

New_How to Approach_IR.pdf

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Approach to International Relations for General Studies

The Scope:

In an interconnected and interdependent world comprising of multiplicity of actors a country like India has to navigate variety of actors, ideas and institutions to ensure safety, security and prosperity. International Relations (IR) deal with these webs of interactions, outcomes, actors, ideas and institutions. Thus, the scope of the discipline is wide and varied.

In narrower sense International relations is about relations between states and the institutions they form. However, in the contemporary and broader sense, as represented by the term International politics and International Affairs, IR is considered to encompass the complexities of a world which not only have states as key actors but also multiple institutions, non-state actors and emerging issue areas that go beyond the boundaries of a state and require a collective approach. At another level events in one part of the world have a bearing on the outcomes for another part of the world at the multiple levels of states, societies and individuals. Thus, foreign policies and other policy responses of states increasingly have to factor in external factors and non state actors. Seen in this way International relations provides a vast canvass with a web of connections between internal and the external. However, for the purpose of the exam one has to narrow down the content to manageable proportions and the need is to find the focal lens through which this task can be accomplished.

The Focus:

For the purpose of the Civil Services Examination international relations has to be seen through the lens of India. Hence, the focus should be on key relations, institutions, ideas and current developments that have a bearing on India. A basic understanding and reading of India's foreign policy thus provides a vantage point from where key historical junctures, important actors (state and non state), institutions, issues and challenges can be identified.

However, this is not to argue that International Relations or IR is all about India. As mentioned earlier identifying key issue areas and important global actors as well as understanding an ongoing phenomenon is crucial for maximizing scoring potential in IR as part of general studies.

Locating IR in the Examination Scheme:

The syllabus of the examination provided by the Union Public Service Commission explicitly places IR as part of the General Studies Paper-2 in the mains. Nonetheless, on a closer scrutiny one would find the subject matter of IR spilling into other papers as well.

In the preliminary examination the task of specifically locating IR is onerous and one fraught with the risk of myopic segregation between Pre and Mains. It would suffice to say here that from the point of view of Preliminary stage a better approach would be to consider IR as part of various areas of study- thus use Atlas as part of an exercise to locate geographical locales linked with the international developments in news or of historic importance - for example Bandung (the capital of West Java Province in Indonesia) 2015 being 60th anniversary of the Bandung Conference of 1955 ; similarly events and ideas key to IR can be approached as part of modern history; International organizations can be seen linked with the issue areas such as Economy, Environment and others. Utilizing the news papers for following key developments and new terms linked with current events of national and international importance would be helpful.

In the paper GS1/CSM 2014 one would find question no. 25 on India's position vis-à-vis resource rich Africa. Similarly, in GS-3/CSM 2014 one would find questions 16, 17, 18, 19, 20 deal with the subject matter of International relations/ International Affairs. Thus, even if the in terms of allocation paper-2 is the arena of International relations, the subject matter in no ways is limited to the specific paper only and preparing for IR could in multiple ways help in other papers including the essay and further in the personality test stage.

Class instruction, Sources and coverage:

The Subject matter of IR for the purpose of the exam can be broadly divided into three subparts

Indian Foreign Policy and India's External Relations: Indian foreign Policy basics, Relations- bilateral, regional, Major Powers.

Institutions: International organizations- Global and Regional, specific purpose groupings- G4, G8, G77 etc., Emerging architecture of global governance-NDB, AIIB, UN reforms etc

Issues: Security- Disarmament, Nuclear issues, Terrorism, Maritime Security etc **Economy-** evolution of international economic order key issues and milestones from Brettonwoods to contemporary times, Global trade negotiations issues, challenges and prospect, current issues etc. **Environment-** Climate change negotiations especially the international politics of environment, various initiatives such as the CBD, Cartagena Protocol, current issues etc. **Diaspora-** Issues, challenges and Prospects. Other Emergent issues in the areas such as **Human rights**, humanitarian concern such as the contemporary refugee crisis in India's neighborhood and in Europe can be covered considering their relevance and context in the current milieu.

- In terms of Classes in the scheme of 6 lectures each of the heading can be covered in 2 lectures each.
- For the First part books by C. Rajamohan, Sashi Tharoor, Rajiv Sikari and David M. Malone can be employed apart from relevant IGNOU modules such as MPSE-001. The briefs from the Ministry of External Affairs useful in this context. Ideally at the beginning sufficient timeframe should be devoted to providing an overview of the subject matter, India's location in the world, evolution of Indian foreign Policy and diplomacy.
- For the second part assorted resources from the internet can be employed, apart from this, the books mentioned above have dealt with the matter in specific ways.
- The third part can be covered using websites of MEA along with ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs, Ministry of Commerce and Ministry of Environment. Selected units from IGNOU module MPS-002

also provide useful resources for covering the topics. These can be further augmented by adding further reading of the News Papers to keep up with the current developments.

