



*BHONSALA RESEARCH CENTRE  
FOR CONFLICT AND PEACE*

# DAKSH

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## 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.

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The centre conducts various activities such as  
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## TRENDS AND COMPULSION OF GOING NUCLEAR

..... By Dr. J. A. Khan  
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In a hostile environment, a country like India which is surrounded by traditional adversaries, has no choice but to develop an effective deterrent. If the threat is nuclear, the response also have to be nuclear. To ignore the nuclear factor, in all its dimension would have been tantamount to the display of cridulity and negligence. Military dimension of national security was, is and will, therefore, always be the first compelling reason for affected country to go nuclear. Why it is? Because, security of the nation comes from a much greater and deeper appreciation of what the nation does, feels and projects about its own security in the environment in which it exists. How we are perceived by those who lived around us ? The basic aspects lead to the necessity of formulating a conceptual framework of the nation's destiny as a prerequisite to understanding security environment in its proper context. To understand the pitfalls, obstacles and possible opposition, it is first necessary to be clear in one's mind where are we going ? How and why do we want to go there ? Who will walk with us will meet along the way at the end of that particular road ? And above all, how much does it matter, in the other words, what price we are willing to pay for a particular course of action and what would be the cost of not adopting that path? If we really understand the various dimensions of national security then we find that the sharp end of the security stick is represented by the military power and clear political will to apply it.

We should not forget that Bhartiya Janata Party was the only political party which had included the national security issue in its election manifesto and committed in many election campaigning that it is willing to pay any price for it. Therefore, a capable country under the benign command of a capable-

leader sought its rightful place of power in the comity of nation by asserting its nuclear capability. Carrying out nuclear test particularly have been projected to represent the ultimate index of the cognisable power of nation, and hence nuclear weapon appear to confer a degree of confidence on the possessor.

Technological competence required for peaceful use of the atom and weapon production is almost identical. If a country already has the infrastructure for harnessing the atom, the relative ease with which the facilities can be switched for nuclear demonstration and weapon production. Such a country demonstrate its nuclear capability if the national interests so demand.

A regional power like India has gone nuclear primarily to counter act the hegemony of China in South Asia as it was compelled by deep seated concern regarding the nuclear environment in its neighborhood. On the other hand, a country like Pakistan has gone nuclear when it plays a collaborationist role in the interest of nuclear colonialists and also as a reaction against India. A country may also opt for a nuclear path due to explosive international environment. France is a classic example of this. In spite of being member of North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and an assured United States nuclear umbrella, France opted to have her own proportional nuclear deterrence.

The current Indo-Pak nuclear test must be understood in the context of their evolution since fifties. In 1950 Asia's first atomic reactor was established in India. But the research effort picked up in the sixties when China has gone nuclear in 1964. India has limited resources of uranium but has vast resources of thorium. Therefore, these two factors coupled with political daring of Mrs. Indira Gandhi became key factors in carrying out India's first nuclear test on May 18, 1974 at Pokhran.

The Pakistan Nuclear Program had a low priority but it was due to Bhutto's single minded determination after 1974 as a reaction could get off with speed. The Pakistan's nuclear ambitions can be gauged from Bhutto's book 'The Myth of Independence' wherein it is stated.



" All war of our age has been total wars. It has to be assumed that a war waged against Pakistan is capable of becoming a total war. It should be dangerous to plan for less, and Pakistan plan should include the nuclear deterrent. India appears determined to proceed with her plans to detonate a nuclear bomb. It is of utmost importance for Pakistan's science and technology to produce such a weapon in time before the crisis begin."

" Anti Indian Psyche" is inherent in the very genesis of Pakistan. Its retaliation on May 28, 1998 confirmed what was expected several years ago. Pakistan has rapidly acquired nuclear capability in various ways some of which are unethical and also illegal. A notable feature of Pakistan's nuclear test in an active Chinese help and tacit United States connivance. Such nexus is very serious and posing a great threat. China has reverted to "a cold war tactics" to teach India a lesson by abetting Pakistan against us. Presently China is busy in its economic reforms, hence in near future it do not want to fight a war with India as it also knows that it will not be cake walk like 1962. Hence, it is clandestinely encouraging and building up Pakistan as counter poise to India and creating a cordon sanitaire that would hem in a nuclear India.

Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's address to his nation on May 28, 1998 contained plenty of anti India rhetoric in a bid to justify the Pakistani test. He further said, "I do not represent a cowardly nation and our account with India is equal."

What are the implication of this development for India's defence and security? Should India now make a firm commitment and announce its intention to proceed with the perfection of manufacturing Hydrogen Bombs and related delivery system? Because, nuclear deterrence is based on the mutual assured destruction (MAD) concept of hundreds of warheads and missiles available to both the sides. But there are many stages in between the conventional deterrence and the mutual

assured destruction, when asymmetry exists in respect of nuclear forces. While the deterrence in nuclear environment is based on the certainty of mutual destruction, deterrence in regard to conflicts among conventional powers continues to be based on uncertainty rather than certainty. This uncertainty is in terms of risks and benefit.

When the trigger happy generals and hawkish leaders of Pakistan will not be able to counteract conventional superiority of India, will never hesitate to use nuclear weapons. Hence the power that wants to alter the status quo has to make its calculations of costs, risks and gains in term of war limited in aim, scope period and area. The initiator of nuclear war has certain advantages in terms of surprise, choice of axis of thrust and the aim in respect of territory to be inflicted. Therefore, any limited Indo-Pak war with conventional weapons take place within the reduced dimensions of uncertainty.

If we have reached to strategic decision of exercising nuclear deterrence and "no first use" then we must be in a position to launch an immediate counter offensive operation even while defending ourselves against the first nuclear strike.

It is much better of India to face an open Pakistani nuclear weapon-as it does the Chinese one-instead of an undeclared nuclear weapon, what was so far a situation of implicit mutual deterrence now becomes an overt one. Since nuclear threat from Pakistan cannot be ignored and India's conventional superiority cannot be an effective deterrent against its traditional enemies (China and Pakistan), it was a compelling need to demonstrate and declare India a nuclear weapon state. As for its timing or congenial international atmosphere is being discussed, we the scholars of the subject Defense and Strategic Studies are of the opinion that the sooner it were done the better. This is a strategic reality and leads to the strategic culture of India. Our capable scientists have reassured the people that we are not subjected to nuclear threat or coercion.



