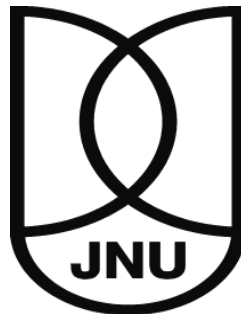


**RUSSIA- CHINA STRATEGIC INTERACTION:
IMPLICATIONS FOR INDIA’S SECURITY**

*Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the award of the degree of*

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

RAHUL KUMAR

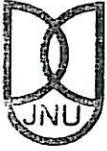


**CENTRE FOR RUSSIAN AND CENTRAL ASIAN STUDIES
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DECLARATION

I declare that the dissertation entitled "RUSSIA- CHINA STRATEGIC INTERACTION: IMPLICATIONS FOR INDIA'S SECURITY" submitted by me in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY of Jawaharlal Nehru University is my own work. The dissertation has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this university or any other university.

Rahul Kumar

RAHUL KUMAR

CERTIFICATE

We recommend that this dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

skp

Prof. Sanjay Kumar Pandey

(Chairperson, CRCAS)

Nalin Kumar Mohapatra

Dr. Nalin Kumar Mohapatra

(Supervisor)

Dedicated
to my
Mother

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New Delhi

Rahul Kumar

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

APEC	: Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation
ARF	: ASEAN Regional Forum
ASEAN	: Association of South East Asian Nations
ASEAN+1	: ASEAN and India, Japan, Korea, China (Any one Country)
ASEAN+3	: ASEAN, Japan, Korea, China
AWCS	: Airborne Warning Control System.
BAM	: Baikal Amur Mainline.
BCIM-EC	: Bangladesh China India Myanmar –Economic Corridor.
BDB	: BRICS Development Bank
BRICS	: Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa
CBM	: Confidence Building Measures.
CIS	: Commonwealth of Independent States
CNPC	: China National Petroleum Corporation
CSTO	: Collective Security Treaty Organization
CTBT	: Comprehensive test Ban Treaty.
CTTF	: Counter Terrorism Task Forces.
DDA	: Doha development Agenda.
EAR	: East Asia Region
EAS	: East Asia Summit
ECOTECH	: Economic and Technical Cooperation.
ESPO	: Eastern Siberian – Pacific Ocean
EU	: European Union
FAR	: Far-East Region
FTAAP	: Free Trade Area of Asia Pacific
GLONASS	: Global Navigation Satellite System
IMF	: International Monetary Fund
LOW	: Launch on Warning

LUA	: Launch under Attack
MAPA	: Manila Action Plan.
NATO	: North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NFU	: No First Use
NPT	: Non Proliferation Treaty
OAA	: Osaka Action Agenda.
PCA	: Partnership Cooperation Agreement.
PECC	: Pacific Economic Cooperation Council.
PRC	: Peoples republic of China
RATS	: Regional Anti-Terrorist Structure
RCEP	: Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership.
RFE	: Russia and Far East.
SCO	: Shanghai Cooperation Organization
TAC	: Treaty of Amity and Cooperation
TILF	: Trade and Investment Facilitation.
TPP	: Trans Pacific Partnership.
UN	: United Nations
UNSC	: United Nations Security Council
USA	: United States America
USSR	: Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WB	: World Bank
WMD	: Weapons of mass destruction.
XUAR	: Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region

CHAPTER-I
INTRODUCTION

Introduction:

Russia and China have great roles to play in Asian security in general and the politics of the Global South in particular. Russia has greatly influenced the sphere of influence in the Central Asian region. It is pursuing a multi-vector foreign policy with closer cooperation with China and India in the post-Soviet space. After Soviet disintegration, Russia confronted a multi-polar globalised world order with its declining hegemony; on the other hand, the US economy was rising robustly and other developing countries like China and India also emerged as major power blocs. India has also pursued a foreign policy aiming at boosting cooperation with the Global South. Russia has reoriented and restructured its pragmatic foreign policy to best suit the interests of the world order. In fact, Russian foreign policy is a blend of geopolitics and geo-economics with multi-vector elements to stabilize a multi-polar world system by fostering cooperation with China and India. Similarly, China has a realist lens of viewing the world problems and prospects in its adjacent region, while India is lagging with its rhetorical idealism. (Russell Ong: 2007) These countries are also grappling with the problems of energy security, rising fuel prices, oil and natural gas deficit, human security involving demographic transition; mass migration and unemployment insecurity, greater degree of extremism and separatism in parts of north Caucasus and Chechnya, Dagestan, Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Regions (XUAR), Russian Far East (RFE) Political instability etc. With the neo-liberal onslaught in 1990, India and Russia tried to open up their economies and to liberalise through global market reforms of LPG (Liberalisation, privatization, Globalisation) and securing foreign investments in telecommunications, defense, oil and gas industry. India needs more assertive foreign policy with its priority clear with energy and economic security on top agenda. Russia is endowed with the world's largest reserves of oil and natural gas, beside its vast Military industrial complex has deeper penetration to Indian, Chinese, other Asian, and South East Asian countries' market. On the other hand, China is a giant economic power with IT and manufacturing hubs spreading its market everywhere. China is bordering both Russia and India where it has boundary and border disputes, ethnic identity issues in Central Asia. China is aggressively pursuing its foreign policy to encircle India by heavily weaponising the arch-rivals like Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal and Myanmar etc. Thus, geographical location and its geopolitical stretch has a key role in shaping the contours of foreign policy. Russia has a border with China on the Russian Far East (RFE) with a large exodus of illegal

Chinese migration, easy access to minerals coal, iron, timber, oil and natural gas and heavy investment opportunity for China. Russia-China-India are the part of great powers of world politics have independent decision making on pertinent questions of Nuclear proliferation, Climate change negotiations, Carbon Emission, Food security, Health, Global terrorism, and other matters which influences the world affairs at UN, World Summits and WTO meetings. Russia, China, India are part of many regional and international groupings like BRICS, SAARC, SCO, G-8, and EURASEC etc. These are loosely intertwined economic and security organization's working for regional cooperation to curb menace of terrorism, free trade and economic cooperation. These countries have strategic partnership with different countries and engagements within different frameworks. The present study is divided into three segment. The first part tries to examine the nature of Trilateralism of symbiotic dependency of buyer and seller relationships, mutual area of cooperation among the three countries, the second segment tries to deal with theoretical perspectives and the final leg of research dealt with future realignments among Russia and China and assessing its impact on Indian policy makers. Meanwhile studying parallel developments and studying complexity of foreign policy, national security concepts and finding the research gap. Russian foreign policy is a combination of economic and national security priorities, strengthening relationship with China and India is driven by export of energy, weapons and arms technology to these countries. 'Geography plays a greater role in the geopolitics of Russia because it is surrounded by weak and failing states, rising powers China and India and regional states with regional aspirations such as rogue Pakistan, Iran, and Iraq; have varying influence on the international stability'.(Kuchins: 264)

Russia relationship with China is twofold primarily to checkmate the dominance of West. Moscow's priority is to secure the RFE from potential Chinese threat –demographic, military or economic; Sino-Russian partnership is one of factors in the central Asian security equation as Moscow influences the Central Asian states (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan).China is already world fourth largest economy after the US, Japan and Germany sustaining over 9 percent growth averaged over last thirty years. China even sees Russia as a source of energy that sustains economic growth of China. Moscow has even shown its reluctance for China to join or get admitted to G-8 table as Beijing has marginalized in Asia. Thus there is a regional and global interdependence manifested in forging relationship. A theoretical

underpinnings of realism can be applied to study the China- India relations and its long term strategic objectives. China has inherently pursuing a hegemonic policy in this region. 'The "China threat" mentality is reinforced by A.F.K. Organski's Power Transition Theory which postulates that the U.S status as dominant power will be challenged by China's rise'. (Moore 2008:4) China has no regards to India's security concerns and therefore weaponise historical archrivals such as Pakistan. Russia, India China are mutually at loggerheads with each other on specific issues like separatism, entry into nuclear supplier group, and permanent membership at UN. "Both Russia and China denounced India's nuclear test in 1998, although Russia's criticism was normal but both urged to sign the CTBT and NPT". (Kuchins: 265) If nuclear rivalry between two Asiatic powers China and India escalates Russia's stand can be exposed to stand to which side during time of war. Indian foreign policy analyst, makers have witnessed a sea change from the Nehruvian era to 21st century Globalised world. Cornerstone of IFP has tremendously changed in terms of gaining soft power, smart power and hard power, it has moved from non-alignment to multialignment. Major loopholes and lacuna still persist after the nuanced study on policy making and implementation part, and its assertiveness, to numbers of pressing problems of global terrorism, nuclear trade and proliferation. "Russia china India interactions are based on competition and cooperation to assess the national security interest". (Mohan 2006:8)

The research work will be thematically divided into three parts of introduction, body and conclusion, and finding the research gap therein. The first part will cover the historical overview of Russo-Chinese relationships, security arrangements. Second part will be about Russia china strategic engagement in areas of defense, energy and economy. Third part will cover its implications on security of India and the regional mechanism of regional groupings like SCO, APEC and SAARC will be analyzed to study the impact on Eurasian security. Finally in last concluding segment it will cover maritime threats and trading opportunity from China and new initiatives like MSR.

Historical overview of Russo-Chinese relationships: Political relationship between Russia and china have gained momentum after Mikhail Gorbachev official visit to Beijing both countries decided for the betterment of relations of two countries. Chinese leader Jiang Zemin visited Russia in 1994 and worked for successful

development of relationship and described as “Constructive partnership”. By the end of 1996 the Russia china meeting in Beijing two leaders Boris yeltsin and Jiang Zemin described bilateral relationship as a “strategic partnership”. Russian leadership has never been explicit in counterbalancing global domination of US by means of Eurasian alliance, it would be interesting to see whether this geopolitical realignment works as an anti-western bloc. (Zhongping &Jing: 2014) Sino-Russian cooperation takes into considerations of stability of inner Asian corridor, missile defense, energy development in Eurasia. Russia and china share geographical proximity and has borders attached to it and disputed parts are located near Russian Far East and central Asia. After1960s there was large military buildup in the parts of Siberia, Russia Far East and magnolia and also along the disputed Usuri and Amur rivers. Russia and China had often over squabbled and acrimonious relations because of Soviet support of Vietnam and the invasion of Afghanistan in 1979. They have tried to overcome differences over uncertain status of Russian Far East, migration, energy, multilateralism in central Asia, East Asia regionalism and linkages to three great powers United States, japan and India. ‘Historically, Asia has occupied a special place in the Russian imagination and in their version of Manifest Destiny, as a vast region key for Russia’s development and global role’. (Kuchins 2007: 321) Today, China represents the dominant counterpoint to Russia’s orientation politically, economically, and culturally toward the West with the United States and Europe. Russia has distinctiveness of European and an Asian characteristics which is embedded in it. ‘Boris Yeltsin nicely captured China’s position as a leverage point with the West when he said in 1995: “China is a very important state for us. It is a neighbour, with which we share the longest border in the world and with which we are destined to live and work side by side forever. ‘Russia’s future depends on the success of cooperation with China. Boris Yeltsin nicely captured China’s position as a leverage point with the West when he said in 1995: “China is a very important state for us.’ (Kuchins 2007:322) ‘It is a neighbour, with which we share the longest border in the world and with which we are destined to live and work side by side forever. Russia’s future depends on the success of cooperation with China.’ (Ibid)

Russia China strategic engagements in the field of defense: After 1990s the relationship between Russia and China resumed in the military technological area and consisted of Russia China arms trading. After 1992 China got assistance in its military

modernisation programmes. Russian-Chinese has conducted various joint mission programmes to show War preparedness, combatting terrorism and insurgencies. The region is surmounted with numbers of security threats from terrorism and rogue and failed states. There is always nuclear instability due to nuclear tensions kept escalating and brewing in the region. ‘Through these dealings, the Chinese Navy and Air Force have acquired dozens of Su-27 Flanker fighter jets and Su-30 Flanker multirole aircraft; Mi-17 transport helicopters; Il-76 military transport aircraft; IL-78M Midas in-flight refuelling tankers; A-50 warning and control aircraft; T-72 main battle tanks; Mi-8 and Mi-17 helicopters; armoured personnel carriers; Kilo-class Project 636 diesel submarines; several Sovremenny-class destroyers; a variety of antiship, air defense, and other missiles; and other advanced conventional military systems or their components.’ (Weitz 2008:25) For its more sophisticated heavy fighters, the PLA Air Force (PLAAF) still relies on Russian-designed planes, the Su-27 and the Su-30’. ‘The volume of Beijing’s military procurement from Moscow grew steadily, starting with combat aircraft, air defence systems, warships and submarines (Paramonov and Stokov)’. (Haas 2013:24) ‘As of 1998, Russia became increasingly willing to sell China high-tech weapon systems, such as Sukhoi (Su)-30 fighters, anti-ship missiles, and parts for Beijing’s nuclear arms’. (Ibid :27) ‘And the economic relationship is indeed based heavily on China buying Russian oil and the two sides trying to agree on a much-anticipated deal in natural gas. ‘Reaching an agreement on gas would be consistent with Russia’s ‘pivot’ to China, but also with China’s “Marching West” as an a response to Obama’s military “pivot to Asia” that many in Beijing perceive as policy of containment.’ (Skalamera 2014:3)

Russia China relations and India’s security concerns: This segment gives a cursory glance over the security problems being faced in the region. The term security is vague and ambiguous in nature so it needs to be lucidly and meticulously interpreted. The articulation of security and threats perception needs to be well employed to prevent future damage. The Non state and terrorism activities sponsored from other countries soil jeopardise the bilateral relation of countries. The standard dictionary definition states that security ‘means the absence of threats’. (Booth: 2007) “The Copenhagen school of security theorists baldly claim: In this context ‘international security’ security is about survival”. (Booth: 2007) “Traditional security theory derived from statist norms, equating the idea of security with the problem-

solving dimension of strategic relations between sovereign states.”(Booth 2007:34) ‘Nonetheless, China’s nuclear breakthrough has alarmed India’s strategic community, which was yet in the process of recovering from the humiliating debacle of 1962. “In the eyes of several Indian strategic analysts, the only way to deter China from future military aggression or blackmail was to acquire nuclear weapons as well. The content of the Chinese policy was no-first-use declaration of 1982”. (Frey: 2006)‘China unambiguously declared that ‘at no time and under no circumstances will China be the first to use nuclear weapons, and that it undertakes unconditionally not to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear weapon countries and nuclear-free zones’. (Frey 2006: 111) Since one threat is interpreted in the light of other threats, we get an integrated field of security, not separate issues or for that matter separate sectors of say ‘economic security’ and ‘societal security. Indeed, in the more extreme versions of power theory (maximalist realism), they are simply reflections of power relations: one fears whoever wields greater power. (Buzan &Weaver 2003:49) “Wendt should note that conflict formation, security regime, and security community run in parallel with Wendt’s Hobbesian, Lockean, and Kantian social structures.” (Buzan &Weaver 2003:50)‘In terms of amity and enmity, standard RSCs may be conflict formations, security regimes, or security communities, in which the region is defined by a pattern of rivalries, balances, alliances, and/or concerts and friendships’.(Ibid:55) Second, China’s security concerns have become much more multifaceted and now include issues which are well beyond traditional security concerns (such as border security), such as terrorism, protection of economic goods, trade security, access to resources and energy, and transnational crime. When Beijing released its Defence White Paper in December 2006, in addition to traditional concerns about territorial conflicts and hegemonism, it also recognised the ongoing problem of terrorism in the international community, drawing links between terrorism and separatism as well as uneven economic growth internationally. Russia and India have entered into agreements for co-development of the BrahMos supersonic cruise missile, a fifth-generation multirole fighter aircraft, a medium transport aircraft, hypersonic cruise missiles, and an assortment of smaller systems and subsystems. ‘The most visible of these issues centres on the purchase of the Admiral Gorshkov aircraft carrier and its associated MiG-29 fighters.’ (Hedrick, 2009:16) “India is grappled and strangled with perennial potential security threats emanating from China. “India’s regional and global security concerns are reflected in its military

modernization, maritime security and nuclear policies.” (Malone 2011:53) ‘India is uniquely positioned to be a driver of interstate cooperation in South Asia, which is a ‘predominantly Indocentric region’. (Ibid: 58) “Globally, India is being recognized as a rising economic power but not in the region where economic development has become hostage to security issues. Varun Sahni describes India’s regional status as one of ‘contested dominance’.(Mukherjee& Malone : 94) “China’s numerous investments in building up port facilities in the Indian Ocean, seen by some strategists as a ‘string of pearls’ strategy to constrain India’s freedom to manoeuvre.”(ibid) India’s security challenges are mostly structural in nature.

Regional Mechanism to study security relationship:

The regional organisations like SCO, APEC and SAARC have greater essence in establishing negotiation and dialogues by multilateral framework. They allow the Countries heads and ministers to exchange their views and concerns regarding set of problematic issues. The regional organisations have geopolitical significance and address the problems and acts as trouble-shooter there. There significant treaties, pacts and Accords relating to key issues are signed there. The Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) is a regional international organization comprising states in Europe, the Near East, Central Asia and South-East Asia. “The SCO includes China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan as member states, with Mongolia, Iran, Pakistan and India as observer states”. (Haas 2013:41) ‘The SCO provides cooperation in political, military, economic, energy and cultural fields. Important ingredients of economic cooperation are (conventional) arms trade and energy’. (Ibid) SCO has formulated RATS mechanism to face the three evils off central Asia. In the Asia pacific there is APEC to facilitate as a regional organisation in liberalising trades from checking the protectionist policy of countries. Through APEC a constellation of 21 countries assemble and gathers to discuss the set of security and economic cooperation of the regions. Similarly benchmark established by ASEAN countries in security aspects like ARF South Asia has also regional grouping of SAARC which works for the trade free regimes which it has traversed long journey from SAPTA to SAFTA for more economic lucrative destination of the region. It has lesser economic investments as compared to other regional groupings of world. SAARC table is helpful in mitigating the enmeshed regional and ethnic conflicts, creating more amicable relationship and drawing investment from the regions are its

key values. These regional mechanism are able to address the Civil wars of Afghanistan, Sri Lanka etc. They are assisting in divided Korea by Six Part talks, settling the disturbed turmoil region of Uighur minorities of Xinjiang and Russian rebellions and separatist forces of Chechnya and acting as a stabilising force in Central Asian republics.