- Apart from these selected resources from institutions such as IDSA and IPCS can be useful and are easily accessible.
- The NCERT text for Class XII “Contemporary World Politics”, can prove to be a useful resource as a starting point.
- Key terms such as Deterrence, NAM, Panchsheel, Strategic Autonomy, National Interest etc should be explained contextually for a better understanding.
- Optimal Use of Maps, Globe and Atlas along with figures would make learning fruitful.
- News Papers such as the Hindu and Indian Express are indispensable for comprehensive coverage, relevant, contemporary and contextual understanding of actors, issues and institutions.
- For the purpose of direction and relevance drawing linkage between topics in the UPSC Syllabus and Questions asked in the previous years would provide an effective framework.

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International Relations

10 June 2020 09:07

Topics:

- India and its neighbourhood- relations.
- Bilateral, regional and global groupings and agreements involving India and/or affecting India's interests
- Effect of policies and politics of developed and developing countries on India's interests, Indian diaspora.
- Important International institutions, agencies and fora, their structure, mandate.

Approach:

- Significance of the relation
- Brief historical background - i.e. Major landmark moments
- 4 Cs: Convergence, Confrontation, Competition and Cooperation
- Projecting the future

Significance

- Is the country concerned a major economic/military/nuclear power?
- Does location of the country offer unique opportunities or may be challenges?
- Does India have significant trade dealings with the country?
- Does substantial foreign investment flow to India from the country in question?
- Is there any important defence/security tie with the country?
- Is there any dependence on the country for energy or food security?
- Is Indian diaspora present in the country?
- Has the country contributed in India's growth?
- How do events/developments/outlooks/regimes/policies in the country affect India's interests?

Historical Bg

- Immediately after independence, where did the country fit in IFP?
- Contribution of the country in developing India's industrial, defence and scientific base
- Deals or treaties signed between the countries
- Conflicts in the past and their consequences

Convergence

- Democratic form of govt
- Pluralistic societies
- Dvpmnt imperatives
- Common problems

Confrontation

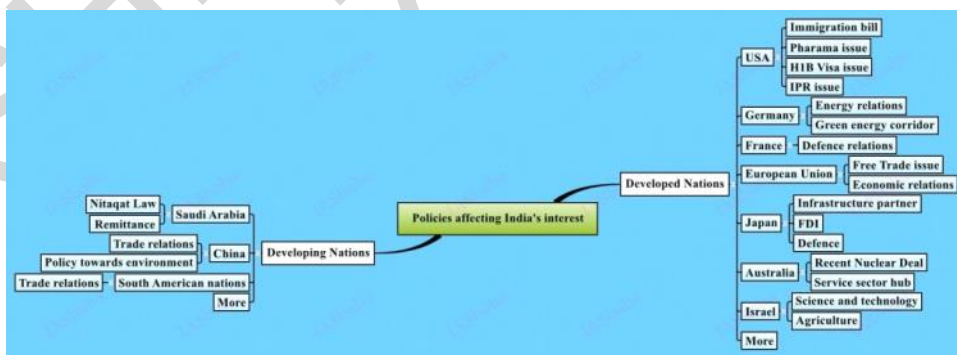
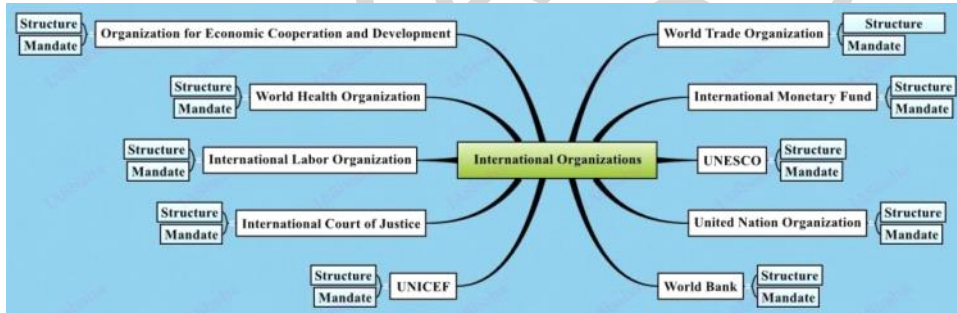
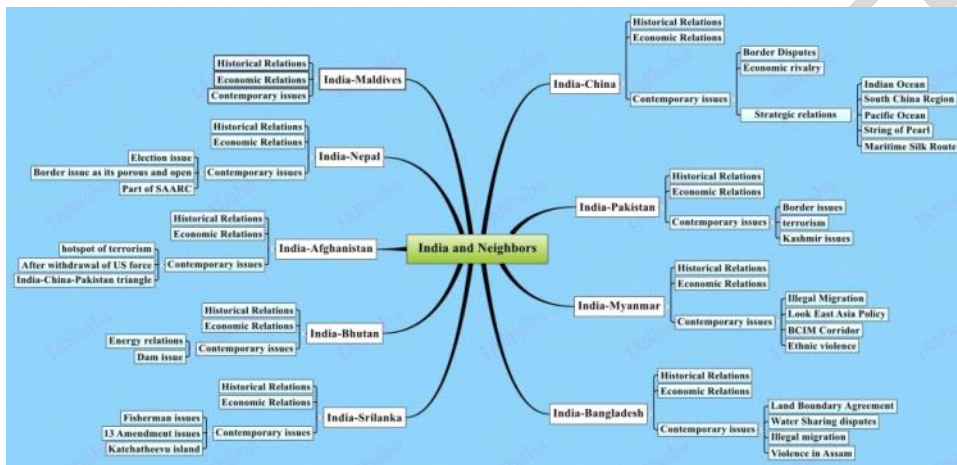
- Border disputes
- Resource sharing
- Cross border terrorism
- IPR
- Global envi negotiations
- Trade disputes

