



Centre for Distance and Online Education

Punjabi University, Patiala

Class : B.A.III (Defence and Strategic Studies)

Paper : National Security of India

Semester : 5

Medium : English

Unit : I

Lesson No.

- 1.1 : National Security : Conceptual Aspect
- 1.2 : Elements of National Security
- 1.3 : India's Security Problems since Independence
 - 1.3.1 Security Problems related to Pakistan and Indo-Pak War of 1965 : Causes & Consequences
 - 1.3.2 Indo-Pak War of 1971 : Causes & Consequences
- 1.4 : Security Problems related to China and Sino-Indian War of 1962
- 1.5 : Indian Ocean and India's Security
- 1.6 : Nuclear Policy of India

Department website : www.pbidde.org

B.A. PART-III (SEMETER – V)
DEFENCE AND STRATEGIC STUDIES
(Syllabus for 2020-21 and 2021-22 Sessions)

NOTE – THERE WILL BE TWO THEORY PAPERS ONE FOR EACH SEMESTER COMPRISING 85 MARKS AND ONE PRACTICAL EXAMINATION COMPRISING 30 MARKS. THE PRACTICAL EXAMINATION WILL BE HELD ONCE IN A YEAR in the SIXTH SEMESTER.

**As per UGC directions to the Indian Universities (DO No. 14-5/2001(CPP-II) dated 27th September 2012), an optional paper of DISASTER MANAGEMENT has been introduced from the academic session 2013-14. The students have the option to choose either Paper -II (Option-I) or Paper II (Option-II).

PAPER - I (Compulsory) NATIONAL SECURITY OF INDIA

INSTRUCTIONS FOR DISTANCE EDUCATION CANDIDATES

PAPER - NATIONAL SECURITY OF INDIA

Maximum Marks: 85

Time Allowed: 3 hours

Pass Marks: 35% of the subject
(Theory, and practical separately)

INSTRUCTIONS FOR PAPER-SETTER

The question paper will consist of three sections: A, B and C. Sections A and B will have four questions each from the respective sections of the syllabus and A section will carry 12½ marks and B section will carry 12 marks each. Section C will consist of 12 short answer type questions carrying three marks each covering the entire syllabus and will be compulsory.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE CANDIDATES

Candidates are required to attempt any four questions selecting at least two questions from each Section A and B and the entire section C.

SECTION-A

- i. **National Security: Conceptual Aspects.**
- ii. **Elements of National Security:**
 - a. Geography
 - b. Mineral resources

- c. Social, political and economic factors
- d. Scientific and technological development
- e. Military preparedness
- iii. **India's Security Problems since independence.**
 - a. Geo-political effects of partition.
 - b. Security problems related to Pakistan.
 - c. Security problems related to China.
- iv. **Indian Ocean and India's Security:**
 - a. Geo-strategic importance of the Indian Ocean.
 - b. India's economic, political and security stakes in the Indian Ocean.
 - c. Role of Indian Navy & Coast Guards.
- v. **Nuclear Policy of India.**

SECTION-B

- i. **Internal dimension of India's Security:**
 - a. Militancy in Jammu & Kashmir
 - b. Insurgency in North Eastern States
 - c. Naxalism
- ii. **Economic Mobilization for National Defence with reference to Mobilization of Physical and Fiscal resources.**
- iii. **Planning and Production for National Defence.**
- iv. **Major Defence Production Industries in India.**

SUGGESTED READINGS:

Buzan, Barry(1987)	People Fear and State
Bajpai,U.S.(1986)	India and its Neighbourhood
Bobbing, Ross and Gordon, Sandy(eds)(1992)	India's Strategic Future
Chatterjee,R.K.(1978)	India's Land Borders- Problems and Challenges
Chaudhury, R.Roy(1995)	Sea Power and India's Security, London, Brassey's.
Dass, S.T.(1987)	National Security in Perspective
Karnard, Bharat, (1994)	Future Imperiled

Kavic, Lorne J.(1967)	India's Quest For Security: Defence Policies 1947-1965
Khera,S.S.(1968)	India's Defence Problems
Menon, V.P.(1961)	The Story of the Integration of Indian States
Misra, R.N.(1986)	Indian Ocean and India's Security
Nayar, V.K.(1992)	Threats From Within
Rao, R. and Sharma, R.C.(eds)(1991)	India's Borders
Rao,P.V.R.(1970)	Defence Without Drift
Singh, Jaswant(1999)	Defending India
Singh, Nagendra(1974)	The Defence Mechanism and the Modern State
IDSA Journals/Reports/Publications	

NATIONAL SECURITY: CONCEPTUAL ASPECT

- 1.1.1 Objectives
- 1.1.2 Introduction
- 1.1.3 Objectives and methods of National Security
- 1.1.4 National Interest
- 1.1.5 National Principles
- 1.1.6 National Objectives
- 1.1.7 National Policies
- 1.1.8 Summary
- 1.1.9 Long Questions
- 1.1.10 Suggested Readings

1.1.1 Objectives

The main objective of this chapter is to teach students about national security and its importance for the country. It will help to gain knowledge about national policies, principles and objectives of the nation.

1.1.2 Introduction

Before we discuss "National Security", it is very important and necessary to understand as to what is a "Nation". The word "Nation" has been derived from the Latin word "nation", which means 'born'. A nation, therefore, is a group of people wedded together in a class or society by ties of blood-relationship. This definition rather gives nation a radical and, or an ethical meaning, thus not the correct definition of a nation.

Etymologically, "a nation consists of groups of people, a race welded together in a society by ties of blood-relationship". However, race and nation are two distinct terms. The mere claim of blood-relationship may not be applicable in today's world due to migrations of people to other nations over a period of time as well as their activities. The people i.e. the population in a country like India, USA, UK, Australia etc. consists of many races, people of mixed blood. As such, one can say that a Nation has no real significance of mere race only.

I. National Security

As observed above, a nation consists of individuals, races, ethnic groups, linguistic entities etc. having certain characteristics in common to make them members of a nation. Besides being member of a nation, their feelings, emotions, actions, social actions and behaviour traits, economic, political party affiliations and their actions encompass all these traits towards a nation's affinity. For the well being, progress and ensuring security of the nation both internal as well as external security for its people i.e. "the nation", national security assumes importance.

Before, we proceed any further, let us see what Security means? As per Oxford and Chamber's dictionary, Security has been defined as, "a state or feeling or means of being secure or free from danger," thus, security is safety, freedom from fear and anxiety. It is a state of safety, protection from fear, anxiety and danger from the others. In security parlance, the danger can be of various types and at various levels. However, at national level, the concept of national security consists of security of people of a nation against internal as well as external threats to its people, economy, territory and social activities.

According to Walter - Lippman, "a nation is considered to be secure only, when it does not have to sacrifice her legitimate national objectives in order to avoid war, and if challenged, the nation is capable of maintaining these objectives through the course of war."

According to large number of analysts, national security refers to that capability of a nation which enables it to defend its honour both from internal as well as external threats. The internal threats assumes great significance in recent years in view of ethnic violence, fundamentalism, sectarianism, religious fanaticism and cross-border terrorism etc.

From the above, one can fairly assume that national security, is the maintenance of identity and independence of a nation i.e. "sovereignty of nation". To ensure national security, both external as well as internal dimensions are required to be looked into and maintained. Besides ensuring security of the people against external as well as internal threats., the national security encompasses the preservation of national integrity, security of life of people, development of economy, technology, exploitation of natural resources, increasing production both industrial and agriculture, upliftment of poor population, education, health, culture, social development, stable and pragmatic foreign policy and maintaining good relations with neighbours. Besides, the above, maintaining political stability, secularism, education, defence preparedness and self sufficiency, industrialization etc. helps in maintaining National Security. In addition, steps are required to be taken against cross-border terrorism, internal dissatisfaction, sectarianism and religions fundamentalism and ensuring sufficient safeguards against internal as well as external threats to maintain the sovereignty of the nation.

1.1.3 Objectives and methods of National Security

The objectives of National Security are listed below:-

- (a) To foresee and ensure security of the nation against external threats
- (b) To foresee and safeguard the nation against internal threats
- (c) Economic development of the nation
- (d) Uplift of the people of the nation
- (e) Self sufficiency in production of agriculture and industry
- (f) Social development of people and ensuring safety of social values
- (g) Pragmatic diplomatic foreign policy
- (h) Defence preparedness
- (i) Research and development
- (j) Good neighbourly relations
- (k) Political stability
- (l) Welding the various groups, ethnic segments, various ideologies and religious togetherness to form 'one nation'
- (m) National pride
- (n) Respecting and defending the fundamental rights of its people.
- (o) Nuclear deterrent
- (p) Development of new technologies
- (q) Maintaining and creating the health standard of people
- (r) Development of education

1.1.4 National Interest

The objective of National Security is to foresee and eliminate all the problem areas of danger arising either internally or externally and/or both for the existence of a nation. Every nation, in order to ensure National Security as per its requirements formulate national as well international objectives and frame such policies as well as to undertake national commitments based on need, purpose, interest and principles.

National interest is the sum total of the national values. These national values are connected with political aspirations, welfare, protection of people, their culture, inner as well out side threat, the nation's out side interests, security safe guarding, preparations to meet any external threat and well being of its people. National values clash at times. Thus, a concerted effort is required to be made to decide as to which interests are to be safe guarded and what preference it is to be given over other values. The following aspects of national interest are worth mentioning :-

1. Foreign Policy as part of National Interest

In order to protect and ensure the national interest, foreign policy of a nation plays a very important and significant part. A good, stable, pragmatic and firm foreign policy will ensure and strengthen the national interests of a nation. On the other hand a weak & unstable foreign policy, may jeopardize the national interests which in turn may endanger national security. A stable political government helps formulating a stable and firm foreign policy.

2. Security

It is important to maintain the identity and independence of the nation i.e. ensuring the sovereignty of the nation. Both internal as well as external security is required to be maintained and ensured. Measures to ensure national security are as follows:-

(a) Short Term Measures to ensure security

Preservation of national integrity, security of life of people, uplift of the poor, development of technology, import of weapon and equipment.

(b) Long Term Measures to ensure security

These include attaining self sufficiency, increase in industrial as well as agricultural production, fast and steady economic growth, 'State of art' technological advances, self sufficiency in the production of weapons and equipment and development of IT technologies.

3. National Development

It is very important to ensure the development of economy, development of 'state of art' technologies, social development, good foreign policy projections, maintaining good relations with other countries with particular reference to the immediate neighbours, uplift of the poor population, social development, education includes compulsory education up to some class level in school, aspects of national development. Import of technology and sending students to learn in foreign and more advanced universities may be undertaken . Foreign aid and loans may be undertaken to ensure speedy national development. Flow of 'Brain Drain' has to be stopped. Development of IT technologies has assumed great importance recently.

4. World Order

As part of National Interest policies, creation of peaceful atmosphere and conditions in the world are required. No tension should be there in the world, otherwise, it may lead to conflicts, suffering of trade, economy and over and above straining of International Relations and peace. This will retard progress and prosperity.

5. Ensuring the Security of the Frontiers

So as to ensure national security, as part of national interest, it is very necessary to ensure security of frontiers by raising, maintaining, equipping the Armed Forces with the 'State of Art' weaponry and deploying sufficient defence forces on the threatened areas where the neighbours do not respond to the 'live and let live' peaceful dictum. As part of National Interest, a nation may have to ensure National Security by going outside the frontiers e.g. 1971 war in East Pakistan and creation of Bangladesh and helping Maldives in the abortion of coup.

1.1.4.1 Self-Check Exercise-I

Q.1 What is National Security ?

Ans. _____

Q.2 What are the Objective of National Security ?

Ans. _____

1.1.5 National Principles

The National Principles of the nation are the enduring rules of conduct that characterize a nation. These principles are made, amended and modified from time to time depending upon the national security and National Interest requirements. National Principles of nations differ from nation to nation based on their geographical location, types of people, ideologies and the types of governments. National principles however, exert a significant and powerful influence on national decision making and during their implementation. Some of the principles which guide the actions and reactions of nations are :-

- (a) Respect for human and their fundamental rights.
- (b) Respect of sovereignty of nations, equality of nations, however small or insignificant they may be.
- (c) Settlement of international disputes by peaceful means bilaterally or through the UN.

1.1.6 National Objectives

National objectives are the broad based goals of a nation based on certain national principles which are designated to keep the national interest. Again, these objectives keep on changing with the changed scenario and changing requirement of national security and national interest. Some of the national objectives could be stable like the expanding national economy, deterrence of war, social and cultural advancements,

uplift of poor, education, technological advances, attainment of self sufficiency etc.

1.1.7 National Policies

National Policies are the specific course of action under taken by a nation to achieve the national objectives. National policies may be considered as the means to accomplish the national objectives. These policies must take into account all the elements of national strength in order to ensure and achieve the required national objective and results. The formulation of national policies is the primary and very vital task of 'National Government in Power'. The national policies should not change with the change of national governments.

1.1.8 Summary

In order to ensure the concept of national security, it is necessary to understand all the aspects mentioned above. In order to ensure national security, understanding the problems of national security both internal as well as external is very essential. Sufficient safe guards by way of making national objectives and national policies are required to be made. National interest is to be kept in mind while making these objectives and policies. This will ensure national security. Stable and pragmatic foreign policy helps in maintaining the national interests and national security.

1.1.9 Long Questions

Q.1 What is National security and its objectives and methods ?

Q.2 Explain the national security and interest and principles.

1.1.10 Suggested Readings

S.T. Das : National Security in Perspective : Delhi, Gian Publishing House

Jaswant Singh : National Security, Lancer Publishers

ELEMENTS OF NATIONAL SECURITY

- 1.2.1 Objectives
- 1.2.2 Introduction
- 1.2.3 Elements of National Security
 - 1.2.3.1 Stable Factors
 - 1.2.3.2 Unstable Factors
 - 1.2.3.3 Self-Check Exercise-I
- 1.2.4 Summary
- 1.2.5 Long Questions
- 1.2.6 Suggested Readings

1.2.1 Objectives

The main objective of this chapter is to teach students about elements national security and the differences between stable and unstable factors of national security.

1.2.2 Introduction

The preservation of national security of the nation is of paramount importance and vitally essential. Threats to the nation's security can be both external as well as internal. The degree of security required to be achieved against both the dangers and threats would depend upon the level of national power and strength or steps under-taken by the nation to overcome these dangers and threats.

A nation is considered to be secure or insecure according to its strength and ability to eliminate the possible areas of dangers and weaknesses. It is fairly correct to presume that a nation's national security depends on its capabilities which is its power both economic and military. The capabilities of a nation can be measured objectively, whereas the power is evaluated in more subtle psychological and rational terms. The psychological aspect of having sufficient power is crucial as it depends to a great extent as to what other nations think of it.

1.2.3 Elements of National Security

In order to possess sufficient strength or power to ensure adequate requirement of National Security, some of the important elements of National Security can be classified and characterized. The two generally accepted classification of elements of National Security are as follows :

1.2.3.1 Stable/tangible Factors : Geography and Mineral Resources

1.2.3.2 Unstable/intangible Factors : Manpower, Economic stability and Industrial strength, Military preparedness, National character, National morale, Social & Political Aspects and Science and Technology.

Some of the important elements of national security are being discussed in the subsequent paragraphs.