Definition, Rationale and Scope of the study:

Research topic encompasses the entire gamut of historical relationship, diplomatic and political maneuvering during major confrontations, standoffs in relationship, countries were standing apart with divergent views on different circumstances. This research work is intended to study the theoretical framework of Realist paradigm of shifting and tilting balance of power, Regional security competition and threat emanating from non-state actors like terrorism, nuclear proliferation, resource nationalism and rivalry, interdependence of natural endowments oil and natural gas, and geopolitics of energy are core issues. Military industrial complex (MIC) of Russia is sustaining because of export to China and India. These two countries are major receivers of Russian arms. Similarly China has benefitted immensely from the Russian energy. Some of these issues will be discussed in the synopsis.

Research Problem/Question and Hypothesis:

1. How far the Russian interaction with China and India is posing a challenge to hegemonic stability of Western powers in the region.
2. To what extent Military industrial complex and energy resources are the driving force of Russian Foreign policy in maintaining relations with both China and India?
3. What are the core issues involved in the interaction among these three powers Is Chinese arms supply to Pakistan, generating, a sense of insecurity for India and Russia is responding to the issues.

Hypotheses:

1. Growing strategic interaction between these three powers (Russia, India and China) is contributing towards a new geopolitical balance in Asia, which is shifting from Eurocentric to Asia centric.
2. The increasing interaction between Russia and China especially in the energy and security dimension is posing a threat to India's security interest.

Research Methods:

Research is based on studying the relationship through spectrum of historical events of these countries, Russia, India, China and diplomatic entanglement, wartime crisis, signing of strategic partnership and bilateral treaties, their perspective and stands on key issues. Research is highly supported by theoretical underpinning of Realism in foreign policy, neo realism and neo liberalism in world order, National and Regional security parameters, Energy and oil resource geopolitics as a key determinant, Geographical milieu which supports the foreign policy of country. Research is done by reading between the lines of many articles, journals, books, newsletters and government websites, defense spendings and budgets, arms procurements, blogs, Policy papers etc. as primary and secondary sources of data. Government official websites of Russia, China, India their foreign policy concepts. National security concepts, White papers and other official documents are quite instrumental in doing the research by analyzing data through empirical and statistical way. Different tools and techniques of Research methodology are applied like studying variables through correlations. Research will scrutinize the previous work done by eminent journalist, scholars in the chosen field.

Tentative Chapters: The entire dissertation will be beaked into different chapters heading as follows

- ❖ **Introduction and Research design.** It will cover the entire spectrum of Great power interaction of Russia, China, India on Asian Geopolitics, with complete theoretical framework to study power assertion, balancing to hegemonising in the region, militarization, realist perspective, nuclear posturing and doctrines, offensive preparedness of these countries and research design.

- ❖ **Chapter1: Russia China and nature of interaction.** From a Historical Perspectives This chapter covers the entire facets historical overview of historical relationships, mutual cooperation and coexistence and problems faced in building strategic partnerships at different world platforms and high tables.
- ❖ **Chapter 2: Russia, China India defense cooperation and Nature of ‘SecurityComplex’.** This chapter will discuss National security concepts, foreign policy concepts of Russia, China, India and securitization of region.
- ❖ **Chapter3: Regional mechanism, External actors and emergence of Russian-Chinese and Indian strategic interest.** Regional Organisation has to play a crucial role in the securitization of the region and SCO has greater role to play for it. China is pursuing its interest to be part of different groupings SAARC, APEC etc. The envisaged role of USA and Obama’s pivot to Asia policy forms a significant policy shift in regional affairs.
- ❖ **Conclusion.** This chapter will be analysing Russia China India relations and implications on India’s security covering aspects of hard realism, Chinese encirclement and maritime security, territorial threats. Etc.

CHAPTER-II
RUSSIA CHINA AND NATURE OF
INTERACTION

Introduction:

From historical Perspectives this chapter intended to cover the entire facets of historical relationships, mutual cooperation and coexistence and problems faced in building strategic partnerships at different world and groupings high tables. Russia China relation is characterised by energy cooperation, military, and role of US factor, and revolves around different leadership and personality cult. Sino- soviet Relations can be divided categorically into different phases starting from 1917 Russian revolution to present day relations after and Chinese revolution of 1949 till Mikhail Gorbachev made visit to Beijing in 1989 can be divided into broadly main phases: 1917-1949(early relations), 1949-60 (alliance building phase), 1960-85 (Historical Animosity and hostility) and 1985-91 marked by(period of Gorbachev's rapprochement) and contemporary trends in relationship after Russia trying to rebuild from the scratch and ashes of former USSR. Soviets has withdrawn from Iran in 1946 then onwards Iran tilted and became pro-western, but maintained its relations with the Soviets. There was nuclear escalation between Superpowers in Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962, then Soviets has invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968,earlier Soviets has lost to Counter revolutionary forces of Chile in 1973, and further invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 to increase its sphere of influence in South west Asia and Moscow's role in Iranian revolutions of 1979. After the Berlin wall came down as the symbolism of end of Cold war the rivalry between two ideological powers was minimised. If we look through the historical archives it was important to see how the relationship between two communist countries has evolved and what imprint it has global events. Soviet Union's to the American obsession with situation in Iran was for a larger strategy of mending "holes in the strategic arc" along USSR's southern borders. (Collins, 1987:200)

Territorial disputes and border problems in Sino-Soviet relationship: Territorial disputes are easily handled with ideological basis as the Communist China wants working for new world order under communism eventually a classless, stateless and boundary less world order: The earlier territorial conflict between Sino -Soviets were Manchuria, Magnolia and Sinkiang. Sinkiang is only involved in the Moscow -Peking axis of relations. "The treaty of Nerchinsk" of 1689 first delineated the frontier between China's Manchuria and Russian Eastern Siberia. (Tang1969: 404).The Treaty of Nerchinsk, which released main tension between countries for the next 170 years.

Similarly with respect to Magnolia, “Under Article V of the Sino-Soviet Peking Agreement of 1924”, the Soviet government, however, recognized that "Outer Mongolia is an integral part of the Republic of China," and that the USSR "respects China's sovereignty therein. (Tang 1969: 406). There have been twelve border agreements concluded between China and Russia, concerning Sinkiang or Chinese Turkistan, from the time of the Treaty of Peking in 1860 until the Kashgar Treaty of 1884. Territorial issues are the core issue between these two countries. The long stretching border of 4,259 km has been the strategic frontier between these two countries. There was Russian penetration of Manchuria in 19th century and was under its influence. Russia further wanted expansion in Pacific's as Japan was their rival in Asia as both were imperialist by nature. The border talks which resumed after 1964 has to settle down minor territorial disputes. USSR which was emerged as biggest rival was given control over the adjoining border rivers. There was possibility of escalation of full-fledged war between the great powers along the Ussuri river and border islands in 1969. “The prospects of war in Asian landmass loomed largely.”(Trenin, 2001:212) The Border agreement completed between these two countries in 1996 by agreement of reduction of armed forces and Confidence building measures. The two countries tried to narrow down differences by signing mutual accord for the existing frozen conflict which spoiled the relationship for thirty odd years. They extended friendly and cordial relation by reducing direct confrontation by instrument of Sino-Russian accord to end the stalemate. (Ibid)

Sino-Soviet relation from (1917-1949): Chinese were serious ethnic threats to Russian Far East (RFE), While Russian cities have settled within Chinese borders have Port Arthur. There were simultaneously two revolution in world order which tightened the world order, Russian revolution of 1905 and Xinhai revolution in China in 1911. In 1911 Republic of China was established whose leader was Sun Yatsen, choose democratic path. Sun Yatsen signed treaty of friendship in 1924 which was responsible for the establishment of Communist state in China. “After the Chinese civil war of 1947, and victory of Communists, former First Secretary of the CCP Mao Zedong on 1 October 1949 established People's Republic of China we know it today”(Curtis,2001:115-143). Xinjiang was always a problematic state for China as it troubled it in its domestic affairs. Xinjiang under the rule of Sheng Shi cai was pro-soviet and Soviet Union helped to achieve the goals. “Latter on war of 1937 Xinjiang

became republic under the strong influence of Soviet Union and up till 1950 Xinjiang remained independent, and Chinese influence was dismissed from the region". (Niemczyk 2012:54).

The Communist Alliance (1949-60): After 1949 formation of China, Beijing and Moscow became close partners and was reliant on Russia for support and alliance. The two countries enjoyed a camaraderie relationship of trusted and devout friend. Both the country having Left and Socialist ideology were just like siblings joined by same umbilical cord, one being elder and other as younger. On 14 February 1950 signed treaty of friendship, Alliance, and mutual assistance and to provide military and other assistance in case of attack by common enemy Japan and state allied with Japan. (Gerson 2010; 6). Sino-Soviet plunged at lowest point and had strained relations during Mao and Stalin but it slightly improved under the Nikita Khrushchev's regime. Russia and China have historical animosity over Amur, Ussuri, and Central Asian borders from late 1800s. Amur and Ussuri rivers formed part of eastern boundary between China and Russia by the Treaty of Peking warring party settled for negotiation with bargaining powers in the hands of Russia. China has to make concession and approximately 40,000 square kilometres of lands were persuasively incorporated and ceded by Chinese to Russia as a part of Unequal treaty. Treaty of Peking was not favourable to China as they lost large chunk of landmass. (Gerson 2010: 10). Tension increased over the Ussuri River as there were several instances casualties as massive troop build-up took on both sides. It has severe jolt on the economic infrastructure was all time low as it destroyed railways, bridges, trade turnover had dropped significantly. From 1949-60 there was a dramatic change in the relationship they engaged in better trade relations, joint construction projects, close military ties and advanced nuclear cooperation. They became world's largest trading partners and constituted world's powerful military alliance. But sooner these two countries drifted apart from each other and there was a grave issue over security policy, Nuclear weapons and Political direction and ideology as Mao was unwilling to play as unequal partner to Khrushchev. The main driving force for maintaining the Sino-Soviet relationship was continuing domination communist bloc would mean domination over world order.

Sino- Soviet support and confrontation during Korean War (1950-53) and US Intervention: Korea was under Japanese occupation since 1910 when Japan was defeated in Second World War in 1945, USA and USSR divided it along the 38th parallel with Russia in North and USA in south. Thus soviet forces were in North and American forces were in south. Their rulers were Kim Sung in North and Syngman Rhee on south which fought for their National cause. There were frequent military clashes along the dividing lines of 38th parallel. Kim Sung has asked Mao and Stalin for invasion on South Korea. Division on artificial lines continued and country remained divided during cold war period. Russian created Democratic republic of Korea (DRK) of Kim II sung in North Korea. Without informing North Korea acted as aggressor and invaded and outreached South Korea thus Russia has greater role in setting dictatorial and autocratic regime there. Kim II Sung was equally supported by Chinese communist government and Russians who have supplied North Koreans with Tanks and other equipment's. Communist control over the South Korea would have strengthen the position in pacific. North claimed to Syngman Rhee have crossed 38th parallel. In the American domestic debate about the Korean War, Dean Acheson's speech on Asia policy in January 1950 came to be widely criticized for placing Korea outside the American "defensive perimeter" in the Pacific, thereby allegedly giving a "green light" to the North Korean invasion. (Kissinger, 2011: 51) China was really worried of US presence on Korean border as it was provoking for attack on Manchuria (the part of China bordering on North Korea) as the Americans has placed fleet between Taiwan and to prevent attack on Chiang. MacArthur argued the best way to defeat communism is by atomic bomb if necessary. It was a tragic war which affected the international environment of south Asia and left Korea divided. Chinese entry into Korean peninsula was motivated by preventing the collapse of North Korea and expelling the American Forces out of the Peninsula. Stalin and Mao Zedong were increasingly distrustful of each other's when Washington came with series of measures in Asia.US has strained its relationship with both Russia and China over the Korean issue. Soviet relations with China deteriorated by the end Korean War as Stalin has encouraged the Kim Sung's misadventure which instigated for China's intervention and thus they turn adversary to each other. (Nguyen 1993:290)Despite this belief on the part of the US, the Chinese volunteers came in for all-out intervention in the widely advertised cause of "Resist America, Aid Korea", and the war situation turned once again - this time, against the US. (Nakjima 1979:26).

Sino-Soviet Split and historical animosity (1960-85): This historical phase of relationship between two communist countries can be marked by the watershed development of mistrust and suspicion. With the rise of Nikita Khrushchev coming to power after Stalin, Khrushchev side lined and denounced the leadership and programmes of Stalin. Mao Zedong of China has emulated Stalin's policy and was unhappy over Khrushchev's policy of Peaceful coexistence. There was another reason for growing differences was Soviets supported India during the war of 1962. The Khrushchev's policy was considered as betrayal and deviation from Marxist ideologies due to its revisionist tendencies and policy of spreading communism. The year 1960s witnessed there sphere of influence in the Third world countries and international Communist movements decreasing. There was little progress made during détente to Sino-soviet as there was warming of US-Soviet relations and normalization to Chinese relations with US and Japan in the late 1970's. Sino-soviet relations remained blocked by "three conditions" of China:

- a) "Withdrawal of soviet forces Afghanistan";
- b) "Withdrawals of soviet forces from Mongolia and dramatic reduction of troops east of Urals".
- c) "The cessation of soviet support for Vietnamese intervention in Cambodia. Russia and China vehemently squabbled over the Soviet backing of Vietnam and its forward intrusion in Afghan territory". (Sherman: 1997 1-14)

Vietnam War (1955-1973) as a turning point in Sino-Soviet Relationship: USSR consider itself as a both Asian and European power as it is situated at the crossroad and crucial juncture of both civilisation. USSR being a hegemonic and expansionist power never wanted American presence in Asia and also doesn't want the rising stature and dominance of China. Peking wanted to prevent Soviet presence in North Vietnam as Peking was fearful of ambitious designs of "modern revisionism" which would be detrimental to Cultural Revolution. Soviet attempted to strengthen North Vietnam by arms such help has caused considerable damage to the American Air force. "China have accused for Soviet-American "collusion" in Vietnam have doubtlessly caused the Soviets to assume a harder stance, not only vis-à-vis the United States but also in matters of help to Vietnam, anti-American propaganda and the threats to involve other "socialist" states through "volunteers". (London 1967:28). Give proper source China has attacked Vietnam before 1979 and violated its Sino-

Soviet Treaty of 1950. Soviet and Chinese communists followed their doctrines in third world countries against the rise of imperialists and reactionaries forces there. Soviet policy toward Vietnam was designed to re-establish Sino-Soviet alliances. The defeat of South Vietnam has greatly diminish the US influence in south East Asia and has established a strong Pro-Soviet regime there on China's border that was economically dependent on Soviets. American military action in Vietnam have led security problems to China. By 1963 Indochina found North Vietnam aligned with China in the Sino-Soviet rift and confident US was committed to preservation of South Vietnam. (Parker: 1976, 96). President Johnson on February 20, 1964 said US to do whatever he wishes to preserve the non- Communist regime in South Vietnam. In Vietnam after 1965, when the U. S. bombing campaign over the North began, Peking accused the new Soviet leadership of seeking a peaceful settlement and of providing only half-hearted material assistance to the DRV and the Viet Cong. "In late March 1972, the North Vietnamese launched a major offensive across the demilitarized zone. North Vietnamese troops headed south into Vietnam, and the South Vietnamese forces struggled to put together a coherent response, calling into question the viability of the "Vietnamization" policy." (Kissinger, 2007:70) North Vietnam depended on support from Soviet allies. There was continued fighting and Shelling between Chinese and Vietnamese on Sino-Vietnamese border and Soviets had shown their stubbornness and reluctance to withdraw the support from Vietnam. Soviets had supported the Vietnam's offensive launch in 1984 and intense offensive since Vietnam invaded Cambodia in 1979. Thus Vietnam was assisted by Soviet armour, MI-24 helicopter gunships etc. Pravda claimed that as a result of offensive "new order" in Cambodia gained viability. (Zagoria, 1986:23). Kissinger as NSA of USA says that American invasion was marginally successful in Vietnam and was having devastating consequences in Cambodia. Brutal and Rogue rebels of Khmer regime seized power there by violence and perpetuated atrocities to locals there. Thus US and China has severely criticised the by the Vietnamese in Cambodians. Vietnam War was indeed humiliating in terms of loss it made to US exchequer and downgraded the morale of American forces. It is political correct or just rhetorical that in US the conflict was described as the Vietnam War and in Vietnam as the American war. The fall of Saigon culminated into end of Vietnam War and is celebrated as Independence Day. American Forces has used the Chemicals Agent Orange which destroyed the Forest, vegetation and many villages were wiped out by maiming and

killing innocent civilians there. Kissinger tried with “Triangular diplomacy” by playing Soviet Union and China against each other and extending diplomatic avenues to both to prevent spread of communism. “Beijing was apprehensive about the US presence on its border and build up there, it is being encircled stretching from the Korea to Taiwan and even circumventing from the Indo China as a greater scheme to outmanoeuvre China’s ambition”. (Kissinger 2011: 1-19)China has ideological supported the North Vietnam to push American from there and preventing any further strategic encirclement of China.