## PAKISTANI MISSILES AND SECURITY OF INDIA

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India and Pakistan are two dominant political entities in the INDIAN SUB - CONTINENT. Both the countries, since Pak's inception had never good relations with each other. Pakistan posed three wars on India so far, and waged 'Op-Topak' during Gen Zia's regime against India, Pakistani secret war in Kashmir is well known to every one. Recent developments in the field of missile technology in Pakistan has once again threatened the Indian security scenario. Acquiring more and more missiles has become the dominant reality of the said country.

India started its Integrated Guided missile Programme (IGMDP) in 1983 after the posed Chinese Missile threat to its security, while Pakistan swang into the race during the military regime of Gen. Zia-Ul-Huq. (1) Pakistani Missile Programme came to the mind of world community on April 25, 1988 when it was announced that the country had tested two types of ballistic missiles named Hatf I and Hatf II. IGMDP was essential copulsion of India as China had already deployed its ballistic missiles near Indian border during seventies/eighties. While Pakistan tried to deter India by having missiles much in numbers and range, and procured Hatf I, Hatf II, Hatf III and M-11 (bought from his ally China).

Due to the political thrust, India has capped its Agni Programme, which was efficient to deter Pakistan and the development, testing and rate of deployment of Prithvi, Akash and Trishul is also not upto the mark. On the other hand Pakistan with all its possible measures is engaged in the development and procurement of missiles. China is assisting the Pak programme by the means of supplying spares and technicians as well. Pakistan can hit Northern Indian civil and military targets with Hatf II, and the Central as well as some southern Indian-

targets with Hatf III. Pak has launched a massive missile development programme with the collective efforts of its various institutes/organisations/commissions. As the result of which Hatf III missile would be ready for deployment by 2000

A. D. (2) Pakistan can acquire nuclear capable missiles by a year or so.

Thus the security of India is positively at stake due to the Pakistani Missiles, who (Pak) always exercises its weapons against India as evident from three wars.

The objective of present paper is to analyse the Pakistani position and to give suggestions.

### Pakistan's Programme : A Brief History :-

During 1986-87, China passed on its fission weapon's atmospheric test design of its Dong Feng-2A missile, armed with a nuclear warhead using Uranium - 235 as fissile material, to Pakistan. (3) The Hatf II ostensibly developed indigenously was tested in April 1988. In 1991, the then Army Chief, General Aslam Beg led a delegation to China to negotiate to supply of Chinese missiles. Both the 600 km range M-9 and the 300 km M-11 were reported by the Pakistani press as the weapons under consideration, research and development and technology transfer signed in 1989. Pakistan had received an unspecified number of M-11 missiles along with launchers from China by June 1991.

As the result of its efforts Pakistan has procured Hatf-I, Hatf-II and Hatf-III. It would be proper to look into the striking capability of these missiles.

#### HATF-I :-

It is an indigenously produced surface - to -surface missile with a strike range of 80 kms and a CEP of 200 meters. It can carry a warhead of 500kgs.

#### HATF-II :

Hatf-II is the improved version of Hatf-I. It has the range of 300kms with a payload of 500kgs. (4)



### M-11:

The M-11 is a two stage solid propellant missile and has a strap down inertial computer digitised guidance with terminal control. It comprises 5 segments : (i) a conic warhead (ii) an instrumentation compartment (iii) an inter-stage segment (iv) a solid motor rocket segment (v) a tail and steering segment.

The total lift-off weight of M-11 is 5,300kgs and its guidance system comes into effect only 80 kms after launch. The M-11 has a payload capacity of 800 kgs and a range of upto 900 kms. (5)

Pakistan and China involved a purchase of 84 M-11 missiles at a cost of US \$516.03 million complete with its delivery system. The first batch of 54 missiles along with eight launchers and eight carriers was delivered to Pakistan by June 1994. The remaining 30 with 12 launchers and few carriers were supplied by August 1994. (6)

### Striking Capability of M-11 :-

Pakistan can target entire Jammu and Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, Punjab, Haryana, Rajasthan a major portion Chaklala airbases alone. Similarly from its southern parts Pakistan can hit Mumbai and nearby complexes. If this missile is launched from air-craft carriers based in Arabian sea the havoc will be equally effective for Maharashtra and Karnataka.

### HATF-III :-

The recently tested missile by Pakistan is Hatf-III. It was tested in July 1997. (7) It has a range of 800 kms with 500 kgs warhead. With this much range there is no reason to think that hatf -III is equally disastrous as M-11. Most of the Northern and Western Indian military complexes will come under the reach of Hatf-III. The deployment of Hatf-III would certainly endanger the Indian Security.

### INDIAN RESPONSE :

Although India started its 'INTEGRATED GUIDED MISSILE PROGRAMME (IGMDP) in 1983, but it couldn't prepare various missiles at large scale and simultaneously, she tested-

Agni the IRBM (Intermediate Range ballistic Missile) thrice, but she failed to have it with her Armed Forces, due to some reason or other. Our both neighbours i. e . China and Pak are engaged to stockpile more and more missiles. As far as China is concerned it has even more disastrous INTER-CONTINENTAL BALLIASTIC MISSILES (ICBMs)

The Countries which reveal about MTCR (Missile Technology Control Regime) or CTBT (Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty) have sufficient numbers of missiles both in quantity and quality, where as India is in preliminary stage. Possibility of future wars use of missiles can't be ruled out. India will be totally helpless on that time. Therefore it becomes unrealistic to cap AGNI the Indian ICBMs at her full capability, These are the weapons which not only help during war time but they pose deterrence also and thus avoid wars. Unless we aren't secured how we can hope of prosperity.

### SUGGESTIONS :

To tackle the security threats posed by Pakistani Missiles India has to take the following steps :

- a) Deployment of Agni has become the need of hour as it can discourage the use of missiles by Pakistan such as M-11.
- b) India has to develop the accurate detecting capability by upgrading its Satellites and Air Crafts.
- c) India has to develop spy satellites.
- d) India should prepare itself with the interception technology.
- e) India needs an indigenou and advanced AWACS system.