1. Geography

It is the most stable and permanent important factor of National Security which effects the National Security. The geography of the nation dictates the size , topography , climate, agriculture, working culture of the people depending upon the type of climate, neighbours, access to sea, sea trade and industry. The following factors of geography effect the National Security of a nation :-

- (a) **Size** : This implies that a large size of country (Area) can accommodate more people and is capable of sustaining a large population. The larger the size, there are more chances of finding national resources, and ensuring industrialization. The larger size of a nation can protect the nation adequately from nuclear strike as compared to smaller size of nation which can be easily wiped out the entire population. As also, a small size is easy to overrun in case of war. However, the large size requires large number of military forces for protection from external aggression as well as from hostile neighbours.
- (b) **Location** : Location of nation is even more important than its size. Location decides economy, people, climate, crops and their pattern, culture, mining, commerce, factories. Location also decides whether a nation is land locked or is a sea power. It along with the size indicate the borders with neighbours and the efforts required to ensure National Security. Location also indicates the likely important areas, battle grounds, buffer areas. It also determines the climate of a place. The requirement of military power required to deal with aggression of a nation will be determined by its location and proximity with neighbour's behaviour.
- (c) **Climate** : The climate determines the culture, economy, political organisations, religion of a nation. Climate affects directly the health and energy of people. It plays a very important role in the geography e.g. continuous heat and humidity

saps the energy of people. Whereas temperate cold, mild cold enhances the energy and stamina of people. Monsoon too plays an important role and effects the economy positively as well as negatively. The climate also determines the location of industries and other development activities.

- (d) **Topography** : It means the surface features of area, locations of mountains, rivers including their direction of flow, plateau's, flat land and desert etc. effect the geography of a nation. For example, Himalayas was considered as a barrier between India and China. It prevents cold winds from North. Rivers provide hydel energy, water for irrigation, navigation as well as natural boundaries between nations. Availability of sea and ocean is considered as natural protection as also helps in sea (transport) trade. Topography also provides ecological balance due to snow, rivers, vegetations. Hills and mountain provides timber, herbs and natural resources and also wild life.

2. Mineral Resources

Availability of mineral resources is a god's gift to nations. Exploration of mineral resources provides raw material (which helps industries to grow). Their availability is very important source of ensuring National Security which will help the nation in becoming a great power. Without the mineral resources, it will be difficult to become a great national power. Mineral resources are parts of inorganic process which includes metals, oils, water, chemicals, coal etc. The availability of large quantity and good quality of mineral resources is very important for ensuring National Security. e.g. Indian coal and steel is poor in quality but these are the most important minerals. Oil is another important mineral. Gulf region countries have abundance of oil, thus these countries are rich due to the availability, extraction and export of oil. National power and national security of a nation depends on the availability and development of mineral resources. Mineral resources can be divided into three following categories :-

- (a) Metals
- (b) Non-metals
- (c) Fuels

3. Economic Stability

Economic stability is one of the very important aspect of national security. Economic progression of the country ensures the economic stability. Without economic stability, national security can not be adequately ensured. Economic stability can be ensured by a network of financial, commercial and productive enterprises. Strong industrial capability with technological advances, research and development infrastructure, availability of Capital (soft loans) and production of all types of needed material for internal as well as external consumption will ensure economic stability. The need of research and

development of 'State of Art' weapon systems and other defence related materials to meet the requirements of defence forces needs to emphasis to ensure national security. Continuous economic developments should be carried out which include increase in the production capacities, setting up of 'joint ventures, new-plants, machinery, working capital', availability of capital, availability of raw material, availability of high grade technology and technical hands and efficient labour. Good government policies, allocation of resources, less government and bureaucratic interference in trade and industry, liberal industrial policy, availability of capital at lower rates of interest, import and export liberalisation, protection of industry from outside tariffs and pressure and grant of incentives to trade and industry will ensure economic stability which in turn will ensure national security.

4. Military Preparedness

In order to defend the frontiers of the nation, the requirement of keeping and maintaining the strong armed forces is a necessity for the nation. Therefore sufficient strength of armed forces is required to be maintained and these forces are required to be equipped with "State of Art" weapon in order to meet any aggression. The military preparedness entails expenditure, but provides preservation of liberty and freedom to the population of the nation from external aggression and ensures national security. Military preparedness encompasses the following ingredients in order to ensure National Security :

- (a) Threat perception from outside (i.e. external) as well as from inside (internal)
- (b) Correct and prompt appreciation of existing as well as envisaged threat by political masters as well as the military Top Brass. It is necessary to keep vigil through out the year.
- (c) Allocation of sufficient defence budget.
- (d) Recruitment of soldiers based on the threat perception
- (e) Establishment of military training establishments and rigorous training throughout the year.
- (f) Defence Research and Development (R &D) to ensure 'State of Art' weapons and equipment and ensuring self-sufficiency by indigenous production as a long term measure.
- (g) Equipping the Armed forces with the latest 'State of Art' weaponry and equipment.
- (h) Industrial backup to ensure self sufficiency in production.
- (i) Understanding and appreciating the requirement of technological changes in the weapons and equipment of defence forces.
- (j) Maintaining high morale of troops and ensuring high quality leadership.

- (k) Reviewing the threat perceptions continuously and periodically and taking necessary steps to meet these threats.

Defence preparedness is an objective indicator of eternal vigilance. Defence preparedness provides deterrence and it indirectly saves lives. It generates economic and socio-cultural benefits, thus ensures and safeguards national security. The old dictum, "If you want peace, be prepared for war" still holds good. The recent Kargil crisis and happenings are indicatives of military preparedness.

5. Social and Political Aspects

Social and Political aspects of the nation have a great bearing on the national security. The social aspect is indicative as to how the society has been formed and is functioning. How the various clans, tribes and ethnic communities in the nation are behaving and inter-acting with each other. Religion also plays a great part in the formation of social behaviour of the people and their inter-action with other people. In a state where fundamentalism is predominant, it may affect the other people who do not have the same religious belief. This may erode the secular nature of a nation and may retard the progressive functioning of a nation and may become a problem for ensuring national security. Whereas, secular societies with openness and moderation in religious beliefs may help in the maintenance of National Security. With fundamentalism rampant in a nation, dissensions in the society may erode the nation's strength internally and may pose problems externally. However, religion spells out the moral code of people. National feelings, like, patriotism, is the out-come of the religious code, which is a dominant National Security aspect.

The way of life of people, their behaviour, their customs and traditions, their culture, even caste system plays a significant part in the strengthening or weakening of National Security. If the people of a nation are sociable, have tolerance and follow the policy of 'live and let live' the National Security of that nation will automatically get enhanced as compared to others where the people and society show intolerance to others, has indifferent standard of living of people and low literacy rate will adversely affects the National Security.

As far as the Political system is concerned, it will be very fair to assume that a secular and democratic form of Government provides greater national strength than a dictatorship from of Government. The recent example of crumbling of Soviet Union is indicative of this aspect. The Soviet System of socialism failed after experimenting over 70 years. Look at their shattered economy, political upheavals and condition of the people. Other examples of non-democratic way of functioning of governments is Nepal and Pakistan.

However, it is generally believed that dictatorship form of government has great

advantage for national power at the time of war, where centralised control, secrecy and swift execution are the most important ingredients. But, this is not true and does not pay in the long run. Example can be sighted of Germany's dictatorship during World War II, where initially, gains were seen, but ultimately, the dictatorship paved way for democratic form of government.

Most of the observers point out that democracy has a great advantage as it is run on the consent and voluntary support of people and political parties. Democracies are run on the beliefs and notions of people who send their representatives to form the government.

Notwithstanding the above, stability of any political system or any form of government is a very important aspect of national security. Stable political system will help forming a stable government. A stable government will be pragmatic in its approach to the problems as well as governance of the nation. A stable government will be progressive and will have a mature foreign policy. A mature foreign policy will be indicative of peace with the neighbours. This will ensure security for the nation.

6. Science and Technology

Technology is the applied science and knowledge in all spheres of life which is applied to the best advantage. This is also called 'technical know how'. The more technically advanced a nation is, the more powerful it becomes as it helps producing 'State of Art' production systems, in increasing production, producing quality products with minimum effort. With the introduction of new technology, quality weapons and equipment can be produced which ensures national security as that enhances the security. Further, with the introduction of new technologies, the production increases, cost of manufacturing goes down and quality materials are produced. This gives economic power to the nation. The better the economic power a nation has, the better the nation's security becomes.

Any nation with a sound technical base will have advantage over others. Initially, the technology may have to be imported. Joint ventures or transfer of technologies may have to be resorted to start with. Establishment of a sound 'Research and Development' department in the country will go a long way to achieve technological advances and ultimately it will help ensuring self-reliance and self-sufficiency.

Technology is not static. It is ever changing and is changing rapidly. Technological advances are very fast in many fields including the defence matters.

In the case of Defence, 'The State of Art' weapons and equipment is very important. New armaments, guns, tanks, air power and ships must be developed/procured to keep pace with latest developments and production. Having nuclear capability and capability to deliver the weapon system is of utmost importance. Dropping of two Atom Bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki in Japan in 1945 changed the whole course of World

War II, and brought the war to an immediate end. This was the result of development of new technology during the World War II. Possession of Nuclear Bomb is deterrent, thus enhances and ensures National Security.

Our history is full of instances of superior weaponry used by adversaries with resounding successes to them. This had affected our national security. Thus, it would be right to presume that new technologies must be adopted and made use of in spheres of life so as to ensure adequate National Security.

1.2.3.3 Self-Check Exercise-I

Q.1 What is military preparedness ?

Ans. _____

Q.2 What is economic stability ?

Ans. _____

1.2.4 Summary

It will be observed from the above that the elements of national security if used in the correct way will definitely ensure better national security. Geography and Mineral Resources are very important stable and tangible elements. The exploitations and correct use of these factors must be ensured. Economic stability stems from the effective and prompt use of mineral resources. The more the economic progress, the more the economic stability will be ensured and the end result will be the more national security assurance.

A sound social and political system will ensure sound and stable governments to make and pursue pragmatic policies within as well as out side the country. A sound technological base and its use will ensure over all progress sooner. Correct threat perception and military preparedness will ensure preservation and enhancement of national security. A sound foreign policy and pragmatic approach enhances the national prestige in the country as well as abroad, thus enhancing the national power and national security.

1.2.5 Long Questions

Q.1 What are the elements of national security ?

Q.2 Explain the stable factors of national security.

1.2.6 Suggested Readings

S.T. Das : National Security in Perspective : Delhi, Gian Publishing House

Jaswant Singh : National Security, Lancer Publishers

**INDIA'S SECURITY PROBLEMS SINCE INDEPENDENCE :
GEO-POLITICAL EFFECTS OF PARTITION-BOUNDARIES AND
FRONTIERS**

- 1.3.1 Objectives
- 1.3.2 Introduction
- 1.3.3 The Population Migration to the newly created nations of India & Pakistan
- 1.3.4 Division of Armed Forces as a result of Partition
- 1.3.5 Creation of New Boundaries
- 1.3.6 The Security Problems
- 1.3.7 Pak Aggression in 1947
- 1.3.8 Geo-Political Effects of Partition
 - 1.3.8.1 Self-Check Exercise-I
- 1.3.9 Security Problems regarding the merger of States of J & K, Junagarh, Hyderabad and Goa
- 1.3.10 Summary
- 1.3.11 Long Questions
- 1.3.12 Suggested Readings

1.3.1 Objectives

In this chapter, the main objective is to teach students about the geo-political problems and effects of partition on India's security. Another objective is to make them understand about the creation of new boundaries and new nation theory.

1.3.2 Introduction

The partition of India in 1947 resulted within formation of India and Pakistan (East & West Pakistan), as a result of Jinnah's and his political party's demand for a separate country for Muslims. The partition instead of solving the problem to secure a peaceful settlement and security, created more serious security problems for both the countries especially for India. Even before the partition took place, the security problems had

started taking place by way of shifting of the population on both sides. The Pakistan's intentions however have been nefarious since beginning.

The New Boundaries : As a result of partition

Due to the partition of India on 15th August 1947, the new frontiers of India were extended as follows on the eve of partition:-

- (a) **On the North-West** - Line extending from Gilgit the Pamirs in Jammu and Kashmir to the Arabian Sea Coast. This has been a national boundary identified by well defined features on the ground.
- (b) **On the North** - From Gilgit, the Pamirs in Jammu and Kashmir, to the East along the Himalayas bordering Tibet, Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan and Burma (now Myanmar). This boundary has been running along the most rugged mountains on the watershed principles along the Himalayas.
- (c) **On the East** - Hill features extending from North East to South with Burma (i.e. Myanmar) along the most rugged mountains. A very well defined boundary with hill features, to foresee and safeguard the nation against internal threats.
- (d) **In Bengal** - Assam Corridor - The boundaries with East Pakistan extends from Bengal along the Siliguri corridor to Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura and Mizoram.

The Land Borders

India's land borders stretch to 14,100 kms and it had borders with six countries i.e. East Pakistan (now Bangladesh), Myanmar, Bhutan, Nepal, China (Tibet) and West Pakistan (Now Pakistan) is as follows:

- (a) Bangladesh : 4,351 Km.
- (b) Myanmar : 1,643 Km.
- (c) Bhutan : 699 Km.
- (d) Nepal : 1,751 Km.
- (e) China (Tibet) : 2,410 Km.
- (f) Pakistan : 3,244 Km including the LOC in J&K

1.3.3 The Population Migration to the newly created nations of India & Pakistan

The population of undivided India consisted of all religions with predominant Muslim population in the West Punjab, Sindh, Baluchistan and North-West Frontiers. There were also pockets of muslim dominant population in rest of India with a big chunk of Muslim population in East Bengal. The Muslim separatists wanted a separate home for the Muslims of India. Thus, Pakistan was brought into being as the result of partition of India in 1947 in order to create the separate home land for India's Muslims in response to demands of Muslim separatists led by Mohammed Ali Jinnah and other Muslim leaders.

At the time of partition, Pakistan was formed into and made of two separate regions - West Pakistan in the Indus river basin, and East Pakistan, located more than 1600 Km. away, in the Ganges river delta. East Pakistan however, ceased to exist in December 1971 when it was liberated by India with the help of Indian defence forces and Mukti Bahinis, and, Bangladesh was created in place of East Pakistan.

The partition not only drastically changed the boundaries of India, it also brought political, social, administrative and economic turmoil in India. A large number of non-Muslim population migrated from West Pakistan to East Punjab and other northern states of India, leaving behind dead their kith and kin due to communal riots, their property, animals and the very fertile land. The most fertile land "The granary of India" was left behind in Pakistan. The refugees came to India in a very pathetic state, penniless, homeless, having lost many members of their family and personal belongings. Housing these refugees, feeding them, providing health and medical facilities, and rehabilitating them became a major task for India and it posed a major security problem. On the Eastern side, since part of Bengal was divided to carve out East Pakistan, a similar problem arose there too. The partition moreover, led to leaving behind advanced industries going to Pakistan's share.

1.3.4 Division of Armed Forces as a result of Partition

In addition, to the above, the partition of India led to the division of armed forces between India and Pakistan. This created numerous security problems like re-organising of the armed forces, equipping them, guarding of new created frontiers and boundaries. The geo-political system went into great turmoil and it took considerable time to stabilize it.

1.3.5 Creation of New Boundaries

As a result of the partition, new boundaries were created and drawn between India and Pakistan. These boundaries were not drawn on the basis of any natural features easily identifiable on the ground, but were based on religious and political basis. The new frontiers and boundaries offered no automatic protection, thus required security from day one. The new boundary line in the West ran from Kashmir to Rann of Kachchh, which apart from being mountainous and hilly areas of Kashmir, ran through a broad plain. Though on the North, the boundary remained unchanged bordering Tibet, Nepal and Bhutan, however, in the East, the boundary with East Pakistan which was carved out of Bengal touched Bengal, Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura and Mizoram states of India. These new boundaries created a major security problem for India as these boundaries were also porous and were not based on any natural obstacle (i.e., features).