Leonid Brezhnev’s “System of Collective security in Asia” (1969): Foreign policy has undergone dramatic shift after overthrow of Nikita Khrushchev in 1964 and till the tenure of Brezhnev in November 1982. South Asia assumed significant position in Soviets foreign policy claim and was way to secure influence in the region. Soviets wanted their allies to keep distance away from the US and China. Collective Security was supported by good economic relations with the socialist camps of neighbouring states. India and USSR having ‘socialist orientation’ has worked for the nonaligned movement. India has renewed its importing arms, indigenous and sophisticated soviet weaponry to strengthen its Security relationship with USSR for Collective-Security concept in South Asia as a regional power. Soviet Leadership has acted mediator in Asian dispute at Tashkent Conference. In June 1969 at Moscow International meeting of Communist and workers parties, Brezhnev talked for a system of collective security in Asia. It was intended to establish “friendly”, “good neighbourly” cooperation with a number of Asian states. “Brezhnev doctrine was intended to reduce the influence of both China and the U.S. to stand better chance of success if USSR program of security and cooperation as an alternative to the Nixon Doctrine.”(Ghebhardt: 1973, 1077) The increasing Soviet presence in South Asia in terms of bilateral treaties, military aid and naval presence was really disturbing for US hegemonic designs. Nixon Administration was making efforts for the settlements in Vietnam war, as Southeast Asia was going to be little prospect for Soviets to play any vital role in the region. Thus Soviet Union sought an ally in India to help stabilize balance of power in Asia. The Soviet-Indian Friendship and Co-operation Treaty in 1971 was interpreted by soviet as the first and probably most important step in effort for a system of collective security in Asia. Indira Gandhi stated that Indian Ocean must remain a “zone of peace free from military contests” and proposed “vacuum”

theory in the Indian Ocean which denied the presence of superpower in the regions. But Indian aspiration was hampered by continuing Soviet naval presence in the Indian Ocean by Collective Security design. (Ghebbardt: 1973, 1077). Chinese have different perspective on the Collective security in Asia they treated it as anti- Chinese military alliance. The Chinese ambition in the region was increasing at alarming rate which was cause for the Asian in the region. Collective security shifted its area of influence from the geopolitical stretch of Persian Gulf to the Pacific Basin towards South East Asia. After Vietnam War ended and US withdrawal has created vacuum and enough space for the Chinese to influence there. It was Soviet ploy to containment of Chinese pacific designs. Soviet was championing the cause of Third world countries in defending their position against Chinese and American encroachment. Leonid Brezhnev was the first to speak for "collective security" in Southeast Asia," Collective security" was therefore explained as offering Soviet support for the efforts of Southeast Asian nations, individually or collectively, to liquidate their foreign bases and stand ready to "repel any intrigues of the forces of imperialism and expansionism. (Gurtov 1971: 496).

Afghanistan Factor in Sino- Soviet Relations and Afghan war (1979-1989):

Soviet invasion in Afghanistan can be attributed to the events which culminated are Soviet Security concerns and its doctrines. It has been the Violent and long lasting and protracted warfare in world history. Modern Afghanistan started after 1973 which came under the influence of USSR. Soviet intervention in Afghanistan was by end of December 1979 was primarily motivated by expanding its sphere of political influence in the backyard of Central Asia and territorial security. The other factors which accounted for the intervention in Afghanistan can be:

- a) "To resist the nationalist insurgency effectively and assisting the Kabul regime."
- b) "To preserve the Soviet sphere of influence over the regime"
- c) "To maintain the stability of Central Asian Muslim republics against a spill over of revolutionary and Anti-Communist movement movements of Islamic nationalism in Afghanistan."(Hartman 2002:470)

President Jimmy carter of US was sceptical about Soviets stake in the Afghan development. Afghan war has witnessed worst form of Women oppression, War crimes, War lords, "opium czars", to Terrorist and "Afghan Jihad" and "Islam had gone crazy" emerging from the soil of Afghanistan."(Sidky: 2007). It was quite

evident that Afghan Marxist were outcome of the rebels or Mujahedeen inspired by Soviets apparent interference in Afghanistan. Mujahedeen was exclusively created by USA- CIA and Pakistan's ISI nexus together as a group of religious fighter. "Freedom fighters" and "Holy warriors" as they were categorised to wage jihad which they get inspiration and motivation from Islamist ideology. Mujahedeen's started destabilising Communist government of Afghanistan. After the Cold War started in late 1950s, the United States plunged into the domains of Afghan with the restrictive purpose to contain the Communism so that Soviets can't exercise their exclusive control over Afghanistan. (Sidky 2007:854). There was heightened tension between the two powers over Afghanistan, US stepped up with methodology of Aid programme. Soviets had extended helping hand in developmental projects in Afghanistan about hundred infrastructural projects and facilities of various kinds including hydroelectric stations, nitric fertilizer plants, irrigation works for Jelalaba territory, and a natural gas complex in Mazar-i-Sharif (Goldman, 1984:385). Both U.S.A and Soviet has turned Afghan into a "rentier state" driving revenue from external sources there has been economic aid continuously pouring to these countries. Soviet military analysts saw class liberation war as inevitable response to imperialist forces world over. (Goldman, 1984:385).The (PDPA) People's Democratic party of Afghanistan took control in military coup in April 1978, thus Afghan insurgency against PDPA regime grew, and was on verge of disintegration and loss of its sovereignty. PDPA ousted President Mohammed Doud who wanted to limit Soviet influence in the region by improving its relation with Pakistan and Iran. Doud has strongly pursued the issue of independent Pashtun homeland in Pakistan tribal belt. Nur Mohammed Taraki and secretary of PDPA Hafizullah Amin could not last longer as there was no chances of another Marxist government emerging simultaneously. Soviets were disturbed by Amin's refusal to counterbalance the rising rebellions in the region by introducing Soviet troops. "The Soviets had to consider the possibility that the revolt against communism and Soviet power in Afghanistan could exert a destabilizing influence on their own Central Asian republics".(Goldman 1984: 389) By 1986 Najibullah government was placed by replacing the Barbak Karmal government due to military mutinies, defections and Factional fighting. Soviet 40th Army composed of Air assault brigades, 500 helicopters, Squadrons of MiG-21s and MiG-23s, few squadrons of Su-25 (frog foot) attack aircraft, etc. Soviets has numerical strength to pacify the major areas of country they secured the lines of communications, limited infiltrations, and decimated

the resistance strongholds. “Soviet policy was “scorched earth” and “migratory genocide” which forced Afghan population to exile in Pakistan and Iran. Thus war has resulted into millions of refugees across the neighbouring countries of Pakistan and Iran. They deliberately burned the Villages and destroyed the crops.” (Collins, 1987: 204) .Further Gorbachev wanted to keep secure and Pacified Afghanistan under its Soviet domination so that its determination remains at higher level. Gorbachev at the twenty seventh Communist party soviet Union Congress described importance of Afghanistan: “It is our vital, national interest that USSR invariably had good and peaceful relations with all contiguous states. This is vitally important goal for our foreign policy.” (Collins, 1987: 209). Taliban was not adhered to the Afghan cultural and social values and ethos. Many Afghan national treated Taliban as a foreign movement because there was no match with traditional Afghan ideology. On the contrary Taliban never asserted to bring Islamic ideas to power. The Taliban has incorporated nearly 8,000 to 15,000 non-Afghans, citizens of Saudi Arabia, the Gulf States, and other Middle East countries, the so-called "Afghan-Arabs; roughly estimated 3,000 to 5,000 of these war-militias were from Osama Bin Laden's al-Qaeda organization. (Sidky 2007:876). The monster Taliban which created by Pakistan, Middle East who supported them through petro-dollars and provided them with AK-47 assault rifles, RPG and other light weapons, six MiG-21s, MiG-23 jet Fighters and Mill-17 helicopters to operate them. (Sidky 2007:876) Pakistan and Afghanistan was grossly enmeshed by transnational linkages of Talibanisationas cash subsidies flowed from Saudis to the mujahedeen warlords. Taliban established control over south and central Afghanistan and pushed Mujahedeen government to Northern part. Taliban Government ruled till 2001 after the gory incident of 9/11 USA aimed to ouster Taliban and wipe-out Al-kayada networks. US got sanctions from the UNSC to get all necessary steps for ending Terrorism. The Afghan battlefield has been brooding ground of terrorist outfits which has repercussions felt across the globe from Asia to Europe and Africa. In Asia Pakistan, Kashmir, Xinjiang and Chechnya in Russia are disturbed by terrorist vulnerabilities U.S. A has to intervene as the Global “War on Terror” in Afghanistan in October, 2001 and Iraq in March 2003 was for the sake of attack on its US sovereignty worst gruesome terror attack of 9/11.U.S.A, Russia, India and all NATO countries supported Northern Alliance and within few months they were able to ouster Taliban. (Sidky 2007:876)

Afghanistan in Present Scenario: A fresh insight into Afghan problem can be visualised as Afghan remained a divided nation with tribal ethnicity and ideological conflictual interest embedded in history. There was key role played by different international actors and stakeholders. “CIA has covertly supported Anti-Soviet mujahedeen factions during 1980’s which were backed by Pakistan’s Inter Service Intelligence (ISI) and funded by Saudi’s Petro-dollar”. (IPRI 2014: 8) Taliban Consolidated power in 1996 against the resistance of Northern alliance. Meddling into the domestic affairs of Afghanistan caused a trouble to US as it was manifested by attack on World Trade Centre on September 11, 2001 as CIA’s covert action for creation of Jihad movement against Soviet turned against him. The 23 year civil war was completely routed by eliminating the Taliban network thus “Operation Enduring Freedom” has been credited for successful defeat of Taliban troops and dismantling Al-Qaeda’s terror infrastructure. Peace and stability of Afghanistan has been crucial for tapping economic resources of Central Asia, South Asia and South west Asia and Asia pacific to materialize. Pakistan has been the supportive of Chinese deepening of economic ties with Afghanistan. “China’s Afghan policy focus on Economic and Social indicators and development projects; with prime goal to transform Afghanistan into self-reliant country. Besides helping to build Country’s defence, China was planning to offer training to Afghan National Security Force. (ANSF)” (IPRI 2014: 8) The post 2014 scenario has been completely different as it is going to provide ample of opportunities and open the avenues for Russia-Chinese hegemony for pipeline politics and energy diplomacy. Afghanistan and Pakistan would be working as a transit-hub, pipeline route and energy corridor for importing oil and gas pipelines from TAPI and IPI. Both these projects have some problematic issues for operationalization, and Afghanistan strategic location as conduit is vital for energy security. India is helping in reconstruction of Afghanistan through aid etc.

Sino-Soviet Relations and China’s Rapprochement with the US: China-USA Rapprochement can be seen in the light of the perceived Soviet invasion. Russo Chinese have greater ramification to world politics as they have geopolitical and geostrategic influence on the central Asia and North East Asia. “Russia and China pose a grave threat to US. Brezhnev has used the force to crumble the Czechoslovakia’s Prague spring and intervened in Communist Countries to preserve socialism there”. (Zagoria, 1983:861). US have been successful in signing the

Strategic Arms limitation treaty in 1972 despite the heightened tensions of Vietnam War. Kosygin military support to Vietnamese worked in the US containment. Nixon government contemplated the military cooperation with China. Sino- American alliance altered the possible scenario against Soviet Union which encouraged the military expenditure, Soviet security and crippled the Soviet economy .In the long run, of course, Moscow hopes to break up the Washington-Beijing rapprochement. “The influential Soviet journalist, Aleksandr Bovin, concluded that the Sino American relationship was no more than a marriage of convenience marked by mutual suspicion and the desire of each partner to outmanoeuvre the other”. (Zagoria, 1983:861) Russell Ong’s argument that basis of Chinese strategic partnership with Russia lies in countering the global export of America’s liberal values”. As Russia professed Political Values of sovereign democracy and Asian Values much more than European. Richard Betts and Robert Jervis greatest security threat and concerns to the US emanates from the Russo Chinese alliance. Russo-Chinese relations are primarily utilitarian and instrumental as scholars Bobo Lo, Rajan Menon and Rozman say that relationship can’t go beyond partnership to alliance. Sino- American resume diplomatic relations strengthened Kremlin’s fear of anti- Soviet entente in the Far East. China US and Western Europe are against the Soviet Union and China had support of punitive action against Vietnam for its intrusion into Cambodia. Brezhnev and President Richard Nixon signed in 1972 “Basic principles of Relations between the United states and Soviet Union” which recognised security interest of two parties on the basis of equality. (Goldman, 1987:397).

Detente: Détente dictionary meaning is easing of hostility and strained relationship between two conflicting parties and Countries. From 1980s onward there was convergence of soviet and Chinese stalemated deadlock relation. Though it recognised later on that it was unfair for Washington interest to perpetually continue the tension between Peking and Moscow. (Hsiung, 198). Beijing was provoking anti-Soviet feelings by continuing territorial disputes and claims by undermining détente. Both Russia and China have gained greatly from reducing the tensions. China was really unprepared for the Maoist policy of confrontation and unwanted military conflict which posed very costly. Soviet has frozen relation with Beijing and Washington and wanted to make no concessions to them. Soviet Union was obviously the greatest loser in the game of romantic triangle between US, China and Soviet.

US –Soviet relations were adversely affected by US-Chinese amity and it even did not benefitted from the improved relations with China and offset the detoriating relation with the US. In 1980 Regan has tried to upgrade relation with China on Taiwan. Reagan also spoke of the United States' "abiding interest in the peaceful resolution of the Taiwan question."(Hsiung, 198).

Sino-Soviet Relation and Indian factor: India played a crucial role in the Sino-soviet bonhomie between two communist powers in containment of US influence in the region. The Sino- Indian war was most humiliating and painful memories which left imprint on the historians. “Ram Chandra Guha noted historian articulated that war was indispensable and stressed the causal factors in the war he describes the war was outcome of clash of national myths, national egos, national insecurities and finally ended with national armies”. (Laruelle et al, 2010:111) India undergone the nuclear test in 1974 under Indira Gandhi regime, China rushed to rebuild Pakistan after its defeat in 1971 war and started its courtship with Bangladesh in 1975 after Mujibur Rahman assassination in 1975 to counterbalance India. Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and long term assessment of its policy as “Beijing saw Moscow's move as part of a bold "southern strategy" designed to secure warm water ports on the Indian Ocean which could be used to establish Soviet control over the sea lanes across that ocean which carried the petroleum and raw materials vital to Japan and western Europe. Moscow's southern strategy was also part of the Soviet drive to encircle China. “Combined with the Soviet naval build-up in the Pacific, and the combined Soviet-Vietnamese thrust toward the Straits of Malacca, Moscow's southern drive posed a grave threat to China's security”. (Graver, 1991: 62).Soviet economic and diplomatic penetration into the region, military aid to the Indian Government, the build-up along the Sino- Soviet border, and the signing of the Non-Proliferation Treaty are all alleged to be part of a pattern simultaneously to contain and threaten China.

Sino-Soviet Relations under Gorbachev (1985-91): The stage for meeting of Gorbachev and Deng Xiaoping was set in May 1989 was set. He indicated Soviet focus on normalizing relations with the region and to make move in other areas such as Afghanistan and Vietnam, Far East to address Chinese concerns. Gorbachev has worked to improve relations with China by Vladivostok speech of June 28, 1986 by

suggesting concession on border relations and Afghan issue. “Gorbachev visit to Beijing streamlined the Sino-soviet rapprochement after working consciously on key issues of Afghanistan, Cambodia, and the Northern border with China.”(Zagoria.1986:16)The shift in relationship started after normalization of 1990 by diplomacy of President Boris Yeltsin, Yevgeny Primakov, Vladimir Putin and Jiang Zemin. Gorbachev has made its priority clear for mending relations with China and Japan and hoped to strengthen the Soviet bloc by a “common European home” to all socialist world. There were increased cultural exchanges with China to improve bilateral relations. There was continuing military build-up in Pacific by Soviets. Even China was willing to test the leadership of Mikhail Gorbachev by making him to succumb under pressure to concede China’s three demands of “normalization”:

- a) “curtailing and minimising the forces from the borders”
- b) “Removing support from Vietnam”
- c) “Withdrawing from Afghanistan as earliest as possible.” (Zagoria.1986:16)

Russia China relations in current contemporary period: Russia relation with its eastern neighbours China was to balance or keep equidistance from its power centres. After the collapse of Soviet Union in 1991 Russian Foreign policy was oriented and directed concentrated towards west with “common European house” and thus disregarded relations with closer neighbours. (Lukin 2001)Russia China relation is based on non-interference of internal affairs and respect for Human rights and other ideological differences. Russia China relations have worked on country’s border problems by Russia Chinese border treaty. Contemporary relationship has numbers of opportunities in the field of energy cooperation military and nuclear arsenals etc. The strategic partnership draws its strength from shared interest in countering American unilateralism in international politics and to work on regional politics and Asian Security and missile defence, as well as economic security. Global interdependence have given rise to threats and opportunities to Great powers. When Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev visited China on 26–29 January 1994 with a letter from President Yeltsin, he expressed Yeltsin’s desire for Russo-Chinese relations to develop into a “constructive partnership.”

Summary: This chapter gives a synoptic view of the historical events and the way Russia and China relations have flourished, impacted and drifted apart on key issues

of their regional, national importance. Through the annals of international relations it has resolved many aggravating issues like border disputes of long its boundary line, Amur and Ussuri rivers and problems relating to Chinese migration in Russia's Far East and Siberia. Chapter has touched upon the several dimensions of historical epoch beginning from the Korean war of 1950's -1953 and concurrently the formation of PRC in 1949, Vietnam War of 1970'S and role of extra territorial outsider USA, to present day Afghanistan turmoil and role of duo Russia and China in sanctions against the Syria etc. Russia and China have developed feeling of friendship and are key partners in several treaties, regional and international organisation. Russia and China has provided overwhelming support and assistance to third world countries by economic and military aids. Sino-Soviet relations have been at low ebb during direct confrontations, wars and at highest pinnacles during multilateral summits etc. It is gone ups and downs during different personality and leadership cult from Brezhnev's to Gorbachev , Yeltsin to Putin era has managed to solidify its relation with Mao Zedong, Chiang Kai Shek, Deng Reform era, Zhou Enlai, Hu Jintao and Xi Jinping era. Soviet Bolshevik revolution of 1917 was watershed for China's PRC revolution in 1949 it got inspiration from it. Gorbachev after coming to power tried to emulate the Chinese market reform policy by its own Glasnost and perestroika in USSR. Brezhnev's revisionism got clashed with China then there was triangular balancing by USA Nixon government. After 1970 US has emerged as major ally of China it was possible because of Sino- Soviet split of almost two decades of 1960-1980's. Nixon and Kissinger visited China this followed after the Ping-Pong diplomacy as a part as American were invited to China. There was several reasons attributed to the Sino-Soviet split as grudges and discontent of Korean War, Khrushchev policies of peaceful coexistence, issues over Taiwan etc. could have led to war. Soviets unconditionally supported during war with China in 1962. Chinese troops fought along Zhenbao Island. There was ideological differences and rift over the Khrushchev's De-Stalinization. Mao was unhappy and expressed his displeasure and anguish as he has emulated many ideologies from Stalin. Mao felt offended by Russia involvement in Czechoslovakia. There was some common thread and strings attached to both countries as opposition to US hegemony and its Unilateralism, enhancing multilateralism, Economic cooperation and adherence to disarmament policies. At bilateral level they have tried to bridge the gap between themselves by demarcating borders, working for stability in Asia, energy cooperation. Thus they developed

symbiotic relationship of mutual interdependence by exchange of consumer goods, transfer of technology. They are working economic ventures in many countries. The oil and gas of central Asian countries is reason for resource rivalry and competition between the two powers.