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## THREATS TO INDIA'S SECURITY :

### SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DOMESTIC DIMENSION

.....By V. Yoga Jyotsna  
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Some time in 1965 De Gaulle-the defiant French leader-visited Romania, which was then ruled by the most oppressive of Eastern European leaders - Nicolai Ceasescu. The two rebels of the West and the East bloc decided to meet in order to enhance their security. Later, in 1969 several other European leaders began to think of a Security Conference in Europe. By 1971, both International Relations experts and Strategic Studies analysts started talking of Detente. By 1973, the Trilateral Commission was founded comprising Western Europe, Japan, and North America to evolve a secure Atlantic and Pacific regions in the Northern hemisphere - By 1975 - the Helsinki Accords then the CSCE and now the OSCE - were signed with an overwhelming emphasis on co-operation in non-military spheres, specially trade, commerce, and human rights. Though the CSCE process was briefly interrupted by the "New Cold War" Europe was no longer interested in "Security Dilemma" - which is generally identified as 'One State's gain in security is a threat to others', or "that one state can be secure only if another state is insecure."

This insistence helped the evolution of Alternative Security School in the 80s. Academics, military personnel, retired and serving officials, Research Institutions on the two sides of the Atlantic, participants in the peace-movements all began to support the Alternative security School - which stood for Common Security i. e., that Western Security was intimately and inextricably linked to Soviet Security and that the process was mutual and also that the deterrence capability of nuclear weapons created a security interdependence. By 1982, the Olaf -

Palme Commission Report "Common Security : A Programme for Disarmament" was ready with the now familiar argument that states can no longer obtain security at each other's expense but only through co-operative efforts. Emphasis was placed on denuclearization and non-provocative military postures. Security was identified as a phase based on "defensive deterrence" coupled with political reassurance. Changes achieved under the Common Security Programme (such as denuclearization, defensive emphasis, security interdependence and confidence and security building measures) were a long graduation from the national security definition days (National Security being protection and preservation of a nation's core values).

In view of the above background security both at the conceptual and at the practical level has to contend with redefinition and reconceptualization in the context of the Third World which nurtures the minimum core values of political independence and territorial integrity.

Preservation of political independence in the context of Third World began to assume the shape of Regime Security. By Regime Security we mean preservation of ruling party or elite at any cost especially at the cost of democratic values. Such a desire of self preservation has brought about brutalization and criminalization of domestic politics, suppression of subversive, insurgency, popular and terrorist movements, control of secessionist and communal tensions, subjugation of linguistic and minority groups, environmental and gender groups, without going into the root cause of these movements. Regime security and the consequent suppression contributed to excessive militarization which in turn had a spiralling effect on the economy due to diversification of meagre resources. Militarization contributed to a situation of Security Dilemma in Third World, neighbourhoods leading to dichotomy in global security which is caught between the security dilemma of the Third World and the common security of the First World; debt and under-development, arms race and nuclearization; absence of democratization of the third world and the denuclearization, excesses and problems of development-



(old age pensions, unemployment in Europe, too much of emphasis on technology) and the need to spread Republican and democratic forms of Govt., environmental issues of the First World.

In the context of radical historical changes through which the world is passing (i.e. from Security Dilemma to Common Security) internal threats and non-military threats assume significance.

(1) Geographical or geopolitical factors - Topography of India in the North - Western and North - Eastern regions contributes to subversion, insurgency & terrorism leading to federal tensions, break down of law and order machinery, use of army for Civilian purposes and more than anything else incoherence in Public Policy. Energy crisis of the 1970s, increasing naval presence of the Persian Gulf Region for the West, increasing naval presence of the West in India's adjacent Waters and the resultant pressure on India's maritime interests and Govt.'s inability to allocate adequate funds for Navy's modernization are certainly assuming threat propositions.

(2) Science & Technology : In the age of super computers and rapid advances in Communication and Information technologies apart from revolutions in space, nuclear, industrial and above all agricultural technologies, meagre or inadequate allocation of funds for these issues will lead to problems of hunger or food insecurity, outdated information system, health insecurity due to adoption of alien medical systems and irrelevant Corporate medical culture, and inability to develop indigenous or alternate technologies also furthers insecurity. The Western nations dominate the global markets in space, nuclear, industrial and agricultural technologies and western based MNCs dominate the fields of fertilizers and medicines. In the last ten years most major cities in India have begun to experience the corporate hospital culture, making it impossible for a commoner or a poor man to think of good health at reasonable prices.

Ayurveda and Unani two of the most famous indigenous medical systems do not attract enough attention in India compared to corporate Hospitals.

(3) Developmental issues are the major sources of threat or insecurity in most Third World nations. India is no exception to this general trend. They range from unhealthy living conditions to education.

(a) Unhealthy living conditions leading to proliferation of communicable diseases and incurable diseases like AIDS, Malaria and Dengue fever;

(b) Illiteracy and the consequent ignorance or apathy to awareness and through it to development or at least progress, and a psycho-sociological tendency dominated by the philosophy of Karma Culture which is rooted in the dominant religion of the Country;

(c) Although the issues of caste, language, religion, region and gender are developmental problems they assume threat proportions in a developing country like India. Reservation Policy, Linguistic re-organisation of the Indian Polity, regional imbalances, double discrimination of women, excessive and sometimes unhealthy consciousness of minority groups divided by religious linguistic and tribal divisions add to our insecurity. If proper education is imparted and if employment opportunities are enhanced the above mentioned classes or sections will hopefully experience economic betterment leading to participatory democracy or else their excessive consciousness might threaten the unity of the nation.

(d) Fifty years after independence inability to locate resources, and inequitable resource allocation for the various states of the country, threatens not only the federal structure of the polity but also its overall development. There is but one NRSA and one NGRI for the entire country. River Water disputes are viewed as federal, centre-state or intra-state issue; or Uttarakhand is viewed as internal state affair rather than an affair linked with development and security.



