



*BHONSALA RESEARCH CENTRE
FOR CONFLICT AND PEACE*

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ABOUT B.R.C.C.P.

Central Hindu Military Education Society, Nashik, founded in 1937, by the late Dharamveer Dr. B.S. Moonje, is a pioneer institution in the field of Military Education. To promote the ideals of Dr. B.S. Moonje, the society runs various institutions in a single 160-acre campus having classes from K.G. to P.G. covering besides academics, various aspects of personality development and physical training.

Bhonsala Military College, a regular college affiliated to the Pune University, is one of the few institutions in the country conducting courses in Defence and Strategic studies upto the post graduation level. As an extension to postgraduate department, a research centre has also been opened under the banner, "Bhonsala Research Centre for Conflict and Peace".

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The main objective of this centre is to promote consciousness about National Security and identify solutions to conflicting issues at National and International level.

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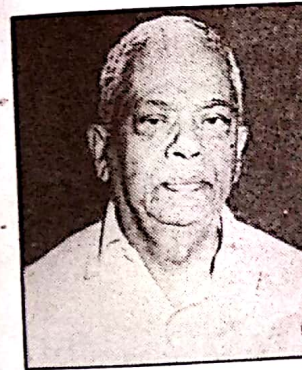
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Daksh is a half-yearly publication of Bhonsala Research Centre for conflict and peace. It is the extension of other academic activities taken up by the post-graduate department of Bhonsala Military College based on the ideal concept of the late Dharamveer Dr. B.S. Moonje, founder of the Central Hindu Military Education Society, who started primarily with the idea of the need for Indianisation of the Army during his days i.e. in the middle of 1930.

As a part and parcel to translate into practice the noble ideas of Dr. B.S. Moonje in the light of contemporary security environment in larger perspective



Dedicated to the fond Memory of Late Shree Babasaheb Ghatate who had rendered his selfless services to Bhonsala Military College right from its inception

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EXECUTIVE EDITOR'S NOTE

The post Cold war era, indeed, goes against the expectation of the general feeling that there would be, at least, some degree of peace both in regional and International level. The period came out to be more fragile and confusing, presenting a calculus within a very indefinite calculus to most of the thinkers and analysts.

Some of the positive developments such as unification of Germany, relatively calm in the Middle-East and Indo-China have been side-lined by a different dimension of a problem like state-sponsored terrorism emerging out of Islamism, Fundamentalism. The disintegration of the former USSR and its chain reaction affecting the entire Eastern-European belt is of recent acquisition of problem having regional and international implication.

In the process, the role of the UN has been further expanded and demand for reshaping and re-organization of the world body has been arising from various quarters.

In addition, the problem of Arms control and Disarmament still has to go a long way as some of the emerging nations of the post 1945 period which are in the economic and technological threshold are not convinced with the self-oriented and monopolistic logic of the nuclear power on economic, scientific technology and military issues.

Against the background of such scenario, some emerging powers including India which are not in any bilateral or multilateral military pact, agreement or organization started feeling seriously about re-evaluation and reassessment of the questions of national policies and programmes including national developmental policy, nuclear policy etc. and the National Security policy as a whole.

The first issue of DAKSH is an academic attempt to the task of such a vast parameter selecting a mosaic of only six articles namely, Establish a National Security, Council for Crises Management and Security Policy making, Managing India's Security. The Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and India's options, Taxation Poll for Nuclear Haves, Post Cold war Geopolitics and its Impact on India and Russia's Strategic Depth.

Establish A National Security Council for Crises Management and Security Policy Making.

Dr. P.M. Kamath

Indian nation is passing through many foreign policy crises simultaneously today. Our nuclear policy of refusing to sign the N P T and retaining nuclear option is in doubt internally while it is under attack externally by nuclear proliferators. India's Foreign Secretary in January 1995, K. Srinivasan had dismissed NPT as "not a live issue". In April 1996 Foreign Secretary Salman Haidar stated at the conference on Disarmament in Geneva that India "does not believe that the acquisition of nuclear weapons is essential for national security, and we have followed a conscious, decision in this regard". This has removed well cultivated ambiguity over the question of India's nuclear weapons capability. These utterances seems to be well orchestrated by the external pressures mainly from the U.S. The Clinton administration has been putting covert and overt pressures on India to first cap then roll back and finally eliminate altogether India's nuclear weapons capability.

Our defence preparedness is compromised by resource crunch caused by populist rhetoric and socialistic stifling of individual initiative in the nation's economy. There is a lack of political will to acquire defensive missiles like Prithvi and Agni, again mainly because of the U.S. pressure. This was clear in many instances. The then chairman of House Committee on International Relations, Lee Hamilton publicly stated just before the P.M.'s visit to Washington, DC in May 1994 that US can pressurise India to give up missiles programme since she has newly followed policy of economic liberalisation. The US officials have also publicly stated that Agni project is in a period of "suspended animation" while Prithvi is in " a period of hibernation". This was indirectly admitted by Indian Defence Ministry report for 1994-96 When it says that Agni " project is one of technology proving, has been completed".

Then there is the Kashmir imbroglio which suffered from masterly indecision at the highest level; as a result, others follow a reactive policy. Otherwise, in which country of the world can foreign mercenaries occupy a shrine and destroy it with impunity, as Afghan mercenary Gul Doest has done to Charare - Sharief in Kashmir? In which country international terrorists are let off, without subjecting them to exposure to international medias India did in the case Hazarat Bal seige in 1993? Internal Security is threatened by ethno-religious separatist forces in Kashmir at the direct instigation of Pakistan thereby demonstrating inseparable linkage between internal and external security concerns of India.

What has been India's policy responses to these crises? These responses have been mainly adhoc without any thought being applied for long term policy implications. Not only policy responses have been ad hoc, but mechanism through which these responses are developed have been also ad hoc. Thus for

instance, Prime Minister had a crisis management group to attend to Charar-e-Sharief crisis which included secretaries of defence, home his principal secretary and Cabinet secretary among others. At the political level, Prime-Minister described it as a Pakistan's ploy to disturb electoral process in Kashmir while briefing the opposition leaders. The then Minister of state for Internal Security, specifically not-in-charge of Kashmir affairs, issued a warning to Pakistan stating that if it continued to interfere in our internal affairs, India will be forced to go for the option of war "to accomplish the unfinished task" of vacating Pak Occupied Kashmir.