CHAPTER-III

RUSSIA CHINA INDIA DEFENCE

COOPERATION AND NATURE OF

SECURITY STRUCTURE

Introduction:

This chapter gives a broad picture of nature of arms trade between Russia, China and India. The nature of arms trade is discussed with Russia being placed at the top tier of military industrial complex. China and India are dependent on Russia for their modernisation and gearing up for the war. Arms trade and mutual relationship impinges on the National security. The security challenges emanating from the grounds of different country are discussed. There are diverse range of threats and challenges being faced by these countries like Smuggling of small arms, proliferation of terrorism, and porous borders acts as a conduit for Narcotic psychotic drugs and subsequently the problems of regionalism, secessionist tendencies emerging in those volatile regions. These modern day security challenges have consequences on the civil society and their livings. The relationship between these countries will be pushed by shared consensus on the heart rending issues. There are several mechanism and groupings through which all these problems needs to be addressed in effective manner. The security structure covers the holistic view of regional dimension of problems, threats being faced in Russia, China and India at domestic level. It also discusses the nuclear and national security doctrines and their application during war. The energy security covers how the resource starved country aligning with the resource rich region of world. These Countries have shown audacious virtues to fight against terrorism, separatism and domestic disturbances. There operated a secretive nexus of nuclear proliferation regimes of rogue regimes. Terrorist networks of different Islamic groupings working to destabilise the whole nitty-gritty of nation building effort. Security perspective is broadly visualised in this chapter through the arms trade and by discussing their national security policy. China is also greatest beneficiary of Russian defense supply and assistance. But the Chinese assistance to Pakistan in their nuclear technology, arms and military modernisation, infrastructural developments through ports, highways and transit route development is causing a concern for Indian strategist and policy makers. China's blatant support to Pakistan escalated the tension and embroiled the bonding of relationship. China is surging ahead of Russia and will take great leap forward in economic sphere by trade and investments. Thus chapter progresses by discussing in specific segments like arms trade between countries and national security doctrines, grave threats of the region and way to address the lacunae persisting there. This chapter will justify the validity of research question and hypothesis, How Russian MIC is the driving force behind the

foreign policy with the South Asian countries India and China. Energy and Economic diplomacy maintains the motor of relationship and focuses on calibrating and crafting the relationship. The growing alliance and nexus between Sino-Pak will be detrimental to the Sino-Indian relation and security aspects will be challenged which needs to be relooked and revisited again.

Russia China nature of defense cooperation:

China had no real policy on Nuclear weapons and arms control. Russia has been the major arms and military technology provider to China which includes combat aircraft, air defence system, warship and submarines. Russia has shown his willingness to sell Sukhoi (Su)-30 fighters, anti-ship missiles and nuclear arms to China. “Russia and China entered into ‘strategic cooperative partnership’ in 1996 after long years in 2001 they signed treaty of ‘Good neighbourliness’ and ‘Friendly Cooperation’”. (Bailes et al: 2007) It was Evgeny Primakov who has replaced his predecessor pro-western Andrei Kozyrev as foreign minister in 1996 replaced the word “strategic” to “constructive” in defining the relationship between two countries. There is official rhetoric about the relationship between these two countries is that there warmth at governmental level but coldness prevails at grassroots level politically mature but economically weak in character. Thus the cornerstone of ties and relationship lies on the energy and defence cooperation between these two countries which is dwindling in present circumstances. (Jakobson et al 2011: 14) In 1996 Russia granted China license for production of Su-27 multirole aircraft. “Strategic partnership” of Sino-Russian relation has been key factor for stability of the region and security in East-Asia. After the collapse of Soviet Union from 1991 till 2010 more than 90% of China’s arm import has been from Russia. “China imported from Russia Su-27/Su-30 combat aircraft, transport aircraft, Mi-17 military transport helicopters, Tor-M1 mobile air defence systems, S-300PMU1/2 air defence systems, Type 636E and Type 877E submarines, Sovremenny destroyers and extensive variety of missiles. In addition, China secured authorization for the licensed production of Su-27 combat aircraft, Mi-17 helicopters and anti-tank and anti-ship missiles”. (Jakobson 2011: 14) Moscow has been quite apprehensive of rapidly rising China and Moscow’s China policy. Military- technological cooperation (MTC) between these two countries includes transfer of technology and Russian arms transfer to China. There are common perceptions which are being explored:

- a) Challenges to Russia faced by arming the Chinese military mutual lessening of Armed forces along Sino-Russian outskirts and Confidence building measures since 1990 have radically decreased level of military confrontation between these neighbouring nations.
- b) Arms transfer to China will instigate regional instability so military balance and Taiwan issues are taken care for.
- c) Military technical cooperation through transfer of technology and arms, Technical knowhow between two countries, Joint military exercises.
- d) ‘Prospects for Russo-Chinese military alliance and U.S factor in relationship. The Arms transfer to the China will escalate the regional arms race and thus undermining Russia’s security and Asia policy’. (Weitz:2008)

There are many factors contributing for dependence of Chinese arms imports from Russia these are:

- a) Russia occupies a significant position in exporter of conventional weapons supplies but it has to face competition from other emerging players like Western Europe and Israel, Ukraine which provides technical assistance in form of tanks, helicopters for its military modernisation.
- b) “China and Russia are working together for fifth generation combat aircraft (Perspective Multi-role Fighter, PMF, also called PAKFA in Russia and FGFA in India), as well as a multi-role transport aircraft (MTA), have achieved the progress.”(Jakobson et al,2011: 30)
- c) “Russia is additionally reluctant and hesitant to exchange of innovation and technology of and has expressed his apprehensions of duplication of original work for being copied and ‘piracy’ of their weapons. So Russian arms and military equipment must agree to respect Russian Intellectual property rights. China and Russia reached an agreement on protection of intellectual property in 2008 and began discussions over copyright for Kalashnikov rifles in late 2009”. (Jakobson et al :2011)

China’s military diversification and modernisation started after the late 1960s to early 1980s seeing Soviet Union as major adversary. Meanwhile China has improved relations with other major powers like USA and western countries to counterbalance Soviet threat. China’s economic growth can be attributed for its robust large arms acquisitions, weapons transfer and defence modernisation. The massive arms build-up might have repercussion in the neighbouring vicinity and is cause of concern for Asia-pacific security: It will upset regional balance of power and pose security threats to

the region with arms race in the region. The MiG-31s are likely to function as mini-AWACS (airborne warning and control system) aircraft capable of directing aerial attacks of fighter jets like the Su-27, which China has already bought, and might eventually fit into a comprehensive air defence network that China is interested in developing with the Russians. (Yuan 1995: 67) It is argued that China's military modernisation will Challenge U.S hegemony in East Asia and can be threatening to the U.S national Security. China navy lacks command, control, computer and communications (C4) which have become vital for naval modern warfare capabilities. China is free rider in Pacific Security, over last decade China has enhanced its maritime partnership with U.S navy. (Al-rodhan 2007: 41) Further US naval presence and dominance in East Asia is serving China strategically by serving as a balance of power from stopping Japan from militarization, terrorism and smuggling. In 1982 new Commission on Science, Technology and Industry for defence was constituted to overlook armaments developments and production and procurement.

Joint Military Exercises between Russia and China: Earlier there was joint naval exercises between Russia and China. Russia and China has joint exercises under the framework of SCO called "Peace Mission 2005" with military, navy and aircraft personnel's. (Haas 2013). This exercise has been engineered for checking the combat-readiness, war preparedness and to fight the three evils of separatism, terrorism, extremism and enhance regional security structure. (FPRC 10: 94) This exercise was having greater geopolitical significance of that they do not want Western powers interference in their sphere of influence want complete control over the Asia-pacific region. Again in 2007 under the framework of SCO the two countries Russia and China conducted the largest military exercise at Chebarkul near Ural Mountains regions intended for Anti- terrorist scenario by "Peace Mission 2007". But these two "Peace Mission" drills were publicly cooperated by these two powers but under the veil they were involved for struggle to acquire maximum power. "Russia started Command post exercise under banner of Vostok-2005 in its far eastern region of Siberia in previous July of 2005." (Haas: 26) This exercise of 2005 was mainly intended to check separatist tendencies and nationalist movements for coordination between different Ministry of Defence, Intelligence and Internal affairs. Chinese PLA has initiated its biggest operations "Stride-2009" by advancing military of 50,000 troops to check others deployment it was PLA's long distance mobility operation.

'Vostok -2010' was conducted by RF Armed forces as a strategic war games involving 20.000 troops it was four times the previous operation of Vostok- 2005. It has incorporated warplanes and warships from three military districts of Pacific Fleet. (Haas: 27) These war games were demonstrating the twenty years of 'strategic partnership' between Moscow and Beijing. "Thus the Four Peace Mission Exercises in 2005, 2007, 2009, and 2010in combined provided platform for cooperation, Global and regional security enhancement and combat exercises." (SIPRI 29) "President Medvedev expressed that China tops the list of Russia's diplomatic priorities, that the relations are developing in all fields and even proposed a new security framework for Asia". (FIIA report 30)China US Military deals: There were also a number of visits to Washington by Chinese military procurement agencies. "Late in 1984, three U.S. teams visited China to consider an agreement on transfer of technology for the TOW anti-tank missile, artillery-shell manufacturing, and avionics for China's interceptor aircraft". (Zagoria1986: 17)

Russia – China Defence cooperation and implications for India in the context of Eurasian security environment: Both Russia and China have competitive interest in influencing the Eurasian geopolitics. Eurasian landmass straddles from the entire horizontal stretch of Europe, Central Asia, Russia and Asia. India treats the Central Asian republics as extended neighbours. India's foreign policy is also impacted by Afghan developments which has its own ramification on security dimensions. Pakistan on the other hand wants a "strategic depth" in central Asian republics. They have religious affinity to get attached with those nascent republics. Primakov has clearly stated that Moscow- Beijing-Delhi triangle can be sustained and rejuvenated by maintaining stability and security of Central Asia and Afghanistan. (Joshi: 205) India is not part of many regional groupings and organisations of Eurasian orientations. China contemplates the India as competitor in the central Asia and is alarmed by growing stature and market expanse in the region. India is committed for fighting menace of terrorism of Kashmir and Russia facing the same trouble in Chechnya. The global terrorism and its way to check its spread assumed a centre stage of all associations. India is also showed his inclination for pipeline projects of Sakhalin to secure its energy starved industries of country. China is ardent supporter of new world order and propagated the idea behind the multipolar world order and signed historically significant agreement with Russia in 1997. "Russia and China have

different conflicting interest Russia is being marginalised in Asia –pacific and this partnership with China does not serves Russia’s best interests.” (Bolt 2013:4) Further even Russia has completely denied the concept of G-2 where the Russia and China would be engaged in greater decision making. Russia has been aligned and getting closer with NATO to strengthen its security relation while China wants control over domestic minority unrest of Uighur community. Both Russia and China are hedging with USA for the triangular engagements.

Russia India Military Technical cooperation and Defence procurements: We have relationship of “heart and soul” with Russia. Defence relationship is the key of special and privileged partnership. It is special and privileged because India does not get such type of high tech weapons and technology from any other country which Russia has given to us. Thus it has very special treatment which India received and has direct impact on India’s capability. India and Russia jointly developed Brahmos supersonic cruise missile, other examples include T-90’s tank, Sukhoi (S-30), MKI (fighter jets) and working on fifth generation fighter aircraft. It was appreciated Government of India’s initiative to increase Russian FDI in defence sector and make in India project. (Lufkin: 3-22) Today with Russia we don’t have just buyers and seller relation but partners. In context of Russian losing their defence market to other players, PM has assured Russian counterpart even when India has other options, Russia continues to be preferred partners. Russia was leading supplier but has lost its position to US, France and Israel. Russia feels that defence deals in India are not transparent. Russia’s credibility as a manufacturer and supplier of world class equipment’s gets impacted. USA uses defence commerce as a part of foreign policy tool. US continues to be supplier of military hardware to our arch-rival Pakistan. Concerns from Indian side: There has been delays in delivery by Russia which has increased cost and is unable to provide spare parts and servicing. Russia can’t fulfil all requirements of India. India needs to diversify its market and can afford. Russia can harm its commercial interest in long term because China goes for reverse engineering. In context of Pakistan, Russia has lifted its embargo on weapons sale to Pakistan. Russia actions not only impacts military but Foreign policy exercise of country as it faced isolationism for sponsoring terrorism from its soil. Recently Russia has entered into military cooperation and agreement for naval cooperation, military exercises and trainings. Civil Nuclear Cooperation: Defence and Civil nuclear cooperation forms

the fundamental of special and privileged partnership. On Putin's visit to India we have signed "strategic vision" for cooperation in peaceful use of nuclear energy. We have also signed agreements for Kudankulam Phase-III and phase-IV nuclear reactors. Primakov as foreign minister in 1998, tried to rebalance Russian foreign policy by creating 'strategic triangle' between China, India and Russia. Russia and China, possibly with India, "can act as inspirers and organizers of a new anti-hegemonic, anti-Western international front."(Lukin: 3-22)India's foreign policy from the southern block of MEA is mainly directed against Pakistan or China centric as these are the major threats to country's sovereignty. After Pokhran test of 1998 done for enhancing the security threat from China US has imposed sanctions but Moscow did not impose the sanctions on India. Russia and China both have criticised India's Nuclear tests although, Russia's reaction was milder however, both of them encouraged India to sign Comprehensive test ban treaty (CTBT) and Non-proliferation treaty (NPT) as Defence cooperation between Russia India has been at Defence ministerial level held annually. The main thrust areas of defence cooperation are:

1. Indian army has purchased about 2000 T-72 tanks, 100 BMP-1 and BMP-2 armoured vehicles from Soviet Union.
 2. "The Indian Government subsidized research and development of a unique 'Indian' version of the Sukhoi Su-30 (known as the Su-30MKI, where 'MKI' stands for 'Modernizirovannyi(modern), Kommercheskiy(commercial), Indiski (Indian-produced)',specially designed for the Indian Air Force and one of the world's best air superiority fighters." (Weitz 2012:75)
 3. "Most prominent Russian era defence deals occurred in 1998 when both countries established joint venture BrahMos Aerospace to co-develop and produce Supersonic tactical cruise missiles. BrahMos Aerospace is currently testing a naval variant, the BrahMos-2." (Weitz 2012:98)
 4. The Indian Air Force ordered three Russian Israeli A-50EI Airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS) aircraft for \$1.1 billion that combined the Russian Il-76MD military transport plane with the Israeli-made Phalcon radar system.(Ibid:98)
- The Indian government has been trying to diversify its foreign weapons supply and has shown little concerns about quality and timely delivery of weaponry. There has been delays in the supply of equipment. The Indian side has complained and shown his displeasure about the sub-standard equipment and spare parts. "There were

certain problematic issue regarding the purchase of Soviet era Admiral Gorshkov transfer to Indian navy, 1000 T-90 main battle tanks purchased in 2001 after indigenous 'Arjun' tank ran into production problem." (Weitz: 2011)

Symmetrical factors and impediments in Russia China India defence cooperation:

Russia China and India have areas of convergence on defence procurements. Russia is the first-tier producer of arms and defence equipment and place at zenith of the hierarchy of pyramid. China and India are placed below it at third-tier producer. By the end of 1990 China was aspiring for self-reliance, military modernisation and wanted massive investment in its Defence sectors. R&D along with transfer of technology could have given fresh impetus to the defence industry. After the bloody incident of Tiananmen Square of 1989 China has faced sanctions and diplomatic isolation from the western world on violation of civil rights of peaceful protesting students. "West embargoes forces China to depend on Russia and European Markets. There are few factors which can be summed up as inducing factors for the arms trade between Russia and China like Eurozone crisis has caused a big jolt to the European economies. China can get easily availability of western European military technology after it." (Zhuravel: 54) Russia has expressed his displeasure on the violation of copyrights acts with the China. These arms transfer has resulted into the shifting of regional and international balance of power. Both China and India are biggest beneficiaries of Russian supply of defence equipment, both country suffers from some time low quality of defence equipment's, they are out dated and lost their significance. The problem persist with the repair and maintenance of highly sophisticated weaponry. For a given time frame China imported a big chunk from Russia. "China expressed his grievances for the licensed production system within the country and transfer of technology, unhappy with delivery delays and substandard quality of Russian arms."(Bolt 2013:7) There has been lack of innovation in the manufacturing of Tanks, Aircraft and Missiles of Soviet era. They need an overwhelming change in the policies regarding copyrights, patents and duplications by stealing technical know-how and expertise. The Intellectual property rights of the manufacturing units are to be protected to safeguard indigenous industries.

