must attempt to discover what the core problems are?”
In Russia-US Relations: From Cold War Foes to Pragmatic Friends by Dr. Sanjeev Bhadauria mentioned that for the United States, Russia and China are the two main barriers to the realization of uni-polarity and its dominance in Europe, Eurasia and the Asia-Pacific region. The United States continues its dual policy towards Russia. On the one hand, the United States will keep on squeezing Russian strategic space, reducing the Russian sphere of influence, and debilitating its military power. On the other, the United States will try hard to keep Russia on the track of democracy, neither retreating to the communist past; nor leaning towards nationalistic authoritarianism. Despite the fact that the United States is the only superpower in the world today, it is unable to realise its goal on its own. It needs both allies and cooperation of other parties. In Eurasia, the United States needs Russia’s cooperation and in the Asia-Pacific region it requires China’s cooperation. On global issues, such as non-proliferation, environmental protection, and countering terrorism and combating organised crime, the United States, Russia and China have many common interests.

In India and Russia: Salience of Strategic Synergy by Dr. Ranjana Misra mentioned that the salience of Indo-Russian defence cooperation has undergone a paradigm shift: from buyer seller relations to a more fundamental one that could evince strategic vision for the future. This is a binding sphere of limitless opportunities for both countries. Indo-Russian defence ties have weathered many storms, outlived many criticisms and come out with novelties of partnership. The comfort level in this long-term relationship enjoyed by the Indian armed forces far surpasses all other nuances, whether it is the Gorshkov refit, supply of Sukhoi fighter jets or T-20 battle tanks. The other moot area emerging in the 21st century is the strategic nuclear power cooperation. Multibillion-dollar arms deals to the tune of 7.5 billion have been signed between both countries to boost trade beyond the limited scope of defense. And the two countries have set the target to elevate it to 20 billion dollars by 2015. India and Russia have also signed agreements for the long awaited sale to India of a refitted Soviet-era aircraft carrier as well as 29 MiG fighter jets, further cementing Moscow's role as New Delhi’s principal arms provider. As nuclear energy assumes growing
importance the India's energy consumption basket, energy-hungry India is likely
to emerge as the world's biggest markets for nuclear technology in the years to
come and the reactor deal is a triumph for Russia's state atomic agency Rosatom
which has faced and overcome stiff competition from French and US rivals.

In *Post-Soviet Trends In Russian Cinema: Changing Cultural Ethos by*
*Dr. Rashmi Doraiswamy* mentioned that one of the cultural effects of
globalization, that of homogenization, is thus evident in the cinema of the CIS in
recent years. The dismantling of ideological structures after the fall of the Soviet
Union, also led to a cultural orientation towards the West, particularly the USA.
The new narrative of setting part of the story of the film abroad and part in Russia
is a trend that has begun after the collapse of the Soviet Union. This is the marker
of the global turn in the ideological horizon of Russia. The Russian films,
however, are not tapping the Russian diaspora as spectators or even tapping the
diaspora as an imagined community, as Indian films with similar narratives are
doing. The semiotics of this narrative structuration is different: it shows the
Russians to be citizens of the world, a world that they had seemingly been cut off
from during the Soviet period. A latent racism/hostility is also evident towards
African-Americans. The ideological underpinning is that the Russians are closer
to Americans than the Americans realize. There is also the paradoxical
underlining of the fact that the Russians are far more ethical and that they stick to
their principles. This trend is however characteristic of the commercial Russian
films that are genre-based, the Russian gangster or action films: Revenge, Brother
2, Bear Hunt, Nostalgia for the Future. The multinational imagination only serves
to construct a national identity and its place in the world. This is a narrative that is
oriented more towards internal Russian consumption rather than diasporic
audiences.