Competition

- Exploration and development of resources in different parts of the world
- Role in sensitive areas
- Geo-strategic competition

Cooperation

- Dealing w/ terrorism, drug trafficking, envi pollution
- Common stance on envi negotiation forums and WTO
- Defence and security ties
- Trade development
- Infra development
- SnT
- Global peace and stability



<https://mrunal.org/2018/07/ir-by-pavneet-3-aoaw-analyse.html>

Pax Indica - Shashi Tharoor

10 June 2020 20:26

Nehru: Peace has been said to be indivisible; so is freedom, so is prosperity now, and so also is disaster in the One World that can no longer be split into isolated fragments.

World is full of 'problems without passports' - problems that cross all frontiers uninvited. Also require solutions to cross all frontiers, none can solve them alone

'We all live downstream'. - has been said of water pollution, true for global problems too

West associated capitalism w/ freedom

India's nationalists associated it w/ slavery.

-> one of the lessons you can learn from history is that history can sometimes teach you wrong lessons

Foreign policy no longer merely foreign: affects people right where they live.

Aim of our foreign policy ought to be: to enable, facilitate domestic transformation of India.

Work for a global envi that is supportive of these internal priorities

India's non-alignment not a policy of neutrality - didn't cut ourselves off fm the world, abdicate our int'l responsibilities

Assertive non-alignment - we tried to have good reln w/ all major powers irres of ideology

- Active peace diplomacy on disarmament, decolonisation -- to minimise risk of conflict in bipolar Cold War world
- Both
 - o Safeguarding long fought for, recently won
 - o Avoiding compromising it through compulsions of bloc politics
- Built the material basis for our strategic autonomy
 - o Gave us space to pursue own dvpment
 - o Avoid restraints on freedom of action engendered by alliance commitments
- Constraints:
 - o Limited means avbl in foreign policy
 - o Lacked traditional source of int'l power
 - Military capability, raw materials, geo-strategic leverage
- J.N. Dixit: 'commitment to co-operation rather than confrontation'
- Pro-Soviet coloration over time
 - o 1971 - treaty of peace, friendship and cooperation
 - o Use of USSR to forestall China not West (1971)
 - o -> degree of compulsion
- Few adherents of pro-Western leanings in post-Colonial India
- Our non-alignment was left-leaning
 - o Contrasting stands in 1956 - Suez crisis, USSR's invasion of Hungary

Pronounced world affairs as if from a moral high ground

Didn't always resonate well w/ others

Criticisms of Indian hypocrisy

Since foreign policy is developed and conducted by the institutions of the state, its conception and articulation reflects the conditions that the state finds itself in, mediated through the state's orchestration of the aspirations of the people it seeks to represent.

Global forces

- Unifying forces of interdependence
- Destructive forces of division

Clash of civilisations - benign forces (religion, culture, society) have become causes of conflict rather than of succour

Current world not unipolar but short falls of true multi-polarity

Existing power holders can hardly be expected to easily cede power to others

Historically - emerging multipolar systems more unstable than bipolar or unipolar ones

Global policy-makers will have to cope with a growing demand for multilateral cooperation when the international system will be stressed by the incomplete transition from the old to the new order. And the new players will not want to cooperate under the old rules.