(e) Environmental issues - Apart from popular and to an extent, mass based movements such as the Narmada Bachao Andolan and the Chipko movements, crisis in the handloom industry, and cotton producing areas of the country and their impact on child labour, absence of power generation and irrigation facilities compelling agriculture to adopt farm culture thereby reducing, food crop growing area in vast stretches of the country are viewed by this author as an increasing source of insecurity. This is in addition to the conditionality clauses that are imposed by the World Bank and IMF on loans to the Government of India which insists on withdrawal of Agricultural subsidies leading to hike in fertiliser prices. In a predominantly agrarian society absence of govt., attention on this sector and its infrastructure further complicates the food grains production and consumption leading to food insecurity.

(f) Liberalisation, privatisation will not lead to industrialization, progress and development unless and until there is power generation i. e. electricity generation, mechanization of agriculture, higher per capita yield per hectare, migration of people from rural to Urban areas leading to urbanisation. In the absence of power generation, liberalization will not contribute to industrialisation, indigenisation, but to neo-colonialism.

(g) In view of inadequate power situation, privatization will only mean a gimmick of certain sections of the Indian Society to prevent the traditionally oppressed backward communities from entering Rs. 25,000 p.m. take home pay jobs of the corporate world. It widens the dichotomy between the varying sections of the Country further adding to the existing social tensions.

(h) Demographic pressure. Meager Resources, ineffective population policy, illiteracy, attachment to land preventing relocation of people from pressure points to sparsely populated areas also constitutes a grave threat. Demographic pressure not only leads to problems of housing and accommodation, urban tension and unrest but also contributes to problems of waste

disposal and communicable disease, pollution and the attendant health hazards. Metropolitan cities such as New Delhi & Bombay are identified as the most polluted of the world's major cities.

(i) Education policy or rather the absence of it, diminishing interest of the system in general and the academic in particular in Social Sciences which are capable of addressing some of the threats I have identified should also be taken note of. Illiteracy at the primary level, inadequate institutional and legal arrangements at the higher education levels absence of research centers or centers of higher learning to perceive threats and articulate problems, identify solutions, and evolve effective policies in coordinations with the government is a major cause for concern.

(j) Above all, within a Republican and democratic framework, 50 years after independence, this country functions or exists because of God and Bureaucracy not because of effective public policy. This country also continues to exist, because of sense of freedom (by which this author means freedom to live in poverty, ill health, under-development and unconsciousness and unawareness of the masses and not because of a participatory democracy. Both at the national and regional levels and the time of exercising their franchise, the masses are indicating their opinions on the state of affairs. If the corrupt leaders in high place (the total scam money is far superior to the annual budget of the Government of India) do not take care of development and public policy and indulge in only Regime security India may not disintegrate but may experience civil war.

In 18th Century, Immanuel Kant argued that Republican Governments hold the key to a secure environment as people do not prefer war, when their desires / interests can be fulfilled through trade and peaceful exchange, In 1983 Michael Doyle, writing in Philosophy and Public Affairs on "Kant, liberal Legacies and Foreign Affairs", believed that democratic formulation of foreign policies, emphasis on liberal values, abiding interest-



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in peace and development as a result of Commercial and material well being (and to this list the present author adds the ambitions of middle classes) has enabled the west to effect a transition from security dilemma to common security. If this is reality in the West but a remote mirage in the rest of the world, atleast a beginning must be made in comprehending the dimensions of the problems of internal security that India faces, and to review these problems in terms of the new western perception.

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## ROLE OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY IN INDIA'S RESURGENCE

.....By Major General K.S. Pendse(Retd)

### INTRODUCTION

Man's quest for supremacy over nature has yielded astounding results. But, at the same time, his failure to control his inner self has led to human misery born out of inequity and racial hatred. A mindless pursuit of mega-profits by the Already Developed Countries (ADCs) has degraded the eco-sphere to such an extent that the future of mankind is peril. Above all, science and technology (S&T) has helped man develop and deploy weapons of mass destruction whose use in defence of a nation's 'supreme self interest' has been legitimised by the Nuclear-Haves through the International Court. S&T, with a momentum of its own, seems to have escaped human control. Some ethical standards need to be applied to its conduct, if S&T is not to destroy mankind. A beginning in this direction has been made already through the evolution of a concept of eco-sustainable development. On the eve of the 21st Century, India has to decide whether its further development should follow the path trodden by the ADCs, with all its socio-cultural pitfalls alongside those of ecological degradation that are inherent in it, or, whether it should secure a better future for its one billion citizens in a sane manner.

### SOCIO-ECONOMIC SCENE

2) This issue is further complicated by the fact that a continental size economy such as India's has all the three variants of wealth production identified by Alvin and Heidi Toffler viz First Wave agricultural, Second Wave industrial and the beginning of Third Wave informational mode, though agriculture continues to predominate as an occupation. Sustaining one sixth of the human race, whose growth continues unabated, does require large inputs of S&T including that of bio-technology for India's agricultural sector.

At the same time, a rapid urbanisation of India and a country-wide spread of a TV network have combined to attract growing number of villagers to 'the good life' in the cities, which do need a far-sighted S&T approach towards their future.

3) The Indian industry, dominated by loss-making public sector undertakings, is the new face of India since 1947. While there is much wishful thinking that India will 'tigerise' its economy by following the Asia-Pacific modal, there is little sincere effort to invest in India's human resource, besides other infrastructural facilities that mark the work-culture of an informational society. S&T has many answers. But most often these are capital-intensive, which a debt-ridden India may find very difficult to fund on its own.

4) A fledgling democracy and a nation-in-the-making that is India cannot apply autocratic measures to solve its problems of modernisation and development. Its brand of democracy, based purely on politics of the ballot-box, with very negligible effort to educate the people of India to the realities of a dog-eat-dog world of international relations, has failed to check India's population growth. And unless it does so, its economic gains will continue to be nullified by its exploding population. Food, shelter and clothing will remain that population's perennial preoccupation. S&T has no 'quick fix' for this problem, which demands leadership of a very high order to solve it. And without an economic surplus, which neither its agriculture nor its industry is in a position to generate and maintain to the levels required for India's transformation, its economic resurgence may continue to depend on capital and technology that the ADCs alone can choose to give to India, or, deny it. Can India's indigenous S&T, supported by the world's largest technically trained man-power, overcome this hurdle is the question!