*Indomitable Russia by Dr. P. L. Dash* detailed that the bluster and the
bombasts of the Cold War era were over by now. Russia was back to business in
the world arms market as a potential force that the western powers could no
longer write off. A single example is evidently enough to illustrate the matching
response to Americans. In reply to the production of a potent non-nuclear bomb,
which the Americans called ‘mother of all bombs’, Russia produced a new secret explosive of higher efficiency with the use of nanotechnology, which it calls ‘father of all bombs’. Russia’s new Thermobaric bomb can have twice as high temperature at the centre of the blast than the American bomb and the damage area is much too greater. This has been possible by using high-end technology to achieve higher energy output. Put to destructive use, it can be devastating for humanity as a whole. In outer space, on the surface, inside bunkers and caves et al, there is no sphere that can escape the perimeter of the new bomb. This had legitimately regained the pride of Russianness and has revived the lost glory of Russia. This is perhaps from this vantage point that the mutual cut in nuclear arsenal of both the US and Russia has been viewed. That they had signed in Prague on 9th April, 2010 a bilateral deal to drastically cut down on the stockpiles of accumulated nuclear weapons speaks volumes about their mutual concerns for the security and safety of the world. The ordnance of the new bomb, in efficiency, potency and capability, when air delivered is comparable to a nuclear weapon. Thermo baric technology is new and it assumes importance in the context of huge American spending on defence systems. The US defence budget is pegged at $700 Billion a year at the end of the first decade of this century, while other countries have no comparable or matching parallel. China’s defence budget per year is estimated at $ 90 billion, while that of India’s is three times less - $ 30 billion a year. Russian defence budget in 2009 was in the order of $46.8. In 2008 it was $ 50 billion and Putin intended to enhance it to $125 billion by 2011. Therefore, judging by the sheer spending capability, one could gauze the asymmetry between Russia and the US on the one hand with $700 versus $46.8 billion and India and China with $30 versus $90 billion. This asymmetry in spending posits countries in a bizarre paradox of mighty versus the meek and strong versus the weak. If these four countries are at the forefront of development excluding the European powers, their military prowess could be grossly misused, should a war occur between any of them: India and China are old rivals and so are Cold War rivals US and Russia. The Thermo baric bomb assumes significance in the changing context of international relations. In the sway of globalizing
economy when rivals are competing on one platform, it is a dismay to address issues and problems in an isolated fashion from the overall security environment, prevailing around the country.

Medvedev and Russia’s Modernisation Agenda by Dr. Arun Mohanty mentioned that The ultimate goal of the strategy is to make Russia one of the top five economies of the world and establish Russia as a leader in technological innovation and global energy infrastructure as well as a major international financial center. By establishing itself as a leading economic power, Russia plans to raise the living standards to the level of developed countries and safeguard its national security. The broad objectives of the strategy are to increase the GDP to a level that would ensure $21,000 per capita income by 2020, to place 60-70 percent of the population in the category of middle class and reduce poverty level to that of developed countries.

Russia and Mongolia: Post-Soviet Trends in Relationship by Dr. Sharad K. Sony mentioned that Evidently, though Tsakhia Elbegdorj, the current Mongolian President who took over power in May 2009 is a Democrat, he is considered to be a big supporter of forging closer ties with Russia. While talking about the prospects of cooperation with Russia during an interview with the Russian information agency Interfax, he gave strong indications of making changes in Mongolia’s external and internal policy which would be oriented more towards developing Mongolia’s overall relations with Russia. The idea is that both countries could be able to use their long, friendly relationship to maintain and strengthen peace and stability and create an atmosphere of mutual trust and cooperation in the Asia Pacific region to extend cooperation and interactions in the areas of politics, economy, and security. This is as much vital for Russia’s Siberian and eastern flanks as for Mongolia’s hinterland security. Mongolia has already joined the Conference on Interaction and Confidence Building Measures in Asia (CICA), as well as the ASEAN Regional Forum on security, besides having an observer status in the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO). There have been indications that Mongolia would now seek full membership in the SCO, so that it could get further incentives to forge closer ties with not only
China, Russia and Kazakhstan but also with other Central Asian member countries of the SCO.

**Russia and China: Dragon Downplays Bear by Dr. Swaran Singh** detailed that however, US continues to have strong limitations as well of being an outsider. At least in the short run, US will never be able to replace Russia or China as the major power broker in Eurasia, nor is it much interested in investing in such an effort beyond a point. This means that, even when imperceptive, the competition for influence remains basically between Moscow and Beijing. But it is essentially this complex web of Moscow-Beijing equations that continues to provide an opening, even temptation, for US to look beyond its singular focus on the war effort in Afghanistan. Indeed, success of US forces in Afghanistan will very much depend on its developing a more comprehensive regional strategy designed to help Eurasian powers address some of their vulnerabilities that make Afghanistan a perpetual flashpoint with implications for US interests.