The problem in such adhoc political responses is that they neither convince indian public with even a faintest knowledge of Kashmir affairs, nor are they taken seriously by our adversaries or their international supporters. Every one knows that Pakistan does not want elections to be held in Kashmir as an elected government there could force Pakistan to take it off their agenda. Mr. Pilot has at least once in the past held out a threat of war over Kashmir issue. Is India going to be serious on war as an option to resolve the crisis? If not, as the Prime Minister said, a mere threat, often repeated, will only be perceived with diminishing effect. Are we going to conduct our foreign policy by adhoc pronouncements which are ridiculed by our adversaries and ignored by friends?

It is not merely on Charar-e- Sharief we have shown lack of policy direction though Kashmir has been on our policy radar for the last five years. In the past, Rajesh Pilot and S.B.Chavan conducted security policy by issuing contradictory public statements on Kashmir and blaming one another, compelling the Prime Minister to take over the Kashmir affairs from Home Ministry and place it under his own charge. Very rightly, not only the opposition but even his own party dissidents blamed Mr. Rao for the Charar-e-Sharief tragedy.

For any lack of national security policy coordination or for any lack of unity of purpose in policy pronouncements or for that matter for a lack of clearly perceptible policy itself, answer is not to concentrate more and more powers in the hands of the Prime Minister himself. Answer lies in immediately implementing a clear cut demand aired by a large number of defence /foreign policy experts to set up a National Security Council (NSC) for the purposes of foreign/ national security policy making.

It is not necessary here to go into the details of past pronouncements on the compulsive need to set up an NSC. What is of interest in the present context is the fact, that after the Congress came back to power in June, 1991, the then Defence Minister, Sharad Pawar said in October 1991 that the government is considering a proposal to set up, the NSC. Since then, the Prime Minister himself has been the nations Defence Minister. He said in 1993 that government is "reviewing" the proposal to set up, an NSC. In 1994 he said: "I have got the matter examined and we have come to the conclusion that it should be set up". These promises, it is worth noting were made by the Prime Minister, while replying to budget demands of the Defence Ministry. Once again in the context of Defence Ministry demands in 1995 The, Prime Minister admitted the need for an "overall

MANAGING INDIA'S SECURITY

BY Maj Gen K.S.Pendse (Retd)

INTRODUCTION

1. For an individual, security is that state of his mind when he neither fears loss of his life and possessions, nor sees any obstacles in his path to further progress. The same is generally true about national security. However, its connotations have evolved from Walter Lippman's military ones in the 1940s to Mahbubaul Haq's concern for human security in the 1990s. An independent India that is still waiting for an economic take off has to cater for the whole gamut of such connotations, while managing its national security.

2. Robert MacNamara's admonition in this regard is still relevant: "Security is not military hardware though it may include it, security is not military force though it may encompass it, security is development, and without development there is no security. "In this post-industrial age, such development demands that India must industrialise rapidly, and it must restructure its billion-strong society into a cohesive, egalitarian and a technologically advance one. At the same time, this society must be ready to defend its way of life, built around such Indian core values as democracy, federalism, secularism and a holistic view of all life on earth. No doubt, India has pursued development at the cost of its own defence since 1947. But what it has failed to appreciate is that such development must result in a substantive growth in its national power as would help India reshape its external and internal environment in order to preserve its way of life. That, ultimately, is what national security management is all about! But an inexperienced Indian ruling elite which took over from the departing British the task of managing security of a partitioned India, managed to lose half of Kashmir and most of Ladakh in the very first decade of India's political independence. It would be necessary, therefore, to reiterate some basic concepts that ought to guide present-day managers of India's affairs in safeguarding the nation's security well into the 21st Century.

BASIC CONCEPTS

3. India's security is much more than mere defence. It covers diverse fields of national endeavour, such as political, social, economic, technological, cultural,

psychological, diplomatic and military, to name some major ones. In all these fields, the basic steps involved are as follows:

- * Identify India's national interests as would safeguard its way of life, and threats to these interests, in the short, mid and long term, that may arise in the external and internal environment.

- * Evolve national aims and objectives to protect India's interests, despite such threats as may arise from time to time.

- * Plan national strategies in all the relevant fields mentioned earlier, on a contingency basis, and develop appropriate game-plans to counter such contingencies.

- * Prepare options for the decision-makers of the moment to choose from when threats appear to be imminent.

- * Execute the chosen option, coordinate executive action, and keep developing further options depending on an analysis of the ongoing situation until the crisis is resolved in one's favour.

4. As the second most populous but also one of the poorest and the least literate nations of the world, India needs a secure environment in which to wage its war on poverty, which has to be its most abiding national interest. 'Peace and around the South Asian region for the next decade or two' would therefore have to be India's national objective. But even a casual look at the total environment would show that emergence of India as a possible regional power would be contested by the current global players, either directly as the US has attempted to do, or indirectly as China has been doing, by propping up Pakistan militarily. Without doubt, India's foreign policy should be based on continuous engagement with all such nations instead of policy of confrontation without any room for diplomatic manoeuvre. But its foreign policy must be backed by a visible military muscle, that can dissuade and deter its likely competitors from indulging in a military gamble vis a vis India. India's possible strategies in furtherance of its national interest would have to be framed on guidelines suggested below:-

- * Socio-cultural Field. Control population growth rate through education and by giving the deprived majority a stake in the economic resurgence of the nation. Protect India's holistic vision while imbibing a Western work-ethic that stresses hard work, quality of output, punctuality, self-discipline and, above all, generate a national will to power for winning India's war on poverty.

- ** Techno-economic Field. Aim at annual GDP growth rates of 10 to 12% and achieve a per capita income of US \$ 200 per year, by affording greater scope for individual and private enterprise, and by working the public sector effectively as planned at its inception. Obtain a toe-hold in the emerging trade blocs through 'niche marketing' and earn adequate share in the global to afford import of oil and technology in required sectors, including the military.

- *** Politico-military Fields . Analysts may consider nuclear wars as unthinkable, while conventional conflicts may prove unaffordable. But low intensity conflicts and insurgencies as well as secessionist movements will abound in the coming decades. To combat these through political means, by greater federalism within India, must be counterbalanced by deploying special forces as would prevent outside powers from turning any dissidence to their own advantage. India's peace-making and peace-keeping ability must be visible at all times, whatever be the nature of the threat, conventional or nuclear. At the same time, India should support all diplomatic initiative that would give greater strength to the UN and to the WTO to promote global equity and peace, as a first step towards global governance in the long term. Similarly, in the South Asian context, India must promote the SAARC and SAPTA concepts and help regional economic resurgence, in the interest of all those deprived people who constitute half of the world's poor.