Multiplicity of actors:

- Strengthen post - WWII institutions
- Fragment international system, reduce international cooperation

Characteristics of times:

- Common vulnerabilities among potential rivals
- Growing interdependencies among former enemies
- Non-state actors can nearly bring 2 armies to war
 - o Economic opportunities for youth
 - o Greater political pluralism

Richard A. Falk

6 broad criteria for evaluation of foreign policy in a democracy

- Desirability: approved means pursuing approved ends
- Effective
- Popular
- Legitimate: both ends and means acc to Constitution
- Populist
- Equitable

Last 2 idealistic, contestable

Increased risk of acquisition of nuclear materials by terrorist groups

Ability of states like Pak to control, secure nuclear arsenals in the event of internal disruption

India - close synergy b/w nuclear disarmament, nuclear non-proliferation, arms control

Rajiv Gandhi: alternative to co-existence is co-destruction

Global institutions continue to adapt to new world;

Regional instis can emerge into prominence

- Need to promote economic integration w/ neighbours

Hard Power & Soft Power Diplomacy

Soft power

- new in int'l discourse
- Doesn't rely solely on govt action
- Can be undermined through misuse of hard power
 - o US's global war on terror post 9/11, Iraq war
- Not just what we deliberately, consciously exhibit, rather how others see what we are
- Becomes credible when there is hard power behind it
 - o Flaw in Nehru: soft power unrelated to acquisition of hard power
 - o ++ of US: has been able to utilise its soft power well
- Soft power without hard power is a confession of weakness; hard power without soft power stirs up resentments and enemies
 - o India seen as 'big brother' by neighbours
 - o Tries to tread lightly to not be seen as a regional bully; emboldens those who want to test it

Joseph Nye -

- Power is the ability to alter the behavior of others to get what you want
- 3 ways
 - o Coercion (sticks)
 - o Payments (carrots)
 - o Attraction (soft power)
- Can economise on carrots & sticks with attraction
- 3 types of countries likely to succeed by gaining soft power in information era
 - o Whose dominant cultures, ideals are closer to prevailing global norms
 - Viz. Liberalism, pluralism, autonomy for now
 - o With most access to multiple channels of communication
 - => more influence over how issues are framed
 - o Whose credibility is enhanced by their domestic, int'l performance
 - China doesn't appreciate that using culture and narrative to create soft power is not easy when they are inconsistent with domestic realities
- In the information age, often the side with the better story wins
 - o Not just what is told but what is heard, seen and repeated, whether or not one is trying to sell it

'One thing you cannot do with a bayonet is sit on it' - Talleyrand

- Cannot maintain long term control with only hard power

Simplest Democratic principle: you don't really need to agree - except on the ground rules of how you'll disagree

Indian Council for Cultural Relations -

- Under MEA
- 'culturally India is a superpower'
- Cultural diplomacy must be pursued for political ends

India's utilisation of soft power

- No systematic strategic advantages
 - o Mostly unplanned by-product of normal emanations of Indian culture
 - o India wary of projecting it's culture - afraid it might not be sufficiently secular
 - o China avers allegiance to Confucius
- Reticent about cultural diplomacy, noticeably unenthusiastic about leveraging its soft

power

- Compare ~500 Confucius institutes + ~400 Chinese 'classrooms' in Uni's across the globe
- Only formalistic role of GoI - 35 centres of ICCR, 95 academic chairs
- Bureaucracy
 - Visa processes - need thorough examination, revision
- Diaspora
 - Outreach only recently started
 - Only ctry to have a formal acronym: NRI
- **Within MEA**, promotion of soft power must be made integral to work of substantive territorial divisions, rather than leaving it to solely to ICCR, public diplomacy division

Public Diplomacy

- Vs public affairs vs public relations
- Acc to US govt
 - Public diplomacy: to engage, inform, influence foreign publics to promote sympathy for US policies
 - Public affairs: encourage domestic public understanding, support of US policies
 - Public relations: win support of target audience, domestic or foreign
- GoI
 - MEA's usage: public diplomacy embraces both external and domestic publics
- Public diplomacy goes beyond govt; primarily engages with general public
- Through: media, NGOs, civil society instis, directly with public
- Also about listening
 - Public entitled to be informed about govt's int'l affairs
 - Public entitled to responsiveness fm authority about their concerns in foreign affairs
- Age of Info: govt needs to package & present info attractively & timely
 - Need to stand up against competing info streams

Age of Info

- Information overload vs large audience of info generators and consumers
 - Must not be ignored by people in posn of public responsibility
- Impact of media on reach, spread of word about an uprising
- Impact on intensity & sustainability
- New IT + dynamics - driving a wave of democratisation and accountability
- India slow in recognising potential of social media in dealing w/ own domestic challenges, opportunities
 - Must examine advantages, pitfalls of using social media as tool for diplomacy
 - Tool for disseminating a message, not for making policy
 - **List out what govt has since done**
- Anonymity protects activism in repressive dictatorship, allows irresponsibility to thrive in democracies
 - Censorship is disservice to both rulers and ruled
- Social media may be used to put out info mainstream media is not interested in
- New communication medium shouldn't be resisted by democratic politicians

Domestic Underpinnings of Foreign Policy

Public pressure on foreign policy failed to influence creation of foreign policy, even though public opinion always has major impact when it comes to domestic policy formulation