1.3.6 The Security Problems

As anticipated, though, most of the Muslim population from India migrated to Pakistan, it did not happen in the East. Though almost entire non-Muslim population left East

Pakistan, but the entire Muslim population from Eastern States did not migrate to East Pakistan. This further led to tensions and political upheavals. The creation of East Pakistan had strategic bearing on the territories of India located in the North-East. The creation of East Pakistan left a very small corridor from North to Eastern states. This small corridor could be threatened by China and Pakistan any time. This corridor is known as Siliguri corridor.

1.3.7 Pak Aggression in 1947

To add fuel to fire, Pakistani sponsored, armed intruders consisting of Northern tribals (known as Razakars) organized invasion in the State of Jammu and Kashmir and thus created a major political and security problem. The move of Razakars in Kashmir was so swift that even Srinagar city was threatened as these Razakars had reached the outskirts of the city very quickly. Kashmir at that time was a princely state ruled by Maharaja Hari Singh. The Maharaja did not join India or Pakistan on partition. The state forces of the Maharaja were not properly organised and were considered no match to the Pakistani sponsored Razakars. The state forces melted away within no time in front of the Razakars. India had to intervene on 27th Oct 1947, when the Maharaja acceded Jammu and Kashmir by signing the 'instrument of Accession of India' on the 26th October 1947. Though Indian forces acted swiftly to fight the Razakars and started pushing them out of Kashmir, it took them (i.e. Indian forces) more than one year to liberate 2/3 of population and area in Kashmir from the Razakars. Before the Armed forces of India could fully throw away the Razakars out of Kashmir, India went to UN in January 1949, and thus Kashmir de-facto got divided with Pakistan occupied Kashmir (PoK)-being controlled by Pakistan and the rest by India. The intrusion of Razakars into Kashmir was supported by Pakistan Army and was fully sponsored by the Government of Pakistan. Pakistani political leaders had evil designs for Kashmir ever before the partition took place in August 1947.

Since the signing of the Instrument of Accession to India by the Maharaja of Kashmir on 26th Oct, 1947, the J & K State became part of Indian territory and the defence and security of J & K state became the responsibility of India. This further created new frontiers, the security and the responsibility of defending it added further frontier to India's already long boundaries and frontiers. Thus, additional security problems added to the security problems inherited due to the partition.

1.3.8 Geo-Political Effects of Partition :

The Geo-political effects of partition of India in August 1947 on the boundaries and frontiers in India created the following effects :-

- (a) New boundaries with Pakistan were generally not based on any natural features on the ground.

- (b) The frontiers extended far too much due to creation of Pakistan as compared to pre-partition.
- (c) The requirement of defence forces to ensure the security of Indian borders increased tremendously due to the new created geographical boundaries.
- (d) Since the new boundaries were not based on any natural features on the ground, the borders became porous thus cross border terrorism, smuggling, narcotic trade, infiltration and anti-social activities started physically. It became impossible to guard every inch of border especially in J & K.
- (e) The only road passing through Srinagar (Kashmir) to Ladakh came under direct observation of Pakistan forces and created lot of logistic and security problems.
- (f) In the East, creation and carving of East Pakistan out of Bengal again created a major logistic and security problems for the Indian North-Eastern states as a narrow corridor of approximately 50 Km width now remained between East Pakistan and Nepal/Bhutan and India for the Indian access to the North Eastern states of India. This became a magic choke point specially with hostile China in the North and East Pakistan in the South.
- (g) Kashmir issue became a long drawn affair and this is likely remain a major "thorn in the neck" as far as India is concerned till the issue is amicably settled.
- (h) The partition and occupation of part of Jammu & Kashmir by Pakistan through raiders i.e. Razakars gave her a strategic advantage in Jammu & Kashmir. The approach to Kashmir from West Pakistan side is easy and runs through the valleys. This enables her to move and switch her forces at various points easily and can also maintain a large number of fighting troops easily as compared to India's lengthy and comparative insecure logistic approaches. Besides this, the border being porous, Pakistan can always push in infiltrators easily with impunity and thus create major security problems.

1.3.8.1 Self-Check Exercise-I

Q.1 What were the security problems of India after partition ?

Ans. -----

Q.2 What were the geo-political effects of partition ?

Ans. -----

1.3.9 Security Problems regarding the merger of States of J & K, Junagarh, Hyderabad and Goa

At the time of partition in 1947, there were 565 princely states existing in India. At the time of Independence; all these princely states were free to decide their accession either to India or Pakistan or to remain independent. Geographically, all states falling within the Indian territorial (on partition) boundaries must accede to India, and all those princely states falling within territorial boundary of Pakistan should accede to Pakistan. But in the case of the princely states of Kashmir and Junagarh, the situation and problem were different. The state of Jammu and Kashmir was the only princely state bordering both with India and Pakistan, whereas, the states of Hyderabad as also the state of Junagarh was located well within the Indian territory. However, these states had different ideas of their merger and non-merger. On the other hand Goa with other small territories was within India's boundaries, but under the Portuguese rule and it did not want to merge with India at all.

On the Independence Day on 15th August 1947, all the 565 princely states had formally acceded to India or Pakistan, with the exception of three states- Hyderabad, Junagarh and Kashmir and also the territories of Goa. Of these, Hyderabad State was lying entirely within India and was at a distance of more than thousand miles from either wing of Pakistan, and would have inevitably acceded to India. It decided to become independent. Junagarh and Jammu & Kashmir being border States of Pakistan and India, became a principal bone of contention.

I. Merger of Kashmir (Jammu and Kashmir)

Kashmir, in fact, consists of two different regions of Jammu (a Hindu predominant) and Kashmir (Muslim dominant with Ladakh a separate Buddhist ethnic group). At the time of independence, the Maharaja Hari Singh, the ruler of J & K had three choices open to him

- (A) Accession to India
- (B) Accession to Pakistan
- (C) Remain independent.

Out of the three choices, he would not accede to Pakistan because of security fear to the large Hindu community in Jammu and Kashmir. He also did not want to merge with India. Thus, he wanted to remain independent of both these countries. Thus he did not accede either to India or Pakistan on 15th August 1947. He only acceded to India on 26th October 1947 when Pakistani sponsored and Pakistani aided tribal raiders (Razakars), armed with latest weapons, invaded Jammu and Kashmir, and also only when the Maharaja's State Army showed helplessness in preventing to face the onslaught of Pakistani sponsored invaders. Thus only on 27th October 1947 onwards,

India could take action against Pakistan invaders when the Maharaja signed the 'Instrument of Accession' to India (26th October 1947). By that time 2/3 of Kashmir was already invaded and occupied by Pakistan through these invaders. This added to additional inhospitable frontiers be guarded by India. The Jammu and Kashmir became a new problem of security to India and this problem remained so ever after more than 58 years of Independence. Kashmir issue will continue to remain a major painful thorn in India's neck. The Line of Control (LOC) after occupation of a major part of Jammu and Kashmir by Pakistan is like a "Live electric wire". The LOC runs through the most inhospitable terrain from Akhnoor to Siachen Glacier. The LOC is very porous which results in regular interruptions, infiltrations and cross border terrorism activities. It is 'neither war nor peace' situation with "low intensity conflict situation" going on at all times. The recent happening in Kargil area (1999) are an indication of the nefarious Pakistani designs and the surmounting security problems of India in Jammu and Kashmir. Also the cross border terrorism poses a great security threat to India.

II. Merger of Junagarh

On the eve of independence, the Nawab-ruler of the state of Kathiawad acceded to Pakistan contrary to the wishes of people of the state. The large majority people of the state wanted to with India. Claiming overlordship, he even sent his State Army into neighbouring Mangrol State, which had already acceded to India. A force of brigade group of regular forces was thus sent by India to protect Mangrol. In the meantime, the people of Kathiawad rose against their ruler. A state of chaos ensued in Junagarh with the "Arzi Kukumat" repudiating the Nawab's rule and his accession to Pakistan. When Indian regular forces entered Junagarh, the Nawab of the State fled to Pakistan. The Prime Minister of the State (Sir Nawaz Shah Bhutto-father of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto of Pakistan), and the State Council decided to accede to India in response to the popular wishes and demands of the people of the State. India accepted the accession. Thus the Junagarh security problem was sorted out otherwise it would have been the cause of another security concern and the security problem would have remained for India.

III. Merger of Hyderabad

The Hyderabad state posed a different problem altogether for India. The Hyderabad state is situated in the heart of Southern India. This land locked state was ruled by the richest man of the world- the Nizam. The ruler took up a wholly untenable position of complete independence despite the wishes of over 90 percent of people of the state who wanted the state to merge with India. After a year of protracted unsuccessful negotiations, an extremist party of Razakars of the state led by Qasim Rizwi took control of the State. These fanatics (i.e. Razakars) perpetuated atrocities within the state as well carried out raids into the Indian Territory. India obviously could not tolerate the cancer to spread, thus called upon Army to restore the situation. The Indian Armoured Division assisted

by infantry columns launched action against the Hyderabad fanatics. This action is called the "Hyderabad Police Action". In less than two weeks, the resistance put up by the Hyderabad Army was crumbled. Peace was restored and the State acceded to India.

IV. Merger of Goa

As far as Goa was concerned, Goa, Daman, and Diu territories located within the Indian boundaries had remained in Portuguese possession and the Portuguese authorities refused to accede to the wishes of people or to be guided by the British and French example of peaceful withdrawal from their erstwhile colonies in India at the time of Independence.

Despite negotiations and repeated diplomatic efforts, the Portuguese Government refused to accede and hand over the territories of Goa, Daman and Diu to India. The Portuguese Government refused to even accede to the wishes of majority population of these areas who were very keen to join the Indian Republic. This led to armed confrontation. On 19th December 1961, the Indian Armed Forces entered these territories. Though, the Portuguese Government complained to the UN about the armed intrusion of Indian forces, but in less than a week's time after some sharp engagements, Goa, Daman and Diu areas were liberated from Portugal. Had these territories remained with Portugal ? India's already heavy security problems would have surmounted further.

1.3.10 Summary

The Independence to India on the 15th August 1947 saw the country being divided into India and Pakistan. The partition created two Pakistans i.e. East Pakistan carved out of Bengal and West Pakistan carved out of Punjab and also included Sindh, North-West Frontier and Baluchistan. This created a long frontier with Pakistan (both wings), in addition's to the frontier with Tibet (which was later occupied by China), Nepal, Bhutan and Myanmar. The new land frontiers were porous as these were not based on any natural obstacles or barriers like mountains or along rivers. The partition led to the migration of major population to India and Pakistan which became major security problem for India.

The partition also led to the Pakistan led raiders (Razakars) invading the state of Jammu and Kashmir. The state of Jammu and Kashmir at that time was ruled by Maharaja Hari Singh and it was a princely state. The Maharaja, had not joined either India or Pakistan at the time of Independence of India and Pakistan. He only acceded to India when his state was heavily attacked by Pakistani sponsored Razakars, and his own forces could not face the Razakars. By the time he acceded to India, 2/3 of Jammu & Kashmir was already over run by the Razakars. However, on accession to India, the Indian army was quickly inducted into Kashmir and they were able to restore the situation before India went to UN. The border thus remained open and open to intrusion

and terrorism even till now inspite of India having fought wars with Pakistan in 1947-48, 1965, 1971 and also the Kargil war of 1999.

The states of Hyderabad and Junagarh were merged with India after a fight. The territories of Goa, Daman and Diu which were under the Portuguese rule, were also liberated later on with force as Portugal had refused to vacate these territories at the time of Independence of India.

1.3.11 Long Questions

- Q.1 Give a detailed note on geo-political effects of partition on India.
- Q.2 What were the security problems regarding the merger of states of Jammu and Kashmir, Junagarh, Hyderabad and Goa ?

1.3.12 Suggested Readings

- S.T. Das : National Security in Perspective : Delhi, Gian Publishing House
- Jaswant Singh : National Security, Lancer Publishers
- Yasmin Khan : The Great Partition : The making of India and Pakistan
- Harsh V. Pant : Politics and Geo-Politics

INDO-PAK WAR OF 1965 AND SUBSEQUENT DEVELOPMENTS

1.3.1.1 Objectives

1.3.1.2 Introduction

1.3.1.3 Background

1.3.1.4 Events Leading to War of 1965

1.3.1.5 Strength of Armed Forces of India and Pakistan

1.3.1.5.1 Self-Check Exercise-I

1.3.1.6 Topography

1.3.1.7 Ceasefire

1.3.1.8 Employment of Air Force and Navy

1.3.1.9 Losses

1.3.1.10 Summary

1.3.1.11 Long Questions

1.3.1.12 Suggested Readings

1.3.1.1 Objectives

The main objective is to educate students about the Indo-Pak war of 1965 and the major events of the battle.

1.3.1.2 Introduction

Reasons for the start of Indo-Pak war of 1965 can be traced back to the partition in 1947, subsequent development in J & K, the general hatred of India in the minds of Pakistan rulers since the time of their independence on 14, August 1947. Pakistan wanted to and still wants to grab Kashmir by "Hook or Crook". It did not hesitate to approach UN for the possession of Kashmir.

1.3.1.3 Background

The genesis of the second Indo-Pak War in 1965 lay in three separate events as follows :

- a) The first being the Indo-Pak war of 1947-48 in Jammu and Kashmir which resulted in a UN sponsored ceasefire and a militarily unsound and uneasy "Ceasefire Line".

- b) The second event was the Sino-Indian Agreement over Tibet. Tibet is adjoining Ladakh region of J & K where India had conceded Chinese suzerainty over Tibet. The Chinese had began the illegal construction of Aksai-Chin road within Ladakh region immediately after this agreement. Pakistan allowed the Chinese to extend the Aksai-Chin road through the Pakistan occupied Kashmir (POK) to establish road link with China and Pakistan through this road. This led to political and diplomatic heart burns over the issue and this was followed by the Sino-India war of 1962 where the independent India suffered major reverses at the hands of Chinese Army.
- c) The third event was the change of leadership in Pakistan. In 1965, Field Marshal Ayub Khan was the President of Pakistan and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was his assertive Foreign Minister. From their point of view, they considered India as a disoriented, weak and dispirited nation. Thus, they wanted to exploit the Kashmir question to their best advantage in 1965.

In this back-drop, the second Indo-Pak war occurred in 1965 which lasted 22 days from 1 Sept. to 22 Sept. 1965 with the ceasefire coming into effect from 23 Sept. 1965.

1.3.1.4 Events Leading to War of 1965

In its pursuit of taking advantage and to exploit the Kashmir question, on the question of dispute over the boundaries, Pakistan resorted to offensive in the Rann of Kutch areas of Gujarat on 9 April 1965 as prelude to the main war in September 1965. So as to attract reinforcements of army by India in Kutch from Punjab and then attack Punjab. The fighting took place to settle the Kutch-Sindh border. However, the Pak gamble misfired and this resulted in the India-Pakistan Agreement of the Kutch-Sindh Border which was signed on 30 June, 1965 with ceasefire becoming operative with effect from 1 July 1965.