### POLITICO-MILITARY NUANCES

5) Despite assurances by various foreign diplomats that trade with India because of its twenty crore strong middle class remains as attractive to the ADCs as ever, issues such as the CTBT, the MTCR, the IPR and super 301 sanctions highlight a fundamental dichotomy in India's current approach to its growth. Should it accept this abject dependence on the ADCs for capital and technology and give in to these and other similar pressures, or, should it continue its struggle for economic freedom after having gained its political independence nearly fifty years ago? India thus faces tight-rope walk in seeking a dynamic equilibrium in its politico-military relations with those very ADCs while persuading them to provide necessary capital and technology without letting them turn it into their economic colony.

6) A comparison with China in this regard is often made by some, who maintain that India has many advantages such as experience with a mixed economy, a banking system and general facility with the English language all of which give it an edge over China as far as globalisation of its economy is concerned. But what is forgotten in this comparison is China's status as a permanent member of the UN Security Council and its equally relevant membership of the Nuclear Club. India has been kept away from both, basically because of its own failure to win a US support for such an entry into the Big League. India can, even now, help US policy-makers rethink their priorities in curbing Islamic fundamentalism by propping up a theocratic Pakistan, and recognise what a secular India is capable of doing in this sphere. No doubt, this is a province of diplomacy, but S&T can give it some teeth by way of a demonstrated progress in India's space and nuclear research programme. Current Indian stand on the CTBT, without a technological demonstration of its capability in fusion technology as a source of power, is merely an irritant.

### CULTURAL METAMORPHOSIS

7. Used to the seasonal cycle of changes in their monsoon-dependent agricultural pursuits, the Indians have developed an equanimity (or, to use Shri Gautam Adhikari's idiom, a buffalo mind-set) which is out of 'synch' with the demands of a globalised economy. If India wants to benefit from the internationalisation of its trade and commerce, it has to transform itself culturally inside out. What loss would such a change entail, and what needs to be salvaged are questions that need to be 'thought through' by all thinking Indians. First generation Indian parents of second generation Indian children brought up in the US or the UK face these issues every day. S&T cannot help in this matter, being a-religious and essentially sceptical of the hidden side of life. India is home to an ancient wisdom that had kept S&T under control. There is a need to ponder over this crucial aspect while discussing India's resurgence with the help of S&T, and use the marvels of the electronic media created by S&T to educate all Indians continuously on the immediacy of retaining a right balance between science and religiosity in one's life.

8) A disturbing facet of this Indian equanimity is its neglect of S&T as applied to defence research and development of military hardware that can match what the US and China have been arming Pakistan with, not to mention China's own formidable military modernisation in the conventional spheres. India is thus vying with some of the world's best S&T inputs in this as in many other non-military fields in its effort to attain self-reliance and self-sufficiency. There is a need to identify those core and critical technologies that would help India guard its national interests well into the 21st Century.

### CONCLUSION

9) Regarding S&T merely as a tool of economic resurgence would be an exercise in sub-optimisation. It has relevance in all aspects of India's progress in efforts to survive and thrive as a sane and a strong nation in an amoral environment created by the misuse of S&T by ADCs over the past three centuries. India has to chart its own course while putting S&T to good use to win its war on poverty, and win it conclusively, while retaining its perennial holistic outlook of treating the world as one family.





## REGIONAL POLITICS IN SOUTH ASIA

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The security in South Asia depends to a great degree on the politics of the region. After the dissolution of the USSR, there is much that remains with the region in terms of the basic causes of insecurity. Much has also changed which suggests an amelioration of older problems. Since the dissolution of the Soviet Union we find that two constellations of issues confront the region most seriously for the future. :-

- 1) Kashmir and the arms race between India and Pakistan.
- 2) The ethnic conflict and proliferation of small arms.

India's policy towards the smaller neighbours in South Asia has traveled a long distance from the late forties to the present times : from Jawaharlal Nehru's strategic framework to I. K. Gujral's cooperative "doctrine". Nehru's carefully evolved a framework which sought to reconcile India's security interests inherited from the British imperial legacy-which, keeping in view the geostrategic unity of the subcontinent, did not permit any chasm between the security policies of India and its neighbours-with the aspirations and ideals of India's freedom struggle of promoting and protecting the forces of nationalism, democracy and modernisation in the better ties with the SAARC countries. Through the "Gujral Doctrine", India can possibly mobilise its smaller neighbours in pursuing its objectives, not only beyond SAARC, but also of finding its rightful place in the global economy. As the "Doctrine" unfolds and consolidates itself, it will help India restore and reinforce its Nehruvian credentials as a responsive and resilient Asian, if not a global player. This is perhaps the reason why sections of vested interests in Pakistan and elsewhere have taken exception to this approach.

The "Gujral Doctrine" has no stated ideological preferences but it is capable of providing subtle and yet solid support to the forces of democracy and stability in the region, including India. This potential has to be developed and harnessed because the breakdown of democratic political orders in the neighbouring countries may vitiate not only India's own stability and order but also its broader regional and international goals. Every one should be optimistic that the new BJP led coalition Government in the Center will not change the course of our Policy towards the neighbours.

### Regional Politics in South Asia

The structure of South Asia's international politics can be described in terms of some features :-

1) Power and geography - India is the most powerful state in the region therefore South Asia is Indocentric. India alone borders the other South Asian States. So not surprisingly all disputes in the region seem to centre around India. No combination of other States can outstrip Indian power because of their inability to match Indian power and because of the absence of common borders they cannot organise themselves into an alliance. But New Delhi regime was always suspicious of its neighbours because these States were seeking outside support in their dispute against India.