5. All this can come true if the Indian ruling elite learn to identify India's long term interests and work towards their achievement in a self less manner instead of pursuing their own narrow self-interest. India has suffered more from this internal enemy than from any 'foreign hand'.

CONCLUSION

6. This, in short, is what India's national security management demands from its ruling elites. It is they who have to, first of all, stop being psychologically vulnerable to that 'Pain of punishment' threatened by foreign diplomats, and learn a few lessons from the Chinese about how to deal with such pressures with a robust self-confidence. And they have to train the Indian people to be as courageous as the Vietnamese who fought with every body, including the US, to a standstill in the defence of their motherland. Ultimately, those who dare, win.

THE COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN TREATY (CTBT) AND INDIA'S OPTIONS

S.G. CHITNIS

CTBT History

India had proposed the CTBT in 1954 " Standstill Agreement" as a disarmament measure and also as an environmental measure for stopping atmospheric pollution with radio-active fall out. Since then, the initiative was consistently stonewalled by the Nuclear Weapon States (NWS), namely US, UK, France and the Soviet Union. It had been on the agenda of the Geneva Conference on Disarmament and its predecessors from 1963 onwards, but UK and USA did not permit any negotiations. (1) Even the 1991 attempt to convert the PTBT into CTBT, in the absence of unanimity proved futile. France and China were outside the NPT and continued to carry out nuclear tests. The Partial Test Ban Treaty (PTBT) eventually drove the tests under ground.

NWS And CTBT

During the period 16 July 45 to 31 Dec, 92, the NWS conducted 1932 nuclear tests, the USA and USSR being the star performers. (USA - 942 and 1303 by other estimates; and USSR - 716) India and Israel conducted one test each. UK and ISA considered CTBT detrimental to their security interests because of their perceived absolute needs to maintain nuclear deterrence and the technical credibility of their stockpiles. (2) France had opposed or abstained from UN General Assembly resolutions to ban nuclear testing. China did not concern itself as it joined NPT very recently. The sudden inspiration to promote CTBT, for the NWS came about after 1992, to be made effective after 1996. Pressures for unconditional and indefinite extension of the NPT unconditional and indefinite extension was signed on 12 May 95 by 178 members (173 NNWS and 5 NWS) The deemed NWS nations, namely India, Israel and Pakistan had kept away. The US Nuclear Proliferation Prevention Act (NNPA) was passed in 1994 and was lined to its Arms Export Control Act.

The Nuclear Test Ban (NBT), Committees' Report became the draft text of the CTBT. The CTBT talks held in Geneva between USSR, UK and the USA were adjourned in 1980. The USA formally withdrew from the talks in 1982. President Bush, on 2, Oct 92 signed an Act with a provision for mandating a permanent ban on all US nuclear tests after 1996 unless another country tested after that date. The Administration was required to submit to Congress a schedule for resumption of talks with Russia and a plan for achieving a multilateral comprehensive ban on testing of nuclear weapons by 30 Sep. 96 as per SIPRI

Year book of 1993. By 1994, the USA had acquired the technology to carry out computer testing. This became apparent when the US Defence Secretary made an offer of this technology to China if they stopped their actual testing. Dr. Henry Kissinger wanted to renegotiate the ABM treaty which has held good because of mutual deterrence factor. The US Administration also introduced a withdrawal clause to be operative after 10 years of the CTBT coming into force, India had suggested that the treaty should be of indefinite duration.

Nuclear Tests And Hydronuclear Experiments

Most of the NWS wanted exemption for sub-critical, hydronuclear experiments (HNE) from CTBT. The US advocated threshold level at 1-8 kg, UK at 40-50 kg, Russia upto 10 tons and France 100 - 300 tons. JASONS Report concluded that sub- kiloton tests would be of marginal utility in ensuring nuclear stockpile safety. Soon thereafter US in August 1995 declared support for true zero yield CTB. UK and France had earlier dropped their proposal for permissible sub-critical test in the CTBT. Russia too fell in line soon. China wants peaceful nuclear explosions (PNES) exempted from CTBT. The US has however announced plans to conduct sub-critical tests at Nevada in 1996 and beyond, one in June, in September and four in 1997.

Despite world wide protests, France in late 1995 conducted a series of six nuclear tests. The french President Jacques Chirac recently stated that these tests had gone off with perfection and with warheads on sub/ marines and planes. French nuclear deterrent was now credible for 50 years. (4)

China indicated its willingness to CTBT by 1996 and has carried out series of tests. It retains option to conduct peaceful nuclear explosions (PNES). It includes a provision to institute restrictive regional arrangement to constrain fissile materials production in regions of instability and high proliferation risk a subjective discretionary element for differentiating regions. China wants a paragraph urging conclusion of international agreement pledging not to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against NNWS, not to be the first to use nuclear weapons in any circumstances. This is opposed by the other four NWS.

Fissile Material Production Control.

In the USA, HEU production was discontinued 30 years ago due to very heavy inventories, and plutonium production had to be shut down in 1989 on grounds of poor safety standards. USA has 112,200 kg of plutonium and 5,00,000 kg of HEU.. Dismantling of START war heads will release 100 - 200 tons of plutonium and same amount of HEU. The Fissile Material Production Control (FMPC) therefore is only a talking point for the USA to curb and arrest nuclear programme of NWS outside NPT. A fissile material ban (FMPC) does not in any way adversely affect the NWS. In fact it helps them further strengthen status

quo and that is why it is being enthusiastically proposed. The commercial interests of the NWS are likely to come in the way of concluding the FMPC.

For UK and France reprocessing is a commercial venture and they would not give it up. Russia has immense stocks of plutonium and HEU and the interim storage of plutonium from dismantled war heads is unsafe. China has to build up its stock and therefore opposes FMPC.