Analogies and Comparative study of the Russian, Chinese and Indian National Security concepts and challenges:

Russian National security and key challenges ahead: Russian federation has enormous size stretching and spanning over eight time zones. Russia has problem with the east and west conflict, conflicting situation in East Asia mainly with Japan over Kuril Islands, Korean, Vietnam issues, and cooperation with Europe. Western countries were trying to marginalising and excluding Russia by blocking its integration with the membership of NATO, European Union and ASEAN regional forum (ARF) on its periphery.(Bremmer1999:31-39)West is keen for regional security so Russia is welcomed to European integrative process which strengthen its neighbourly ties with Europe. Russia's survival and prosperity depends on its economic security, energy supply; human security, ethnic conflicts etc. Putin's coming to the power has a dramatic shift in the contours Russian security policy making and adopted three new strategic documents National security strategy(January 2000), military doctrine (April 2000), and Foreign policy concept (June 2000). Resurgent Russia in globalised era is facing new challenges of proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, international terrorism, and drug trafficking. Russia has been the member of OSCE, member of Council of Europe and has persistently tried to strengthen security organisation. NATO- Russia founding Act was signed in 1997 which provided privileged relations to Moscow over other partners of alliance. Further to add during Putin's era in 2002 Moscow bolstered its position in Brussels under new nomenclature of NATO- Russia Council, since then Moscow has become a quasi- member of NATO.(Poti :29-42)Through partnership and cooperation agreement (PCA) signed in 1994 trade relation has increased and widened the scope for interaction between EU and Russia. After 2006 there has been overwhelming change in the foreign policy making of the country, the then defence minister Sergei has three new components of Russian National ideology, Sovereign democracy, strong economy and robust military force. "The term Sovereign democracy was coined by Vladislavsurkov Kremlin ideologist to counter Russian democracy usually quoted as "managed democracy". (Poti: 29-42).After Beslan hostage tragedy Putin in 2003 doctrine has reflected his anti- western attitude by anti-westernism to restore lost position of Soviet Union at possible level. New kind of Anti-westernism was to counterbalance US and EU in military terms. Simply summing up Russian security

policy concerns visions on unipolarity, US unilateral actions, Abiding International law and use of Force, NATO-Eastern enlargement and missile defence. Etc. “Russia has pragmatic way of handling of NATO on one hand it wants integrating with it on the other hand it criticizes its enlargement and deployment of military hardware to its periphery”. (Poti: 29-42). Towards CIS countries approach of Russia was reintegrating with the region to build credible influence in the lost regions by increasing economic clout by market basis. CIS countries has been historical geopolitical backyards of USSR so Russia needs balancing their security and economic interests there. Russia has implicitly hedge position on China over growing economic and demographic vulnerability of Russian Far east and Russia’s “sphere of influence” in Central Asia, while China’s interest lies in Taiwan and South China Sea. (Kuchins: 267)

China’s National Security policy and concerns:

China’s new security policy was based on the peaceful rise of China with basic five objectives of mutual cooperation, trust and equality. China through these policy prescription wanted to assume responsible great power status in constellation of nations. Beijing new security diplomacy is guided by three goals defusing tension caused by external environment and domestic turmoil, taking into confidence the neighbours about China’s rise and Balancing the USA are prime concerns and three fold objectives of China. (Gill 2007:21) Beijing is surrounded by hostile neighbours and historical adversaries like Japan, Korea, Taiwan and East Asian neighbours like Philippines. It has developed peripheral diplomacy and embolden its relationship by entering into set of alliances, by signing Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation with the numbers of countries, security organisation like SEATO and CENTO. Thus it has daunting and uphill task of diversifying its partnership and relationship beyond the periphery. China’s policy of countering the imperialism of USA hegemony was justified by circumventing its effort by multilateralism. China has strengthened its relationship under the rubrics of regional mechanism of ARF of ASEAN countries by channels of dialogues, negotiations and CBMs. China’s new security concept was unveiled at PRC in March 1997 at meeting of ASEAN regional forum in 1998 it was defence white paper. “The relations among nations were to be based on integrity, mutual Non-aggression, Non- Interference in each other’s internal affairs, Equality and mutual benefit, Peaceful Coexistence”. (Disarmament Diplomacy 29:1998) Chinese

New Concept of Security provides a framework for the Political, Economic and Security relations in multipolar world order. NATO's presence in Kazakhstan and Russia as Partnership for peace (pfp) was reason to worry about Chinese Security at its doorstep. Atlantic Command CENTRAZBT 97 caused tremendous concern for Chinese analyst. China has its own Strategic culture and own nuclear doctrines which is purposefully intended to serve country's National security strategy, National Five year defence policy and military strategy of China. (Liping: 1-11) Nuclear weapons are major task of China to deter the enemy from launching an initial nuclear attack against China. China conducted first test on October 16, 1964 and till 1980s. Thus professed China's nuclear doctrine is Counter-nuclear blackmail strategy. China has tested its first Atom bomb test on 16 October 1964, with no first use (NFU) treaty and support for regional nuclear weapons- free zones. (Kalintworth 2000:86). China was rather concerned with building credible nuclear capability. China's acquisition of Nuclear weapons did not broke the monopolisation rather it generated blackmail strategy from the Super powers. Structure of China's Nuclear Doctrine can be encapsulated as follows (Liping: 4-8):

- a) "China's nuclear doctrine is no-first use (NFU) of nuclear weapons and Self- defense. China's nuclear programme is for Self-defense. NFU give high moral standing to China in international affairs."
- b) "China's policy is building of lean and effective strategic nuclear forces. Chinese nuclear arsenal and possession has been kept at minimal level of self-defence."(Liping: 4-8)
- c) "China's policy of nuclear deployment is to maintain a second strike capability." (Liping :4-8)
- d) "China's policy of nuclear employment is self-defence and retaliation."
- e) "China's policy of nuclear disarmament regards the complete prohibition of destruction of nuclear weapons as final goal in nuclear issue. China conveys the message of nuclear free world as final objective of its doctrine."(Liping: 4-8)

Maritime security is the integral part of national security strategy: China is using naval power for maritime encirclement and deterrence by its naval presence in Pacific Rim and Indian Ocean region. China is quite apprehensive about the maritime security and China's vital Sea trade routes. China has expressed his apprehension about the blockage faced by the key Asia-pacific maritime trade routes specially the

Malacca straits in Southeast Asia, a lifeline for Chinese international trade. “The ‘Malacca dilemma’ was first mentioned by Hu at CCP economic conference in November 2003 he expressed his anxiety about the energy security of the country and its dependence upon oil imports especially from the Middle East region”. (Lanteigne 2009:86) “Certain powers have tried to control navigation through the strait. Hu has been bothered about the developments of vital SLOCs, as he stated to remain vigilant to the foreign attempts to exploit the ‘jugular vein’ for strategic advantage.” (Lanteigne 2009:86) The strait provides the East Asian economies Japan, Korea and Taiwan their imported goods and China’s energy oil supply from Middle East.

India’s National security future problems and prospects: India is country with diverse ethnic identity, cultural background and geographical stretch. India faces myriad of security challenges from internal and external environment. The country needs to be insulated and protected from the external and internal challenges which emerges. The internal problems includes the growing communalism and ethnic hatred tensions over sectarian issue of religiosity, destroying the secular fabric and ethos of state. Indian security can be broadly categorised into Domestic, Regional, Continental and Systemic challenges. The regional level challenges emerges from the China and Pakistan both of them poses military, nuclear and conventional threat to the development trajectory of India. China is no longer an Asiatic power it wants to be regional hegemon and exercise its influence globally beyond Asia. Security should be understood as protection of territory and the political social way of life within it and promotion of economic wellbeing and balance of national power relative to other powerful states. (George & Venkatshamy 2012: 58) Thus National security are having certain levels of their grave concerns like natural disasters, Economic dislocation, transnational movements, Proliferation of nuclear weapons and materials, maritime threats and high sea piracy. The gravest threat of security emerges from the non-state forces which disrupts the peace and harmony of country. Keeping National interest in mind the NSS National security strategy was formulated by channelizing the energy and expertise from different walks of diplomatic, military and political spheres were created. Al Qaeda constitutes the important threat followed by its JeM, LeT and LiJ. Formation such bodies will streamline the statecraft and mechanism to tackle the safe haven, breeding grounds and hideouts, terror network and infrastructures, and concepts of ‘leaderless Jihad ‘of terrorism. India is placed in the driver of interstate

cooperation in South Asia region and acts as Anchor to regional conflicts and issues. There has been separatist protest issues of Indian population Madhesi of Tarai region of Nepal, Malayalis of Gulf region and remittances from there, Tamils of Sri Lanka. Economic diplomacy provides India opportunity to pacify the historical discontentment. After 1991 trade and economic cooperation has been the corner stone of all policy orientations. Thus decades of 90s was milestone and turning point for India as it opened the vistas to world economically and politically. “The current world problems can be resolved by economic prosperity (the ‘tide that lifts all boats’) is key to attain leverage and attainment of great power status.” (Malone 2011: 73)

India’s nuclear doctrines: India nuclear policy has developed its nuclear doctrine in 1999 with policy prescription of It will not use nuclear weapons first, (NFU of nuclear weapons), and will not resort to use Nuclear weapons against Non-nuclear countries or NNWS or (NSA- Negative security assurance).It emphasised for Credible Nuclear force and would survive first strike against it but also need political control over the nuclear forces. “Doctrine talked about the nuclear triad of aircraft, long range ballistic missiles and submarine launched ballistic missiles” (Rajgopalan 2009: 99). But 2003 version of document stated that, India will consider the use of nuclear weapons in case of and response to ‘major attack’ on India or Indian Forces with Chemical or biological weapons (CBW). “The doctrine is characterised as of Minimum deterrence but Rajesh Rajgoplan treats it as ‘assured retaliation’. India in such scenario can go for either launch-on-warning (LOW) or launch -under –attack (LUA) posture for its nuclear force.”(Rajgopalan 2009: 103)India’s nuclear deterrence is based on the right to self-defence as mentioned in Article 51 of UN charter.

Russia China India at UNSC: The Russian government has supported India’s candidature to UNSC as permanent member and full veto power while China’s position with respect to India has been ambiguous. “Both Russia and China have been on the same side for joining Forces along with war in Iraq, Iran, Sudan, Darfur, North Korea and Burma in often in opposition to US position”. (CSIS 2007: 121) “In UNSC both have worked together to oppose sanctions on Iran and North Korea. China and Russia cast their joint veto in 1972 on US sponsored resolution condemning Burma’s brutal military junta.” (CSIS 2009:139) Russia China at UNSC both had witnessed the blatant violation of bombing on Yugoslavia by the NATO forces.

Economic and Energy securitization of the region:

“Energy security is broadly defined as physical availability of energy at affordable price taking due care of environmental concerns with economic yardsticks of fluctuating demand and supply converges, and also focuses on diversifying it”. (Yigit 2012:12) Through Markets of natural resource they try to hegemonise in the region is characterize by resource rivalry. Nuclear energy, coal sector, petroleum, hydel energy, natural gas reserves are significant for investment and diversifying the energy basket by technology transfer and financial investments. In nuclear arena India has still depend on 45 nations of nuclear suppliers group countries like Australia which has 34 percent uranium reserves. From Indian perspective emerging economy can survive and sustain high growth rates if it is self-sufficient in energy. Russia India energy relation are at premature level and has supported in construction of IPI by Russian giant Gazprom but geographical constrain is big challenge to overcome. India has to work on diversification of its energy basket, domestic explorations, and offshore investments by Indian companies ONGC (OVL) etc., creating petroleum reserves for crisis and emergency situations. ‘OVL has invested heavily in Sakhalin –I and Sakhalin-III project apart from that Russian giant Rosneft are planning for joint exploration of development projects in East Siberia.’ (Mohapatra 2013: 19).

It is going to be heavy investment incurred on hydel projects of neighbouring countries and pipeline politics to transport oil and gases. TAPI and IPI are less likely to be feasible due to infrastructural delays, cost escalation, and role of non-state actors, threat perceptions of terrorism. ‘Further Russia welcomed the OVL for hydrocarbon exploration in the Arctic, Siberia and other segments of Russia. Russia India energy diplomacy touched a new pinnacle after Rosneft offered OVL stakes in Magdan-1 and Magdan-2 near the sea of Okhotsk at eastern part of Russia’ (Mohapatra CRP 2013) Resource competition and cooperation is guiding principle for foreign policies along with its accessibility and availability, exploitation on Central Asia, Africa, and west Asia. India and China are competitive partners in outbidding each other. Thus long term stability and prosperity of south Asia is significant for geopolitics of the region.

Russia China interaction and affect national security of India: Russia and China interaction have a futuristic outlook on India’s security. Russia is assisting in building new reactors for energy cooperation. There has been diversified range of cooperation

between Russia and China and cleared the logjams of FTA. Both Russia and China are revamping their old alliances of cold war era they are trying to innovate security cooperation and architectures by CBMs. While Russia is helping in consolidating India's defence modernisation. Russia China relation has historical mistrust and irreconcilable border standoff. Unresolved Border and other thorny issues need to be brought to the negotiating table. Russia China and India interaction can be broadly viewed from historic era of Asian century. There has been strong economic fundamentals and other indicators working for the infrastructural linkages of BRICS development bank, Chinese initiative of AIIB to catch up with the other Fast European and western economies across the world. By making a comprehensive and holistic view of security discourse there is increasing importance of Chinese dragon and Indian elephant have, made competition wide open to transform strategic reality. Chinese economic growth led model was watershed in the development of regional economies. India and Pakistan became the nuclear power after the late 1990s and were part of nuclear club while Iran and North Korea also acquired the nuclear powers with A.Q. Khan network of illegal nuclear assistance which posed serious challenges to the non-proliferation during cold war. China has unconditionally supported Pakistan and has fostered close relationship with their military establishment but was shocked by nuclear explosions on both sides. "Beijing now has Quasi-alliance with Pakistan and China observed watershed development of nuclear escalation on both sides of South Asia which was having destabilizing impact on regional South Asian security." (Gill 2007:25) Growing Sino-Indian relation after late 1990s has not even undermined the relation of Sino-Pak alliance which is symbolic of great height, depth and sweetness is going to give blow to India's security. "The Sino-Pak naval cooperation has more serious strategic implication on India's security as more muscular China naval presence would try to suppress the New Delhi's influence in Indian Ocean region". (Laruelle et al, 2010:103)

Summary: This Chapter gives an analytic view of developing Strategic partnership between Russia China and India over defence cooperation and security cooperation in the region. The region is plagued by several Challenges and security loopholes. The entire Eurasian region has been confronting dangers from asymmetrical actors, ethnicity, financial crunch, economic defence cooperation and webs of security matrix operating at different structured layers. Small and Large scale arms, Military

Industrial Complex thrives on long lasting wars and Ethnic conflicts, insurgency and domestic turmoil and upheavals. The flow of arms and Armament race is driven by politics of insecurity, which forces nation for distrust and suspicion. Cold War has seen proxy war situation and circumstances leading to escalation of war. Defence procurement is done between countries against potential threats and adversaries to give them strong deterrence during war its preparedness. There are many issues around which the security debate revolves around mainly territorial, maritime, economic, ecological, energy and Human security etc. Russia and China has huge interdependence in terms of arms trade and transfer of technology in lieu China provides easy access to manufactured goods, hardware and electronic items. Russia is major supplier of its defence equipment's ranging from submarines, missiles, helicopters and fighter planes to India. Russia is more than friend to India's defence modernisation programme, which impacts the relation with other countries. Russia is number one defence provider to India, Israel and France ranks next to Russia in defence deals. The entire region is engulfed into ethnic and sectarian violence in parts off Northeast, Punjab and Jammu. Xinjiang of China, Afghanistan, South Caucasus, Dagestan and Chechnya of Russia. There has been threat perception from different terrorist groups and outfits which are posing challenges to its Economic growth and development dynamics. This chapter elaborates about the security conception and terminology associated with it. Different security framework, communities and constellations works to prevent occurrence of any terror act. Different Country has their own nuclear and foreign policy perspective which they adhered to and are committed by norms set up by UNSC. Russia China and India has different set of nuclear doctrines, foreign policy objectives being discussed at large. Russia and USA were the earliest to develop nuclear triads during cold war era. Russia has different set of security interest as it has concern over arctic, Japan's kuril island, enlargement of NATO and Central Asia .Caucasus is also reason for Russian anxiety as it source of rich oil and gas, provides gateway to Middle East and provide energy diversification route. Russia's security interest lies in improving its relation with periphery and satellite states. China is modernising its hard power by national defense and soft power by culture and foreign affairs for peaceful rise of China. India faces military threat from both China and India as far as internal threats are concerns it faces challenges from the Maoist insurgents.

CHAPTER-IV

REGIONAL MECHANISMS

EXTERNAL ACTORS AND

EMERGENCE OF RUSSIAN-CHINESE

AND INDIAN STRATEGIC INTEREST

Introduction:

This chapter will unfold the web different regional organisation like SCO, APEC and SAARC working under the Eurasian framework for strengthening the regional security matrix. These are regional organisation and provides a key channel to discuss the multitude of problems being faced by them on world forum. These regional organisation have multiple membership and have regional aspirations to be addressed through this tables and are overlapping in nature. This chapter analysed the working of economic and security collaboration to enhance the cooperation among member states. SCO works to foster good neighbourly relation with the nascent central Asian countries with Russia dominating the security architecture and China has economic weight to assert in the region. China is keen in exploring the huge markets of oil and natural gas with massive investments in oil and pipeline projects, infrastructure building. SCO has specifically dealt with the three catastrophic evils of extremism, separatism and terrorism which affects the vital security interest of country. Russia is interested in the security framework provided by CSTO and EEU and has great significance after attaching with NATO. The next section covers the Asia pacific economic and security grouping of APEC its formation and providing security support in the region. APEC has multifaceted role from economic free trade agreement among member countries fighting common evils of terrorism, checking proliferation and smuggle of illegal arms, revamping the economies of south East Asian countries and integrating the economies. Finally this section moves towards the Asian continent and elaborately covers threats looming largely in the region. SAARC appears a viable congregation of group of eight south Asian nation with latest entrant Afghanistan. South Asia has its own distinctive civilizational and historical legacy and had relation with the length and breadth of the world. The security scenario and problems being faced in the region are of similar kind of ethnicity, demographic transition, democratic deficit and lack of social capital are anarchical in nature of some failed states. The main problems are manifested in the form of insurgency, proxy war between asymmetrical actors, separatism. Apart from all these other economic and socio cultural problems are indicative of grave human insecurity in the region. The nature of these regional organisation what it has bearing on the bilateral relation of countries, and what consequences can be felt on the security environment of country. There are the role of other external actors and players involved are discussed at large as they stumbled the stability and security algorithm of the country.

This chapter embarks upon the regional cooperation between different regional organisations and mechanism crafted for securing threats. This regional organisation provides an additional gathering apart from the side-lines of bilateral talks between nations to work in consensus. Thus the regional organisation got elevated role and position in the net security provider in the region. The intricate relationship between nation states and regional organisation are discussed and way to tackle the threats.

Role of Regional cooperation mechanism among the three powers and how they assist in reducing the uneasiness:

These regional organisation have crucial role in the augmenting the relationship by discussing the problems they are struggling and mitigating those issues. Terrorism, separatism are the key challenges they are trying to reduce in their respective regions. China has created numbers of regional organisation to engulf and entangle Indian sphere of influence by regional mechanisms of ASEAN, SCO and SAARC by creating numbers of cobwebs around it. The proposed role of SAARC is regional cooperation and stability but unfortunately it has turned into the arena of Indo-Pak rivalry and China's presence is considered as obstructionist on the table. China has provided massive aid to South Asian countries and is bullying the efforts of India in making more conducive for Free trade areas. These transnational regional organisations are specialised in different challenges and task assigned to them in different spheres and trajectory of international affairs. They provide a systematic guidelines and norms for emerging threats and problems encountered by the various countries. APEC has revitalised the trade by Free trade agreement of Asia Pacific, while China has RCEP model and USA is promoting the TPP initiative. 'Russia is repositioning itself in Pacific theatre as a regional power balancer, and its military capability building is driven to protect national economic and political interest'. (Muraviav: 9) Thus great powers like Russia China and USA has been at the centre stage of the APEC groupings have developed multilateralism there.