During the Cold war many outsiders (The USA, USSR, China Britain) were willing to play a role in South Asian Affairs but they never complied to the wishes of the weaker States. Here in this case Pakistan is an exception. The US has always considered Pakistan as an ally against Soviet and Chinese communism, a gateway to the Islamic world and as pressure point against India. During the early years of his regime, the former Pakistan President, M. Ayub Khan said, "we need powerful friends which can put pressure on India." From that time Pakistan started getting huge military aid from the US. It was only after this that the Soviet Union had thrown its lot -



behind India. India however never regarded itself as a Soviet client or proxy. With the end of the Cold War, China and Islamic fundamentalism appeared as new threats to US security and economic interests. The Clinton administration deepened its engagement with India - for three reasons 1) economic ties 2) as a way of increasing its leverage on proliferation issues 3) an investment in India as a strategic partner.

Now since the outside powers are moving away from the region, the small states do not have a ballast against India. At the same time, the Indian fear of intrusive balancing has receded. So this is an opportunity for smaller states to adjust with India and the Indian Government can afford to deal with its small neighbours without fear that the big powers are trying to exploit India's every move.

2) Territorial and Border Disputes. Territorial and Border problems complicate South Asian politics. The distribution of disputes is between India and other States. There are some disputes, which have been solved but some still remain. The most important one is the Kashmir issue, this problem has become the most serious threat to the security of the region. The activities of the Kashmiri militant groups are substantially outside the control of governments of India and Pakistan. New Delhi holds Islamabad responsible for the extent of militant activity. For getting hold of Kashmir, both the countries fought against each other in 1948, 1969, 1971. Talks still continue for an amicable solution.

Other territorial problems in South Asia may seem minor in comparison with Kashmir, but their symbolism, domestic resonance and linkage to bigger issues makes them important. One of them is the Siachen problem. Siachen has been the site of a mini-war for a long time. While its strategic importance is questionable, it has come to be seen as test of wills over Kashmir. This issue has added the lack of trust between the two sides. There are differences between India and Bangladesh over the-

South Moore/Talpatty Islands in the Bay of Bengal, while this is relatively a minor quarrel, it assumes importance because of the turbulent domestic border politics. India ended the Tim Bigha dispute by leasing out a corridor linking Bangladesh to its enclaves in India. This settlement with Dhaka set off a storm of protest in India. Other differences are also to be settled soon but Indo-Pak dispute over Kashmir has sharpened from last decade.

3) Ideology - Ideological differences between South Asian States exacerbate regional division. India sees itself as the only democratic federal and secular state in the region and argues that the other states are ruled by authoritarian or illegitimate governments, which remain in power by resorting to fundamentalists, monarchical, military dictatorship, bonapartist or chauvinist appeals and modes of governance. This ideological divide has implications for regional politics. The Indian view is that cooperative arrangements with "illegitimate" and "unstable" governments are dangerous and unproductive: authoritarian governments are inherently untrustworthy, any agreements reached with them may not be seen as binding by successor governments and cooperating with authoritarian governments may help confer a legitimacy on these governments that they do not deserve. The Indian neighbours see its version as hypocritical and argue that New Delhi is avoiding to negotiate with them. South Asian States are now slowly becoming closer than they have ever been in the past. We hope that all ideological differences will be settled by the South Asian States for the sake of peace in the region.

4) Economic relations - The states in the region are deeply tied to the Indian economy. Nepal and Bhutan are landlocked so they depend heavily on India. Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka are much less involved with India in comparison with other two states. They fear that economic cooperation will benefit India disproportionately and will allow Indians to penetrate their societies and influence their politics therefore they-



hesitate to promote greater economic cooperation.

The situation has however begun to change. The increasing regionalization of global trading arrangements and the exclusion of South Asians from these arrangements has brought home to the region the importance of economic cooperation. Although most of the countries of this region have joined the World Trade Organisation, they have also created a regional trading zone. SAARC finally instituted a preferential tariff agreement - SAPTA-, through which they want greater economic cooperation among the SAARC countries.

5) Internationalisation of internal conflict - India and Pakistan confront various internal sectarian conflicts. Pakistan must deal with the violence in Sindh and the militancy of Azad Kashmiris. Sindh instability and the activities in Azad Kashmir impinge on the relationship with India. India must deal with Punjab, Kashmir, the Northeastern region, Gorkhaland and separatist feelings in Tamil Nadu, all of which complicate relations respectively with Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal and Srilanka. The Indian authorities should also solve the problems like Chakma separatism and Hindu - Muslim communalism, Terai Indians, LTTE.

As the list of ethnic problems shows, India is Central once again so the Government has responded with force to ethnic problems both in India and in other South Asian countries. India is continuing to spend a big amount of its military budget and armed forces to deal with them. While on the other hand the other states feel that India always intervene in their internal conflicts.

6) Arms race between India and Pakistan - The security problems in South Asia relate to the distribution of weaponry and the threat of violence. This is primarily an India-Pakistan problem. The other countries have no armed forces worth the name and cannot threaten India. India and Pakistan are extremely watchful of balance of conventional and nuclear -

capabilities. Both worry that arms imbalances have led to war in the past and could lead to war in the future as well. The diffusion of small arms is linked with drug and narcotics trafficking and to the rising incidences of internal violence in both societies.

Both these countries were in the market for arms after independence. India heavily relied on the Soviet Union and Pakistan on US, China and Britain.

The other source of regional instability is the missile capability being developed by both sides. On the Indian side, the 250 km Prithvi has undergone at least nine trials and is being integrated into army units. The Agni with the range of up to 2000 kilometers, has been tested on four occasions. Both these missiles are capable of bearing the load of the Pokharansize nuclear weapon. A whole series of these missiles is nearing completion including the anti-tank Nag and the surface-to-air Trishul and Akash.

Pakistan's missile capability is less extensive. It has been developing its own Hatf I and Hatf II and has reputedly obtained the Chinese M-IIs. Recently Pakistan has developed Ghauri missile with the help of North Korean technology with the range of 1500 kilometers and on the way to develop one more powerful missile Gaznavi. But according to the director of the Air Defence and Prithvi Missile programme V.K. Sarswat. "The range of North Korean missiles is not above 900 km so Ghauri model cannot have the power."