CTBT And Disarmament

CTBT as originally mooted was a disarmament measure, but over the years the NWS turned it into arms control measure, leading to phenomenal vertical nuclear proliferation and selective horizontal proliferation. Its purpose is to foreclose the nuclear option the undeclared NWS. During the last 25 years the NPT was violated by the NWS on a massive scale leading to the NW hegemony on the nuclear option of NNWS. The CTBT is a ploy to freeze an unequal order. The NPT was extended unconditionally for an indefinite period in May, 1995. As far as the 173 NNWS signatories of the NPT extension are concerned, they have surrendered even their right to protest. With the extension of the NPT, legitimatising and acknowledging the superior permanent status of the NWS and their implied licence to indulge in selective horizontal proliferation, the CTBT if concluded may moderate arms control among the NWS. The US Secretary of State, Mr Warren Christopher was in Geneva on 18 Mar 96 to harmonise the positions of five permanent Security Council members on the draft CTBT. The text of the CTBT was formulated in collaboration with other nations by 37 participating members of the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva. Part I deals with measures to redress a situation and to ensure compliance including sanctions.

Futile NPT

The NPT is a futile treaty with no safeguards against NWS breaching the treaty obligation. The nuclear weapons role as a currency of power in international relations dominates the thinking of the NWS. The NWS have established their hegemony and are determined to exploit it and perpetuate it. In their submissions to the World Court, the Western Powers asserted that they have a right to commit nuclear holocausts. China is the only NWS now which has "No First Use" Policy. The US counterproliferation strategy is a deliberate demigration of the NPT. Its nuclear delinquency can be judged by the following.

- It conducted 217 nuclear tests in atmosphere causing widespread air pollution.
- Its nuclear strikes on population centres of Japan.
- Its carrying out premeditated nuclear experiment on unwitting citizens to determine the effect on human beings.

umbrella setup". But the Prime Minister never implemented his "conclusion" reached almost two years ago.

How long the establishment of the NSC is going to be a sacrificial goat offered as a part of the ritualistic reply to get Defence Ministry demands approved? It is high time for Prime Minister to delink setting up of the NSC from the Defence Ministry and its annual demands and set up the NSC immediately by a law of the Parliament and not through an administrative order. This was the mistake made by the Janata Dal led National Front Government under V.P. Singh when the establishment of NSC was announced in September 1990, only to fall in the disuse as it was created through a cabinet resolution. It should be an effective substitute to the Cabinet Committee on Political Affairs established by the law of Parliament. It should be located within the Prime-Minister's Secretariat.

The NSC should consist of three levels-political level consisting of Ministers dealing with national security in its broadest sense. Thus the statutory council will have the Prime Minister as the Chairman and Ministers of External Affairs, Defence, Home and Finance as members and Secretaries of these Ministers and Chiefs of Staff of three services and Director Research and Analysis Wing as advisers. The council could at their discretion invite any other Minister to attend a specific meeting.

Second, as middle level, consisting of representatives of the Ministries mainly dealing with national security and the third and the important level is the NSC staff, consisting of brilliant middle level foreign service officials interested in long term strategic thinking, academics and journalists who have made a career in contemplating on nations foreign affairs. But the core NSC staff should not exceed 10 to 12. This may be called as NSC secretariat with a secretary as its head.

It would be the function of the NSC staff to think on all issues affecting nation's security and foreign policy from a national perspective and not from the perspective of individual departments. All decisions affecting our foreign national security policy will still be decided politically by the Prime Minister and Ministers dealing with the subject. However, thinking on a crisis on a long-range problem will be done by the NSC staff in a coordinated manner, interrelating all possible angles of the policy and providing alternate options for the consideration of the NSC at its political level only after the options are vetted by the middle level. The middle level meetings thus have to be chaired by the secretary of the NSC at its political level only after the options are vetted by the middle level. The middle level meetings thus have to be chaired by the secretary of the NSC staff to retain a properly coordinated approach.

There are many advantages of a well structured NSC for foreign national security policy-making. But for want of space, I will limit the discussion to three advantages in the context of the immediate political situation in the country. First and the foremost is with the NSC in operation, all statements on security will not

shoot from the minister's hip but will come out from his mouth only after the have been cleared by the NSC staff. Second, it will be the primary task of the NSC staff not only to advise government on crises management but anticipate and plan for likely crises. Third in the context of an increasingly weakening position of the Prime Minister because of internal dissidence within the party and increase probability of political instability at the centre, NSC can act to provide a degree of cohesion and stability to the nation's security policy. It is worth recalling that during the period when President Nixon was weakened by the Watergate scandal in 1973-74, it was the NSC under Henry Kissinger that gave a degree of direction to American foreign policy.

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DAKSH

Theft in the nuclear material cycle. 200 pounds of HEU disappeared from Apollo, Pennsylvania. Huge discrepancy of 1.5 million tons of plutonium production - between figures of DOE and National Resource Defence Council.

India's Options

Some experts favour signing the CTBT, at best, getting an assurance from NWS to discuss elimination of nuclear weapons. They consider that this would improve India's bargaining strength in many areas. Some want India to ensure that the CTBT is truly comprehensive, non-discriminatory and with no loopholes. The anti-signers group of experts want strengthening of India's nuclear option, if necessary by testing and building up credible weapons capability, declaring itself a nuclear power and then claim privileges of NWS. There are also withdrawalists branding CTBT as non-comprehensive and superfluous after the unconditional and indefinite extension of the NPT, propose giving it the same treatment as given to the NPT. Others argue for blocking the CTBT by exercising veto power, India being one of the 37 member states of the Conference on disarmament.

Instead of reacting from time to time to the stances of the NWS specially the US, India's nuclear policy should be based on short term as well as long term strategic perceptions and should respond to the challenges in adequate measure. Besides a nuclear Pakistan, the Chinese factor, now making inroads in the Indian Ocean looms large on India's security horizon. Pakistan's access to clandestine nuclear weapons through CIS cannot be ruled out. Strength respects strength and weakness invites contumely and contempt. India therefore should not get into a position of nuclear asymmetry vis a vis Pakistan, and in the long run vis a vis the world.

Blocking the CTBT would be confrontationist. The NWS may take up the issue with the UN General Assembly and India would then find itself isolated. India's 1954 proposal for a non-discriminatory CTBT with universal adherence and intrusive monitoring, and a rigid time bound global elimination commitment still remains valid. India should clearly explain this position of hers in support of the CTBT at every forum and in spite of threats from any quarter quietly continue its nuclear programme, till all the NWS firmly commit themselves to such a CTBT linked with time bound nuclear disarmament.

