

Introductory comments by John Gunther Dean to the donation of his unclassified papers devoted to Russian - Indian military cooperation and the developing Russian – Indian - Pakistan relationship 2000-2005

This unclassified file contains papers assembled by John Gunther Dean to help understand the confidential documents gifted by him to the US National Archives on his ambassadorship to India (1985-end 1988). This file should also be read in conjunction with another file assembled by JG Dean on “Israel-Indian military cooperation which resulted, among other factors, in the sale of Israeli high technology items such as drones to India. The diversification of India’s weapon’s production, and reduction of reliance on Russia as a source of arms, was undoubtedly one of America’s objectives ever since India stopped buying American arms after the Bangladesh War of Independence.

It is too often forgotten by critics and friends of India that for several decades India was the leader of the non-aligned world. India did not take sides in the Cold War confrontation. The heritage of the policy of non-violence of Mahatma Gandhi and the non-alignment approach to world politics of Pandit Nehru is very much a part of India’s philosophy, regardless of which party governs the subcontinent. Perhaps it also needs to be mentioned that while India and Pakistan have been rivals for more than 5 decades, both countries oppose the “divide and rule” policies pursued by the colonial powers for centuries. This holds true even more so since the Afghan confrontation. India, like the US, has a sense of destiny, and firmly believes that it has a significant role to play on the world stage. But unlike Westerners, Indians have a more relaxed attitude toward time. Indians believe that with time, India will again play an important role, not only in its geographic region, but as an example of a developing nation which is catching up with other world powers. To achieve this goal, India has and will work with all nations that have something to offer.

India remains truly non-aligned when it comes to ideologies or politics, despite the impression India may sometimes convey. India is not in any camp nor believes that it has to be a friend or a foe to any country. Its arms procurement policy is dictated by what is best for India in the long run, and will give India the greatest amount of freedom in pursuing its national interests.

Another factor needs to be stressed: India is a country where ethnic groups and different religions live together in relative harmony. It has a large Muslim community, active Christian minorities, and Buddhists in certain parts of the country, - all living together with a majority of Hindus, who are very much aware of their past contributions to humanity. India also has neighbors who are Buddhist, Muslim, or formerly communists. Indians also have a healthy respect for some of the institutions inherited from their former masters: English law, English language, and respect for the well-educated administrative class. But this has not prevented the Indians to work closely with the Russians as a provider of arms to maintain Indian independence and freedom of action. America would be well advised not to confuse Indian efforts to build a relatively democratic country for

more than 1 billion people, with India's willingness to side with the US on certain issues in the realm of world politics.

An inventory of the papers in this file follows:

**Inventory of papers on Russian-Indian military cooperation and the developing
Russian – Indian – Pakistan relationship
2000-2005**

Year 2000:

1. Russian military – Technical cooperation: Structures and Processes. By Baidye Bikash Basu, Research Officer, IDSA (11 pages)
2. Indo-Russian Military and Nuclear Cooperation: Implications for US Security Interests. By Jerome M. Conley. INSS occasional Paper 31. February 2000. USAF Institute for national security Studio, USAF Academy, Colorado. February 2000 (26 pages)
3. Global Trends 2015: A dialogue about the future with non government experts. Published by the US National Intelligence Council in December 2000. (3 pages)
4. International Herald Tribune article, September 21, 2000 page 10 entitled: "A tilt toward New Delhi" (1 page)
5. International Herald Tribune article, September 21, 2000 page 10. entitled: "India's experience has taught that peace lives in strength" By Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Prime Minister of India (1 page)
6. International Herald Tribune article, October 4, 2000 page 6 entitled: "Moscow Refreshes India Ties". (1 page)

Year 2001:

1. Le Monde: Friday, February 16, 2001 page 3, article entitled: "Moscou va fournir 310 chars T-90 à New Delhi" (1 page)
2. Le Monde, June 8, 2001 page 6, article entitled: « Moscou et New Delhi signent un accord de coopération militaire » (1 page)
3. China- Russia- India: "A new step for survivors club" by Rainer Apel and Paul Gallagher. Article appeared in the July 27, 2001 issue of Executive Intelligence Review. (3 pages)

