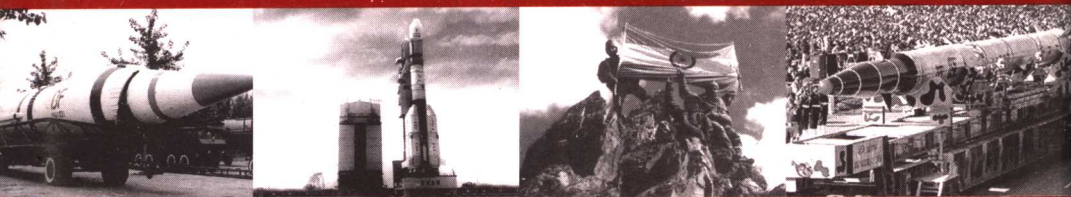


INDIA'S NATIONAL SECURITY

ANNUAL REVIEW 2001



SATISH KUMAR

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Chief Editor and Compiler

Satish Kumar

Former Professor of Diplomacy

Jawahar Lal Nehru University

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Editor's Note

India's National Security Annual Review was launched in September 2000 with a view to bring together the best minds on international relations, economy, science, technology, and governance to do an annual assessment of India's national security from a multi-dimensional perspective. The idea of this publication originated from the belief that the challenges to national security of India are no longer merely political and military but also include economic, technological, and those emanating from a host of destabilising factors which threaten internal security. The proposal to undertake an annual review of India's national security based on the assessments and evaluations of the country's leading experts with diverse experience and expertise was approved by the National Security Council Secretariat which therefore agreed to support the project. While we are grateful to the NSC Secretariat for its support, it is important to state that the views expressed in the volume are not those of the NSCS or any of the government agencies.

This volume deals with the developments from January 1 to December 31, 2000. The volume comprises research articles written by eminent scholars, technocrats, and policymakers, both serving and retired, in the fields of security studies, international relations, economics, science, technology, and governance. The articles have been arranged under the heads: Politico-Military Environment, Economic Environment, Technology and Security, Disarmament and Arms Control, India's Defense Modernization, and Internal Security. The volume also includes a section on chronology of major events bearing on India's security, a section on select documents pertaining to major events of strategic importance in the world, and a section on basic statistics with respect to critical aspects of India's national security. The volume begins with an Introduction by the Editor in

which an attempt has been made to capture major trends in global security and to examine their impact on India's security environment. The Introduction also gives a glimpse of the assessments and evaluations of different aspects of India's national security made by the contributors in this volume.

It is hoped that this series which is the first of its kind will tend to focus attention of policymakers, scholars, analysts, and commentators on India's national security needs in a comprehensive and integrated manner. This series should also generate enhanced awareness and interest in security studies among the universities and think tanks of India. Besides, it should serve as an authoritative source of information on critical aspects of India's national security for foreign governments, universities, research institutes, and think tanks concerned with security-related issues.

We are grateful to the National Security Council Secretariat of India for the support given to this project. The Editorial Board under the able chairmanship of Ambassador M. Rasgotra identified the issues which needed to be examined during the year 2000 and the eminent individuals who could authoritatively write on those issues. The views expressed are entirely those of the individual contributors. I must, however, express my thanks to the Chairman and members of the Editorial Board for making themselves freely available for consultation and advice as and when required.

I would like to record my deep appreciation of the work done by the two research assistants, Mr. Anand Kumar and Ms. Pooja Rishi, both Ph. D scholars at the School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, and the able and efficient assistance provided by the computer assistant, Mr. Y. Krishna.

June 25, 2001

Satish Kumar

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2. Sanjaya Baru is Editor of *The Financial Express*. He is also a member of the National Security Advisory Board of India and of the Board of Trade, Government of India. His earlier positions include Professor, Indian Council for Research on International Economic Relations; Editorial Page Editor and Business and Economics Editor, *The Times of India*; Associate Editor, *The Economic Times*; and, Associate Professor, Department of Economics, University of Hyderabad. He is the author of *The Political Economy of Indian Sugar* (Oxford University Press, 1990). He has published over 20 academic papers in professional journals and edited volumes and has also anchored a business programme on Star TV and Doordarshan.

3. Keki N. Daruwalla retired as Chairman Joint Intelligence Committee in 1995. He was a Visiting Fellow at Queen Elizabeth House, Oxford, for a year where he worked on South Asia. Though better known for his poetry, he has been an analyst specialising on South Asia. He wrote a column on international affairs for the *Economic Times* from 1995 to 1999.

4. Maj. Gen. (Retd) Afsir Karim specializes on issues related to terrorism. He has published a number of books on the subject: *Sri Lankan Crisis* [co-author 1990]; *Counter Terrorism: Danger in the*

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5. Air Vice Marshal Kapil Kak, after an outstanding career in the Indian Air Force that included an array of command, staff and instructional assignments, joined the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, New Delhi, where he was Deputy Director until January 2001. His writings on strategic and defence issues have been published in a number of professional journals, books and newspapers.

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9. Lt Gen Satish Nambiar, commissioned on 15 December 1957, has seen active service in various operational and insurgency areas, and in the 1965 and 1971 Indo-Pak conflicts. Has held command and staff appointments at various levels. As Director General of Military Operations he led two defence delegations for negotiations with Pakistani counterparts in 1991 in Delhi and Islamabad. Was the first Force Commander and Head of Mission of the United Nations operations in the former Yugoslavia (UNPROFOR). Retired as the Deputy Chief of the Army Staff on 31 August 1994. Is now the Director of the United Service Institution of India.

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12. Y. S. Rajan started his career in the Physical Research Laboratory, Ahmedabad, building cosmic ray balloon payloads. From 1966 to 1988, he held many important positions in ISRO including Director, Earth Observation Systems and Scientific Secretary. Made extensive contribution to India's first satellite project. Played important roles in various international fora such as UN, COSPAR. During 1988-1996, he was Adviser, DST, Government of India, and Executive Director, TIFAC. He played important role in completing major exercise for technology vision of India upto 2020. During 1996-

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I

INTRODUCTION

Introduction

Satish Kumar

Global Security Trends

End of the twentieth century cannot be regarded as representing the end of conflict and tension between nations, as was hoped by many when the Cold War ended in 1991. If the post-Cold War decade represented any trend, it is almost certain by that trend that the first few decades of the twenty-first century will remain full of conflict and tension, as much within nations as between nations, even though not on the scale of the first and second world wars. Most of these conflicts and tensions among nations will be caused by struggle for control over resources and technologies. The conflicts within nations will be caused by struggle for fulfilment of sub-national aspirations. At both the international and intra-national levels, tensions will keep simmering and conflicts will remain protracted because of the weakness of the systems of governance, which the vested interests will deem it necessary to perpetuate.

Charles Dick, who heads the Conflict Studies Research Centre at RMA Sandhurst, in his essay "Conflict Spills into the 21st Century"¹ pointed out that the last decade of the 20th century witnessed over 50 ethnic/communal conflicts, 170 border conflicts and two major wars involving extra-regional forces. He raises the question: "The end of the Cold War made much of the world vulnerable to 'hot wars', previously suppressed by the superpowers in their spheres of influence. Without Cold War dynamics overriding local relations and interests, political crises stemming from ethno-national or socio-economic causes came to the fore. Is this trend establishing a pattern for the future?"²