Footnotes

1. Darryl Howlett and John Simpson "The NPT and the CTBT : An Inextricable Relationship?" Issue Review No 1 March, 1992, Programme for Promoting Nuclear Non Proliferation. P.1
2. Howlett and John Simpson. Ibid P.2
3. Tom Zamora Collina "Bad Timing" Bulletin of Scientists, Jan-Feb 96 P..43 : As quoted by Dr. Savita Pande in "CTBT and India" Strategic Analysis May 1996, IDSA. P. 163
4. Joseph Filchett in International Herald Tripune, 23 Feb 96.

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DAKSH

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TAILORING A POLL FOR NUCLEAR HAVES

By K. SUBRAHMANYAM

In one of the episodes of the television serial, "Yeas, Prime Minister", the wily cabinet secretary Humphrey Appleby, explains how one can have predictable outcome from a poll by tailoring the questions appropriately. If such polls are subjected to further analytical interpretations this process can be carried further and if possible to package any predetermined conclusion into a data generated by polls. A typical example of such a tailored poll and subsequent subjective conclusion is found in the recent American publication 'India and the Bomb' Published by the University of Notre Dame Press and edited by David Cantright and Amitabh Mattoo.

There have been polls before these one in Urban Centres in India and most of them have revealed that a large majority of the Indian elite supports India maintaining its nuclear option. This study is based on a MARG survey commissioned by the Joan B. Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies. Out of 25 questions posed to the respondents, 17 related to the nuclear issue. Among these six are unrelated to the weapon option.

Time-Bound Plan

Out of 992 respondents 563 supported the official nuclear policy and 326 were advocates of nuclear weapons for India; Fifty-eight per cent of the supporters of the official policy and 42 per cent among the advocates of nuclear weapons were in favour of India renouncing nuclear weapons, if there was a time-bound plan for global nuclear disarmament. Eighty three per cent of the respondents were for total support for an international agreement to eliminate nuclear weapons. The above statistics reveal that the Indian government's stand of that the Indian government's stand of linking the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty with a time-bound disarmament has very broad support. This was so when the poll was conducted, which was long before the CTBT became an issue. This support would be even higher today.

Fifty per cent of the respondents were also of the view that India should not sign the Non-proliferation Treaty under any circumstances. Among advocates of the nuclear weapon option 57 per cent felt that India must have nuclear weapons because of the Pakistani threat and 49 percent were of the view they were necessary to improve India's bargaining power in the international system. Fifty-two per cent of the supporters of the Indian weapon option justified India having nuclear weapons on the grounds of threats from other nuclear weapon powers, while 48 per cent took the line that a Pakistani

nuclear test would justify India going for nuclear weapons. When asked about the kind of arsenal India should have, the highest percentage- 35 per cent of those favouring India exercising nuclear option were in favour of an arsenal capable of countering all nuclear weapon powers, and 19 per cent that of China and Pakistan. Thirty- four per cent were for development of all components and not for assembly of weapons. Asked when India could use nuclear weapons, 23 percent of all respondents said in a situation where China was about to overwhelm India militarily and 27 per cent felt of a U.S.- led coalition were to intervene against India. Thirty-three percent would favour use of nuclear weapons if Pakistan were about to take over Kashmir.

Poll Replies

These replies to the poll designed by an American institute make it clear that while Pakistan's nuclear capability may be on top of the Indian concern, China and other nuclear weapon powers also figure prominently in Indian security consciousness. The poll was conducted before the spate of information on the China-Pakistan nuclear weapon relationship came out into the open and became widely known to the Indian public. The questionnaire appears to have been designed to highlight the Pakistani factor to the Chinese and U.S. roles, the former an active one and the latter, a permissive one, in the development of the Pakistani nuclear arsenal. If there had been specific questions on the Pakistani nuclear arsenal being an extension of the Chinese nuclear threat to India and the U.S. administrations consistently misleading their own legislatures to shield the Pakistan China nuclear relationship and circumventing their own laws, there could have been more meaningful responses from those polled on those issues.

Given such facts, one finds the following conclusion of the editors totally incomprehensible. They say "while a majority of respondents were opposed to the NPT, 39 percent expressed a willingness to accede to the treaty either unilaterally or bilaterally with Pakistan. This support seems to reinforce the cast that Indian elites have a deep faith in the arms control process and that a CTBT and a treaty to freeze the production of fissile material would be greeted enthusiastically by most sections of the Indian elite". We in India know this is far from the reality. India has always been critical of arms control approaches which tend to freeze situations in favour of nuclear weapons states, and has consistently urged disarmament. This is today the major contention between India and the nuclear weapon powers in Geneva on the CTBT issue. Sir Humphrey Appleby, as portrayed, was a very perceptive man indeed!

COURTESY : The Times of India, Mumbai.

POST COLD WAR GEOPOLITICS AND ITS IMPACT ON INDIA

Brig K.G. Pitre AVSM (Retd)

The national flag of the Soviet Union was hauled down from the dome of the Kremlin on 25 December 1991. Union of Soviet Socialist Republics founded in 1917 ceased to exist. The suddenness of this catastrophic change rocked the World and surprised the specialists. It was a bloodless change.

The event was interpreted differently by different countries. Some considered it as the result of bankruptcy of Socialism or Marxism. Some blamed the implementation of reforms - Glasnost and Perestroika. It was hailed as a victory of the Capitalist System and Capitalist countries declared that the World would now be united under Capitalism. Credit was given to the Strategy of Peaceful Evolution pursued by the West. Most of these theories later proved as over-simplification of a World event, which may be of the same magnitude as the French Revolution or the Industrial Revolution, not to mention the Russian Revolution of 1917 itself, which created USSR. However it was a bloodless revolution at the start. It may be termed as Economic Revolution as the primary causes for the break-up of USSR are not political. Nor was it a struggle for power. It was a struggle for survival. It was a victory of Nationalism over Internationalism.

The Economic Revolution started with the Five Year Plans introduced by Stalin after the Second World War. Although USSR soon became a World power. The expectations of the people were not met. The satellite countries lost their independence as Russia followed big-nation chauvinism. Yet it could not meet the basic needs of the people. Being an Atomic Super power, challenging the USA, UK and other NATO countries gave USSR prestige and glory but no food. The remote cause of the disintegration of USSR is this policy of hegemonism in domestic and foreign affairs.