Year 2002:

1. Russia, China, India: “A new strategic triangle for a new cold War?” By Julie N. Rahm. From Parameters, winter 2001-2002 pages 87-97 (9 pages)
2. Russian-Indian Relations and military cooperation, 2002. (7 pages)
3. Centre for Research on globalization, article entitled “Washington is pushing India and Pakistan to the brink of war” by Michel Chossudovsky, 23 May 2002 (6 pages)
4. “On the lease to India of two Russian nuclear Submarines”. Discussion during Mr. Putin’s visit to India (December 3-5, 2002) (1 page)
5. International Herald Tribune, Wednesday, July 24, 2002 page 5. Article entitled: “Powell opposes sale of weapons to India”. (Comment: Secretary of State Powell tells Indian government his objections to India’s proposed purchase of a sophisticated missile defense system from Israel.) (1 page)
6. Foreign Service Journal, October 2002, pages 18-54. Article entitled: “A remarkable turnaround: US-India Relations” by Dennis Kux. (Comment by JGD: Is Mr. Kux correct in his analysis and projection?) (36 pages)

Year 2003:

1. South Asian Rivals, India and Pakistan, test fire nuclear-capable missiles, March 2003 (1 page)
2. “India, Pakistan both test five missiles”, article by Nirmala George, AP writer, March 26, 2003 (2 pages)
3. “Pakistan announces Nuclear-capable Missile Test” Peoples Daily Online, Wednesday, March 26, 2003 (2 pages)
4. International Herald Tribune, February 6, 2003 page 3 article entitled: “Pakistan and Russia end diplomatic chill” by Michael Wines. (1 page)
5. Article entitled: “Latest Russian-Indian Military Contracts” During Indian Minister of Defense, George Fernandes’, visit to Russia on January 14-20, 2003 resulted in a final agreement on the lease of nuclear submarines to India and the lease of four medium-range strategic bombers. Thus, with the two nuclear submarines and the four strategic bombers, India will acquire all the components of the nuclear triad”. (4 pages including pictures of the submarines and the heavy aircraft carrier Admiral Gorshkov)
6. Article: “On present Pervez Musharraf’s visit to Russia”. February 4-6, 2003 (2 pages)

Year 2004:

1. Article in Le Figaro, December 3, 2004 page 2 entitled: "Visite de Vladimir Poutine: Vers un pacte militaire entre Moscou et Delhi" By Marie-France Calle. Quotations from the article : « La Russie reste le premier pourvoyeur des armes de l'Inde...Entre 70% et 80% des importations indiennes de matériel militaire viennent de Russie ou de pays issus de l'ex-URSS...Les Indiens veulent développer leur propre production d'armes. Mais ils ont besoin pour cela de la technologie étrangères...La seule manière de faire progresser en échanges avec la Russie est que nous participions à la recherche, ou développement et la fabrication de nouvelles armes. »

Year 2005 :

1. International Herald Tribune, July 19, 2005 page 4. Article entitled: "India's Prime Minister welcomed warmly in Washington". (1 page)
2. International Herald Tribune, July 19, 2005, page 7, article entitled: "Managing a ménage à trios" by former assistant secretary Karl Inderfurth. Quotation: "Managing the expanding relations will increasingly be a key challenge for Washington, Beijing, and New Delhi." (1 page)
3. International Herald Tribune, July 21, 2005 page 2. Article entitled: "India welcomed as new sort of superpower." Quotation: "In the patois of regional politics, the Washington deal "de-hyphenates" India and Pakistan, giving New Delhi a different relationship to Washington as a power in its own right, not a weight to be balanced against Pakistan."
4. International Herald Tribune, July 21, 2005, page 6, editorial entitled: "Green light for bomb builders". (1 page)