In this Rann of Kutch conflict, Pakistan had aimed that India will reinforce the Rann of Kutch by shifting forces from Punjab for this operation, so that a void is created in these area by India in order to resume their offensive in Punjab in September 1965. This move of Pakistan mis-fired as India did not shift any forces from Punjab to reinforce the Kutch conflict area as assumed by Pakistan. India considered the Kutch episode as a minor affair and did not send any additional troops in that area as reinforcements from the Punjab borders. With a view to capture Jammu and Kashmir, Pakistan had embarked upon an ambitious plan through the means of infiltration to start with, followed by the capture of Kashmir by them. The immediate aim of this operation was to keep the Kashmir question alive. The ultimate aim of sending infiltrators into J & K was to take that state by force, thus securing territorial gains without becoming involved in an all-

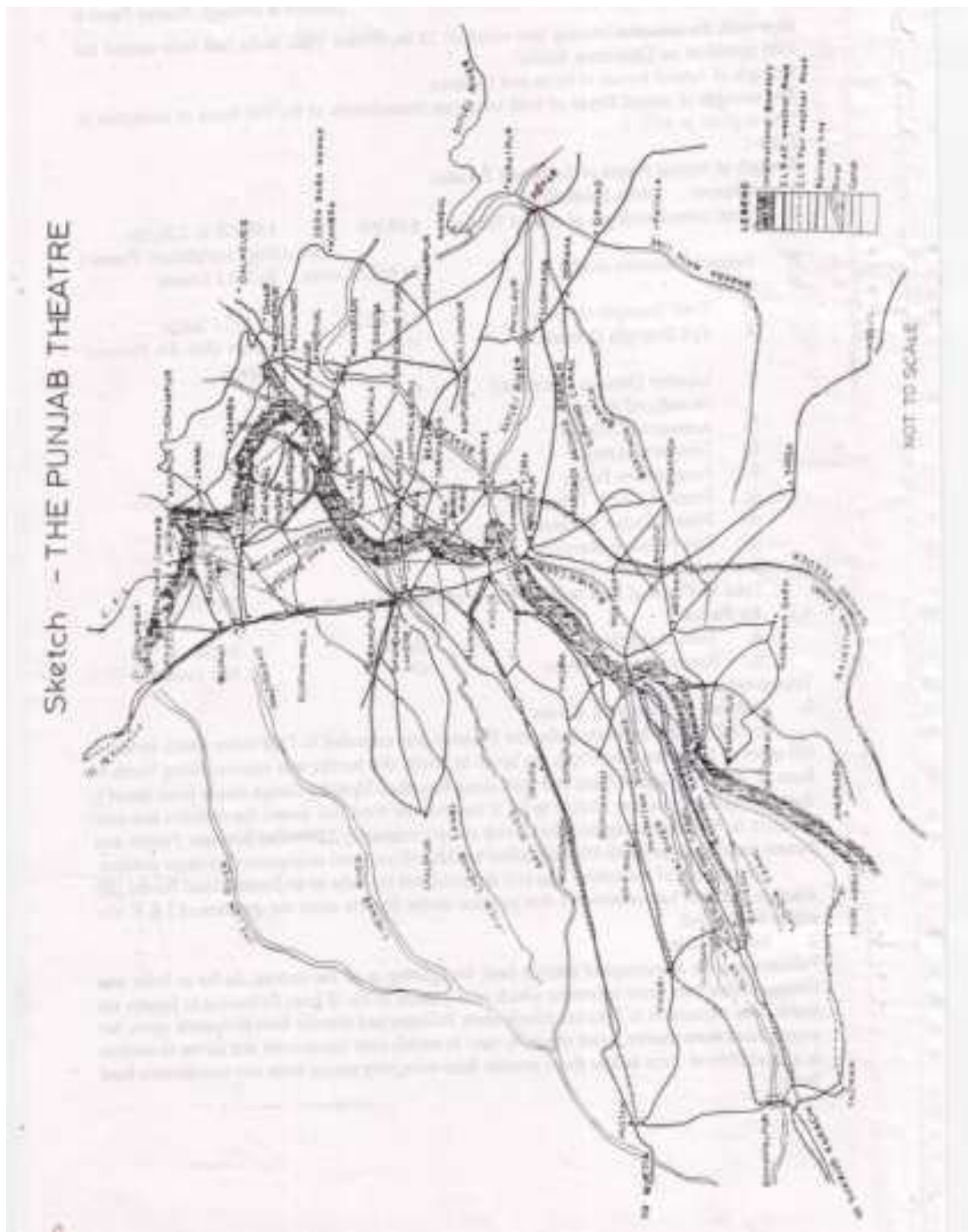
out war with India. A special force called the 'Gibraltar Force' was raised by Pakistan for infiltration into Kashmir. This 'Gibraltar Force' comprised of men from regular army, Pakistan occupied Kashmir Militia, the Frontier Scouts Units, the Mujahids and Razakars. The infiltration was organized into eight column of forces with total strength of 30,000 troops. The code name of this infiltration force was given as 'Operation Gibraltar' by Pakistan. The men of this force were armed with the modern weapons and were trained in Guerilla warfare. The task of this force after infiltration into J & K was:

- (a) To foment political trouble in J & K.
- (b) To spread confusion, to incite and help Kashmiris to rebel against the Government of J & K
- (c) To destroy strategically important bridges in Kashmir
- (d) To raid police stations in Kashmir
- (e) To destroy important installations in Kashmir
- (f) To disrupt convoys and communications in Kashmir
- (g) To raid Army Headquarters and supply depots of Indian Forces in Kashmir
- (h) To inflict casualties on Indian troops, civilian officials and VIP's in J & K
- (i) Also to interdict Srinagar-Leh road, thus cutting off supplies and re-inforcements to Ladakh

The 'Operation Gibraltar' started on 1 August 1965 and on 5 August the armed infiltrators actually crossed the "Ceasefire Line", and International Border, (IB)

Between the Jammu-Kargil areas in J & K at carefully selected points these infiltrator in thousands in civilian clothes (in batches of two's and three's) infiltrated into India in Kashmir and assembled at pre-selected points to re-group themselves into larger parties i.e. columns. Some of these infiltrators had penetrated deep into J & K. Much against the assumption of Pakistan that these infiltrators will be welcomed in the J & K by the local population and the local people will provide them local support, guidance and also join these forces in further tasks but instead of this the locals gave information about these infiltrators to the Indian authorities about their location, strength, weapons, their activities and their missions. These infiltrators also wanted to stage a rebellion on 9 August 1965 in Srinagar, capture the radio station, airfield, overthrow the state government of J & K, install a pro-Pakistan administration in J & K. The Indian security forces launched a counter-operation in retaliation against these infiltrators. As a result of Indian operation these infiltrators were stalked, engaged and liquidated piecemeal. Many of them surrendered, many crossed back the cease fire line and fled back to Pakistan, while the others either got killed or captured by our security forces along with a large quantity of arms and ammunition and equipment. Thus the 'Operation Gibraltar'

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of Pakistan came to halt, failed miserably and did not succeed at all.

At the same time, the Indian Forces retaliated by crossing the ceasefire line on 15 August 1965 in Kargil sector and occupied some dominating Pak positions which were posing a threat to India's line of communication. Similar action was also taken by Indian troops in Tithwal and Uri Sector. Strategic heights of Haji Pir Pass (8600 feet high) were captured on 27 August 1965 resulting in the establishment of Indian link up between Poonch and Uri. This action plugged the most important entry route of Pakistani raiders into J & K from the West.

The failures of 'Operation Gibraltar' and India's swift and successful action resulted into a full-fledged war starting on 1 September 1965 between India and Pakistan which lasted 22 days with the ceasefire coming into effect on 23 September 1965. India had code named the 1965 operation as 'Operation Riddle'.

1.3.1.5 Strength of Armed Forces of India and Pakistan

The strength of armed forces of both countries immediately at the out-break of hostilities in 1965 is given in table 1.

Table-1

Strength of Armed Forces of India and Pakistan

Armed Forces India Pakistan

1)	Total overall strength of Armed Forces	8,69,000	1,88,000 to 2,08,000 (including Para-Military Forces)
2)	Defence Estimates of War	Rs.995.2 Crores	Rs.138.2 Crores
3)	Army		
A.	Total Strength of Army	8.25 lakh	1.6 to 1.8 lakhs
B.	Full Strength Division	16	6 plus One Air Defence Brigade
C.	Infantry Division sanctioned on reduced strength	4	-
D.	Armoured Division	1	2
E.	Territorial Army	47,000	-
F.	Paramilitary Forces		
(i)	Frontier Corps(Tribesmen)	-	25,000
(ii)	West Pakistan Rangers		10,000
(iii)	East Pakistan Rangers		10,000

(iv) Azad Kashmir Troops		25,000
Total Strength of Para military forces of Pakistan	=	70,000

4.) **Air Forces**

A. Total Strength	28,000	20,000
B. Sanctioned Squadrons	45	Not Known

1.3.1.5.1 Self-Check Exercise-I

Q.1 What is Operation Gibraltar ?

Ans. -----

Q.2 What is Operation Riddle ?

Ans. -----

1.3.1.6 Topography**1. Western International Border**

In 1965 border between India and Pakistan was extended to 2100 miles which included 500 miles of Ceasefire Line. From the South to North, this border was running along North of Rann of Kutch in Gujarat State and then along Rajasthan up to Sri Ganga Nagar (arid desert), then the frontier ran along Punjab to J & K towards the West and joined the ceasefire line near Chhamb in the Jammu region. The stretch of approximately 1230 miles between Punjab and Jammu province from South-West of Kathua to Chhamb occupied an important strategic position.

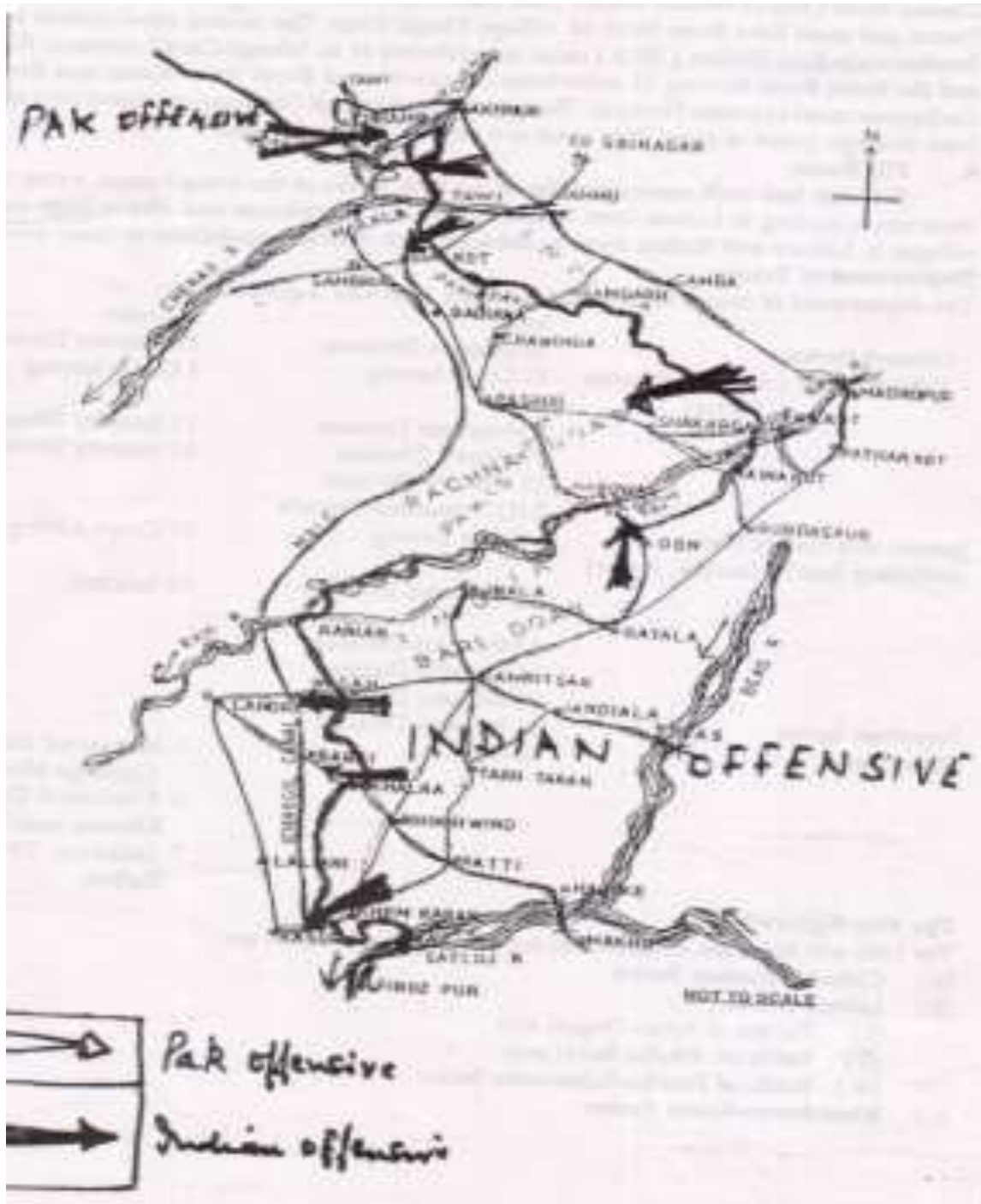
This portion of the border was and is considered by India as an International Border (IB) whereas Pakistan had considered this position under dispute since the question of J & K was still to be decided.

2. Interior Lines

Pakistan had the advantage of interior lines for fighting in all the sectors. As far as India was concerned, the only route to Jammu which runs parallel to the IB from Pathankot to Jammu via Samba was vulnerable to Pakistan interference. Pakistan had interior lines to operate upon, her supply lines were shorter, more effective, easy to switch over forces from one sector to another in a short span of time as also these interior lines were very secure from any interference from India.

3. Canal Defence of Pakistan

Pakistan on its side had built two canal systems between River Chenab and River Sutlej



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to provide them the defence capability. This first canal system known as Marala-Ravi Link (MRL) canal connects Chenab with Ravi River. It starts of from Marala Headworks on the Chenab River (North-West of Sialkot) and runs West of Sialkot and then to South-East towards Pasrur and meet Ravi River Noth of village Ichogil Uttar. The second canal system known as Bambanwala-Ravi-Bedian (BRD) canal also referred to as 'Ichogil Canal' connects River Ravi and the Sutlej River flowing 12 miles from Lahore-West of Burki Town-Kasur and finally joins Dadlappur canal opposite Firozpur. The alignment of Ichogil Canal is considered very important from strategic point of view. This canal is a defence oriented Canal.

4. Pill Boxes

Pakistan had built concrete pillboxes on both banks of the Ichogil canal, along with the three roads leading to Lahore from Attari, Khalra and Khemkaran and also in large number of villages in Lahore and Sialkot areas to enhance their defence capabilities in these areas.

Deployment of Troops

The deployment of troops on both sides for the 1965 war is given below:

	India	Pakistan
- Chhamb Sector	10 Infantry Division	12 Infantry Division
- Lahore Sector (incl. Khemkaran Sector)	XI Corps having 4 Mountain Division 7 Infantry Division 15 Infantry Division 2 (1) Armoured Brigade	1 Corps having 11 Infantry Division 12 Infantry Division
Jammu and Sialkot Sectors (including Samba-Jammu Sector)	1 Corps having 1 Armoured Division 6 Mountain Division 14 Infantry Division 26 Infantry Division	IV Corps having 15 Infantry
Rajasthan Sector	11 Infantry Division	
Strike Force	Nil	1 Armoured Division in Chhamb-Mange Area
Kharian near Sialkot	6 Armoured Division in 7 Infantry Division in Sialkot	

The War-Sectorwise

The 1965 war has been divided into six sectors. These sectors are :

- (a.) **Chhamb-Jaurian Sector**
- (b.) **Lahore Sector**
 - (i.) Battles of Attari-Dograi axis
 - (ii.) Battle of Khalra-Burki axis
 - (iii.) Battle of Fazilka-Sulemanke Sector
- (c.) **Khemkaran-Kasur Sector**
- (d.) **Samba-Jammu-Sialkot Sector**
 - (i.) Dera Baba Nanak (DBN) axis
 - (ii.) Jammu-Suchetgarh axis
 - (iii.) Samba-Sialkot axis
- (e.) **Rajasthan Sector**
- (f.) **Battle of Haji Pir Pass**

1. War in Chhamb-Jaurian Sector

Pak Plan : Pak War Plan was to attack the Chhamb-Jaurian sector in two phases. In phase one-capture and destruction of Indian forces west of Manawar Tawi. In phase two-cross the Manawar Tawi, destroy Indian forces in Jaurian area and pose a threat to Akhnoor. Pak had code named this operation as 'Operation Grand Slam'.