Stalin followed ruthless methods. He arbitrarily downgraded the self-governing status of the nationalities in Trans-Caucasia and Central Asia. Some union Republics were relegated to autonomous Republics. The national minorities were labelled as traitors and millions of people and dozens of ethnic groups were exiled to Siberia. Similarly Breznev moved large number of Russians to areas of national minorities in order to achieve forced national integration. Thus the cauldron of discontent started simmering. People reverted to nationalism based on ethnicity. Force was used in Czechoslovakia to crush popular uprisings.

Inheriting the strategy of downward expansion from Czarist Russia Breznev invaded Afghanistan and established bases in Cam Rahn Bay and strengthened the border with China by stationing armies in Mongolia. But his hegemonistic ambition which was based on an arms race with USA and Europe resulted in

steady decline of the Soviet economy. Thus the eleventh Five Year Plan of 1981 - 1985 was an indication of the failure of the economic policy. On the military front the loss of face in Afghanistan humiliated the people who blamed it on the inefficiency of the Government.

Reaction of the Western World

USA carrying the banner of Capitalism was jubilant. She confidently announced the emergence of a New World Order. President Bush proclaimed on September 11, 1990 the beginning of a new era "Free from the threat of terror, stronger in the pursuit of justice and more secure in the quest for peace, an era in which the nations of the World can prosper and live in harmony."

Unfortunately it has not turned out like that. Wishful thinking on the part of USA has produced a chimera. There are just as many conflicts raging around the Globe as before. The Second Gulf War was the most destructive war that the World has seen after Viet Nam. The World is not free from terror. The Global environment is not conducive to justice, peace and prosperity, which have remained as the dreams of the Third World. The present order is sometimes termed New World Disorder..

New Emerging Concepts

Two concepts have been formulated by scholars of Political Science. Francis Fukuyama in his book "The End of History and Last Man" states that the ideological debate between Democracy and Totalitarianism is over and Totalitarianism has lost its grip over the Western World, but the developing World "mired in History" still continues the debate and wars continue.

Samuel Huntington calls the fallacy of the "single alternative system. He does not consider liberal Democracy as the alternative or panacea. End of Totalitarianism does not automatically bring in liberal Democracy as there are many forms of authoritarianism, nationalism, corporatism and market communism that are emerging. There are also many religious alternatives that are taking the place of ideologies and which do not follow a secular path." Huntington puts forth a theory that the World is dividing itself into many civilisations. Therefore the future conflicts will be between civilisations. However the feeling of Nationalism is still strong and therefore the concept of "one world" will always remain on paper. In the case of Islam or the new concept of Hindutva, religion and civilisation tend to merge.

Ethnicity is another factor which does not recognise international boundaries. These two seldom coincide. Communism tried to suppress it by raising the slogan "workers of the World unite" but eventually national labour organisations dominated. Ethnicity has now given rise to separatist tendencies, ending in bloody conflicts lasting over a number of years as we notice in former Yugoslavia..

Economic Imperialism has given rise to "Wars of Interest." Carter's Doctrine clearly defined the US policy towards oil producing countries. Control over oil was the primary aim in the war with Iraq. This gave rise to RDF. It was a testing ground for new weapon systems as well.

Human Rights have given rise to "Wars of Conscience." However no nation has its hand clean. Therefore a War of Conscience is really a War of Interests. Conscience which is so alert in Bosnia because of Christian verses Muslim struggle is sleeping in Sahara Desert area countries where thousands are dying since the area is not strategically important. Thus Bosnia, Ireland, Cambodia and Somalia are measured by different standards.

The Doctrine of Interventionism is now being extended to principle of a "Right to Interfere". Defence of Democracy and fight against "Severe violations of Human Rights" or acquisition of nuclear capabilities gives a stronger nation a "right to interfere." In other words, Might is Right.

Evolution of Global Power Structure

Although the bipolar World has disappeared it has not been replaced by a sole Superpower.. The USA is a global power, but no longer with a capability to influence the World in a manner that it could in the past.

Multipolarity.

What we have now is Multipolarity with Japan and Germany as economic giants and China as a military dragon. Thus we can describe it as Pentagonal structure with USA-UK, Europe, Russia, China and Japan. In addition there are Regional Powers which exert influence in their regions to safeguard their national interests. India's intervention in Bangla Desh or Sri Lanka, Pakistan's proxy war in India are such examples. No doubt USA is first among equals.

Elements of National Power.

At present three elements of national power, military strength with nuclear capacity, strong and stable economy and a stable government are the most dominating. Power centres with one or more elements are forming up in different parts of the World. Formal and informal economic groupings such as USA and NAFTA, EEC led by Germany and Pacific Asia led by Japan will play a major role in future. In ten years Russia will again rise as World power in Europe and will confront China which will be dominating South East Asia. Even now it is a military power and even after START II it will remain a nuclear power with substantial nuclear arsenal. By 2025 China's economic growth will result in its per capita income reaching to the level of a middle size power. It already is a

military and nuclear power.

At the same time regional powers will rise in Asia, Africa and Latin America. India would be one such power if we can get over the present economic weakness. These economic powers will exert permanent influence and will interact with their neighbours from a position of strength. In this light we have to study India's position in SAARC and ASEAN. Military capability, not necessarily atomic, backed by technical and scientific advancement, controlled population and technically trained manpower, stable government based on a sound system developed to suit its own genre, national integration, ethnic and common culture will be some of the factors which will determine the power of a nation in international balance of power. A country's freedom not threatened by overt or direct threat of aggression, state of its internal security, stability of government, religious tolerance and accommodation of minorities are some other paradigms of power.

Emergence of The Asia-Pacific Sphere of Influence

Nineteenth Century was the Century of Great Britain while the Twentieth Century was dominated by USA. Experts are of the opinion that the next Century will belong to Asia-Pacific. In this area India has a geopolitical advantage of location and vast seacoast, world's second largest population, large percentage of technically trained manpower, abundant mineral resources, an industrial base and enlightened industrial and economic policy, a fairly steady democratic form of government and well balanced military strength capable of defence of its own borders and also influencing the politics of neighbouring countries. It is, therefore a likely candidate for future regional power in the Indian Subcontinent and a major influence in South East Asia. The end of the Cold War in Europe did not materially alter the conditions in this region. USA having realised the growing importance of China as a world power had already started making overtures of friendship and understanding as was obvious when President Nixon paid a visit to that country in 1972. Japan has been growing from strength to strength in the economic and industrial field and now is a rival to USA. As USA was the sole Superpower for a couple of years after the breakup of USSR its Naval presence in the form of the Seventh Fleet and the RDF which numbered 1.25 lakhs acted as a stabilising and deterrent force in the South Pacific Region. Diego Garcia was an ideal base for policing the seas. On the other hand the influence of Great Britain has been waning especially since it was decided to leave Hongkong to the Chinese by the end of the century.