- Inadequate articulation of mass views on foreign policy
- Restricted nature of political communication
- Ineffective elite articulation

Pillai Report 1966

- 4 basic weaknesses in Indian Foreign Service & MEA
 - o Diplomatic corps not large enough; doesn't draw on wide professional experience
 - o Poor coordination within MEA
 - o Almost non-existent coordination with other ministries which dealt w/ foreign policy
 - o Limited, inadequate professional training

Indian diplomacy still abounds in talented generalists

Training at any level in the IFS -> listening to lectures

No training for 2 most important fns

- Political and economic reporting
- Recording of conversations (RODs Record of discussions)

~0 world class training to mid-career diplomatic professionals

MEA is considered most useful in the implementation of policy rather than in its formulation, except on matters of low priority to the prime minister

++ notion of an IFS officer as a travelling salesman for 'India Inc.' has gained ground

- Conscious of promoting business opportunities, facilitating trade & investment

Willingness of govt to entrust bureaucrats w/ politically sensitive assignments

MEA doesn't dispose of adequate resources for the challenges of global diplomacy

Fundamental weaknesses in policy planning remain

- Hardly anyone in the MEA is able to create policy plans that are anything but extrapolations from past policy.

Factors against creation of effective policy planning structs:

- Govt's traditional 'political' interests
- Govt's disregard for strategic thought
- MEA officials' limited access to widespread sources of info
 - o Lack of time, opportunity for reading
 - o Narrowness of functional database
- Nature of power structure
- PM supremacy
- Bureaucratic imperatives in favour of immediate & evident results rather than long-term dividends

David Malone

- 'India's foreign policy has tended to be reactive and formulated incrementally, case-by-case, rather than through high-minded in-depth policy frameworks

Daniel Markey

- 2009 paper: Developing India's Foreign Policy 'Software'
- Significant shortcomings in India's foreign policy instis that undermine our capacity for ambitious, effective international action

- Modest size of IFS
 - Inadequate selection process
 - Stunted mid-career training
 - Reluctance to avail external expertise
- Absence of compensatory high-quality, policy relevant scholarship by few, under-resourced think-tanks
- Modest output of poorly funded, highly regulated universities
 - Few worthwhile IR programmes
- Inadequacy of media, private-sector companies in promoting foreign policy issues
- Proposals:
 - Expand, reform, pay for, train, IFS to attract, retain high-calibre officers
 - To make real difference to India's engagement w/ world
 - External recruits into MEA
 - Encourage world class international studies in Indian universities
 - Building capacity for foreign policy research and policy advocacy in India's think tanks
 - But- lack of coherent, effective declassification policy

Indian intellectual is a poor relative of the Indian bureaucrat

- Elite public opinion neither well informed nor effective
 - Urgent, passionate discussions of policy common; action to change policy rare
- Govt officials 'do not learn to benefit from criticism emanating from universities'

Foreign policy seminars tend to make major comments on external political issues rather than come to grips with India's policies towards these issues

Study of IR lacks solid academic infra in universities

- Anxiety to not offend govt -> scorn by govt officials

Little attempt to put practical experience in the field at the service of institutional re-examination

Obvious limits to general public's interest in foreign policy

Beyond a certain point, increase in char of modernisation (edu, exposure to mass media, etc) produces decline in voter turnout rather than increase

But foreign policy too important to be left to MEA alone

Superficial impact of domestic politics

Instis

Allowed to atrophy bodies like Sapru House, Indian Council of World Affairs - estd in 1950

Vs China - critical mass of students, scholars of IR in last 3 decades

Formal structures in India's domestic politics that constitutionally could impact foreign policy making:

- Art 246: parliament can legislate on all matters which bring Union of India into relation w/ any foreign country
 - Art 253: parliament has exclusive legislative authority to implement treaties, int'l agreements
 - Art 51: govt must promote peace as a govtal endeavour
 - Lok Sabha - discusses MEA's annual report, dd for grants
 - Opposition's devices to control exec
 - Exec initiates policy, parliament scrutinises and controls it
- Formally, parliament enjoys considerable opportunities to influence creation, conduct

of foreign policy

- Taking parliament into confidence in advance offers a vital insurance to the government in the event of a foreign policy disaster, whereas a Parliament that discovers issues from the media after the event —as happened with the Sharm el Sheikh episode involving Pakistan in 2009—can express enough outrage as to constitute a constraint on the government's foreign policy options thereafter
- Foreign policy resolutions passes in parliament on issues where
 - o Either both govt and parliament were demonstrably helpless
 - o Passage of resolution would appease critics w/o seriously affecting policy
- Low impact of parliamentary committees dealing w/ foreign policy
 - o Discussions strictly off the record, no reference can be made to them in Parliament
 - o Non-statutory - can't summon witnesses, demand files, examine records, govt not bound by recommendations
- 3 uses of debates on foreign policy fm govt's POV:
 - o Provide outside world w/ evidence of Indian democracy at work
 - o Educative impact on MPs, media & public
 - o Help make policy acceptable
- Opposition generally only able to use Parliament for limited ends, such as the 'agenda-creating' function of raising an issue for debate
- Coalition politics: ruling party often feels far more vulnerable to its own supporters than to the Opposition