Indian Plan : India on the other hand had defensive plans for this Sector. Infact Indian defence forces were not fully prepared and the troops were thin on the ground.

The Battle : Pakistan started their offensive in the Chhamb-Jaurian sector with intensive shelling on 1 September 1965. On 2 September Chhamb was abandoned by Indian forces due to Pak intensive shellings, heavy troops advance and being thin on the ground. On 5 September Jaurian fell to Pakistan and Pakistan started posing a threat to Akhnoor. However, India reorganized his force in this sector and put up stiff resistance and due to stiff Indian resistance, Pakistan failed to capture Akhnoor. By 3:30 a.m. on 23 September, 1965 when the ceasefire was declared, the line of contact between opposing forces was Kalidhar-Point3776-Ganesra-along Mawa Wali Khad-Batta Devipur and Chenab River.

2. Lahore Sector

The war in Lahore sector shall be discussed on sub-sector wise basis with plans and operations on both sides with the main Indian offensive to relieve pressure on Chhamb-Jaurian sector, cause attrition on Pakistan, destroy Pak armour, force Pakistan to abandon her thrust into J & K, and to secure areas up to Ichogil Canal:-

- (a.) Battles on Attari-Dograi Axis
- (b.) Battles on Khalra-Burki Axis
- (c.) Battle in Fazilka-Sulemanke Sub-Sectors

(a.) Battles on Attari-Dograi Axis

Indian forces in this sub-sector consisted of 15 inf.Div with 54 inf. Bde and 96 inf. Bde and 14 Horse as the divisional Armoured Regiment. 15 inf. Div. was given the following tasks :-

- (i.) capturing the Eastern bank of Ichogil canal.
- (ii.) Capturing of Bhaini-Malakpur Bridge, Dograi Bridge, Upper Bari Canal Bridge at Ichogil canal and Jallo Bridge.
- (iii.) Establishing Bridgehead across Dograi Bridge with a view to pose further threat for further Indian offensive into Pakistan.

15 Infantry Division advanced on two axes

The battles started on 6 Sept 1965. Between 6 to 22 September intense battles were ensured. By ceasefire time on 23 September 1965, Dograi was captured and Indian troops were deployed up to the Ichogil Canal.

(b) Battles of Khalra-Burki Axis.

Indian forces in this area consisted of 7 inf. Div. which were comprised of 48 infantry Bde, 65 infantry Bde and 29 Infantry Bde with Central India Horse (CIH) as divisional armoured regiment. 7 Infantry Division was given the following tasks :-

- (i.) To advance on Khalra-Burki-Lahore Axis and capture the eastern bank of Ichogil Canal.
- (ii.) To Capture the road bridge on the Ichogil Canal.
- (iii.) To cross over the bridge from the Bridge-Head with a view to posing a threat for further offensive into Pakistan.
- (iv.) To prevent Pak aggression from Bedian.

The operations started on night 5/6 September with 65 Inf. Bde Crossing the IB. 48 Inf. Bde Secured and captured Hudaira Drain by 5 p.m. on 6 September. However, the Pakistanis had already destroyed the bridge over the drain in advance. On 10 September Burki was captured and the Eastern side of Ichogil Canal was contacted on 11 Sept, the bridge over the Canal was found destroyed by Pakistanis. By ceasefire time, 7 Infantry Divisions had captured and occupied an area of 151sq. miles of Pakistan up to the Eastern bank of Ichogil Canal.

(c) Battles in Fazilka-Sulaimanke Sub-Sectors

In this sub-sector the Indian forces were composed of 67 Infantry Brigade and were given the responsibility, of defending Fazilka-Sulaimanke Sub-sector with additional troops and a squadron of tanks. The task was to defend the areas of Harike Headwork, Hussainiwala, Fazilka and Sri Ganganagar. The Pak 105 Inf Bde in their offensive at Sulaimanke posed a threat to Hussainiwala, Fazilka and Ferozpur Sutlej Bridge. Though India lost some area to Pakistan in Fazilka, Pakistan could not capture Fazilka and also could not capture the Hussainiwala Bridge.

3. Khaemkaran-Kasur Sector

Indian Forces consisting of 4 Mountain Division had only two brigades i.e 62 Mountain Brigade and 7 Mountain Brigade. 2 (1) Armoured Brigade was placed under the command of 4 Mountain Division on 8 September, 1965. Task given to 4 Mountain Division by 11 Corps. were :

- (i.) To secure Pak territory upto the Eastern bank of Ichogil Canal.
- (ii.) To occupy compact defended sector covering axis Kasur-Khemkaran and Ganda Singhwala-Khemkaran to contain Pak offensive consisting of one armoured division and two infantry brigades on these axes

The Indian offensive started on 6 September on three axes with 4 Mountain Division advancing and attacking on the Khemkaran-Kasur axis. By 12:30p.m. the same day, all the primary objectives (except one) were captured and the Indian troops were within 300-400 yards of the Eastern bank of Ichogil Canal. However, Pakistan forces reacted swiftly by 2:30p.m. and counter-attacked Indian troops who were holding the objective close to Kasur. Pakistani tanks had infiltrated into Indian territory with major offensive in Khemkaran sector on 7 September. Pakistan had put in five major attacks between 8-11 September led by their armour in this sector seeking a major breakthrough, but could not succeed. In this sector major tanks battles ensued in which 4 Horse of Pakistan (one complete regiment of armour) surrendered to Indian Army. Pakistan lost 97 tanks, which include 72 Patton tanks as against the Indian loss of 14 tanks only in the 'Battle of Asal Uttar'. This battle is known as the 'Graveyard of Pattons'. This battle gave a resounding prestige to the Indian Army. The battle of Khemkaran was in fact the Pakistan's Waterloo with their 1 Armoured Division not making any progress and losing their tanks in large numbers besides suffering other casualties.

4. Samba-Jammu-Sialkot Sector

The Indian Armed forces had planned a major offensive in this sector. The Indian armed forces in this sector had consisted of 1 Armoured Division, 6 Mountain Division, 26 Infantry Division and 29 Infantry Brigade under command of 1 Corps. The 1 Corps plan was to launch a major offensive in this sector with a view to secure area Bhagowal-Phillorah-Chawinda-road junction South of Tarah with a view to advancing towards

MRL Canal and eventually to the line Dhale Wali-Wuhilium-Dasha-Mandhab. This operation is discussed in three sub-sectors/axis separately as under:

a) Dear Baba Nanak (DBN) Sub-Sector

Indian troops consisting of 29 Infantry Brigade were given the task of capturing Pak Enclave East of Ravi river and capturing the bridge intact if possible. The operation started on 6 September 1965 morning and the brigade captured the Pak Enclave the same day. The Pakistanis, however counter-attacked but, with the Indian pressure rebuilding, Pakistan withdrew and a lot of Pakistanis were taken prisoners of war. However, Pakistan blew-up the bridge, thus almost ending the operation in this sub-sector.

b) Jammu-Suchetgarh-Sialkot Axis

26 Infantry Division was consisting of 19, 162, 168 and 92 Infantry Brigades and two Armoured Regiments at the time of Pak infiltration (5 August, 1965) in Kashmir. The tasks given to 26 Infantry Division were :

- (i.) To advance on road Jammu-Suchetgarh-Sialkot
- (ii.) To secure area across IB
- (iii.) To take defensive positions with a view to protect the Western flank of 1 Corps. offensive
- (iv.) To protect Jammu

The division commenced the advance on 8 September, 1965. On the same day the Division captured Uche Wains and Niwe Wains. By 10 September the division cleared Kurar, and Salia-Niki Tejar. By 17 September, the division had cleared Chhange, Tilakpur and had captured Mahadipur by 23 September, 1965, when the ceasefire came into force. On the Bujragarhi-Sialkot axis, 168 Infantry Brigade had started the operation on 8 September, 1965 and had captured Bujragarhi, Kishanwali, Kalaranwanda, Rasulpur and Chak Baidia by 23 September when the ceasefire came into effect.

c) Samba-Sialkot Axis

99 Mountain Brigade of 6 Mountain Division occupied Charwa on 8 September, 1965, and 1 Armoured Division with 14 Infantry Division advanced upto Maharajke-Sabzipur crossing on 9 Sept., captured Kaloi-Rurkikhura, on 10 th Sept. 6 Mountain Division cleared a number of villages. Area Naklhual was secured on 10 Sept. the attack on Phillorah was launched on 11 Sept. 1965 and by 3.30 p.m. on 12 Sept. 65, Phillorah was captured. In this battle, Pak armour had suffered very heavy casualties. This was the major Indian offensive of 1 Armoured Division supported by 14 Infantry Division. Pakistan lost 67 tanks. In this battle, one Pakistan Brigade Headquarters and Tactical Headquarters of their 26 Armoured Division were over run by Indian forces where it is

believed that the General Officer Commanding of 6 Armoured Division got Killed. In this battle, Pak lost more than 110 sq. miles of territory to India. The Battle of Phillorah was one of the bloodiest tank battles in the history of armoured warfare. Pakistan had lost a total of 181 tanks in the whole operation in Samba-Sialkot axis. India had captured more than 180 sq. miles of Pak territory with 15 mile deep penetration in Pakistan.

5. Rajasthan Sector

In Rajasthan, 11 Infantry Division was consisting of two infantry brigades i.e. 30 Infantry bde and 85 Infantry bde. 30 Infantry bde started its offensive and captured Gadra City, on 8 Sep. 1965 Dali, Sakarbu and some other areas in Kelnor were captured from Pakistan during the operation.

6. Capture of Haji Pir Pass

Indian troops deployed in the holding role captured the strategic heights of Haji Pir Pass during these operations.

1.3.1.7 Ceasefire

The Ceasefire took place on 23 Sept. 1965. The ceasefire was followed by the Tashkent Declaration with the Soviet initiative. USA provided more than tacit consent to the Soviet initiative.

1.3.1.8 Employment of Air Force and Navy

Indian Air Force carried out strikes in Pakistan airfields and on other strategic targets. Indian Air Force's ground support to Indian army specially in their offensive was undertaken. Navy's role was limited to neutralizing the one known Pakistani submarine and keeping the Karachi harbour largely inoperational during the 22 day war in 1965.

1.3.1.9 Losses

During the 22 day war of 1965 the losses to Indian and Pakistanis were as follows (as per Indian estimates) :-

	Pak Losses	Indian Losses
Men Killed	4502	1333
Tanks lost	475	128
Aircraft destroyed	73	35

1.3.1.10 Summary

Subsequent to the 1965 war, Pakistan did not spare India and continued posing security threats. The genocide in East Pakistan (This theatre had remained dormant during the 1965 war) in March 1971 onwards led to a large number of refugees crossing into the East Indian States. This ultimately led to the 1971 war both in East Pakistan as well as in the West Pakistan side which ultimately resulted in the liberation of Bangladesh, and on

the Eastern side, India captured 93, 000 Pak prisoners in East Pakistan. This ultimately led to Simla Agreement of 1972 to ensure peace in the sub-continent. However, after a gap of 27-28 years during which time Pakistan continued to indulge in low intensity conflicts as also indulged in cross-border terrorism with India and occupying strategic heights in Dras-Kargil mountains area in 1999 resulting in the Kargil conflict in May 1999.

1.3.1.11 Long Questions

Q.1 Write down the historical background of India-Pakistan partition.

Q.2 What were the major events leading to Indo-Pak war of 1965 and its results.

1.3.1.12 Suggested Readings

- S.T. Das : National Security in Perspective : Delhi, Gian Publishing House
- Jaswant Singh : National Security, Lancer Publishers
- Yasmin Khan : The Great Partition : The making of India and Pakistan
- Harsh V. Pant : Politics and Geo-Politics

INDIA - PAKISTAN WAR (1971)

1.3.2.1 Objectives

1.3.2.2 Introduction

1.3.2.3 Reasons which led to war and Liberation of Bangladesh

1.3.2.4 Major events of war in the Eastern Sector

1.3.2.5 The 1971 war on the Western Front

1.3.2.6 Pakistan's Objectives in the 1971 War

1.3.2.7 India's Objectives in the 1971 War

1.3.2.7.1 Self-Check Exercise-I

1.3.2.8 Analysis of The 1971 war

1.3.2.9 Summary

1.3.2.10 Long Questions

1.3.2.11 Suggested Readings

1.3.2.1 Objectives

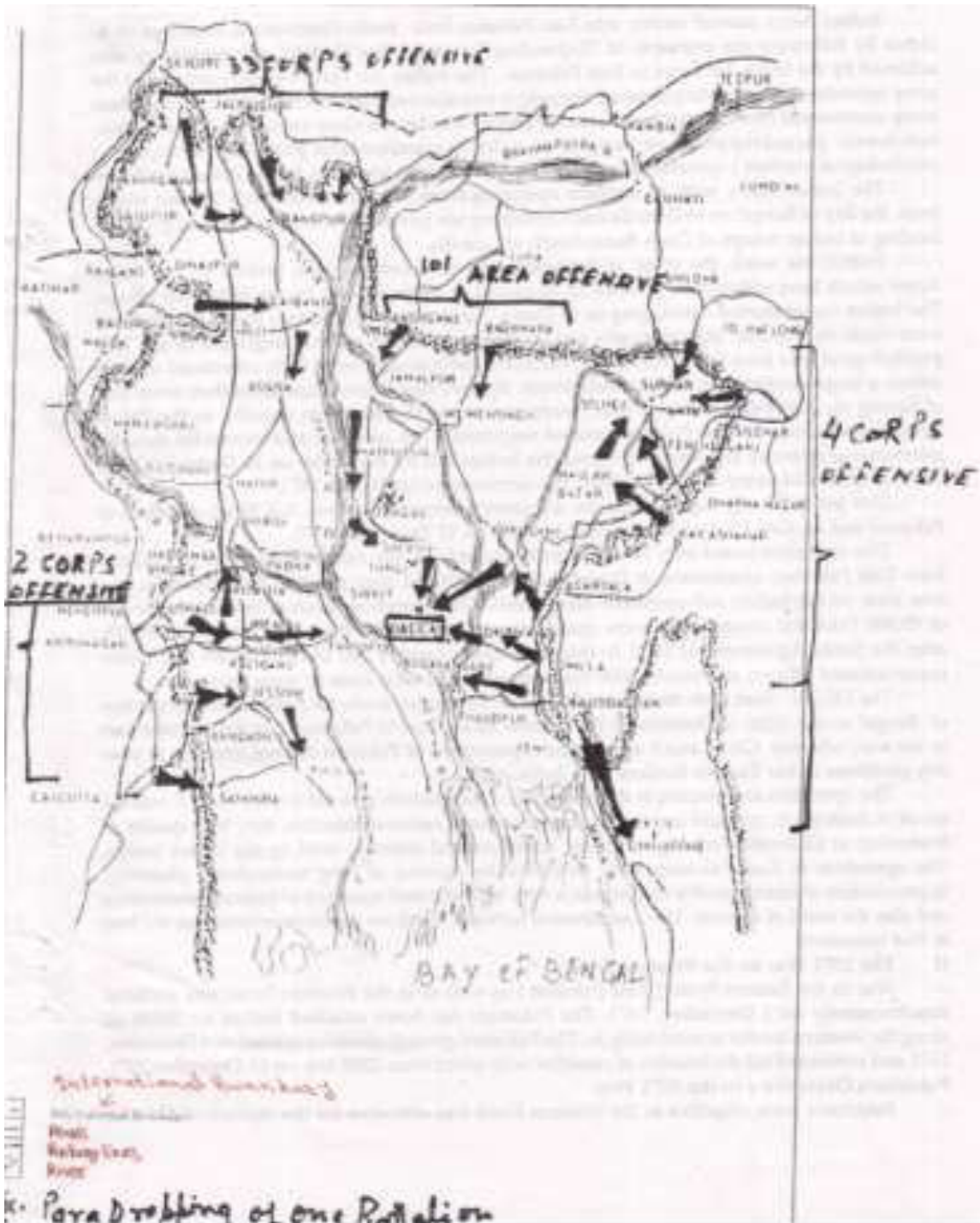
The main objective of this lesson is about geo-political effects of partition and causes of India-Pakistan war, 1971. Another objective is learn about the major events occurred during this war.