Relations between USA and China were temporarily strained due to the Tienanmen incident which was interpreted as suppression of Democracy by a totalitarian regime and violation of Human Rights. USA took a "Holier than Thou" attitude to gain a moral victory over China. Recent happening in Tibet and the anomaly of having two Panchan Lamas may cause a storm in a tea cup but it

has no lasting value at present. Geopolitically Tibetan Region is important because China has deployed its atomic weapons and missile which point towards the West which will explain the attitude of USA towards Pakistan.

USA and Pakistan

In order to understand the ambivalent attitude of USA towards Pakistan which is almost recognised by them as a nuclear power one has to study its geopolitical location and relations with Afghanistan, position as a leader of the Islamic World and its past record of cooperation with USA and other SEATO powers in the early sixties. Its wars with India or its Kashmir policy do not figure in USA's consideration. So far India was labelled as pro Russia. Therefore by default Pakistan became eligible for Arms and which could be temporarily withheld during Indo-Pak Conflict. India was supported during 1962 as we were fighting the Chinese. As USSR has been dissolved there is no danger of Russian expansion towards Afghanistan, nor the borders with India going to be link with India. The Russian Bear is hibernating but the Chinese Dragon has woken up and therefore Pakistan is again in the lime light and Symington Agreement and Brown amendment have been introduced to pour arms in Pakistan. In return USA expects a base in POK (Which India would never have given) If Pakistan can accommodate China by giving up a vast stretch of territory in Kashmir to China, there is no reason why it should not agree to give a base in POK. It would guarantee the safety of Islamabad and Kahuta. Ironically although the VIPs in Pakistan have been declaring that they possess atomic weapons the US Presidents say "I see no ships" and cast the blind eye. Israel and Pakistan as two atomic powers will neutralise each other, but that is not the case with China, since Japan has not taken any interest in producing atomic weapons or missile to counterbalance Chinese armed might. Thus USA, the policeman of South Asia and Pacific has to create a Diego Garcia on land to contain atomic threat likely to be imposed by China in the next century. The fact that any arms aid to Pakistan poses an additional threat to India and upsets the balance of Military power is incidental. If India signs NPT gives away a part of Kashmir to Pakistan thus ending an issue which has been vexing USA, any amount of aid would be available to us. It is a kind of Subsidiary Alliance, similar to the one introduced by Lord Wellesly two hundred years ago.

Position of India.

It is predicted that India will play a major role in the coming century, not only in Asian politics but also in politics involving the Third world Countries. If it gets a seat in the Security Council it will gain in World Status. Not signing the NPT may be overlooked provided she does not carry out a nuclear test in the near future. Otherwise it will lose its credentials and not have much to show in return. If its present leap in the economic field proves effective and the rupee

becomes respectable then it will have an economic clout as well. It must not fall into the trap of becoming a part of economic empire of USA or any other European Conglomeration.

In many ways India has benefited by happenings in the Post Cold War Period. The UN has sought the cooperation of India in peace keeping operations. We have avoided taking sides in Iraq War. We have sided with African Countries who sought to establish popular regimes and sent military contingents to Bosnia, Somalia, Rwanda and other countries. We have honoured freedom fighter of African countries and the lone lady of Myanmar. We have refuted allegations of violation of Human Rights, the present Government will complete its full tenure and we have eleven lakh soldiers in uniform with a reasonably strong Air Force and the Navy. Our relations with China have improved and the border issue is no more thorny.

Thus following our cardinal Principles, such as Panch Sheel, non alignment, faith in UN and solving all issues by negotiations, supporting the Third World Countries, opposing apartheid, we shall have many options in our future foreign policy. We should bear in mind that a large number of changes have taken place in the world during the last twenty five years. USSR is no more. Germany is united. Iraq has been subdued. Japan is growing into a large Industrial Giant and is no more subservient in its foreign or "Yen Policy" to USA or any other combination such as Australia and New Zealand. Countries like Singapore, Taiwan and Korea are capturing markets. France is again competing with Germany to gain deterrent atomic power. UN is almost defunct. World's supply of oil is being monopolised by a group of countries led by USA, the Christians and the Muslims are again drawing battle lines in Europe, repeating the pattern of the Crusades. The Eastern Question which rose like an ogre in Europe at the beginning of this century is again raising its ugly head. In a few years the Russian Orthodox Church will try and form a group in Southern Europe and thus what politics could not achieve may be achieved. After the First World War Serbia and Sarajevo have appeared as head lines in the News Papers.

India depended upon USSR for her requirement of Defence needs. Although the splinter group is meeting some of our requirements, this may force us to be self contained. In order to avoid the oil crunch we may turn to other sources of energy, thus in directly maintaining the natural balance and reducing pollution and damage to the environment.

At present the biggest threat to India is from pollution of human minds. Corrupts politicians, corrupt judiciary, corrupt trade and banking or share practices, corrupt educational system leave no hope for the coming generation. "Oh Religion! What sins are committed in thy name."

Suffice it to say that man does not learn from history. Therefore History repeats itself. Each Century has to have a Revolution throwing the world out of gear and changing the maps every few years.

RUSSIA'S STRATEGIC DEPTH

P.L. Dash

The Soviet disintegration in December, 1991 had unexpectedly changed the security equation in a bipolar world. The systemic divide and East-West confrontations had abruptly come to a grinding halt. While many scholars talked about emergence of a unipolar world, in fact, it was a polycentric world that had begun to emerge. The USA held the absolute military power, Japan remained the economic giant, Western Europe with united Germany remained powerful, but swung between the East and West. Russia's precarious position and debilitating economic might were clearly discernible, when heretic Gorbachev went to the G-7 countries with Russia's begging bowl and was kept waiting before his contentions were listened to. This was the evidence of weakness of a great power that had subsequently disintegrated.