**Russia and India: New Realities, New Equations by Dr. Surendra K Gupta** detailed about of all the summits, the last three - in December 2008 Medvedev’s to New Delhi, in December 2009 Manmohan’s to Moscow, and in March 2010 Putin’s to New Delhi were the most significant. Medvedev’s visit to India was not only highly significant in symbolic terms as it was taking place so soon after the terrorist attacks in Mumbai, it also marked a break from Moscow’s earlier stand on additional nuclear reactors. Moscow now agreed to construct four more in Kudankulam for which it had tried to put conditions earlier. And during Prime Minister Singh’s Moscow visit a year later, Russia agreed to supply fuel for its reactors on an uninterrupted basis without any conditions attached. No Western country, including the United States, was willing to do it at this stage. Russia undoubtedly would continue to be an important player in South Asian affairs, but its role would be primarily as a supplier of weapons and energy and, in some cases, of technology. With the loss of vast territories which had once made it almost a neighbor of South Asia, its security concerns are likely to focus more on the territories of South Caucasus and Central Asia and further eastward on the Asia-Pacific region.
In *Theoretical Discourse on Russia And The European Union* written by Dr. Jugal Kishore Mishra, for the pro-Russians, the Russia-European Union binary was and is a reality. By giving more weight to Russia, these Moscovites have identified Russia as the “core” and the “nucleus.” For the pro-Europeanists, Russia cannot play the central security role in Europe and cannot be the fender and provider of Europe, and therefore plays second fiddle to the European Union. Principally because of the aforesaid divide in relative claims of inter se superiority and seniority, a plethora of incompatible identities has been used, more compulsively to define Russia and the European Union. In the present dispensation, both the binaries, defined above, have been suitably and appropriately deconstructed to construct binary links involving the covalent bond.

**Goldman Sachs in ‘Idea of BRIC’ writes,** “China and India respectively to be the dominant global suppliers of manufactured goods and services. Cooperation is thus hypothesized to be a logical next step among the BRIC’s. All the four nations have gathered to take the world in multipolarity. So if China and India with Brazil and Russia came close to each other then their political relations must be changed. As China and India are going to be the great trade partner, their strategic bond will be developed simultaneously. As India is the world’s fastest growing economy and strong military power and China is nearest country to become super power then the mutual national interests may cause the mutual harmony.”

**Khurana Gurpreet S. in his artical ‘China’s ‘String of Pearls’ in the Indian Ocean and its Security Implication‘ in Strategic Analysis**, writes, “Beijing’s military-strategic moves in the Indian Ocean will affect Indian security more seriously than that of the other major powers. Broadly, China’s naval presence in these waters will lead to overlapping spheres of influence with India. As indicated by the October 2006 stand-off between a Chinese Song-class submarine and the USS Kitty Hawk, international waters bear immense potential for military stand-off between major naval powers competing to maintain their respective strategic spaces.”
Sumit Ganguly in the article, *India’s pathway to Pokhran-II*, divides the Indian nuclear program into five phases. The first phase began before independence with the setting up of the Tata institute of fundamental research in 1945. Dr. Homi Bhabha was responsible for setting up the institute and is called the father of the Indian nuclear program. He convinced Nehru about the uranium capabilities of India, which will lead India to the nuclear path. The second phase of the Indian nuclear program began in the aftermath of the Chinese nuclear explosion in 1964. Prior to the test India had suffered a humiliating defeat during the border dispute with China in 1962. The international community came out with the nuclear non-proliferation treaty but both India and Pakistan refused to sign it on the grounds of being discriminatory. The third phase begins with the Indian nuclear explosion for peaceful purposes in 1974. This nuclear test along with the Pakistani defeat in the 1972 war instigated the development of the Pakistani nuclear program. This was followed by the fourth phase where Indian nuclear program was moving at a slow pace due to domestic turmoil. The emergency was declared and the political situation in India was unstable. On the other hand Pakistan continued to expand its nuclear potential and was getting benefit from the United States due to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. The final phase began with the collapse of Soviet Union in 1991. India lost a strategic partner and US emerged as the dominant power in the international system. Thereafter, Both India and Pakistan conducted nuclear tests in 1998. This has brought about deterrence stability since no major war has been fought except the Kargil crisis. The two countries were on the brink of nuclear war but maintained restraint to prevent colossal damage on the either sides.