SCO as Eurasian regional organisation and security a mechanism adopted:

The SCO is a Eurasian political, economic and military organisation which was founded in 2001 in Shanghai by the leaders of China, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. In 1996 the meeting at Shanghai in China the leaders of the Shanghai Five settled their mutual border concerns by signing the

Treaty on Deepening Military Trust in Border Regions in Shanghai. (Hoyt: 28) It formed the essential stepping stone for the institutionalization of SCO. Except Uzbekistan other countries have been the members of Shanghai five founded in 1996; after the inclusion of Uzbekistan in 2001 the members renamed the. "The Shanghai Cooperation Organisation was established in 2001, comprises of: Six Eurasian states- China, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan; Observers- India, Afghanistan, Iran, Magnolia and Pakistan; Dialogue partners- Belarus, Turkey and Sri Lanka." (Hoyt: 31) In December 2004 SCO was granted observer status in UN General Assembly. In April 2005 SCO signed memoranda of understanding with ASEAN and CIS establishing relation of cooperation and partnership. SCO is assigned with task as regional organisation of balancing core regional interest, security, economic and geopolitical dimensions. 'The main areas of Cooperation's are: that organisation's activities have expanded to include Military cooperation, intelligence sharing and Counter terrorism drills in order to combat the "three evil forces" of separatism, extremism, and terrorism among member states. SCO has benign aims to safeguard the peace, security and stability of the region.' (Hoyt: CISAC) SCO is working for common security challenges of spill over of terrorism among member states from Afghan theatre. SCO has worked as major platform for Russian- Chinese rapprochement and evolution of bilateral relationship to greater height. SCO is loosely intertwined economic regional organisation with dual objectives of security and trade in the region. The success and relevance of SCO depends on whether Security community entitled with the task of addressing regional tensions, resolving boundary disputes, terrorism, cross border smuggling and secessionist forces of all six member countries purposefully. They are trying hard for a feasible solution to the Afghan problem which is cause of regional instability. The top agenda of SCO is dominated by the trade linkages between the Eurasian landmass and central Asian countries. China has essentially stressed the need for its central Asian policy with respect to increasing dependency on oil and natural gas reserves, trade relations and bringing development by more presence there. As a multilateral framework it has been partially successful in its objective of boosting conducive environment for trade investments and work as balancing toward economic development there. Thus SCO has potential to develop the Eurasian-transatlantic architecture dedicated for the stability and security of Europe and Asia at macro level. The SCO will be acting as geopolitical and geostrategic instrument to key challenges there. Some analyst viewed

SCO as anti-US and anti- NATO alliance. U.S attitude towards Central Asia is driven by energy security and geopolitics as Washington consider its involvement as Zero-sum rivalry with Moscow and Beijing. Thus SCO regulates the contact with Afghanistan and works as equalizer with the western coalition for providing security and stability environment. SCO in regional vicinity provides the regional strength to Afghanistan.

The defined yardsticks and parameters for sub-regional security matrix encompasses energy security, reconciling differences and disputes through negotiation and arbitrations, to fight international threats emanating from the soil. SCO has launched Permanent Regional Anti-terrorist structures (RATS) to combat terrorism in the region. (IDSA 17:20) In 2004 Executive committee of RATS was formally initiated at Tashkent. As far as prism of viewing the organisational structure of SCO are concerned the bureaucratic structure is divided into Secretariat and Regional Anti-Terror Structure (RATS). (Hoyt CISAC: 5) The Structure of SCO is significant for the pursuing security goals and whether it accommodates the institutional capacity of security bloc comparable to NATO. SCO secretariat is based in Beijing, China. The Secretariat is headed by Secretary General who serves the tenure and term for three years. RATS is second body located at Tashkent the capital of Uzbekistan. RATS is designated with the task of information and intelligence gathering and sharing within the member countries. It provides the Security Services works mainly as anti-terrorism and counter narcotic trafficking. President Nursultan Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan appreciated the work done by the RATS in preventing the Terrorist attacks and was savour of thousands of lives since its inception. Thus RATS success was overwhelming in cracking the terrorist networks and their course of perpetrated attacks and terror action. (Hoyt: CISAC)

Russia and China in SCO and their respective role in building security mechanism in Central Asian Republics:

Security aspects of SCO: SCO regarding security dimension works with the two regional powers China and Russia into a cooperative framework with Central Asian republics. SCO should not be considered as central Asian club of five nascent republics or Concert of Central Asia, It works mainly for providing regional stability and promoting security dynamics there. Through SCO peace mission China and Russia held military missions of combining Land, Sea and air drills. SCO security

dynamics is involved with multitude of task of combating three evils which affects the regional security and stability of the region. The Astana Summit of 2005 called US to withdraw its military presence from the Uzbekistan which weakened the overall position of the US in region. SCO as key security provider and ensured the security of Central Asian republics as it was recognised by all regional states. “On June 16, 2009 the “SCO heads of state signed a Counter-Terrorism Convention that established a more comprehensive legal foundation for greater cooperation among SCO governments in this area.”(Hoyt: 135)Almaty conference of 2011 stated terrorist activities were increasing so SCO needs to pay attention to menace. There is a cyclic process of one event leading to another like domino’s effect for instance, Extremism leading to Separatism and finally culminating to Terrorism. “The current threats can be counter veiled by the SCO-CSTO-EEC cooperation in the region. SCO and CSTO are entrusted with the task of main security provider of the region. In context of SCO as regional security Provider there are several overlapping Security structures in Eurasian region like CSTO and NATO partnership for peace programme for training and joint exercises of (annual; ‘Steppe Eagle’ peace keeping exercise in Kazakhstan).” (Akiner, 2010:12)East Anti-terror 2006 was hosted by Uzbekistan in2006 tested ability of Special Forces and law enforcement agencies to defend local infrastructures and rescue hostages. It has been argued that SCO prime objective is to maintain central Asian regimes in power and to counter balance the hegemonic influence of US in the region. So far as countering terrorism is concerned it focusses on containing Uighurs. Western and some Central Asian experts, have questioned the effectiveness of the organisation calling it a “Geopolitical Bluff”.(Roy 2008 : 97).There has been heavy blow to the criticism of functioning and relevance of SCO as it will remain a talking shop without hard power and military muscle to assert its influence in the region. “Some observers criticised SCO increasing defence cooperation as SCO-CSTO ties, Peace Mission to categorise it as eastern response of NATO, or call it as “OPEC with nukes” and “Asian Warsaw pact”.”(Roy 2009:101)There has been ambitious goal of harmonious development central Asia as a region free from menaces of drug trafficking crescent, proliferation of small and lethal nuclear weapons. Etc. Central Asian countries are working with UN on ‘anti-drug security belt’ for peaceful reconstruction of Afghanistan. “The Central Asian Nuclear Weapon Free-Zone (CANWFZ) programme should be carried forward, so that the region no longer risks a nuclear arms race and the proliferation of weapons of

mass destruction”.(Bailes,2007:56)SCO as a regional mechanism should be streamlined and it should be systematized for its governance and administrative procedures. Regional Cohesion and harmony can be achieved by cultural participation and soft power tools. Security collaboration can be achieved only on basis of ethno-religious cohesive bindings and togetherness. Regional Cooperation needs to be steadily institutionalised and supported by international and regional laws and regulatory mechanisms. “SCO should cover the comprehensive security threats including conventional and non-conventional.”(SIPRI 2012: 64)

Economic aspects of SCO: SCO has been helpful in developing trade free zone, energy security, agriculture and communication etc. Central Asia is considered as resource rich region with storehouse of hydrocarbons .In 19th century its resource rivalry led to great game between British and Russia, in 20th century it was treated as backyard of soviets Union and in 21st century it was Ex-Soviet space. A SCO believes that there can't be stability without proper economic Security. The Economic space of its Dialogue partners and observer states to be utilized for the greater economic integration. Smaller number of nations in SCO will be beneficial if great number of countries are there in grouping they will assert their own regional and core interest to be finished. There has been elements of Institutionalisation in SCO as SCO-Inter - bank association started in 2005. The economics and energy related topic got the prime importance for the market dynamics of USA in which other actors played major role. “At SCO's 2006 summit it expressed the hopes that new source of finance ‘will expand regional cooperation.’ Although September 2006 Inter Bank Association was arrived.” (SIPRI 17:32)China has used its political and economic levers to exploit and build energy alliances worldwide and supplies from its backyards. Kazakhstan helps in diversifying the energy needs of Russia and China in longer run. Kyrgyzstan and China has been member of WTO since 1998 and 2001 respectively, and other core members are pursuing hard for membership to deepen their legitimate interest and cooperation with WTO. SCO Business council, Interbank Consortium or Association, Formation of energy clubs etc. are the increasing areas of cooperation and engagements. Economic Integration has been the greater gambit of SCO agenda, as China promotes the ideology of Silk Road Economic belt. Russia is going to be the SCO'S president until next summit in 2015. “Steps are taken to establish relation with EEU Eurasian Economic Union which currently consists of Russia, Kazakhstan,

Belarus with Armenia and Tajikistan in near future.”(Clackson 2014:4) SCO is cementing its relation with EU and OSCE by Cultural and economic linkages.

India’s candidature and its role in SCO: SCO was to bolster security, economic and cultural cooperation between above mentioned six Eurasian countries. India in 2005 acquired the observer status in the SCO. India is seeking full membership of SCO as its exclusive club membership is highly coveted. Russia and Central Asian countries are fully supportive of its membership drive and entry as full time. Even the members are apprehensive of expansion of this platform for resolving bilateral disputes. “India has long been ignorant to its strategic interest in Central Asian countries for securing its energy goals. It has been the “mute spectator” and “fence sitter” in terms of foreign policy goals towards western and central Asian countries”. (Roy 2014: 65) There can be broadly participation achieved in three vital areas of – energy, building trade and commercial linkages and transport connections, and managing with conventional and non-conventional security dangers which can be dealt by SCO platform and fora. In addition to, China’s commanding height and position in SCO and India’s capacity to assert its position is going to be minimal. India has negligible leverage to bargain a seat for high tables of SCO. India’s candidature to SCO is doubtful and has to contend with China who is spreading its influence in Eurasian and Southern Asian region. Indeed even there India will be challenged by the China-Pakistan increasing alliances. “Indian Political elites have referred Central Asia as part of ‘their extended strategic neighbourhood’ which they share range of strategic interest. While Pakistani political elites view importance of Central Asia as their ‘strategic depth’.”(Turner 2005: 6)Central Asia provides the arena for realignments between major power stakeholders China, Pakistan that is the obvious reason to take interest in the Central Asia. India further wants to restrict the increasing Pakistan influence in the region. SCO is fearful of turning into platform for settlement of frozen disputes between two rivals. Pakistan has deep rooted security threats and through SCO it wants to augment and beef up its Security structure. Further India has to manage the Talibanised Afghanistan, especially after the post-2014 scenario in checking Talibanisation of Afghanistan and spill over effects of terrorist hideouts and networks in sprawling neighbouring countries. “Russia is persuading India to become full member of SCO that will change the dynamics of organisation and see “India as a balancer”.”(Roy 2014: 62) Through ‘Connect Central

Asia policy' of India which is based on stimulating political, economic engagement with the region, reinforcing the people centric policy for strengthening its relation with Eurasian region. India initiated Annual India-central Asia Dialogue a Track II diplomacy get connected with the region. Track II activity involves influential Academic, religious and NGO leaders who can talk freely and interact with High official and leaders. Connect Central Asia policy was intended to build stronger political and strategic security relations with the Central Asia. The Energy and security Vectors can be achieved by investing considerable amounts in economic, diplomatic and military for viability of Connect Central Asia policy attainable. The Central Asian markets can be accessed by India by cementing its ties with China is possible after revival of old routes to achieve economic cooperation and political stability. Viewing the energy abundance and consumption between Russia, India, China and Central Asia republics they are planning to formulate the energy grid between these countries. "In Bishkek Summit 2013 Putin, informed Russia was starting to modernise Trans- Siberian Railway and Baikal-Amur Mainline (BAM) and invited all SCO members." (Roy 2014: 67)SCO was formalised for Asian security Architecture. India's interest with the Central Asia is guided by twin objectives of securing and diversifying India's energy basket and checking the rise of Islamic radicalisation which pose grave threat to India's security. Central Asia is considered as 'our near abroad'. India's military outreach is limited so it is asserting its 'soft power' approach in Central Asia and increasing more economic clout to get their presence. Indian tea and pharmaceutical commercial ventures have officially organised and procured solid footing in the Central Asian market, while potential for Indian investment and expertise has been identified in the distinguished sectors of IT, banking, construction, and food processing. There is also scope for India to assist Central Asian states in developing small and medium-scale enterprises.(Campbell 2013: 1-14)SCO membership will provide India access to information about terrorist shelters and hideouts, networks, intelligence sharing and dissemination which are collected by RATS of Tashkent.

Russia and China's Strategic interest in multilateral groupings of APEC:

Historical evolution and Overview of APEC:

The Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) as a regional institution formally came into existence in 1989 with more than two decades of experience was initiated for fostering economic growth and prosperity of the countries grouped together. The primary objective was to promote trade and Investment Liberalisation and rapid economic integration of the region and open market exchange forum for trade facilitation. (Martin CRS 2010) APEC was purposefully created for promoting inter-regional trade among member countries by reducing protectionist policies, trade and tariffs barrier, subsequently Quotas and Subsidies were eliminated. APEC presently has 21 member countries from across different overlapping regional multilateral groupings. In 1989 it has initially key 12 members but, 1991 it first expanded to 15 after the inclusion of China, Hong Kong and Taiwan. It is first grouping where both China and Taiwan share the same table. Mexico joined in 1993, New Guinea and Chile joined in 1994. Further in 1998 by addition of three new entrants Russia, Vietnam and Peru APEC's numerical strength considerably increased to 21 making it largest inter-regional institution of Asia-pacific. Vancouver summit of November 1997 led the process of including above mentioned countries and APEC enlargement process. Its membership is not confined to one region but from Latin America, Europe and Pacific group of ASEAN Countries. APEC's 21 members cumulatively has holding over for about 54% worlds GDP and about 44% of world trade.(Doing business 2013)Thus APEC enjoys a wide range of economic integration similar to EU, ASEAN and NAFTA with FTA because of non-binding trade liberalisation regimes and open regionalism. (Martin CRS 2010)

APEC Economic agenda: APEC's role as a facilitator of economic and financial mobility in the region is recognised by the crucial trade specialization facilities and strategy undertaken which provided for trade and commercial exchanges. Economic agenda was launched mainly with the twin objectives of enhancing trade and investment liberalization and facilitation (TILF) and economic and technical cooperation (ECOTECH) among its members.(Lee 2010: 74) First the trade liberalisation was initiated by these member countries was voluntary, then members announce their liberalisation measures via "Individual Action plan" (IAPs), secondly

by the process of 'open regionalism' liberalisation was extended to all economies, finally by process of consensus and formal negotiations. In 1994 meeting in Bogor, Indonesia, the APEC members formulated the Bogor goals of "free and open trade and investment in the Asia- pacific by 2010 for developed economies and 2020 for developing economies". Other Regional Institutions like ASEAN has mechanisms of free trade associations (FTAs). Bogor Declaration (Bogor goals) was instrumental in achieving trade and Investment liberalisation in Asia Pacific economy. In Honolulu meeting the broad outlines for the ambitious 21st Century Trans – pacific partnership (TPP) agreement was signed. Nine countries of APEC negotiated with the US trade representative (USTR). The Honolulu Declaration of 2011 indicated that APEC pursue the core issue of "by addressing next generation trade and investment issues, and trade agreements on Free trade Area of the Asia –Pacific (FTAAP)". (Martin 2012: 6) Asia "Pacific economic zone as a centre of global economy will be replacing the European economic Zone in near future seeing the weight with which it is pushing and volume of trade transaction covered". (Mihiko: 135). Thus it is clearly assumed that APEC has turned into the focal point of commercial activities will be able to replace the European dominance by undermining its importance. APEC in 2009 broadly outlined and discussed the framework for ease of doing business action plan. By 2015 it was targeted for 25% cheaper, faster and easier to do the business in the region by 2015. "The key 5 priority areas to be identified was starting a business, credit, trading across borders, contracts and dealing with construction permits." (Doing business 2013)

APEC security matrix is composed of certain contemporary security dynamics challenges like preventing terrorist attacks, checking the proliferation of heavy nuclear weapons, trade security and Human security and regional security. Security was never the APEC agenda but it was taken centre -stage by issues of core economics. "In 1995 of APEC meeting in Osaka Counter- Terrorism Task Forces (CTTF) was established and Counter Terrorism Action plans (CTAPS) were elaborated." (Lee 2010: 79) Human security aspect covered the spread of deadly disease like SARS and Anthrax. The APEC was really concerned about mixing of economic and security agenda together. 2002 summit has emphasised on checking the financial networks of terrorist organisations and promoting Cyber security by Securing Trade in APEC region (STAR). In 2007 summit it was discussed to

dismantle terrorist groupings, dangers and proliferation of WMDs, protection of financial institutions as they are vulnerable to terrorist. The Concerns regarding rogue regimes of North Korea and its nuclear programme raised panic in security discourse. North Korea blatantly underground tested on October 9, 2006 which raised eyebrows to regional security dimensions. “APEC’s security review has consistently focused on North Korea and Iran, North Korean Weapons Programmes and they firmly backed the Six-Party talks on creating a nuclear free Korean peninsula.” (Lee 2010:79)US has tried to build alliance in Asia pacific which was followed by his allies South Korea and Japan. South Korea for the obvious reason was happy with the decisions regarding North Korea. There are multifarious economic and regional groupings working with overlapping goals and functions. Francis Fukuyama has quoted that number of multitude of institution in Asia Pacific is not ensuring and advancing security in meticulous organised manner. There has been lack of synergy and coherence in agenda settings, Inter institutional coordination between APEC and other institution like ASEAN +3(ASEAN+3 countries are three Northeast Asian Countries China, Japan and South Korea in East Asia.), ASEM members, EAS etc. ASEM has 45 countries with comprehensive goals of political, economic and cultural.