Indian print media has relegated serious international affairs coverage to short articles on inside pages

Global Commons, Multilateral Institutions

UNSC reform

- No. Of doctors - all agree on diagnosis, can't agree on prescription

Diagnosis

- Reflects geo-political realities of 1945, not today

G4 - Brazil, Germany, India, Japan - at forefront to win passage of UNSC reform

Bars to amending

- Need 2/3rd majority of overall membership
- Ratified by 2/3rd member states

Questions/ issues

- Eventual size of a reformed Council
- Ezulweni Consensus of African nations - dd for 2 permanent seats + ___

Argument for reform:

- absence of reform could discredit UN itself
 - o UN could be diminished if some of its imp members ignore/ neglect it
 - o Replacement by G20 - could take up political responsibilities - only limited by self restraint
- UN needs reform not because it has failed but it has succeeded enough to be worth investing in

UN has been a highly adaptable insti - evolved in response to changing times

- Observe, run elections in sovereign states
- Conduct intrusive inspections for weapons of mass destruction
- Impose comprehensive sanctions on entire import-export trade of a member state

- Create a counterterrorism committee to monitor national actions against terrorists
- Set up international criminal tribunals
- Coerce govt to hand over citizens (even ex Prez) to be tried by foreigners under int'l law

If US admin could be persuaded that it is in America's self-interest to maintain a revitalised UN

- Need credibility so that UN support is valuable to US
- Legitimacy to be bulwark of world order
- Then US could bring enough cties to transform the debate

Global governance

- Used to describe processes and institutions by which world is governed
- Always intended to be an amorphous idea
- Imposes real/ imagined sense of order on a world w/o organised system of govt
- 4 essential aspects
 - History -
 - Emergence after WWI, WWII
 - To foster int'l cooperation, elaborate consensual global norms, establish predictable, universally applicable rules for benefit of all
 - Emergence of new institutions, principles and processes reflecting progress made in second half of 20th C
 - No WWII
 - Expansion of world economy
 - Astonishing technological progress
 - Prosperous industrialised world, much wider access to experiences
 - Spectacular tech gr in dvping world
 - Greater spread of democracy, human rights
 - Global insti benefit fm legitimacy that comes fm theri universality
 - Universally applicable norms
 - Principle of sovereignty
 - -> principle of non-interference in others' internal affairs
 - Equality and mutual benefit
 - Non-aggression
 - Coexistence across different political systems
 - Global nature of determining forces of today's world
 - Problems without passports
- Developing cties should have a voice in overseeing global financial performance of all nations rather than rich supervising the economic delinquency of the poor

Security not just about threats from enemy states or hostile powers but common phenomena cutting across borders

- Can't speak meaningfully in only military terms

Global security

- Rests in creation of a global order that responds to both hard and soft threats
- Does so through a network of states sharing common values and compatible approaches to governance

Responsible Sovereignty - nations must cooperate across borders to safeguard resources and tackle common threats

Human security

- Focus: Protection of individual rather than sovereignty of state
- Requires int'l cooperation within global bodies + action by int'l and interstate orgs

Bretton Woods insti reform

- Reflect older realities

Global commons beyond national jurisdiction of any specific ctry

- UN most logical instru for safeguarding the global commons, promoting the collective interest of humanity in protecting and dvping it
- 'UN was not created to take mankind to heaven but to save humanity from hell' - 2nd Secy Gen, UN
- India could play indispensable role in crafting right policy fw, incl transfer of green tech at affordable cost to dvping world
 - o Spillover of global duties -> transformation, repurposing of entire swathes of India's govt system

Chinese lg:

Character for 'Crisis' made of 2 other chars

- Char for 'danger' & char for 'opportunity'

No use saying India deserves a permanent seat at UNSC because it represents 1/6th of humanity if that 1/6th humanity seldom expresses an opinion

- Bureaucratic, political contortions -> contradictory, confused positions

India - long record of tangible contributions to UN

- Peacekeeping operations
- Principle and practice of technical cooperation for dvpment