P.R. Chari, Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema and Stephen Philip Cohen in the book, *Perceptions, Politics and Security in South Asia*, “the compound crisis of 1990” have examined the nuclear crisis and the Kashmir dispute. According to them India and Pakistan advanced gradually towards acquiring nuclear weapons. Through a long process of indigenous capabilities, India conducted its first nuclear test for peaceful purposes in 1974. It was only after a period of 22 years that India transformed from a “nuclear capable state” to a “nuclear weapon state”
after it conducted its nuclear tests in Pokhran in May 1998. Initially the military regime of Ayub Khan in Pakistan emphasized on conventional weapons through alliance with the United States. But it was Zulfiquar Ali Bhutto who emphasized on Pakistan going nuclear in the wake of India becoming nuclear. Pakistan could obtain help from its ally China. These nuclear weapons would also balance the power of the military, as the nuclear weapons would be under the civilian control. But the 1971 war changed the scenario and nuclear weapons became important for Pakistan security. The continuing confrontation between India and Pakistan for more than 60 years has made Pakistan’s policies India centered. Pakistan followed a two pronged strategy to counter Indian threat. First, it formed alliances with the major powers. Secondly, it developed nuclear deterrence.

_Satish Kumar in the second edition of India's National Security Annual Review 2002_, takes into account political, military, economic, and technological challenges, and multiple threats to internal security. This volume comprises specially written research articles by Indian diplomats, scholars, strategic affairs experts, technologists, and scientists. Such topics as politico-military environment, economic security, technology, and National Security Management are addressed in the book.

_India’s National Security 2003 Annual Review by Satish Kumar_ reviewed global security trends and the external and internal security environment of India, also undertaken an in-depth examination of the challenges to India's military modernization, economic security, and problems of self-reliance in defence technologies. In addition, it focuses on some non-traditional security issues like health hazards, urbanization, and climate change and their security implications for India. A highlight of this volume is the national security index, which ranks India at eighth position among the top 50 countries of the world on the basis of their defence capability, GDP, HDI, R&D, and population. Other invaluable features are a chronology of major events, select documents and basic statistics, which vividly bring out India's power profile as well as the world power structure.
**India, China, Russia:** intricacies of an Asian triangle by Gilles Boquèrat, Frédéric Grare Marshall Cavendish Academic, 2004, at the end of the 1990s, the idea of forming an Asian Triangle generated much public discussion when it was first suggested. The Asian Triangle, which consists of India, China and Russia in a strategic partnership, came into the picture as the cold wars (East-West, Sino-Soviet and Sino-Indian) had receded in popular memory and such a triangular equation gained enough credibility to deserve closer examination. However, the following questions have yet to be answered: Is the Asian Triangle a work-in-progress or has it started growing? Will it accelerate the growth of multipolarity around the world? Is it merely a tool for its constituents to improve their standing with the US in a unipolar world? This book seeks to address the above questions in their multifaceted dimensions (historical, geopolitical, economic, strategic), while analyzing the dynamics, the expectations, as well as the contradictions inherent to this construct.

**China-South Asia, issues, equations, policies** by Dr. Swaran Singh, Lancer's Books, 2003 have mentioned China's foreign relations with various South Asian countries post 1949; a study.