Table-1. Global events vs. APEC Agenda

Year	Global Events and APEC Agenda
1989	Formation of APEC, Eco-Tech Cooperation
1993	Trade Liberalisation
1994	Bogor Declaration, Free and Open trade and Investment in Asia Pacific by 2010 for developed and 2020 for developing economies.
1995	WTO; Osaka Action Agenda (OAA)
1996	Manila Action Plan (MAPA) First Collective and individual action plan for free trade goals.
1997	Early Voluntary sectoral Liberalisation (EVSL) Proposal in 15 sectors.

1999	Asian Financial Crisis, APEC Business travel card scheme approved.
2001	9/11, DDA; Counter Terrorism, e-APEC, adopts Shanghai Accord.
2002	North Korea Nuclear Program, Secure Trade in APEC region (STAR) initiative.
2003	Human Security, confront other security threats, eliminate dangers of WMD
2008	Global Financial Crisis, Rejects Protectionism and advance WTO DDA negotiations.
2009-11	Ease of doing Business Action plan.
2011-15	Capacities building for members committed to reform. APEC focus to work on 5 Priority areas.

Source- Jae Seung Lee 2010: 75

Russia membership and role in APEC: Russia got full member of APEC in 1998 and was part of ASEAN regional forum since 1994. Russia Security Preferences lies with its Northeast Asia, where Russia has confronted regional disputes with immediate neighbour China, Japan and Korean peninsula and security interest is pivotal because of geographical proximity. Chinese aggressive policy in South East Asia and its strategic interest in oils and hydrocarbon resources of South China Sea is causing conflict with ASEAN countries. Russia has signed Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TAC) in Southeast Asia in 2004. (Mihiko: 127) Russia and ASEAN have evolved full dialogue partners in July 1996. After 1980s multilateral economic groupings like Pacific Economic Cooperation Council started to be formed (PECC). Presently speaking Russia foreign policy towards Asia- pacific is guided by four factors which best serves the Russian National Interest: settlement of North Korea nuclear development issue, Siberian pipeline issue between Russia, China and Japan, Integration into Asia-Pacific regional Cooperation, arms export. (Mihiko: 145). Russia has brilliantly chalked out plan for developing Russia's Far East and Siberia which

despite having huge potential has been left unexplored to develop through APEC meetings. RFE has been to get attention and investments by proactive approach of Russia. Russian Foreign policy expert is willing for more integration with the region and creating multipolar world. Primakov as Foreign minister has said that Russia has played important role in solving the regional and sub-regional problems of ASEAN countries. “It was through Primakov’s initiative that Russia became Dialogue partner of ASEAN and full member of APEC respectively in 1996 and 1998.” (Mihiko: 150) Yeltsin wanted to solve the nuclear non-proliferation problem in Northeast Asia. Russia through ASEAN norms signed the protocol as a dialogue partner South East Asia Nuclear weapons Free Zone. (SEANWFZ). Russia has entangled relation in North-East Asia specially Japan and is burdened with disputed Kuril island which Moscow annexed after the Second World War. Russia has been expanding its military presence in Kuril Islands since 2011, there has been major exercises over the sea of Okhotsk and Kuril Islands by establishing military facilities there. North Korea’s Nuclear Programme has been cause of concern because of “military dangers” by “Proliferation of WMD” and military escalation. Although despite geographical proximity North Korean Nuclear war heads are not directed against Russia. Russia is emerging as natural conflict solver there between two Koreas. “Earlier one-sidedness of Moscow’s Korea policy has turned to be Counterproductive to Seoul, and Russia was not party to the four party talks of 1996 to 1999 and Korean PEDO (Peninsula Energy Development Organisation) set up in 1995 by US, South Korea and Japan.” (Klien 2014 SWP) Recently Russia chaired the APEC 2012 summit at Vladivostok in Russia. Carnegie Scholar Dmitri Trenin, quoted Russia as a “Euro-pacific country” by wrathfulness of its geographical proximity and connection to the world’s major great economic, political, military and cultural powers. At APEC 2012, Canada, Mexico and Japan started negotiation on TPP Trans Pacific Partnership (TPP) agreement and vehicle for regional economic integration. (RAD 145:2014) “Russian government approved for the development of Russia Far east and Baikal region for investment and development by the strategy for socio economic development. (strategy 2025). Further 2012 Vladivostok served for investment around 20 billion for infrastructure development of Vladivostok.” (Bolt 2013:5)

China’s ascendancy and increasing role in APEC: APEC gains a new lease of Vitality and vibrancy because of initiation of series of regional and sub-regional

efforts like FTAAP. China got the importance of APEC in 2009 at Singapore summit because there Chinese companies participated for investment and trading partners. APEC countries contributes about 70% of FDI in China. US does not want to act as subordinate in the regional dynamics. Moreover, APEC, combined with fora like EAS, ARF and ADMM+, will act as key platform for US to exercise its 'strategic pivot' or 'rebalancing' in its foreign policy, and giving due weightage to the Southeast Asian region and considering the prospects of rising China. "US presence in the region will also be comforting for the Asian countries which have apprehensions about the rise of China." (Das 2014:1-9)APEC was place for China to get accession in WTO. The Chinese government wanted APEC scheme to get the benefit of economic technical cooperation from the member countries. The accession to WTO was just prelude to its entrance in the APEC, from the platform of APEC China wanted to win the confidence of world leaders and adjust its domestic economy to the world environments. China even wanted to help out the ASEAN economies from the AFC, (Asian Financial Crisis). APEC provided a platform for resolving the irreconcilable differences between China and Taiwan issue through diplomatic route, as both of them are members of APEC.(Takoh IDE: 207)The APEC of 2014 was chaired by China and in proposed about the APEC summit China theme as 'Shaping the Future through Asia- Pacific partnership'. It has set three key priorities: regional economic integration, development and economic reform and growth, comprehensive development and connectivity for APEC in 2014. APEC summit's priority was Free trade area for Asia-Pacific, Urbanization, Asia Infrastructure Investment bank development and getting consensus on that. China's APEC summit at Beijing discussed about the emerging infrastructural project of new maritime and Continental Silk Roads as the main themes.

India's position and role in APEC: After 1990's India has Look east policy for better aligning with the Southeast Asian economies. Economic Liberalisation programme initiated plethora of schemes for connecting with ASEAN economies, FTA with Thailand, CEPA with Malaysia and Japan etc. At Global level India is part of G20, BRICS, ARF and East Asia Summit. India has good economic engagements with the Asia pacific countries but is not the member of APEC high table. Chinese Leadership has purposefully invited India for the APEC meeting of 2014. It was significantly strong political gesture shown by Chinese counterpart to take part in

APEC summit and pushed India's linkages with the Asia Pacific economies and great emerging economy of south Asia in south Asia in PPP terms. There is significant geopolitical interest of balancing other countries by inviting India. India plays a significant role in Chinese infrastructural projects like Maritime Silk route (MSR) and (BCIM –EC) etc. China has been working with India on Bangladesh China India and Myanmar Economic Corridor project. China's Maritime policy has been to connect with the South East Asia and Asia Pacific country who share long border and maritime zone with China. India is also a strong ally of US in Asia with its "pivot to Asia" policy is directed for containment of China and possible rebalancing in the region. China's invitation was supported on the basis that India must review its western orientation of looking and 'anti-China' mind-set. China has pushed for Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) mostly in response to TPP where India factors under ASEAN+6 mechanism. (Panda 2014: 1-11) Thus Beijing has tried hard for bringing and Promoting "Asian Spirit" within APEC."(Panda: 2014, 1-11) India has strong economic tie up with the Japan, China and US in the globalised era. India's inclusion in APEC will facilitate its diversification and integration with the Asian Pacific economies. It is vital for APEC economies as international trade take place through Indian Ocean. APEC member countries Australia, Korea, Singapore and Taiwan has poured significant investment in India's financial and capital market. Chinese President Xi Jinping has asserted for India's inclusion to APEC but Modi was non –committal to proposals. India has shown tough stand as APEC is group of ethos of 'open regionalism'. (Carmichael 2014:1-11)India would have certainly benefitted by joining the APEC club as they are the world's fastest growing economies in globalisation. Though India has high tariff regimes but still needs some economic reforms with liberal trade and tariff liberalizing policy to get membership drive. India's geographical strategic location as not the part of 'Pacific Rim' country is prerequisite for its membership of APEC.

SAARC as an Asian regional organisation, China Pursuing interest to be part of it: SAARC was formed by seven South Asian countries in 1985 by the initiative of Bangladeshi Prime Minister Ziaur Rahman with key objectives of regional integration and cooperation as the similar patterns of regional organisation of Southeast Asian Countries (ASEAN).Afghanistan joined the high table of SAARC as 8th member in 2007.Regionalism as a concept was deeply embedded with the core dimensions of

bringing homogenous and coherent ideologies together. Scholars have said that, South Asia remains the 'least integrated region in the world' with Intra- SAARC trade being minimal of total international trade. The SAARC preferential trade agreement was signed in 1993 but came into existence in 1995 which boosted the trade between member countries and led to increased economic integration of the region. SAFTA was signed at 2004 but entered into force in January 1, 2006. China has already signed FTA with Pakistan. China and India were working on the feasibility of FTA and CECA between them. India has promised for launching SAARC satellite, medical visa for patients, SAARC business traveller card and special attention for Infrastructural development projects. India is developing Chabahar Port of Iran to get strategic depth in Afghanistan and Central Asian countries for greater market access as they are entirely landlocked countries, to enhance cooperation with west Asia. SAARC is really confronting challenges of Securing energy needs, combating terrorism and extremism, and regional economic connectivity, trade and commercial linkages. (Iqbal: 2006)

Challenges and opportunities for China's inclusion in SAARC: SAARC since its inception has been plagued by inherent flawed and rusty bureaucratic machinery, poorly administered, club of hostile and warring factional states, and lack of commitment for regional integration on the part of Big brother and regional hegemon India. India's economic growth and weight can anchor the SAARC to centre stage of development and regional stability. China wants to play crucial game in the process of regionalization of the region. China has Peripheral policy and diplomacy for engaging with the geographical proximity and by applying regionalism theories. China and SAARC countries have ancient trade connectivity of Old silk route, British imperial colonial subjugation, and Buddhism as a cultural affinity and similarity. Joseph Nye has stated about the Soft power of a Country, the power of attraction and persuasion rather than coercion of economic and military power. Chinese Foreign policy is characterised by "Charm offensive". Joseph Nye has discussed at greater length about the Soft power in his books Soft power (2004), The Future power (2011). Soft power is all about creating trust, credibility, and CBMs, resolving irreconcilable differences and future agenda settings. Thus Soft power over period of time has changed drastically it has diplomatic levers and tools like investment, economic exchanges and growth, cultural exchanges, cultural and public diplomacy, media and participation in

multilateral organisations. Chinese Soft power emphasises on increasing engagement with regional organisation. “Soft power diplomacy is tool to acquire win over friends and allies world over, achieve status of great power and gain access to global natural resources, raw materials and overseas market to sustain expansion.” (Rengma: 5-24) Beijing’s new soft power includes promoting language and Culture by Confucian Institutes. China shares geographical border with the five of the eight SAARC countries Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, Nepal and Bhutan. From security perspective South Asia is vital for China as it borders and touches Xinjiang and Tibet which has been constantly fighting for their liberation movements. Securing these separatist tendencies and checkmating their influence is vital security concern of mainland China. There also exists the drug trafficking network of golden crescent which provides the conduit for illicit drugs to South Asia and Central Asian porous borders. China has expanded its influence in Southeast Asian region by China’s ASEAN policy of “ASEAN way”. (Naseer 2014:281-290)

Similarly China has grown parallel economic and strategic relation with the SAARC members. In 2005 China got the ‘observer’ state status of the SAARC. Sino- SAARC cooperation is highly desirable as alliance between SAARC and China is highly desirable. South Asia serves as a destination for Chinese finished goods, market for its manufacturing hub. It should not been seen as China’s interest in South Asia from the myopic view of asserting its regional hegemony from the SAARC table. Nothing can stop China’s deep inroads in south Asia as it has core economic and security interest in South Asia. China wants to promote multilateralism, regionalism and win-win cooperation in the South Asia. “South Asia ranks third in the importance after Northeast and South East Asian region in China’s Asia policy”. China has heavy investment in Pakistan and Afghanistan mining industry. “China has made significant investment in Pakistan’s Gwadar port as it serves as entrance to Persian Gulf for importing oils. China has provided loan for development of Sri Lanka’s Hambantota Port development project. Scholars argues that Chinese interest in South Asia is driven by primarily geopolitical rather than economic in nature. Maintaining energy security through Indian Ocean, Pakistan and Afghanistan to Middle East is pivotal”. (Kelegama IPSE) Most of China’s oil passes through the sea lanes of communications of Indian Ocean from Europe, Africa and Middle East. China wants to expand its role in south Asia as it provides economic opportunity and strategic benefits especially in Indian Ocean. Further China feels threatened by US presence in South Asia with its

increasing ties with India, Af-pak region as US as resident power has curtailed the influence of China in East Asia. It is generally seen as a quid-pro-quo between India and China on the membership of India's inclusion in SCO and reciprocally China's inclusion into SAARC grouping. There has been elements of mistrust and suspicion over each other's role and are like external actor in organisations. Due to inherent regional rivalry between India and Pakistan SAARC has been unable to deliver up to the expected lines. Tibet is also the bone of contention between the two countries China and India are antagonistic to each other. (Mitra 2014: 1-8) Tibet has been emotive issue for China providing shelter to Dalai Lama, which caused bloodshed in 1962 war and grudges for long period. India has also strategic calculations for SCO's for getting entry into Central Asian resource rich markets. China has bilateral relation with all South Asian countries and is rising economic power works for reducing the trade deficits and providing access to Chinese markets. China has aggressive policy in ASEAN as it has made code of 'conduct for the river resource cooperation' to deal with the case of South China Sea. There has been the apprehension of incorporating China into SAARC as, Xi Jinping wants China to be great Maritime power and India wants China to be a Resident power in Indian Ocean. India does not wants its predominance and security to be compromised. Article 4 stated that, contracting party should not support any action hostile to the other contracting parties. SAARC Countries have started using 'China Card' and 'Pakistan Card' for India's strategic and political disadvantage. (Mitra 2014: 1-8) Pakistan and Bangladesh have strongly supported China's candidature in SAARC. Pakistan even strongly lobbied for Dialogue Partner for China. South Asian states are looking at China for economic role model and catalyst to accelerate investment and growth. Smaller Countries are employing 'China Card' for promoting own interest e.g. as strategist Raja Mohan has quoted, Pakistan and China has deeper than seas and higher than mountains relationship. (Mitra 2014: 1-8)

External Actors and Regional Grouping:

USA has a lead role in Asia pacific alliance, China has elegantly crafted and designed the SCO, similarly India plays the role of big brother in SAARC, all these bodies provide a regional security mechanism but they are certainly influenced by external actors. They thus limited the membership and expansion drive to get restricting the external entrants of another countries. These regional organisation APEC were

formed during historical circumstances of cold war era and has USA was strategic actor with designated role of amplifying tension. USA has impacted the both Asia Pacific and East Asia security structure and has unparalleled global influence on security relations around the world. USA has absolutely tried to contain China as a part of larger battle against global communism. 'USA engagement in the region is strategic and authoritative it is not seen as off-setting the rise of China.'(Beeson 2009:73) USA has proposed for collective defence for the regional security threats like terrorism. It is a realist perspective of USA security strategist they argue for community building in Asia Pacific. USA has bilateral alliances with some East Asian countries like Exclusively with Korea, Japan and Australia. USA presence provided a deterrence to the other security providers and rivals like China and North Korea in the region. 'USA in the region has supported multilateral security initiative and remain as "regional balancing wheel" and Washington has maintained forward presence by the "cooperative vigilance" by maintaining relationship with the security partners.'(Tan & Acharya 2004:23) Thus it was regarded the by the Security community concept of Collective defence was dominated by USA and China in APEC. Russia and China is playing a distinctively good role to counter balance the increasing role of USA forward presence in Central Asia to effort to eliminate terrorist structure from Afghanistan. USA wants to explore the hydrocarbons and natural resources of central Asia. USA is has its military presence and air base operating from Kyrgyzstan for Operation against Taliban. SCO is undoubtedly considered as anti-western and anti-American alliance of Eurasian countries. 'Russia through the channels of SCO in 2005 has urged USA to withdraw its forces and doesn't want any permanent military presence in the Eurasian heartland in the backyard was causing worry for China also.'(Rumer 2006:4) India's neighbourhood policy started after the Gujral doctrine of 1997 the Principle non reciprocity to accommodate the national interest of immediate neighbours. There are protracted conflicts and tension in south Asia Sino-India, Indo-Pak rivalry or Ethnic issues of Sri Lanka, Afghan crisis etc. The South Asian Security structure is whether replicated from the SCO or ARF of East Asia remain elusive. Role of External actor in South Asian affairs is confine with the USA as a game changer as it proves unbiased adjudicator for resolution of existing problems. South Asia emerges as sitting on nuclear pile with China,' (Behuria 2009:118)

US pivot to Asia and policy of rebalancing: As a Obama grand strategy “Pivot to Asia” was formulated to strengthen its relation with Asia Pacific allies and partners. It was policy designed after the USA pull out from Afghanistan and no key affairs left in Middle East war in Iraq and crusade against terrorism. “The Pivot to Asia as Obama doctrine encompass entire geographical area of East Asia and South East Asia. After the end of cold war USA policy towards China is purposefully guided by Congagement which means military containment and economic engagement. While China has immensely benefitted from USA globalisation and economic liberalisation. USA has key allies in Trans Pacific economic partnership with the countries of Japan, Korea, and Australia. In South East Asia with the Countries of Singapore, Vietnam and Thailand have alliances with USA. It is difficult to assume that USA is balancing to rising aspiration of China or trying to hedge with other countries in containment of China.” (Logan: 2013) The rebalancing strategy is built on pillars of five key assumptions:

- i. Building closer cooperation with five key US allies in Asia (Japan, South Korea, Australia, Thailand and Philippines)
- ii. Deepening cooperation and capacity building with emerging centre of powers India, Vietnam and Myanmar.
- iii. Constructive relationship with China
- iv. Engagement with the multilateral institutes of ASEAN and EAS summit
- v. Trade and investment negotiation with the TPP. (Harold 2015:86)