Nuclear weapons are not weapons of war, they are weapons of intimidation essentially meant for coercion. Conventional, nuclear and smaller arms Proliferation continue to increase the capacity of India, Pakistan and various ethnic dissidents to make violence. While the nuclear relationship between India and Pakistan is relatively stable, the same cannot be about the conventional arms relationship. After a decade or more, the conventional arms race seems set to resume. -



Small arms proliferating throughout the region in alarming numbers and are contributing to ethnic violence which, because of its spillover effects, leads to inter-state tensions.

There are a number of suggested measure that can be taken to bring peace and security in South Asia.

#### **Some of the measures -**

1) Promotion of an economic dialogue - peace and trust is essential for trade. There should be frequent visits & talks of businessmen within the states of the region. As bilateral & multilateral trade expands and all economies progressively integrate and as the benefits become larger and more evident then policy makers will become aware of the importance of sustaining and further consolidation economic and political ties. As political ties improve, the level of tension and mutual suspicion will minimise. This process may prompt governments to start channeling resources away from their defence establishments to neglected social, infrastructural and other developmental spheres. The business community in the South Asian countries must be brought into two fold track to create a non-governmental business forum for mutual interaction and cooperation. A sustained South Asia business dialogue will not only supplement efforts at the official level but will also help in continuing business relations and providing a forum for addressing mutual concerns and grievances in the event of improved business ties.

2) An important step is to deemphasize the role of differences in generational perceptions as a yard stick for utility in dialogue. Core groups with fundamental common interests need to be identified to enlarge the framework of dialogue. These should include business people, scientists, scholars, education administrators, environmentalists, students and tourists. Peace building strategies can be devised only through a comprehensive and sustained dialogue between groups representing the civil societies in these countries. All nongovernmental initiatives must serve as evolution grounds for new ideas and fresh approaches-

that will help the official policy makers to think while taking decisions.

3) The states will have to emphasize the role of the vernacular press. Because this press comprising all the regional languages of region and accounts for 85% of the readership in South Asian states. The significance of this press lies in its much larger readership. So people from grassroots will understand the problems facing the region. So through this govt. can educate the people about security issues and conflict resolution.

4) There should be parliament to parliament initiatives. With democracy consolidating its gains in Pakistan, Nepal and Bangladesh, the civilian political leadership is emerging as a powerful actor in the political system. Members of parliament should discuss bilateral and multilateral problems. They can capitalise on their influence to shape positive approaches to outstanding issues through mutual discussions and contact to create a healthy environment for official talks.

5) Academic and other public institution to be linked. The governments should remove visa restrictions to academics, scientists, scholars, students and sports persons and encourage friendly exchanges in other different areas.

6) The internationalization of ethnic conflict has affected the relations between the countries of the region. The internationalization of internal ethnic conflict in South Asia must go hand in hand with better management of ethnic disaffection internally. Here the states can adopt two measures a) Through SAARC, the region must draw up a charter on minority rights and treatment. This charter should not necessarily be enforceable. Its function is to set a standard to which governments can be held by their own citizens and by outsiders

b) All states must agree not to give protection and safety to the terrorists and militants for this willingness is required to deny refuge to terrorists and militants rather than being forced to hand them back. With the help of these measures peace and security can be brought in South Asia alongside with mutual understanding and cooperation in the field of socio-economic, political, scientific, education, environment etc.





## INDIA'S ARMED FORCES AND GANDHIJI

.....By Dr. Nand Kishor Kumar,  
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• Religion of non-Violence is not meant merely for Rishis and Saints but is relevant to common people as well. I am not pleading for India to practice non-violence because she is weak but to practice it being conscious of her strength and power. I would rather have India resort to arms in order to defend her honour than that she would in a cowardly manner, become or remain a helpless witness to her dishonour".

.....M. K. Gandhi

• True to the philosophy of the Geeta, Gandhiji blessed the despatch of India's armed forces in Oct 1947 to defend the people of Kashmir against Pakistani invaders".

.....T. N. Kaul

Despite Soviet collapse, the end of cold war, the emergence of unipolar world and economic globalisation, the peace is not breaking out every where in the world, at least not in the Indian subcontinent. India is still facing serious threat from a nuclear China, which has embarked on an ambitious modernisation programme with military overtones and Pakistan on the nuclear threshold involved in subversive activities in India. They magnify threat perceptions.

In this context what should be the strategy of India's defence and security during post-cold war strategic scenario?-

To what extent Gandhi's view on defence, security and armed forces is relevant today? In view of this, an attempt is made in this article to analyse Gandhian concept of defence, security and India's armed forces.

### BACKGROUND

The first Indian to speak for India's forces in the recent history was not Gandhiji but Raja Ram Mohan Roy who advocated the indianisation of army in 1833. The lead given by Ram Mohan Roy was picked up by the Indian National Congress in 1885. It was in Feb-March 1921 that defence was for the first time discussed openly in the Central Legislative Assembly. Towards the end of the same year an important Congress resolution of foreign policy was moved by Gandhi on Nov 4, 1921, at Delhi. Indian leaders had till then taken little interest in the Indian Army. Moving the resolution Gandhi said, "The Congress should let it be known to the neighbouring and other non-Indian states that India, as self governing country can have nothing to fear from neighbouring states or any states as her people have no designs upon any of them, and hence no intention of establishing any trade relations, hostile to or not desired by the people of such states" (1)

Gandhi did not believe that there was any threat to India from its neighbours. The British had invariably held up the bogey of Russian expansionism and played upon the fears of Russian bearhug. This obsession was manifested in their imperial policy throughout the 19th century. After the Bolshevik revolution in Russia, the anxiety of the British was not lessened, it was heightened all the more. But Gandhiji was convinced that the Soviet Union had no aggressive designs on India. "I have never believed in Bolshevik menace", (2) he said, He was certain that "an India awakened and free" - would be friendly with all, with enmity for none. It would have "a message of peace and goodwill" for the groaning world. (3) Gandhiji further said in this context that, "if we do not fear our neighbours, or if, -



although feeling strong, we have no designs upon them, we must say so" (4) Therefore Gandhiji was not in favour of Indian troops being sent outside India to achieve imperial goals.