**Security in South Asia:** comprehensive and cooperative by Dipankar Banerjee Manas Publications, 2000 Ten Years After The End Of The Cold War, South Asia Stands Almost Alone Among Regions Where The Potential For Conflict Remains High. The Situation Was Further Aggravated By The Nuclear Tests In The Region In May 1998. This Has Led To Avoidable Tensions, High Military Spending And Lack Of Economic Co-Operation Among Its Member Countries. As A Result, South Asia Is Today Among The Poorest Regions In The World, With Human Development Indices Even Worse Than Sub-Saharan Africa. It Is Imperative That This Cycle Of Tension And Conflict Is Broken. The Only Way Out Is To Develop Alternative Approaches To Security. One Such Alternative Is Comprehensive And Co-Operative Security. Ideas Which Have Emerged In Recent Years In Europe And Asia May Be Adapted Usefully In South-Asia. This Book Is An Attempt At Understanding The Security Concerns Of Individual Countries Of South Asia.
India, China, Russia: Intricacies of an Asian Triangle by Gilles Boquérat, Frédéric Grare, India Research Press, 2005 mentioned that the supposed existence of an Asian superpower triangle—China, India, Russia—and its bearing on the future of world order are explored in these essays written by a global team of experts on South Asian military strategy and politics. Questioning whether this strategic partnership actually exists, furthers the cause of multipolarity, or serves as a means for these nations to improve their standing vis-à-vis the United States, this study analyzes the dynamics, expectations, and contradictions inherent in this construct.

Indo-Russian relations: Prospects, Problems and Russia Today by V.D.Chpora, International Institute of Asia Pacific Studies detailed about India's security challenges, if not worsened, still continue to be the same as that in the Cold War period. ... could not remain silent but address such challenges to ensure a democratic survival and development in the 21st century. ...

New trends in Indo-Russian relations by V.D.Chpora 2003 detailed about Indo-Russian Defence Cooperation and India's Independence and Sovereignty. Book has been conceptualized in totality to make an assessment of the various dimensions of Indo-Russian Relations with in the framework of India’s and Russia’s Relations with other countries and the impact on shaping Indo-Russian relations.....

US Indian strategic cooperation into the 21st century by Sumit Ganguly Brian Shoup, Andrew Scobell-2006 covers the scope and future prospects of security relationship. This has been projected on the basis of emerging Indo-US strategic relations in the post 9/11 environments, India's strategic priority, ...

India’s Foreign Policy by Ghosh Anjali-2009 essentially outlining the contours of the two countries' relationship in the 21st century. ... Of considerable significance was the establishment of an Indo-Russian intergovernmental commission on military-technical cooperation at a...

India and the major powers after Pokharan II by Baldev Raj Nayar-2001 In downgrading its relations with India, it showed that India's security and
welfare were no longer a matter of ... for Building a Strategic Relationship", in Lalit Mansingh et al., Indian Foreign Policy: Agenda for the 21st Century ...

Conceptualizing Security for India in the 21st Century by Gautam Sen - 2007 The third dimension of India's security policy is the debate over the validity of the concept of ... They ensured that the strategic doctrine of a country focused on the fundamentals of national interest, as defined by the approaches of ...

Foreign Policy Annual 2004 by Mahendra Gaur -2005 This has helped us evolve a comprehensive vision of Indo-Russian ties for the 21st century, reinforcing our conviction that the strategic partnership between India and Russia is a reliable factor in promoting peace, security and ...

The long shadow: nuclear weapons and security in 21st Century in Asia by Muthiah Alagappa-2009 The burgeoning US -India relations coupled with India's growing power and a foreign policy that emphasizes improved ... foreign policy and security objectives, Japan has begun to build strategic understanding and relations with India. ...

Securing India's future in the new millennium by Brahma Chellaney Centre for Policy Research (new Delhi India)-1999 It is therefore pertinent to examine the role that Afghanistan, Iran and Central Asia will play in India's security now and into the 21st century in the light of the changing power equilibrium and politico-economic predicaments of the ...

Indian Foreign Policy and its neighbours by Jyotindra Nath Dixit-2001 He proposed a new time-bound initiative for nuclear disarmament, arms control, and reduction in strategic arms, aimed at their elimination by the first decade of the 21st century. He started liberalization of the Indian economy. ...

21st Century India: View and Vision by AP Thakur & Sunil Pandey-2009 India's non-alignment enabled it to accept Soviet support in areas of strategic congruence, as in disputes with Pakistan and China, without subscribing to Soviet global policies or proposals for Asian collective security. ...

Treaty of Peace and Friendship on August 9, 1971, was explained as a natural evolution of relations between the two countries and not a departure from India's nonalignment policy, the treaty had ...