1.3.2.2 Introduction

The India Pakistan war of 1971 was the third war fought between two countries since their independence in 1947. The 1971 war is unique as it was fought on two fronts separated by more than 1600 Km, as far as Pakistan was concerned. The war was being fought by the Indian forces saw the involvement of all the three services of Indian defence forces i.e. Army, Navy and the Air Force along with the Mukti Vahini's (of Bangladesh to be liberated later). The war being fought in East Pakistan saw the end of East Pakistan on the world map and witnessed the creation of a new country Bangladesh in December 1971.

India since independence in 1947, was not allowed to live in peace and security by

1971 WAR



Pakistan as the creation of Pakistan was based on the anti-India, anti-Hindu feelings. Ever since its independence, it (i.e. Pakistan) had nurtured sinister designs against India. Though East Pakistan was separated by more than 1600Kms, from West Pakistan, but it was being controlled by the West Pakistan Government and was being ruled mercilessly and discriminately.

As mentioned above, the 1971 Indo-Pak war was fought on two fronts i.e. in East Pakistan which led to the liberation and creation to Bangladesh, and on the Western front.

In succeeding paragraphs the wars on two fronts is being discussed as follows separately for ease of understanding.

- (a) Liberation of Bangladesh
- (b) War on the Western front

Liberation of Bangladesh

The war in December 1971 in East Pakistan though it had been simmering since March, 1971 lasted only 14 days which resulted in the creation and liberation of Bangladesh, elimination of East Pakistan on the world map and an unconditional surrender of largest body of trained soldiers on a single day to be witnessed in the history of warfare.

1.3.2.3 Reasons which led to war in the East and Liberation of Bangladesh in 1971

- (a) Reeling under the years of domination and discrimination of West Pakistan, the Eastern Wing of Pakistan which is predominantly Bengalis differing in culture, language etc. had organized a stiff resistance, first, to President Ayub Khan and then later to his successor Yahya Khan. Eastern Wing of Pakistan was never given the same status and treated well as was the case of Western Wing of Pakistan and it was being constantly neglected by the Western Wing of Pakistan.
- (b) During the 1970 elections of East Pakistan, the Awami League Party led by Sheikh Mujibur Rehman had won the elections, but rather than installing the popular Bengali government and their demand of autonomy, Yahya Khan declared martial law and put Sheikh Mujibur Rehman in the prison along with other prominent leaders of Awami League Party. Yahya Khan had also unleashed a reign of terror to get East Pakistan to toe the line with West Pakistan.
- (c) In early March 1971, Sheikh Mujibur Rehman - the leader of Awami League Party called for a civil disobedience and non-cooperation movement in East Pakistan which resulted in the arrest of Sheikh Mujibur Rehman and his party-men, but the movement turned out to be successful.
- (d) Even the Chief Justice of the Dhaka High Court had refused to swear in General Tikka Khan as the Governor and Martial Law Administrator of East Pakistan.

- (e) West Pakistan, while pretending to relent under this pressure, and the President Yahya Khan promising to convene the National Assembly in east Pakistan as a step towards reapproachment, continued to build up the Army's strength from West Pakistan by sea and air and started history's most ruthless purge of unarmed men, women and children especially of the intelligentsia of East Pakistanis.
- (f) Arrest of Sheikh Mujibur Rehman and his party-men and atrocities on Bengali population led to the general uprising by East Pakistan Rifles (EPR), East Bengal Regiment (EBR) and by the police.
- (g) West Pakistan reacted violently to this uprising and intensified the genocide in which approximately two million Bengalis were estimated to have been eliminated. The genocide and the reign of terror in East Pakistan led to an unprecedented influx of refugees entering into the Indian territory across the border causing a major food, accommodation, health, administration, medi-care, security and law and order problems to India especially in the insurgency affected areas of Assam, Tripura etc. The number of refugees from East Pakistan had swelled upto Ten Million.
- (h) Burdened with the influx of these refugees, India tried to find a solution through direct negotiation, through world bodies, through international opinion and through various world forums. However, due to the absolute inaction of the world community and the adamant refusal of Pakistan to stop atrocities as well as to prevent influx of refugees, Indian political leadership was compelled to study the option through the military solution.
- (i) However, All diplomatic efforts of the Indian Government to find any amicable solution failed. Even Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi's world tour to USA in October and November, 1971, USSR in September, 1971, and the other prominent countries of Western Europe in October, 1971, did not find any viable solution to the refugee problem. These above events led to the war in East Pakistan in 1971 and this war resulted in the liberation and independence of Bangladesh.

1.3.2.4 Major Events of War in the Eastern Sector (Refer to Sketch)

- (a) The war actually started in September, 1971, when the Indian Para Military Force-BSF began early actions in the border areas. During the summer and autumn months of 1971, a variety of Guerilla and freedom activities took place in which the battalions of East Bengal Regiment of the (East) Pakistan Army which had crossed over to India, formed its nucleus by forming a force known as Mukti Vahini. These activities continued to mount and helped the Indian Army in the gathering of intelligence and information about the Pakistani deployment. These activities also boosted the morale of Bangladeshis under their

Government-in-exile.

- (b) On 22 November,1971, Pakistani aircraft had violated Indian Territory in the East and these aircraft were shot down by our forces.
- (c) Pakistani armour (13 tanks) also made foray into the Indian Territory in Bogra and these tanks were totally destroyed by the Indian forces.
- (d) On 23 November,1971, Pakistan proclaimed a state of Emergency in East Pakistan and imposed curfew in Dhakka (Dacca) city on the 24 November,1971.

During this phase, constant shelling of Indian positions and civilian areas had started by Pakistan.

On 2 December,1971, Pakistan Air Force straffed the Indian positions.

On 3 December, 1971,Pakistan resorted to large-scale air attacks on the Indian positions, airfields and other strategic targets. The third Indo-Pak war had thus begun.

Indian Army moved swiftly into East Pakistan from multi-directions to converge on to Dacca by following the principle of "Expanding Torrents" (See Sketch). Air supremacy was achieved by the Indian Air Force in East Pakistan . The Indian Air Force not only supported the army operations by providing close air support, it was also successful in interdiction of Pakistani troop movements from one sector to another sector. Besides the close air support, interdiction, heli-borne, para-dropping, air supply, casualty evacuation and pamphlet dropping (psychological warfare) operations were also carried out with impunity by the Indian Air Force.

The Indian Navy with its aircrafts operating from Aircraft carrier INS Vikrant struck from the Bay of Bengal on to Comilla and Chittagong sea ports. It also helped in the amphibious landing of Indian troops at Cox's Bazar-South of Comilla.

Within one week, the 'crust' of Pakistani defence forces had been broken by the Indian Army which have either been crushed or bypassed to be dealt with by the follow-up troops. The Indian forces started converging on to Dacca. Appeals to the Pakistani forces to surrender were made on wireless, diplomatically and by dropping leaflets in local languages by air. This psychological war bore fruits very soon. Pakistani commanders were fully convinced of their defeat, a large number casualties to their forces, the resulting demoralization of their army and of having no possibility of any military support coming to them from outside, so the Pak & Army Commander in East Pakistan started negotiating for ceasefire and surrender through international agencies and finally accepted the Indian call for surrender on 16 December,1971. The Complete Pak army in East Pakistan surrendered on 16 Dec 1971.

This led to the signing of surrender documents between Generak A.K.Niazi on behalf of Pakistan and Lt. Gen J.S.Aurora on behalf of India on 17 December,1971.

This operation lasted only 14 days which resulted into the dishonourable exit of Pakistan from East Pakistan, elimination of East Pakistan from the World map, creation and liberation of a new state on the Indian sub-continent-Bangladesh. This operation resulted into the surrender of 93,000 Pakistani troops who were made prisoners of war till their safe return in 1972-73, after the Simla Agreement of 1972. In this war, approximately 500 Indian officers and junior commissioned officers and nearly 5000 soldiers either lost their lives or were wounded.

The US 7th fleet with their Aircraft Carrier Enterprise made its presence felt in the Bay of Bengal on the 10th of December 1971 to show its support to Pakistan, but did not take part in the war, whereas China much against the expectations of Pakistan did not interfere or pose any problems in her Eastern borders with India.

The operation and success in the liberation of Bangladesh was not a cake-walk. It was the result of dedication, zeal and inspiration for the cause of national objective, very high quality of leadership at all levels, very high training, discipline and restraint used by the Indian troops. The operation in East Pakistan were preceded by months of long meticulous planning, improvisation of unimaginable magnitude, a very high attained standard of training, motivation and also the smell of success. The coordination between the three defence services was the best in this operation.

1.3.2.5 The 1971 War on the Western Front

War in the Eastern Front (East Pakistan) as well as in the Western Front was declared simultaneously on 3 December, 1971. The Pakistani Air Force attacked Indian air fields all along the Western border around 5:40p.m. The Pakistani ground offensive started on 4 December, 1971 and continued till declaration of ceasefire with effect from 2200 hrs. on 17 December,1971.

1.3.2.6 Pakistan's Objectives in the 1971 War

Pakistan's main objective in the Western Front was offensive for the capture of Chhamb Sector upto Akhnoor. Another objective of Pakistan was the capture of Poonch and to ensure the defence of 'Chicken's Neck' (area near Akhnoor) in order to provide protection to their Marala Headworks.

1.3.2.7 Indian Objectives in 1971 War

The Indian objective on the Western Front was mainly the holding of operations i.e. Defensive Operations, whereas carrying out the offensive in the Eastern Front (i.e. East Pakistan). India had no plans for the break-up of West Pakistan.

Main Events of the War in the Western Front in 1971

As mentioned above, the main objective of Pakistan was Chhamb. On 4 December, 1971 evening, Pakistan forces attacked the Indian positions in Chhamb Sector with

armour and infantry. Pakistan over-ran few posts on the South and South-West of Chhamb. By 6 December, they had captured Mandalia South and captured the Indian territory upto Manawar Tawi. Their attempt to cross Manawar Tawi and progress operations towards Akhnoor failed due to the stiff and coordinated resistance by the Indian troops.

Poonch sector was attacked by Pakistan on 3 December, 1971 but failed. They did not try to capture Poonch again as they became apprehensive of an Indian attack towards Haji Pir Pass.

The Indian offensive in the Western Front was launched in the 'Chicken Neck' area on 5 December, 1971 and it was captured within 48 hours.

Another Indian offensive was launched in the Shakargarh bulge, East of Deg Nadi. Indian troops advanced upto 13 Km. deep into the Pakistani territory in the Shakargarh bulge. On the Indian side the Deg Nadi is called Basanter River.

Indian troops continuing their offensive in the North-west, cleared the enemy positions posing threat to their lines of communication from Gilgit to Skardu on 6 December, 1971.

The Indian Army undertook a fairly large scale operation in Barmer-Jaisalmer Sector in Rajasthan. The offensive commenced on 4 December, 1971 and by 16, December, 1971 the troops had captured 12,200 Sq.Kms. of Pakistan territory and were about to reach the green belt in the Sindh Province of Pakistan when the ceasefire was declared and came into effect from 2200 hours, 16 December, 1971.

1.3.2.7.1 Self-Check Exercise-I

Q.1 What is Pakistan's Objectives in the 1971 War ?

Q.2 Write a short note on reason of Indo-Pak war, 1971.

1.3.2.8 Analysis of the 1971 war in the Western Front

Some military observers feel that India had failed to apprehend Pakistan's intentions, overlooked and grossly underestimated the enemy intentions with regard to Chhamb Sector and did not reinforce this sector with additional troops particularly with armour and artillery even after the Pak offensive was discerned in this sector.

With the depletion of three Pakistani divisions, India had the opportunity of launching the limited offensive and clearing up Pakistan occupied Kashmir. A limited offensive of 25 Infantry Division toward Mirpur would have relieved pressure on Chhamb. The second possibility was the capture of Kotli which is an important communication centre and this important area would have become the part of Indian Kashmir by the end of war. 15 Corps should have been reinforced with additional troops for the offensive operation from 25 Infantry Division Sector into Pakistan.

It is also argued by many that we should have made more endeavours to capture the maximum strategic area in Jammu and Kashmir to reduce the ever present threat of infiltration, terrorism and security of our line of communications to Leh from Srinagar. We should have registered more strategic gains in Jammu and Kashmir and prevented the chances of occurrence of any incidence and refrain designs of Pakistan in future.

1.3.2.9 Summary

The Indo-Pak relations had started deteriorating even before the partition had taken place in 1947. Pakistan had nefarious designs on India which led to 1947-48 J & K problem. Then both countries went into 1965 war which was initiated by Pakistan. Not satisfied, Pakistan then started genocide, rape and mass murders in East Pakistan which led to the 1971 war initially in East Pakistan and later on the Western Front. This war ultimately led to the liberation of Bangladesh and disgrace to Pakistan.

1.3.2.10 Long Questions

- Q.1 What were the major causes behind the Indo-Pak war, 1971 ?
Q.2 What were the events and analysis in the western front of Indo-Pak war, 1971?

1.3.2.11 Suggested Readings

- S.T. Das : National Security in Perspective : Delhi, Gian Publishing House
Jaswant Singh : National Security, Lancer Publishers
Yasmin Khan : The Great Partition : The making of India and Pakistan
Harsh V. Pant : Politics and Geo-Politics

**INDIA'S SECURITY PROBLEMS WITH CHINA-1962
SINO-INDIAN WAR AND SUBSEQUENT DEVELOPMENTS**

- 1.4.1 Objectives
- 1.4.2 Introduction
- 1.4.3 Background to the 1962 Conflict
- 1.4.4 The Chinese Actions
- 1.4.5 Chinese Motives in 1962 War
 - 1.4.5 Self-Check Exercise-I
- 1.4.6 Aftermath
- 1.4.7 Summary
- 1.4.8 Long Questions
- 1.4.9 Suggested Readings

1.4.1 Objectives

The main objective is to learn about India's border problems with China since independence and another objective is to get knowledge about china's motives behind the war. Even it is to find the security problems of India with China.

1.4.2 Introduction

Communist China, called the People's Republic of China, became independent in 1949. The Chinese republic was led by Mao-se-Tung at that time. China became a republic after a prolonged struggle with the Chinese government at that time. The Chinese Army known as Kumintang was headed by their General Chiang-Kai-Shek in 1949. Chiang-Kai-Shek with his army (Kumingtang) fled to Formosa now known as Taiwan-an island in the East China Sea and South China Sea. The British Government in India had maintained that "Let the Dragon Sleep" approach towards China and they had introduced 'Opium trade' with China towards this approach. On becoming a republic

in 1949 the Chinese Government followed the Soviet system of Socialism (Communism).