### GANDHIAN CONCEPT

So far as his view about a soldier is concerned, he thought that weaver and a carder were infinitely preferable to a soldier. He said, " I refuse to call the profession of the sepoy honourable when he has no choice as to the time when and the persons or people against whom he is called upon to his sword". He complained bitterly that the services of sepoys had often been utilized "for enslaving us than for protecting us". In an independent India " the soldiers will not then be hireling, but they will form the national militia for defence and protective purpose alone". (5) He did not have much use for the army which he looked down as mercenary. In free India Gandhi thought of only a national militia and not a regular standing army . The defensive and protective role of the militia was underscored. It was emphasised that the soldiers of the free India would, "never be sent to cut down inoffensive Turks or Arabs in the west or equally inoffensive Chinese or Burmese in the east." (6)

But it must be said to the credit of Gandhi that though he admitted bluntly that, "in my swaraj of today there is no room for soldiers, he had the honesty to admit, " I have not the capacity for preaching universal non-violence in the country. I preach, therefore, non-violence restricted strictly to the purpose of our freedom". (7) Gandhi further said, "If India comes to her own demonstrably through non-violence means, India will never want to carry a vast army, an equally grand Navy, and a grander Air Force.... the para-phernalia of war would be found to useless". (8) Gandhi admitted that "such an India may be a mere day-dream, "but this, he said, would be the implication of India achieving independence through non-violence. What was wanted and what India had learnt was " the spirit of unarmed resistance before which the bayonet runs to rust and gun powder twins to dust". (9)

After sometime in 1931 when he was asked whether he envisaged the possibility of doing away with a national army when swaraj was obtained, he answered, "as a visionary, yes. But I don't think it is possible for me to see it during my life-time. It may take ages before the Indian nation can accommodate itself to having no army at all. Again he was asked whether he saw a possibility of non-violence becoming an effective weapon in the international affairs, Gandhi replied, "I consider that non-violence will become such a weapon. First there is a change in ideas. Nations will rely more and more on consultations and arbitration, and progressively less and less on armies. Army may gradually be reduced to spectacular things, just as toys, remnants of something that is past and not as instrument of the nation". (10)

In 1946 when the goal appeared to be within sight, Gandhi wanted to use the army in constructive work as he said, "if Swaraj is round the bend, we can now look upon the military as ours and need have no hesitation in taking all the constructive work, we can from them. Up till now they have only been employed in indiscriminate firing on us. Today they must plough the land, dig wells, clean latrines and do every other constructive work that they can, and thus turn the people's hatred of them into love". (11) He was asked whether it was possible for modern state to offer non-violence resistance to meet internal disorders and external aggression. Gandhi claimed that a state could be based on non-violence. It could "offer non-violence resistance against a world combination based on armed forces". (12) Again a month before India became independent, Gandhi had been proclaiming that he had never approved of an army for free India. In a non-violent India military forces were not needed. "The defence" he said lay along the path of non-retaliation". It was incumbent on free India to perfect the instrument of non-violence for dissolving collective conflicts. Gandhi chided Gen. K. M. Cariappa who was reported to have said that-



"non-violence is no use under the present circumstances in India and only a strong Army can make India one of the greatest nations in the world. Gandhi made bold to say " in this age of the atom bomb unadulterated non-violence is the only force that can confound all the tricks of violence put together". (13)

The views of Gandhi on defence was not acceptable to the leaders of an independent India. Gandhi stood alone. He regretted that his colleagues, co-worker and countrymen had not risen to his idealism and hoped that one day they would see reason. Nevertheless, what Gandhi said had a tremendous impact on the minds on the leaders. Gandhi's views on defence and the armed forces left an imprint on the minds of the people and influenced many national leaders who eventually controlled political power. (14)

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(To be continued)

## CONCEPT AND PARAMETERS OF INDIA'S NATIONAL SECURITY :

### A Short Assessment

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It will be next to impossible to propound a universally applicable concept of national security for not only it covers a variety of nation but also from the fact that threat perception varies from nation to nation.

Traditional Realist School takes the Concept from the angle of power based assessment. Hans J. Morgenthau, (1), a contemporary realist, explains that the main signpost that helps political realism to find its way through the landscape of international politics in the concept of interest defined in terms of power.

The rhetoric of national Security justifies strategy involved at considerable cost to bolster industrial, military, and political structure of free world. It is also a rationale for international Cooperation for the united Nations, as well as justification for alliances, foreign aid, and extensive military involvement. (2) During the cold war in the international political game, the super power had an easy hand for justification and broadening of the concept of national Security on their own right. And concretization of deterrence to Security threats has been projected in a variety of ways.- more legitimately in the form of Regional Military Alliances, Bilateral Defence Agreements/Pacts/Treaties, and Foreign Sponsored Military Alliances etc.

Leaving aside the Realist School which has been noted above, there are many other approaches notable among them is the one based on Peace. The thinker on this line are rather identical to the Idealist School of thought. Even though the approach concerns directly to the essential nature of war, it can be effective not more than to find out some head-ways to the problem as it goes more towards moral and intellectual terms.

The above two approaches, the one based on power and the other one on peace have often been used to analyse national Security as well as international relations of nations and between nations. If we have to pick up more, we can find -



another school of thought known as Behavioral School. This particular school gained its popularity after the mid. 1945. This school of thought does not differ much from the Traditional Realist School as it also believes in power model. The appreciable quality of this school is its concern for scientific, Value free, and quantitative aspects.

These are, hence, the inadequacies in putting forward a satisfactory concept of national Security. Not surprisingly, the problem is more in case of the newly independent nations like India and others which got independence during the post 1945 period because of their inherent multiple domestic problem which manifest in the form of chronic internal Security problems. But, as for the so called strong nations, the realist school of analysis is found to be of functional value.

In the recent years, (3), the concept of national Security policy has been a subject to new interpretation in India. The traditional Indian view - one that is also familiar elsewhere in the world - held that the objective of national security was to protect the state's domestic physical assets, social and cultural values, and life styles from outside aggression, and that Security was achieved when the nation possessed sufficient power to deter external threats or withstand external aggression. These issues emanate from international politics at both regional and global levels.

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(To be Continued)

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