*India and the United States in the 21st century: reinventing* by Teresita C. Schaffer-2009 In a sense, India's relations with Russia represent the antithesis of its ties with the United States. ... of scientific relationships around the world.11 The scale and strategic importance of the political and security relationship ...

*The Impact of Asian powers on global developments* by Erich Reiter, *Peter Hazdra-2004* Regarding military cooperation between China and Moscow, there is a tactical consensus between Russian politicians, ... *India's Relations* with China: Post Pokhran-II. Report of IPCS seminar held on *India's Relations* with China, ...

*Indian foreign policy: challenges and opportunities* by Atish Sinha, *Madhup Mohta-2007* The treaty acted as a leverage and did deliver on its assumptions and raised India's strategic position in the region ... US policy in the following words: "(The US) goal is to help India become a major world power in the 21st Century. ..."

*Chinese foreign policy in transition* by Guoli Liu-2004 For a Chinese perspective on Sino-Russian relations and an American response, see Li Jingjie, "Pillars of the Sino-Russian ... and their colleagues' Power Transitions: Strategies for the 21st Century (New York: Chatham House,). ..."


*India and South Asia: economic developments in the age of globalization* by Anjum Siddiqui-2007 Milind Thakar, "Coping with Insecurity: the Pakistan Variable in Indo-US Relations," in Engaging India. US Strategic Relations with the ... 1418-28, both in Indian Foreign Policy. Agenda for the 21st Century, ed. Lalit Mansingh
Technology and security in the 21st century: a demand side perspective
by Amitav Malik Stockholm International Peace research Institute-2004 In this context it is interesting to note that Russia and the USA, with high stakes in the peace and security of the region, are, ... its alignment with the USA during the cold war years when Indian-Soviet relations were generally good. ...

Emerging India: security and foreign policy perspectives by N.S.Sisodia
Chitraru Uday Bhaskar-2005 There is new warmth in Indo-Japanese relations after really 45 years of correct but indifferent relations. The two nations share important economic and strategic interests. Both aspire to join the Security Council as permanent members. ...

India’s security in 21st century: challenges & responses by Rajendra Prasad-2002 Indeed they have argued that, "strategic nuclear weapons capabilities have not necessarily been a major element in China's security and that in future it is high technology coupled with mobile and potent ground force which will be of ...

India as an emerging power by Sumit Ganguly -2003 transforming the strategic parameters on which the Cold War security architecture was built', for 'there is a strategic and ... in a joint statement expounding a common 'Vision for the 21st Century', for 'working together for strategic ...

New world Order, the 21st century by Farida Jabin Aziz -1992 (The) end of (the) Cold War can be seen as something of a liberating experience, as it should make it much easier for Pakistan and the US to look at each other without considering Indo-Pak relations as a zero-sum game'.

Significance of Indo-Russian Relations in Twenty-First Century Edited by V.D. Chopra, Kalpaz, 2008, "In this book some of the India's outstanding scholars and experts have given a fresh look to the Indo-Russian relations in the 21 Century in the fast changing world situation. In a period of globalization and emergence of an interdependent world, what has to be understood is that Asia has become 'Centre of Gravity' of our planet. If the attention of the developed nations is concentrated on this region. China and India have emerged as Asian giants and Russia as a Eurasian nation has regained its status as one of the most
powerful global factors after the disintegration of the Soviet Union. It is in this background that Indo-Russian relations have been analysed in this study. What clearly stands out is that Indo-Russian relations are not only time tested and rooted in the history, they continue to develop and deepen. They have begun to reveal new trends. This indeed has both regional and global significance as this study has concluded. Though India is diversifying its military purchases to modernize its armed forces, Indo-Russian defence cooperation has a unique character. This relationship links India's defence and security to Russia's economy. Again Russia is helping India to build its nuclear energy. This is evident by the nuclear power plant being built at Kudankulam in Tamil Nadu. As far as Indo-Russian economic relations are concerned, they have yet to touch the old height. This study shows that both the countries are exploring new areas of economic cooperation. India and Russia are multi-cultural, multi-ethnic and multi-religious nations. They are now facing the common problem of rise of terrorism and secessionism. They have evolved a common strategy to face these challenges with their own variations. What is of far reaching importance is that both the countries are committed to build multi-polar world and follow an independent foreign policy in their national interests.