1.4.3 Background to the 1962 Conflict

The communist China on becoming a republic under Mao-se-Tung started following the expansionist policy all over. They had land and boundary dispute with Soviet Russia even. As part of expansionist policy, Chinese annexed Tibet in 1950. India tried to maintain very cordial relations with China ever since its independence in 1949. In the 50's Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, the Prime Minister of India even went out of the way to introduce Chou-in-Lai, the Prime Minister of China to the world leaders. However, India's paternal relations with China with slogans like "Hindi Chini, Bhai-Bhai", remained only the empty slogans, whereas the Chinese had sinister designs towards India and for the Indian Territory. China was considered an 'underdog' at the time of her independence and was then looked down upon by world powers. The Chinese had communist regime on the Russian pattern, but even Russia (USSR at that time) did not see China with much appreciation at the time of her independence in 1949. The Chinese wanted to discard this image of 'underdog', wanted to come out of the long slumber, and wanted to become an emerging great power as they wanted to show to the world their might, capabilities and designs. As part of Chinese expansionist policies, they occupied Tibet in 1950. India, in order to keep and maintain goodwill of China did not openly object to their occupation of Tibet and did not realize the arising security implications to India of the Tibet being annexed by the Chinese. During the British times, Tibet always served as a buffer State, between British administered India and Russia-China (British dreaded more of Russia than China). Thus, kept Tibet as a buffer State, whereas, India overlooked this aspects altogether. Providing asylum to large number of Tibetans and the Dalai Lama by India in the 50's further infuriated the Chinese Government against India.

The Northern Border of India with Tibet (Now part of China) was based on MacMahon Line as the boundary which the Chinese did not recognize as the borders with India. China had laid large in the Indian territory claims in the Ladakh region, Himachal Pradesh, hills of Uttar Pradesh (now Uttaranchal), the whole of the North-West Frontier Agency (NEFA) now called Arunachal Pradesh (right upto the foot hills of Assam) & Sikkim (Sikkim was an Indian Protectorate). Chinese also had laid claims on the Bhutan territory especially the areas bordering with Sikkim. The boundary of India and China runs along the "MacMahon Line" in the Himalayas based on the "watershed principle". Since the Chinese had laid claims on the above mentioned Indian territories with showing complete disregard to the MacMahon Line, she had made designs to crumble India's prestige and boost up her own prestige, thus the tension started growing up on the

borders.

India's providing political asylum to Dalai Lama and Tibetans who had fled from Tibet on account of Chinese annexation of Tibet in 1950 angered the Chinese government further. Moreover, Chinese illegal building of Aksai Chin road in the Ladakh region of India and India objecting to it, irritated the Chinese further.

1.4.4 The Chinese Actions

India received the first shock of Chinese sinister designs, when it learnt about the construction of 'Aksai Chin' road in Ladakh in 1957. This road was of great strategic importance to China and was to provide them access to Indian Ocean through Pakistan Occupied Kashmir (POK). Though India had signed the 'Panchsheel Agreement' in April 1954 with China, but it did not stop China from violating the borders in Ladakh, HP, UP (now Uttaranchal) and in NEFA. India did not protest about these border violations vehemently and with determination and took them lightly. The Chinese violation of border in Walong in NEFA in 1958, and publication of new map showing four of five territorial divisions of NEFA, some area in UP/HP border and the entire Tashiengang area as part of China, raised only mild protests from the Indian Government. Border crossing (violations) by Chinese and their patrol clashes with the Indian army troops became more severe with the passage of time, thus the Chinese clearly showing their sinister designs. In 1959, the Chinese laid claim to approximately 50,000 square miles of Indian territory (15,000 Sq.miles in Ladakh, 2,000 Sq.miles in the Middle sector (i.e. UP and HP) and approximately 32,000 Sq.miles in NEFA). Incursion's, violations of Indian borders and patrol clashes with the Chinese started to occur frequently with Indian troops.

On the other hand, India did not take the Chinese seriously and did not perceive the Chinese threat looming large on India. Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru and Krishna Menon (the then Defence Minister) never got suspicious of Chinese nefarious designs. This resulted into non-perception of the Chinese threat resulting into non-preparedness of army at defence headquarters level to meet the Chinese threat. The political ignorance of India of Chinese claims and subsequent threats was of the highest order at that time.

Though the Chinese offensive had started much earlier, but on 20 Oct.1962 a full fledged Chinese attack commenced in Ladakh and NEFA sectors for which India was not fully prepared. This Chinese offensive went on for 33 days. Indian army put up stiff resistance, whereas, it was totally out-manoeuvred in NEFA. The Chinese had come upto the foothills of Assam in NEFA.

This war totally changed the entire perspective of the India-China relations. However, China declared unilateral ceasefire on 21 Nov.1962 and withdrew its forces from the

occupied territories of India, but continued claiming these areas.

1.4.5 Chinese Motives in 1962 War :

- i. To cut India to size. The Chinese wanted to lower the prestige of India in the international arena and prove to the world their emerging strong position.
- ii. India had given political asylum to a large number of Tibetans as and also their leader Dalai Lama. Which infuriated the Chinese further.
- iii. To explode the myth of India's Non-Alignment (NAM) policy and policy of Panchsheel.
- iv. To show to the world that the Chinese are emerging as a great power and they are no more underdogs.
- v. To isolate India from the Afro-Asian Group of Nations.
- vi. To divert the attention of its own people from the Chinese internal problems.
- vii. To force India to negotiate on the border issue as per the Chinese terms.
- viii. To strike from a position to advantage.
- ix. To warn Russia about the Chinese growing power in the world political arena.

1.4.5.1 Self-Check Exercise-I

Q.1 Write any two Chinese Motives in 1962 War.

Q.2 What are the border problems between India and China ?

1.4.6 Aftermath

The Chinese aggression of 1962 was thus, a major failure of foreign policy and security lapse on the part of India and Indian government including the defence forces. However, the war taught India a costly lesson in terms of perception of threat, policy, relations with China and modernisation of armed forces and maintaining the security of Indian borders with China, more vigorously and seriously. On the other hand, China is still holding on to the Thagla Ridge in NEFA (now Arunachal Pradesh) which they had captured in 1962 aggression and did not withdraw from it since 1962. The Chinese still have not recognized MacMahon Line as border with India. The Chinese did not appreciate and recognize merger of Sikkim with India. It is only in 2004, Chinese no more claimed Sikkim as a disputed territory, thus recognizing Sikkim as part of India. In late 80's, India pursued the policy of forward posture after the Sumdorong episode when the Chinese had established a camp after crossing Sumdorong Chu in NEFA. However, the situation softened a little bit with an agreement in early 90's on the maintaining of status quo and thinning out of troops.

Thereafter, India and China have been holding periodical meetings at the government

level to sort out the border problem. Notwithstanding, the easing of tension on the borders with China and holding of periodical meetings to solve the border issue, India still faces the security of the borders with China. The Chinese action of softening stand must be viewed with caution and with seriousness.

1.4.7 Summary

Notwithstanding the easing of tension on the borders with China and the holding of meetings at the government level, the Chinese should be regarded with suspicion and all steps must continuously be taken to be prepared to face any security problem from the Chinese side. Our National security should continue to be of the highest order notwithstanding the present situation. The Chinese aggression highlighted India's weak foreign policy and weak defence policy and also highlighted the Chinese designs in India in spite of the fake slogan "Hindi-Chini Bhai Bhai" of which Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru was so fascinated and believed fully to this bogus phrase.

1.4.8 Long Questions

- Q.1 Write a detail note on Sino-India war, 1962.
Q.2 Write a note on results of Sino-India war, 1962.

1.4.9 Suggested Readings

- U.S. Bajpai (1986) : India and its Neighbourhood : New, Delhi, Lancer International
Lone J. Kavic (1967) : Indias Quest For Security Defence Policies 1947-1965
Los Angles, University of California Press
S.S. Khera (1968) : India's Defence Problems, New Delhi, Orient Longmans
V.P. Menon (1961) : The Story of Integration of Indian State, New Delhi, Orient Longmans

Indian Ocean and India's Security

- 1.5.1 Objectives
- 1.5.2 Introduction
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1.5.1 Objectives

The main objective of this lesson is to teach students about physiography of Indian Ocean and another is to learn about importance of Indian Ocean for India's security.

1.5.2 Introduction

The Indian Ocean is the third largest ocean of the world and is situated between Pacific and Atlantic Ocean providing link between them. It is the only ocean of the world which is known after the name of one of its littoral countries i.e. India. Its littoral and hinterland, is vast and of great significance because of the water space it covers (i.e. 20.6 percent of the total oceanic area of the world), the various potential resources it possesses and the important transit routes of trade and commerce which it offers. Since it is situated between the two big oceans thus, providing a link between them it

enjoys great political and military strategic significance in the maritime affairs of the world.

Physiographically, the Indian Ocean has three distinct components: -

1. The continental shelves cover 4.2 percent of the total area and vary in depth. These have a vast potential of natural resources like petroleum, gold and manganese etc. The continental shelf of south of Sumatra is known for such resources.
2. The submarine ridges form a large number of islands in the ocean.
3. The deep sea plain and basins contains a vast reserve of mineral wealth. The problem of security of the Indian Ocean is the most vital security problems faced by India. The country's long coastline (6100 Km) which extends deep into the Indian Ocean includes over 1200 islands and rocks in the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal, most of which are at some distance from the mainland.

Therefore, any of hostile power having access to the Indian Ocean could disrupt our foreign trade and seriously jeopardize Indian economic development. In particular, free navigability of the Suez Canal, Persian Gulf, Southern African coast and the Strait of Malacca is necessary for the smooth and stable flow of our foreign trade and is of immense importance for India's national development. The presence of military threat to any of these areas would be equivalent to a threat to India's national interest.

The dictionary meaning of island is "A piece of land surrounded by water". There are three main chains of islands these are the western, the central and the eastern groups of islands.

The western group of islands are Masirah, Kuria Muria, Madagascar, Zanzibar, Seychelles and Mauritius.

The central group of islands such as Laccadives, Maldives, Sri Lanka, St Paul and Diego Garcia which is a well known US-UK naval and air base.

The eastern group of islands consist of a chain of island in a convex shape between Myanmar and Sumatra. These include the Burmese Prepara and the Indian Andaman and Nicobar group of islands. There are also a series of Indonesian Islands like Sumatra and Jawa which are enormously big.

Some of these islands and submarine ridges enjoys great strategic importance in the region due to their location and well developed harbours and thus, have attracted the various maritime powers of the world to acquire the base

or naval facilities in these islands.

1.5.3 Lakshdweep Islands

In the Arabian sea along the western coast of India are situated nearly 508 islands and islets out of which only 9 are inhabited. These islands were earlier known as Laccadive, Minicoy and Aminidivi islands but for administrative purposes all these islands have been grouped as Lakshdweep Islands. These islands form one of the union territory of the Republic of India and their administrative headquarter is at Kavaratti (Island of Laccadive).

This island is quite small in size not more than a mile in length or breadth and therefore, provides no suitable harbour for big ships. However, their location is of great strategic significance. For example, the island Minicoy is very near to the Republic of Maldives and to the international maritime routes. The island provides great possibility of naval defence. The Government of India has established seven minor ports in these strategic Lakshdweep islands.

1.5.4 Andaman and Nicobar Islands

On the eastern side of peninsular India a body of water known as the Bay of Bengal containing a group of islands known as the Andaman and Nicobar group of islands. These islands need a special mention in the geographical setting of India in the Indian Ocean. These islands are the extension to the mountain Arakan Yomas which extend through Myanmar to the islands of Indonesia.

India cannot afford to underestimate the strategic importance of these islands as they are situated far off from Indian coastline and are nearer to Myanmar and Indonesia. Port Blair, the capital of Andaman and Nicobar islands is of great strategic importance and for this reason naval base has been established by the Govt of India, Nancoway, provides a suitable sheltered harbour. Its strategic location demands a status of naval base in the Andaman Sea for India's naval defence. The Andaman and Nicobar islands, therefore, can be rightly called as "geographical out posts" of India in the strategic Bay of Bengal.

Thus, from the strategic point of view, India is a country which possesses the two main elements of sea power i.e. geographical position and physical layout. For these reasons, Indian Ocean is therefore, vital to India's external political and economic relations and even to her very national character.

1.5.5 Sea Routes

The Indian Ocean washes the Coast of three continents. In the west is the continent of Africa. In the north is Asia and in the east are the islands of Indonesia and Australia. There are 30 straits and channels in and around the Indian Ocean. There are four important maritime routes into the Indian Ocean namely 'Suez Route', 'Cape Route', 'Strait of Hormuz and Tiran' and Strait of Malacca.

Suez Route Connects the Mediterranean Sea with Arabian Sea through Suez Canal, the Gulf of Suez, the Red Sea and the Strait of Bab-el-Menab. This route has immense strategic importance due to the construction of Suez Canal in 1869.

Another important entry into the Indian Ocean through the route popularly known as the 'Cape Route'. Vasco De Gama had taken this route during his journey to India in the year 1496. Due to the closure of Suez Canal in 1967 during the Arab-Israel war the international maritime trade took place via this route.

Cape route is considered economical and politically advantageous as the cost of transporting oil by this route is much economical than by using small tankers via the Suez route.

Another important route is through the Strait of Hormuz and Strait of Tiran. Strait of Hormuz falls between Iran and Oman and established an important 30 miles crude link between the Arabian Sea and the Persian Most Gulf. Most of the western import is transported through the strait of Hormuz.

The Strait of Tiran lies between Egypt and Saudi Arabia. The entry to the Gulf of Aquaba at the North western end of the Indian Ocean is through this Strait of Tiran. It provides the only entry to Israel in the Red Sea and the Suez Canal Region.

Another important entry into the Indian Ocean from the west or western Pacific Ocean is the route which passes through the Strait of Malacca (Between Malaysia, Indonesia and Singapore). The strategic importance of the Malacca Strait is that it is the shortest, the cheapest and the most convenient sea link between the Pacific and the Indian Ocean. Japan's 90% of oil import from Middle East passes through this strait.

1.5.5.1 Self-Check Exercise-I

- Q.1 Write a note on physiography of Indian Ocean.
- Q.2 Explain the sea routes in the Indian Ocean.

1.5.6 Importance of Indian Ocean

The importance of the Indian Ocean to India has in this way been manifold. It has:

- i. Economic importance
- ii. Political importance
- iii. Military Threats

i. Economic importance

The cheapest means of transport, all over world, is provided by the blue waters (sea). The Indian Ocean as such has continued to play vital role in promoting trade and therefore in promoting the national economy of India. India is critically dependent on foreign trade, especially seaborne trade, which accounts for nearly 20% of GDP, for its economic growth. Moreover, a staggering 97% of the India's foreign trade in terms of volume, and 75% in terms of value, is seaborne. It would in fact be no exaggeration to hold that Indian Ocean is the foreign exchange earner for India.

Energy resources (crude oil, natural gas and petroleum products) are clearly the most important commodities traded internationally by India, virtually all of which are imported into country. As India's energy demand grows with higher rates of economic growth, its dependence will dramatically increase. In 3-4 years import will constitute as much as 70% of total demand of crude oil. India's inability to meet such accelerating demands for energy, or the disruption of energy supplies would severely destabilise the economy, and give rise to social unrest and instability within the country.

ii. Political importance

In view of the perspective change in the international law of the sea (1982), the Indian Maritime Zones act (1976-77) made provisions for 12 nautical miles (nm) of territorial water, 24 nm of contiguous zone, 200 nm of continental shelf, and 200 nm of Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ), dramatically increasing India's responsibility from 83,200sq. Km to some 2.2 million sq. km area of sea or nearly two-thirds of the total area of land.

India's location in the Indian Ocean has linked it with almost all the big, potential big, strategic and important countries of the world as it connects both the Atlantic and Pacific Ocean. This position of strategy conferred on India by the Indian Ocean has made it a country of strategic importance. The political developments and changes in the foreign policy of India affect the countries of the world, which are linked with the Indian Ocean and vice-

versa. As the political development and the foreign policies of U.S.A, U.K., South Africa, U.A.E., Israel, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, Vietnam, China and Japan affect to major degree the foreign policy of India.