India

- Reluctant, minor participant in the work of US inspired Community of Democracies
 - o To avoid promoting affinity w/ West at expense of traditional image as leader of Third Worldism
 - o Changed after Tharoor's address
- Chronic unwillingness to allow former imperial powers ever to dictate terms to the rest of the world again
- Need to think harder about how to deal w/ interstices of modern states, pre-modern identities
- Only ctry to have official acronym for expats: NRI -
 - o **Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs estd**
 - o Source of pride, support, investments
 - o Contribution of well-heeled, politically active Indian Americans in shifting of US policy fm indifference to pro-Indianness
 - o Remittances - lifesavers during global recession
 - Overseas Indians still invest a lower proportion of their resources in India than Chinese
 - complain about non-tariff barriers in Indian mkt
- 4 waves of Indian emigration
 - o Pre-colonial times - travellers, teachers, traders
 - o Indentured labour migration
 - o Partition
 - o Contemporary: skilled Indians in search of opportunity in globalised world
 - Highly educated Indians

- Modestly qualified, hard-working migrants
- Responsibility of Gol
 - Reluctance to interfere in internal affairs of sovereign states
 - Tension b/w need to maintain good political & economic reln w/ a country and seeking to protect welfare of Indian workers there

Multi Alignment, Grand Strategy

Every ctry needs a foreign policy linked to national interests concretely defined

Indian diplomacy more concerned w/ principles than interests

Diplomatic style privileges intellect over interest and process over outcome

- Cleverest person in the room may win many arguments, but still not win the game

Need to develop gentler, more accommodative tone - accords better w/ dds of multilateral high table where India expects to be seated

Nehru: So long as we have not solved most of our own problems, our voice cannot carry the weight that it normally will and should

Security in conventional sense - success/ failure at defining, applying national interests becomes most apparent

- Never been belligerent, expansionist - seen by world as non-threatening
- Also seen as pacific, non-assertive
- K Subrahmanyam: India has lacked an ability to formulate future oriented defence policies, managing only because of short-term measures, blunders by its adversaries, force superiority in its favour
- Presence of both NSC National Security Council & NSAB National Security Advisory Board
- Lack serious intelligence capacity, world class area studies expertise
- Unprofessional defence bureaucracy
- Defence expenditure, purchases not aligned w/ any systematic strategy to modernise, enhance India's combat capacity
- No single point of military advice to govt on defence strategy
 - Now we do
 - Lack of tri-service integrated theatre command in emerging areas: aerospace, cyber warfare
- Need to integrate Indian Ocean policy, naval dvpment & deployment, coastal infra & security, coast guard, civilian shipping
- Role of armed forces: principally to constitute a credible deterrent in itself

Multi-alignment

- Amoral strategy at one level
- Constitutes effective response to new transitional challenges of 21st C

Chanakya to Modi - Aparna Pande

16 June 2020 22:44

India & World

abiding grip of history and tradition on the way India sees and interacts with the world.
Most countries base their foreign policy on a template shaped by their national experience and view of self

Walter Russell Mead

4 approaches to American foreign policy

- Hamiltonian School:
 - o Alexander Hamilton, 1st Secy of Treasury
 - o first task of the American government as promoting the health of American enterprise at home and abroad
- Wilsonian Ideal
 - o Prez Woodrow Wilson
 - o US has both moral and practical duty to spread its values thru the world
- Jeffersonian view
 - o Prez Thomas Jefferson
 - o preservation of American democracy in a dangerous world as the most pressing and vital interest of the American people
- Jacksonian approach
 - o Prez Andrew Jackson
 - o represents a deeply embedded, widely spread populist and popular culture of honor, independence, courage and military pride among the American people

VS Naipaul

- India's problems not external or caused because of periodic invasions or conquest
- Wounded old civilisation
- Aware of inadequacies, w/o intellectual means to move ahead

Shashi Tharoor

- India is not, as people keep calling it, an underdeveloped country, but rather, in the context of its history and cultural heritage, a highly developed one in an advanced state of decay

Sunil Khilnani

- Contemporary India shaped by a wager of India's educated urban elite on modern ideas, modern agencies
- => nationalism subsumed India's diversity

India's policy

- Emphasis on sovereignty in every policy, action
- Strong moral overtone
 - o History + extremely moralistic national struggle
- Overarching idea:
 - o Geostrategic + civilizational primacy
 - o Believes geography has dictated that the subcontinent in one entity
 - Always aware but Brits forged the strategic connection
 - Root of desire to keep outside powers from gaining influence in S Asia

Non-Alignment

- Not neutrality
 - o Neutrality implies won't get involved at all, or try to resolve the issue

- NAM intentionally tried to keep the cold war from getting hot 🔥
- Attempt at keeping cold war out of S Asia
 - Couldn't: Pak w/ USA, China w/ Russia
- Able to obtain some military and economic aid fm both blocs, never able to achieve absolute autonomy in decision making
- Reluctance to send troops abroad under multinational command
 - UN peacekeeping mission - moral dimension
 - Doesn't extend to immediate ngbd
- Desired self sufficiency, autarky since Indep