Aims & Objectives of the Study

In the light of above mentioned strategic Environment the Researcher observed the main Aims & Objectives which are as under:

1. To study the Indo-Russian Security Implications in context to Indo-Russian Relations.
2. To study Indo-Russian Strategic co-operation in Economical, Political, Cultural and defence aspects from 1945/47 during cold war era & post cold war era.
3. To assess the developments & perspectives of Indo-Russia & Chinese Relations.
4. To study further perspective of Indo-Russian Strategic relations in reference to India’s National Security & global peace & security in 21st Century.
Research Methodology

The researcher has gone through different dimensions with regard to Indo-Russian Strategic Relations & India’s Security. The Research methodology is Theoretical & Analytical for the research work. The researcher has taken up the research work through primary sources and secondary sources.

In the primary sources the researcher have gone through articles and interviews of renowned Diplomats, Defence Analysts, Ambassadors, Policymakers, Subject Experts, Media Experts/Journalists & thinkers etc. through mode of informal interviews. Through secondary sources the researcher has gone through journals, periodicals, magazines, newspapers/national dailies, media, Internet and renowned books. Time to time guidance from the Research Supervisor has been taken accordingly. I have to describe the interpretation of the speeches given by various leaders of India and Russia given at various places.

During this research, we have adopted analytical comparative, descriptive and historical methods also. The researcher has given a description and comparison of Indo-Russia strategic relations and India’s Security in 21\textsuperscript{st} Century. We have to evaluate Indo-Russian strategic relations with the description of good matching goals and common policies and interests of both the countries

Therefore, this study is an amalgam of analytical, comparative, descriptive, historical and critical methods based on Literature, Journals, articles, magazines and various important national dailies.

Sources of Information Collection:

The study of Indo-Russian Strategic relations are based on literature. So during this research work, I used literature and other current articles also. During this work I have to collect information and matter from various sources:

A. Primary Sources:

As this study is based on literature, I have to evaluate the speeches and interviews delivered at various places by various leaders of India and Russia, as primary source of data collection. The interviews faced by various leaders are important sources of collection of information. These
sources has been obtained from the Ministry of External Affairs or from the record of Parliament House.

B. Secondary Sources:
Both personal documents and public documents have played a vital role as a good source of matter collection. Public documents are good sources of matter collection for this research. I have used the following public documents as sources of data, information and matter collection.

1. Books
2. Journals,
3. Magazines,
4. Newspapers,
5. Research Reports and thesis
6. Internet websites and Google Search Engine
7. Other important reports, regarding this study, published by various organizations were used as sources of information.

Books, Magazines, Journals, newspapers and websites have been given in selected bibliography of this study.

Research Design
It’s an analytical research design. It would analyze the prospects of Indo-Russian Strategic Relations and India’s Security in 21st century and their role in the present changing world scenario. As this research is presenting futuristic directions of relations so the design is suggestive also.

Variables
There are dependent and Independent variables establishing a cause effect on relationship, Indian security threats and their impact. The role of the extra regional powers like US, China and the internal dimensions of the two countries are the independent variable. These factors have led to the nuclearisation of the South Asian region, which is the intervening variable. The intervening variable is resulting in the dependent variable. Dependent variables like the Indian security
threat and the Russian influence and presence, share a correlation since they are dependent on each other.

**Unit of Analysis**

The analysis of the research comprises of India and Russia both the countries. Russia is successor of super power erstwhile USSR and India is emerging as developed nation and regional Asian power in changing world order.

**Chapterisation**

The proposed framework of Research study will be carried out under following chapterisation:

1. **Introduction**
2. **Indo-Russian Strategic Relations during the Cold War Era up to 1989.**
3. **Role of India after break up of Soviet Union in development, peace & security environment of Russia since 1989 to 2000.**
4. **Role of Russia in the Post Cold War Era in India’s Strategic Environment.**
5. **Role of Russia in new International World Order in Post Cold War Era.**
6. **Role of Russia in India’s Security Environment in the 21st Century particularly in Defence posture.**

📖 Findings, Futuristic Directions and Suggestions
REFERENCES

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10. www.India_embassy.ru
11. Ibid