Instead of one Soviet Union, there had emerged 15 independent countries. This had precipitated a situation, where Russia had faced dwindling security guarantee for defence of her own borders. Increasing fissiparous tendencies all along its borders legitimately questioned the strategic depth and defence capability of Russia. These were genuine doubts. Yet Russia had remained absolute with almost 80 percent of the all-union territory and military. The huge naval fleets, formidable nuclear arsenal, a loose conscription system of recruits, falling living standard of soldiers, emergence of native national armies in all breakaway republics and the plight of soldiers and officers in independent Russia's armed forces were signals of the country's dwindling strategic role.

This was for the first time since the reign of Peter the Great that Russia had territorially shrunk. Politically tumultuous conditions had exacerbated security scenario, where evolving security perceptions were jeopardised. While the Russians felt rupture of their national pride, the world thought Russia had grown weak. This weakness had remained the world perception about Russia since the Soviet collapse. Russia was plunged to abyss and her strategic depth required re-evaluation in the emerging new world order.

Russia has been facing this challenge of her strategic depth, particularly the debilitation of it. In all the four directions there had been declining military strength. The entire security system had become too fragile. In the absence of any definite defence policy, Russia is guided by a vague blueprint. Adopted only in early 1994, it had provided a tentative policy direction to the military. But the post-Soviet military is in shambles. As a result, these policy directions have suffered setbacks. The fluid political situation and the debacle in Chechnya had further demonstrated Russia's hallowed strategic depth and her wavering security policy.

Most of all, the worst sufferer was the Russian navy. It stands nowhere in comparison with the former Soviet navy, which had four mighty fleets such as the Baltic fleet, the Black Sea fleet, the Northern fleet and the Pacific fleet. The Baltic independence had weakened the Baltic fleet. Russia has not resolved the problems of Klaipeda and Kaliningrad with the Baltic countries; nor has it completely withdrawn all its naval facilities from the Baltic Sea area. However, its unchallenged naval supremacy was circumscribed by the emergence of sovereign countries in the region.

The Black Sea fleet had remained the apple of discord between Russia and the Ukraine; both claiming control over the fleet and its related facilities. Despite all ongoing controversies, three major ports where the fleet had earlier anchored, are no longer in the Russian territorial jurisdiction, Sevastopol and Odessa are in independent Ukraine; and Poti is in Georgia. These countries do not wish to share their port facilities with Russia. As a result, once invincible naval strength of the Black Sea has been weakened. This has affected Russia's strategic prestige beyond repair. Russia has not finally solved the territorial dispute with the Ukraine concerning the Crimean peninsula. Besides, the Caspian and Mediterranean flotillas of the Black Sea fleet that once oversaw the movements of international ships in these two seas lie idle. Russia once again faces the "Eastern Question" in her history, when her warm water access to Bosphorus and Dardanelles has been threatened.

The northern fleet is located in the frozen zone of the north. It has no practical implications for reckoning Russia's naval might. More busy with research in icy area navigation, the Northern fleet is a liability rather than an asset. All this leaves the Pacific fleet as the only Russian fleet untouched by the political vicissitudes of past five years. However, Russia's troublesome relationship with Japan in the Far East and their mutual dispute over the Kuril chain of islands encumber the chance of this fleet. In a hostile surrounding of international waters, no fleet could be really effective.

The army and the air force are in a mess. Ethnic nationalism has badly affected the armed forces. After the Soviet collapse, many non-Russian recruits and officers chose not to stay in the Russian army. Responding positively to the call given by their respective government, who were busy in building native national armies, these people had left for their native states. Yet for them Russia remained unavoidable. As a result, we find Russia's direct involvement in many trouble ones across the CIS. The Georgian civil war, the Karabakh conflict, the Tajik civil war, the trans-Dniester problem in Moldova, the dispute with the Ukraine are all evidence of Russian meddling in recent years, even at a time of extreme weakness. This demonstrates the strategic depth of Russia. Spread across 11 time zones, and proud of a national military heritage, Russia bemoans in bewilderment about her lost pride and fondly kisses up to the past in reminiscence

bewilderment about her lost pride and fondly kisses up to the past in reminiscence of its glorious days.

But the glorious days are gone. Russia has experienced territorial and numerical shrinkage of its military strength. It had also to experience the post-Soviet trauma of withdrawal from East European countries and Afghanistan. The outcome was very much painful for the Russian military. Several months of tent life without adequate civic amenities, an uncertain future role and above all Yeltsin's military policy devoid of any future vision had demoralised the soldiers. Built in an all-union mould for all-union defence in the ethos of international brotherhood, the Russian military finds it difficult to reconcile to the changes. This was why the officers had refused orders many times in recent past to fire at the civilians. The Russian army apparently does not wish to entangle itself in a messy situation such as in Chechnya, at least, as long as the process of downswing continues to prevail in the military. The soldier stock of the Russian army in 1994 was 2.2 million; it had glided to 1.9 million in January, 1995 and further to 1.7 million in January, 1996. (Rossiya, April, 1996, p.37) The series of recent debacles such as in Afghanistan and Chechnya had affected the fighting morale of the Russian army irredeemably.

Yet, the strong point of Russia in strategic and military terms are its formidable nuclear arsenal. Reports abound that in recent years fissile nuclear materials from Russia's loose stockpile had proliferated into unsafe areas around the CIS and beyond. Half of these nuclear weapons is in Europe and other half in Asia, thus threatening the life in both the continents.

This creates an awesome situation in which no body can take effective steps to curb the pandemic Russian threat except Russia herself. Even though it had become weak, it shows her enormous strategic capability with an unmatched stockpile of conventional and traditional weapons; and of course, officers and soldiers that had made it the No.1 military in the world. It is not a country, whose depth could be underestimated; nor whose real capability could be gauged. After sorting out its differences with the countries of the near abroad, it is likely to play its usual global role international affairs in the upcoming years with full wisdom of Russianness.

ता पहीली ते वारावी
काही.....

प्रोती स्टोअर्स.

२, मेनरोड, नासिक ४२२ ००९.
फोन नं. ७४०२६, ७८४२६.

अधिकृत वितरक:

कॅम्प्लिन लिमीटेड (स्टेशनरी व आर्ट मटेरिअल
डिव्हिजन)

ज्योती पेपर उद्योग लिमीटेड.

नवनीत पब्लिकेशनस् इंडिया लिमीटेड.

हिंदुस्थान पेपर कॉर्पोरेशन लिमीटेड.

श्री वारणा पेपर मील, वारणानगर.