USA after global recession is trying to focus on Asia-pacific region for its people. Pivot to Asia policy is rebalancing strategy of Obama against threat and challenges faced by China in the region. China acts as a potential aggressor and needs to be deterred by regional balancing which is envisaged as China dilemma. China has different set of arguments and advocacy in support of peace and development of harmonious world which itself is contradictory to its assertiveness in the region which poses threat to international norms and orders. (Yuan: 3) Asia- Pacific has a geo strategic significance as it stretches from Indian Ocean to the Pacific Ocean which is lifeline of maritime trade and commerce, as pivotal sea routes are connected by it. Pivot to Asia will add new strength and vigour to the economies of Asia Pacific economies by infusing the trade and investment scenario in these countries. USA is trying for TPP while China is adamantly pursuing the concept of RCEP with ASEAN and immediate neighbours. USA has been inevitably and indispensably the great

pacific power. America after GFC has tried to assert economically its leadership in global economy by the multilateral free trade agreement with the 12 countries of pacific under the TPP scheme. “It would include U.S. access to growing markets in Asia, help stimulate the growth in U.S. exports, generate export-related jobs, and foster an economic recovery, while enhancing measures to protect U.S. intellectual property rights, and ensuring that business competition occurs in a fair regional market”. (Tsai Project 2049: 16)Both China and USA are virtually fighting for economic space and increasing their political mileage and economic clouts in the region. Thus USA is trying to assert and rebalance through all possible channels of politics, economics and diplomacy. Chinese policy makers have stated that Pivot to Asia policy if viewed from the Chinese perspective is aims USA direct intrusion into China’s relation with its neighbourhood. There is conflictual situation over Senkaku and Diaoyu islands in East China Sea between China and Japan, both are flexing their military muscles to get claim over those islands. US may try to rebalance in such scenario and circumstances. China has created Sansha city to administer control over the Parcel Islands, Sparty Island chains and Macclesfield Bank of disputed South China Sea. (ASR 2014:109). The Asia Pacific region got its prominence on global map because of key regions and factors like, rising China, Economic significance of Asian Tiger economies, ASEAN, IOR and Maritime security and USA policy of rebalancing. USA is quite apprehensive of China’s assertion in the region mainly South China Sea and East China Sea as it has tried to shift the balance of power in the region and globally. USA is supportive of smaller countries who are claimant in South China Sea and is Rebalancing their interest. Peaceful rise of China and its military modernisation is giving provocative reaction to its immediate neighbours. China needs to be very cautious in foreign policy exercise in order to avoid any direct confrontation and maintains the stability of multipolar world order by resolving the territorial disputes amicably. There can be greater coordination employed by China to settle down all sub-regional problems of Taiwan, North Korea Nuclear programme, frictions over maritime issues and other traditional threats to be resolved by win-win situations. Thereby the role of USA can be marginalised. China has assisted in rebuilding of ASEAN after the Asian financial crisis of 1997 and with ASEAN it has free trade agreement policy signed. CHINA- ASEAN has FTA and has trade worth \$380 billion. (ASR 2014:212) The China’s rise has impacted two country mostly is Vietnam and Philippines due to surmounting tension of South China Sea. The security

scenario has been supplemented and strengthened by USA presence as a resident power there in mitigating tension. USA is building its Air sea battle response by building operational capability for the sake of China's anti- access/area denial (A2/AD) posture. (Yuan CISS: 6) India was invited by Vietnamese government for the exploration of hydrocarbon reserves in South China Sea, Indian giant PSU visited South China Sea under ONGC Videsh, Ltd (OVL) and signed agreement with the Petro- Vietnam as a part of India's Look East Policy. (ASR 2014: 218). The Security situation in East Asia mainly security of North Korea, issues pertaining to the India, Japan and ROK securing there SLOCs and energy security, building trust and confidence in the region needs greater attention. (ASR 2014:222). With the ASEAN we want greater participation because of India's look East policy for more stability, we must indulge with region as "Engage East" because of security and prosperity of the region. Mekong –India Economic Corridor project as highway project for better connectivity with the South East Asia to South Asia was connected from the India's north-eastern region was linking the trade and people exchanges between the two regions. (Rao 2013)

With the Pivot to Asia policy the centre of gravity has shifted towards Asia and Indian Ocean, Pacific Ocean for economic growth. India has been supportive of U.S. entry into East Asia Summit as a full participant and recently observer to IOR- Association for Regional Cooperation. (IOR-ARC). India U.S. relation is directed against China. The Convergence of interest between countries lies in calculus of shared goals of maritime and energy security. Obama Administration is thus willing for promoting its business interest along with liberal values and ideologies of civil liberties for transitional societies.

Maritime Silk Route and India's different perception towards its operational feasibility and implications to world security environment: Different group of thinkers have differing viewpoints towards the culmination of this project. Neo Realist, Neoliberal and key strategist have different policy articulation with regard to China's pilot project being anchored in littorals of Indian Ocean Regions. Strategist and Geopolitical thinkers argues that this initiative is to Counterbalance American alliances in the region. It is interesting to note India is positioned at the crossroad and fulcrum of the MSR as it is located at the southern tip of the Southern silk Route. India really view MSR with the opportunities and Challenges by joining it and has

another choice to realign with alternatives of Japan and US economies. China's MSR aims at constructing connectivity and multiple lines of communications with the China for better engagement with the world through ports and infrastructure, acting as a bridgehead by constructing railway linkages in ASEAN. Neo Realist are quite sceptical about this new development of MSR along with China's String of pearls policy as it is blatant manifestation of Chinese increasing its orbit of influence to Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Pakistan to circumvent India in Indian Ocean littorals. China is more interested in developing the Kashgar-Gwadar Corridor to get better connectivity. Gwadar port is economic gateway to the China because of its proximity to the Persian Gulf and Arabian Sea. India has deeper policy implication of MSR as it has to revitalise and rekindle its investment by building (Ports, Logistics and Shipbuilding) in immediate neighbourhood in Bangladesh, Myanmar and Sri Lanka from becoming Chinese 'political outposts'.(Singh 2014:7) China is vulnerable SLOCs and asymmetrical maritime option. India is left with the policy choices of providing alternative via Sunda and Lombok straits in case of Malacca blockade. China wants to develop MSR as a collective security instrument for the burden sharing in the security of SLOCs and littorals. Indian initiatives rests on building Chabahar port on Iran's Makran coast as a transit points in the IOR. China is pushing hard for the Land corridor named BCIM-EC. Bangladesh is strategically located and is acting as a bridgehead between South and South East Asia. "If the Bangladesh China India and Myanmar Economic Corridor materializes it will materialise the economic connectivity and trade linkages with the North- East and South-East Asia."(Ibid: 10)From the Neoliberal perspective it is vital to see the new centres of economic powers being emerging in the globalised era and there is need to get engaged with the China, Japan and South Korea and ASEAN economies. With the MSR coming into existence there has Security considerations has taken a backseat and economic consideration has assumed centre stage of all activities. The bottom line of today's economic growth has been economics, trade and business. There has been shift from the role of India being a net security provider to the China. Countries are leveraging and hedging with China for the Security of South Asian countries. Because of increasing Chinese assertion in Indian Ocean India has been downplayed by the Chinese ambitions and has to work for greater economic space and draw benefits by aligning with MSR. (Ibid)

Relevance and Implications of Regional organisation on Russia China India bilateral cooperation:

Regional organisation study the levels of economic cooperation at trans- national level, concentric circles and differential layers of sub regional security cooperation among member countries and its impact on the National security of the country. Since the formation of SAARC in 1985 it has acrimonious relationship with Pakistan which has impeded the trajectory of bilateral relationship with India. Similarly SCO has significance of deepening the ties between Russia and China by reducing tension along the borders, joint peace and military exercises to show the calibre of drill in warfare, fighting the common evils and challenges faced in the region. These regions are least economically integrated but there lies a common phenomenon of SCO interbank association proposed Putin, SAARC interbank association to facilitate the economic and trading activities. They developed RATS to contain the rising dangers of terrorism in the region. Thus bilateral relation gets Russia and China gets normalised. If we look into APEC grouping it is multimember association with 21 countries under it. After the end of cold war era China has aggressive postures towards the South China Sea and Southeast Asian countries but entry of Russia and USA was treated as compensation of NATO enlargements. (Mihiko: 127) APEC has considerably tried to enhance the bilateral relations between member countries by diffusing tensions.

Concluding Summary, observations and final remarks: Through this chapter we have analysed the overlapping nature of regional organisation and their roles and functions in providing security blanket and trade and commerce facilitation. This Chapter gives a cursory overview of regional organisation and regionalism prevailing there. Regional Mechanism is sought to identify and troubleshoot the problems and existing challenges of grave security concerns. There are SCO for Eurasian region, APEC for Asia –Pacific and SAARC for the South Asia. These are regional organisation intended to study the security and economic framework of the region. They help in regional integration and boosting trade activities, investment opportunities etc. These three regional organisations are interconnected and impacts regional and national security. SCO has come into existence from Shanghai Five and has Shanghai spirit inherent in it. SCO has developed mechanism and ways to curb menace of terrorism. SCO is working to strengthen and capacity building of both

countries by Joint military exercises. SCO acts as a cooperative sub-regional security mechanism based on localised geographical cooperation. APEC has similar regional integration and declaration for economic growth and trade investment ventures programmes for Asia Pacific region. APEC has its secretariat situated at Singapore works for trade and tariff liberalisation. APEC is concerned about the development and wellbeing of South East Asian and group of pacific economies. APEC and USA is working to develop TPP while China tries to develop RCEP with ASEAN economies. APEC has its security matrix to solve the problems of nuclear proliferation, terrorism, and North Korea nuclear programmes, development of Siberia, resolving South China Sea problems. Russia and China plays a crucial role in solving the sub-regional problems. APEC has certain weakness and flaws it can't enforce the decisions taken and there is lack of consensus in decision making procedures. Funding and linkages are other problematic areas which can be visualised. SAARC in Asia has limited role and Function because region faces ethnic and terrorist problems as a part of global problem. SAARC is for removing the protectionist policy of dominant players like India and permitting barrier free trade and commerce. Its Free trade mechanism and Cultural initiatives are significant to integrate the entire landmass in single unit. By SAARC platform south Asia is emerging as a major commercial hub for business transaction and trade. Regionalism is clearly reflected from the SAARC tables and it insists for promoting bilateral FTA's between the member countries. SAARC will help in bringing FDI from other countries for alleviating regional disparity and poverty.

CHAPTER-V
CONCLUSION

This final chapter addresses the concluding portion and summarises the role of maritime security, role of external powers like USA and its Pivot to Asia Pacific policy, Chinese policy of encirclement and Indian Ocean and India's strategic move through Choke points, Straits etc. Geopolitical Scholar A.T. Mahan has clearly stated the significance of naval power. A.T. Mahan as naval strategist has clearly stated about the significance of Indian Ocean whoever controls the Indian Ocean will dominate Asia. China and India have similar energy security risk which are dependence on Gulf oil exporting countries, vulnerable sea lanes. Energy security is about easy availability and affordability at reasonable price and routes. Securing the energy needs are essential pre requisites for serving and sustaining the vast country. The concluding section of the dissertation ends with the discussing the India's maritime policy and securitization of Indian Ocean Region (IOR), Choke points and the volume of trade distribution along busiest shipping routes, it moves towards the Obamas new doctrine of Pivot to Asia policy and growing significance of Asia Pacific after the USA exit from the middle east and Afghan theatre, growing significance of trans Pacific partnership of USA, debates surrounding the China's innovative MSR project, string of pearls policy of encirclement and South China Sea debate all are taken care from security perspective. Thus there is a gradual shift in the world attention from the Euro centric to Asia centric and categorically India centric security policy. China in the periphery provides opportunity to enhance security calculus and trading opportunities. It revitalised the old existing Chinese silk route for connectivity across the world. India has also maritime relation and has ventured into the blue waters of sea and has civilizational linkages and Cultural connectivity with Ceylon, Middle East, parts of South East Asian countries, Fiji, Trinidad and Tobago, Mauritius etc. Indian spice, Tea, coffee, Cotton and precious stone were greatly demanded outside western world. China infrastructural and nexus with Pakistan has surely dented the confidence of Indian strategist thinkers.

The entire dissertation work has been covered in sectional parts moving from introduction which dealt with the Synopsis and introductory remarks about the Russia China and India Strategic discourse on security through bilateral mechanism, historical undercurrents and how relation moved on from tension, suspicion to the highest Pinnacle of Friendship. What was the tone and tenor of relationship which evolved during different political stalwarts and impact on global affairs. The first chapter sketch an overview of relationship during cold-war era which starts from the

Korean crisis, moves to the Cuban crisis and Vietnam War and finally enters into the Afghan civil war for longest period of twenty three years. During all these wars country has developed conversation on similar lines and as were rhetorically speaking allies but they confronted for their specific national interest. The relationship was at lowest ebb at some time but crystallised after Gorbachev's visit to China. It was later Primakov led the stepping stone of trilateral cooperation. The vested interest forced them to pursue their policy of communism and creating a new world order against the hegemon USA. There was certainly India impacted due to Russia and China's warfare and engagements on different fronts. India faced added insult and agony of 1962 Sino- India debacle caused due to mistrust and misunderstanding on both side. Though Russia stood during liberation of Bangladesh with India in 1971. The historically Russia has always supported third world countries. Russia after late 1990 trying to project its image and is real player of the game and has strengthened its relationship with every country.

The next third chapter has covered key security challenges manifested in the region along with the nuclear doctrines, securitization and different layers of security parameters for the National Security Conceptions and formulations. The security aspect is vital for country's survival whether it is USA imperialism or Soviet revisionism under the veil of communism. The countries tried to chain gang and bandwagon accordingly to their national interest in the region with the Great power. The crucial aspect of security revolves around the military hard power and build up for which they desperately need military modernisation. The Military Industrial Complex of Russia is the biggest supplier in south Asian war-torn, ethnic conflict prone region. Russia is highly welcomed in the Pakistan, China and India. Russia plays a bigger role in augmenting the security build up by providing Tanks, nuclear submarines, missiles and upgrading the nuclear triad capability of India. The nuclear power plants are being built by Russian assistance, helps in getting fissile materials from the NSG group of countries, it helps in GLONASS space joint exploration programmes. With China we have certain border problems but we have moved ahead in business and trade partnership by removing the incompatibility. Chinese has seen India as a potential market for investment in different sectors, India has also invested into the Pharmaceuticals, energy markets etc. For Russia, China and India there has been converging point in the central Asia for investment and markets for oil, gas and hydrocarbons. Thus it serves the dual purpose of energy security and strategic

security. The MIC was real push and pull factor to sustain the relationship. The Chinese collusion with Pakistan in Military assistance, nuclear build up and latter Russian help pouring to Pakistan is bit reason to worry for India's which is eye opener to Indian think-tank. The growing nexus was alarming the India's arch rivals in the region. Thus the growing insecurity rising from Sino-Pak collusion can be curtailed only reinvigorating the relationship at higher levels. India is diversifying its arms trade with different tiers of country placed in arms export hierarchies of world.

The next fourth chapter covers security aspects through the regional organisation through the SCO, APEC and SAARC. These are Regional mechanism to cover the Security environment and solving the key regional issues. These groupings provide a trade and economic facilitation within region smoothly. Another segment of this chapter has dealt with the envisaged role of the external actors like USA in influencing the geopolitical matrix of the region. USA acts as a strategic instrument to resolve the conflicting civil wars and ethnic problems supplying nuclear arsenals. The regional organisations are the focal point of world bodies to meet and discuss key strategic issues of security threats. They have their regional mechanism evolved like RATS for SCO, ARF for the South East Asian countries and similar pattern of security structures in SAARC to ensure stability in the region. Entire Asia has same security dilemmas of distrustful neighbours causing wars and border skirmishes. The intrusion and proliferation can be checked and controlled by regional groupings working in consensus. The Regional mechanism apart from economic free trade zone creation also strengthen security grids for achieving cooperation. Role of USA is always seen as external actor as it works as a resident power and tries to work as a stabiliser for the vengeful actors. It is fair estimation of the role of USA which acts as a bulwark against the Chinese aggression in South East Asia, Asia in context of Afghan turmoil etc. The vengeance is certainly downplayed by the USA presence in the region.

The last and finally it culminates with the Maritime security and regional balancing through the Pivot to Asia policy. China's assertiveness with the MSR and Chinese String of Pearls. China massive investment in Pakistan's infrastructure projects really emboldens the strength of Pakistan. Thus the entire Eurasian and Asian region which straddles from West to East witness a global shift in the policy frameworks. It is turning into Asia centric and particularly Indo-centric in the region. The Russia China and India forms the Part of many regional and Sub regional

groupings and they have directly impacted the security matrix of Asia. The homogeneous types of conflict and interest brings the country together for the strengthening of ties and relationship. India has forged deeper relationship with the Russia and has immensely benefitted from Soviet assistance in past and Russians military modernisation programmes in future. Russia has always stood beside the India in any crisis and defence modernisation programmes, space technologies, etc. With China we have longstanding disputes and we are trying to sort out the problems in existing relationship by reducing the irritants in relationship. The energy passages through the strategic straits are crucial for safety and security of shipments of oil tankers. The energy corridors are secured by keeping away the pirates, revitalising sea-lanes of connections. Chinese presence in the form of String pearls and MSR is both problematic and provides opportunity for trade exploration in the region.

The research gives a compelling and intriguing insights into the problems being faced by these countries. It gives the complete account of the security threats being faced and how to circumvent it. The inquisitiveness of research kept on moving from different terrain of military cooperation, regional organisation and role of external actors in the security structures. It is difficult to concentrate and work on constructed argument of security implication on the region. To prevent the split in argument it was necessary to stick to the research objectives, set of formulated queries and questionnaires and research hypothesis. The inconsistency and incoherency is prevented by working on the arguments summed up during synoptic preparation of chapters. The research findings placed prove the phenomenal implication on security due to great powers interactions. The entire research work has seen the greater shift of attention of world powers in Asian region. It was fascinating to study to the tussles in the region, security relation and reverberation on the region. The geopolitical balance has completely drifted from the Eurocentric to Asia centric with main focus on India and its periphery Af-pak for stability and security. The increased interaction with Russia, India and China has provided catalytic reaction to Western world. The stated research goals are accomplished and validated on rational grounds. The research work was highly authentic and supported by proper logic. Thus all research's hypothesis and supposition were testified and justified correctly.

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