In the sustained diplomatic move, India began demarcating its maritime borders in the mid-1970s, with its first bilateral agreement with Sri Lanka in June 1974. To date India signed 12 maritime agreement with all five its neighbours on opposite coasts, thereby successfully competing maritime boundary delimitation with these countries, with the exception of a trilateral agreement with Myanmar, which necessitates the prior resolution of the maritime boundary dispute between India and Bangladesh. This is a result of differences in principle by which the maritime boundary is to be demarcated, as well as disputed sovereignty over the tiny island of New Moore.

The scope for tension in the Indo-Pakistani maritime boundary dispute is far greater. This essentially comprises two related issues- the resolution of the land boundary in Sir Creek (a 38 km long estuary in the marshes off the Rann of Kutch) of the Gujarat (India) and Sindh (Pakistan) provinces, as well as the delineation of the maritime boundary seaward within the territorial sea beyond into EEZ.

The Navy' role in the regional diplomacy is also expected to increase. In the past, it supported Indian foreign policy objectives in Sri Lanka (1971,1987-90), South Yemen (1986), the Maldives (1988) and Somalia (1992-93 during UN operations)

iii. Military Threats

Shri K.M. Panikar, the great Indian historian and a veteran diplomat, asserted that India lost her freedom only when she failed to maintain her dominance over the waters washing the Indian coasts. The problem of the security of the Indian Ocean is thus the most vital problem for India of today, as it has always been.

The military dimension of maritime security include the challenge from the growing presence of People's Liberation Army Navy (PLAN) in the Indian Ocean, the threat from the technological advanced Pakistani Navy, the activist policy and role of the US navy, as well as low intensity operation.

1.5.7 Chinese Navy

Since the mid-1980s the doctrine of the Chinese Navy has undergone a dramatic transformation, with attempts to develop a "blue water" fleet by 2010-2015. This is to be focused on at least two operational aircraft battle groups, one for Indian Ocean and one for the pacific. At present, it still lacks

the reach to operate effectively in the Indian Ocean. It is in this context that China's relationship with Myanmar assumes importance. Since 1992, intelligence reports have indicated Chinese assistance in the construction and maintenance of naval and electronic facilities in Myanmar. These essentially relate to the establishment of what is believed to be a Signal Intelligence (SIGINT) facility on great Coco Island. Clearly, a permanent Chinese naval presence in the Indian Ocean would comprise major challenge to the Indian Navy in the future.

1.5.8 Pakistani Navy

The Pakistani Navy will continue to constitute a critical military threat to India's maritime Security. Although it will remain much smaller in size than the Indian Navy, it would be a fast modernising force with crucial qualitative superiority in missile-armed maritime strike aircraft. The commissioning of its three new French Agosta 90-B diesel-electric submarines (1999-2002), and the re-organisation of its American P-3 Orion maritime strike aircraft. The Orion aircraft also enable the Pakistani naval air force to cover, for first time, the entire western coast of India till southern tip of the peninsula.

1.5.9 US Navy

The US will remain the largest and, by far, the most technologically sophisticated naval force in the world, with a presence in the Indian Ocean. The Gulf War (1991), and US missile strike against target in Afghanistan and Sudan (August 1998), clearly demonstrate the growing importance of warfare from the sea.

The re-commissioning and operation of an independent American fleet (the Fifth Fleet) for the first time in the Indian Ocean (1995), as well as the continued US naval and military presence in the western Indian Ocean, Diego Garcia, and in the eastern Indian Ocean, testify to such policy. During the 1971 Indo-Pakistani war, a carrier task force of the US Seventh Fleet set off for the Bay of Bengal.

1.5.10 Summary

Eventually, taking into consideration of above lesson, it can be concluded that Indian Ocean which is the third largest ocean in the world, has a great importance for India and its security in number of ways. Thus, it is very important to strengthen maritime security and Indian Navy as well.

1.5.11 Long Questions

- Q.1 What is the importance of Indian Ocean for India's security ?
- Q.2 What is the role of Indian Navy in the Indian Ocean ?

1.5.12 Suggested Readings

- Vijay Sakhuja & Kapil Narula (ed.) : Maritime Safety & Security in Indian Ocean
- Dr. Suresh R. (ed.) : India's National Security : A Maritime Security Perspective

NUCLEAR POLICY OF INDIA

- 1.6.1 Objectives
- 1.6.2 Introduction : The Advent of Atomic Age
- 1.6.3 India's Nuclear Policy
- 1.6.4 Science and Technology Infrastructure
- 1.6.5 Atomic Energy
- 1.6.6 First Indian Underground Nuclear Explosion
- 1.6.7 Second Indian Nuclear Explosion
 - 1.6.7.1 Self-Check Exercise-I
- 1.6.8 Reactions to the Indian Second Nuclear Test
- 1.6.9 Summary
- 1.6.10 Long Questions
- 1.6.11 Suggested Readings

1.6.1 Objectives

The main objective of this lesson is to learn about the onset of nuclear age after the nuclear attack on two major cities of Japan. Another objective is to teach students about the nuclear policy of India and nuclear development.

1.6.2 Introduction : The Advent of Atomic Age

Though dropping of two atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki cities of Japan on 6 and 9 August 1945 resp. during the course of World War II witnessed the start of atomic age and nuclear age, but the advent of the nuclear age had started much earlier. The birth of atomic age had begun on 2 December 1942, when amid the greatest World War II secrecy, a small group of United States scientists, gathered on a squash court underneath the West stands of the University of Chicago's abandoned football stadium and watched the lighting of 'the first atomic fire on earth'. Dr. Arthur H Crompton had directed this project. This experiment proved that splitting the atom could start a self-

sustaining chain reaction and it had demonstrated practically that an atom bomb could be made. Thus, the American monopoly had started in the atomic bomb production and continued till 1949. This monopoly of USA was shattered when Russians exploded her first Atomic Bomb. Till then all western statesmen regarded the America's achievement as a chief deterrent to Russian aggression for western Europe. Britain became the third member of the 'nuclear club' on 3 October 1952, France the fourth on 13 February 1960, and China the fifth on 16 October 1964. Thus, in the first two decades of the atomic age, five nations had developed the atom bomb and had joined the 'Nuclear Club'.

As regards the development of Hydrogen bomb it was revealed on 8 August 1953, when Premier Malekov stated that Russia too had the H-bomb secret and the western scientists believed that Russia had 'tested the weapon or device of a yield well beyond the range of a regular fission weapon and which derived a part of its force from the fusion of light elements'. United States however, exploded their Hydrogen bomb/device on 1 March 1954. The nuclear Explosions can be categorized in 3 different forms:

- (a) Fission Process
- (b) Fusion Process
- (c) Fission-fusion-fission Process

1.6.3 India's Nuclear Policy

Since 1947 with the emergence of a new politically independent nation, India has continued to march ahead pursuing a programme of using modern science and technology for national development. India spends approximately 0.83 percent of her GNP on the science and technological development.

Soon after independence, conscious efforts were made to enhance and modernize the scientific infrastructure in the country by setting up a chain of national laboratories, institutes of higher technical education, Universities etc. In pursuance of the national commitment to using science and technology for development, the Indian parliament passed the 'Scientific Policy Resolution (SPR) on 4 March 1958 which emphasized Government of India's responsibility 'to foster, promote and sustain, by all appropriate means, the cultivation of scientific research in all its aspects-pure applied and educational'. The policy also envisages the well-planned efforts for promoting and encouraging, the growth of science and technology personnel on a scale adequate to fulfill; the country's need in areas of education, agriculture, industry and defence. The Scientific Policy Resolution of 4 March 1958 also aimed" to secure the people of the country all the benefits that can accrue from the acquisition

and application of scientific knowledge". Since then the Government of India has been pursuing this resolution through its ministries and departments in letter and spirit.

Regarding the role of technology, a Technology Policy Statement (TPS) was formulated in 1983 by the Indian Government with the basic objective of developing indigenous technology and ensuring efficient absorption and adaptation of improved technology appropriate to national priorities and availability of resources. The TPS aims at "attaining technical competence and self-reliance, reducing vulnerability particularly in strategic and critical area and making maximum use of indigenous resources." It also aims at "using traditional skills and capabilities & making them commercially competitive. Several other measures through technology intervention are envisaged to optimize the demand on energy and to ensure harmony with the environment. With a view to strengthen the economy, structural reforms have been introduced through adoption of a new industrial policy which will have an important bearing on the programmes of development pertaining to science and technology in India. India's nuclear policy is the peaceful use of Atomic Energy.

1.6.4 Science and Technology Infrastructure

In India, science and technology activities can be classified into following categories:

- (a) Central Government Agencies
- (b) State Government Agencies
- (c) Higher Educational Sector
- (d) Public and Private Sector Industries
- (e) Non-Profit Institutions/Associations

One such organization is the Department of Atomic Energy (DAE) directly working under the Central Government.

1.6.5 Atomic Energy

The department of Atomic Energy (DAE) occupies a unique position amongst the scientific development programmes generating high quality work in a wide spectrum of science and technology, and, plays a key role in the nation building. The Department has fostered the nuclear technology in the country to a well matured state of self-reliance, fulfilling the aims of the planners, marked by overall balanced development and growth. It has accorded India, a status of "Developed Nation" amongst the "Developing Nations" i.e. the third

world.

The atomic energy can be used in many fields such as :

- (a) Nuclear Power
- (b) Nuclear Agriculture
- (c) Water Management
- (d) Health Care
- (e) Space Programme etc.

As far as the generation nuclear power programme are concerned , India has developed a number of nuclear power projects slowly and steadily over the last few decades. These nuclear power projects are the:

1. Tarapur in Maharashtra (Tarapur Atomic Power Station-TAPS),
2. Rawatbhata in Rajasthan (Rawatbhata Atomic Power Station-RAPS),
3. Kakrapar in Gujarat (KAPS) With an installed capacity of 1940MW from these projects.
4. Four more reactors each of 220 Mw unit size are under construction at Kaigalim, Karnataka (KAIGA 1 & 2) and Rawatbhata in Rajasthan (RAPS 3 & 4).

1.6.6 First Indian Underground Nuclear Explosion

The search for acquiring the nuclear capability continued since 1958. As a result, on 18 May 1974 at 08.05 hours, the Atomic Energy Commission successfully carried out an underground nuclear explosion experiment at a depth of more than 100 metres in the Pokhran range of Rajasthan desert. This experiment was 'part of Research and Development work which the Atomic Energy Commission has been carrying on in pursuance of our national objective of harnessing the atomic energy for peaceful purposes. All the material, equipment and personnel in the project were totally Indian. By conducting this test, though it caused a great concern to the world especially to Pakistan, India did not violate any international law or obligation or any commitment in this regard with any country of the world.

Reactions to this underground nuclear explosion evoked mixed response. While the developing countries, by and large, welcomed the experiment , USA reiterated that the policy of India Government is against non-nuclearisation process and will lead to nuclear proliferation. USSR however, stated that India has carried its research programme striving to keep level with the world technology in the peaceful use of nuclear explosion. China

officially reported the event without any comments. French Atomic Energy Commission sent a congratulatory letter to the Chairman of India Atomic Energy Commission on the success of the experiment. The reaction of Japan was to express regret for the experiment by India.

However, Canada and Pakistan reacted sharply. Though, Canada expressed satisfaction that India did not violate any agreement between the two countries, the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs stated that the "experiment represented a severe set-back to efforts being made to prevent nuclear testing and to inhibit proliferation of nuclear explosion technology".

1.6.7 Second Indian Nuclear Explosion

For twenty four years since the first nuclear explosion experiment in May 1974, India has been lying dormant. India woke up from its slumber and the in-decisiveness by exercising the nuclear option on 11 May 1998, when it conducted three underground nuclear explosion tests in the Pokhran range of Rajasthan desert. This was followed by another two explosions after few days in the Pokhran range.

The Government of India justified its action of carrying out the nuclear explosions in the light of the 'dangerous nuclear deterrent'. The Government of India, however, appeared to have offered the world, "an olive branch to consider", "being an adherent to some of the undertakings in the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT). With its second testing of nuclear explosion in 1998, India has made clear that, it is, now among the major nuclear powers of the world. The then Prime Minister of India Atal Bihari Vajpayee has set at rest the speculation about India's future nuclear programme saying that, "the country is moving close to acquiring a nuclear bomb". The country has affirmed that it has the capacity for a big bomb for which necessary, command and control system is also in place, and India now is a nuclear weapons state".

The Indian Prime Minister, however, made it very clear that "India will not deviate from the path of peace-ours (i.e. nuclear bomb) will never be weapons of aggression".

1.6.7.1 Self-Check Exercise-I

Q.1 In which fields the nuclear engery can be used ?

Ans. -----

Q.2 What do you mean by fission process ?

Ans. -----

1.6.8 Reactions to the Indian Second Nuclear Test

The US and Japan formally imposed wide-ranging sanctions against India, even as, Norway and few other countries suspended bilateral aid to India. Britain, France and Russia ruled out any punitive measures following nuclear tests by India in May 1998.

United Nations Secretary General, Kofi Annan said that, "he was deeply disturbed by India conducting nuclear tests". China, however, did not pass any immediate comments on the nuclear explosions. Australia also voiced strong condemnation of India's nuclear tests.

Pakistan strongly retaliated on the successful explosion of nuclear tests by India. It blamed the international community for encouraging India to conduct the tests and vowed to "reserve the right to take all appropriate steps to safeguard its security. Pakistan, long suspected to have a clandestine nuclear weapon programme, in response to Indian nuclear explosions carried out five nuclear tests in Chagai Region of Baluchistan on 29 May 1998 declaring that "it evened the account with India" (i.e. in nuclear bomb parity).

The race for nuclear armaments has thus started between India and Pakistan. The possession of atom bomb by Pakistan has opened avenues for the acquisition of it by Muslim States especially the Arab Countries. They call it 'An Islamic Bomb' which was being sought after by these nations since a very long time long time.

Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee has asserted that "India now is a nuclear weapon state". However, discounting any militaristic domination, he stressed that its intentions are peaceful. "Our intentions were, are and will always be peaceful". He asserted that the country's nuclear programme is intended for peaceful purposes and for self-defence. On the imposition of sanctions, he admitted that, "every decision has its consequences. But, if the action is inherently in the national interest, then we have to face the consequences and over come the challenge".

Indicating a view of firmness and determination, the then Prime Minister of India has said that, "No price is high enough when it comes to securing national interests and ensuring national security".

Before the general elections in 1999, the Prime Minister of India has offered

a national debate on the "No first use of nuclear bomb".

1.6.10 Summary

India after attaining her independence in 1947, started its national development programme including the Science and Technology in order to progress and safeguard the national interests and ensure national security. Though, the first nuclear explosion was successfully carried out in May 1974 by India, but the government's hesitation to move ahead was uncalled for. The country remained dormant for more than 20 years.

It is only in May 1998, that India successfully carried out nuclear tests and declared its intentions of possessing the nuclear bomb for its National Security. Thus, India also joined the 'nuclear club'. However, India clearly indicated its intentions of "No first use of the nuclear bomb".

1.6.11 Long Questions

- Q.1 Explain the India's Nuclear Policy.
- Q.2 Explain the fission and fusion processes.

1.6.12 Suggested Readings

- | | | |
|---------------------------|---|----------------------------------|
| Harsh Pant & Jogesh Joshi | : | India's Nuclear Policy |
| Ashley J. Tellis | : | India's Emerging Nuclear Posture |

Mandatory Student Feedback Form

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Note: Students, kindly click this google form link, and fill this feedback form once.