Nehru

- Paternalistic outlook towards people of India as well as world

Non-Alignment 2.0: A Foreign and Strategic Policy for India in the 20th C

- Describes India's post-cold war paradigm as continuum of non-alignment during cold war
- Argues India is an example to be followed by the world - 'civilizational exceptionalism'
- India can be a moral leader w/o necessarily having the wherewithal associated w/ being a great power

Major strands in India's contemporary foreign policy

- Imperial
 - India is centre, Delhi knows best
 - Eg: immediate South Asian neighbours
 - Indira doctrine - similar to American Monroe doctrine - reserved primacy for India in making security decisions for its ngbd
- Messianic Idealism
 - Global peace, justice, prosperity - strong moral component
 - Legacy of Indian thought + Gandhi
 - Every Indian leader dds rest of world to accord India stature commensurate with its civilisational contribution (Nehru, Modi, Gandhi, Vivekananda)
 - Claim over high moral ground, right to preach
- Realism
 - Hobbesian view of world: India can depend only on itself
 - Strategic autonomy, economic autarky, military self-sufficiency
- Isolationism
 - Paradox: wants to be seen as a great power but reluctant to do what is reqd of most great powers
 - External entanglements hark back to imperial outlook of the Raj - doesn't represent genuinely swadeshi world view
 - Reluctance to involve in int'l conflicts, blocs

Heritage

Uniquely Indian quality of empire even when ruling dynasty comprised non-Indians

Ability of Indian culture to subsume others' lifestyles, incl invaders and conquerors

Brit rule - least willing to go completely native

- Didn't diminish sense of self
- Helped create a fw of insti that enabled India to grow beyond self-imposed isolation

Inherited beliefs

- Civilizational sphere of influence
- Geographic neighbours critical to a state's security against invasion, irredentism, disintegration

Continuous trend of turning to India's heritage to generate national pride + explain contemporary policies

General principle - present guided by past, future only reflects it

KS Murty

2 philosophical streams in Indian foreign policy

- Positivist Kautilyan Theory
 - o Applicable only for states w/in India
 - o Not applicable beyond subcontinent
 - o Treatises: Arthashastra, Dharmasastras, Nitisastras
 - o ~Machiavelli's foxes: 'recommend artifice, infiltration, subversion, propaganda and economic pressure in preference to war which was always risky and expensive
- Idealistic & Moralistic
 - o From Buddhism & Jainism
 - o Autochthonous and moralistic Ashokan theory
 - o For universal application
 - o ~Machiavelli's lions: advocated heroic war for just ends, win or die
 - o 2 schools
 - Buddhists - entire world could be converted to dharma [cosmic order] by peaceful means
 - Jain-Hindu pacifists - advocated ahimsa or non-violence but did not rule out the use of force

Indian philosophers

- Didn't assume universality of ideas
- Hindu reading of reality: good is always mixed w/ or accompanied by the evil

Nalini Kant Jha

- ancient Indian philosophers didn't equate public w/ private morality
- Inconsistency necessary for statecraft
 - o Reflected in Nehru

Mandala Theory in Arthashastra

- In line w/ classical realists - Thucydides, Machiavelli, Hobbes
- World is anarchic, state has to depend solely on itself
- King needs to distinguish b/w friends/ enemies, potential allies/ foes
- Every state faces a series of concentric circles of enemies and friends
- Reflected in layered alliances and mistrust of all allies in non-alignment

Patel and Bose

- Main aim of foreign policy is to safeguard India's national interest by whatever means available and whatever equations necessary, & if necessary or warranted, didn't rule out use of force

Buddhist doctrine of 'middle path'

- Influenced our foreign and economic policies in modern era
- Mixed economy
- Middle during cold war - because it shared values w/ both blocs

Anti-imperialism

- Also traced back to ancient treatises
- No ancient writer, realist or idealist, advocated extension of Indian culture outside of India by force
- Isolationists ~ Monroe doctrine towards outside states

Mughal legacy

- Need to secure ties w/ predominantly Muslim west, NW
 - o Still predominant
 - o Brits continued w/ policy of buffer zones - operationalisation of Kautilya's Mandalas
 - Persia, Afghanistan, Tibet, Burma, Arab Middle East policies influenced by security considerations based on geopolitical advantages of base in India

- Related: India was necessary for Brit; Far & Near East imp for India's security
- Continues to modern India
- Personality driven administration
 - Ruler more imp than rules
 - Penchant for Indian officials to see themselves as focus of state

Modernity

- Ambivalence towards modernity
- Responsible for India's past colonisation
 - Lawrence James: Indian Empire underpinned Britain's global power status by providing w/ markets, prestige, muscle
- Cure for India's backwardness
- Only way out: assert India's **civilizational exceptionalism** - unique moral qualities
 - Nehru's foreign policy tool to help construct India's identity as a post-colonial state
 - + symbolise rise of Asia

Many Indian strategists saw Indep as opportunity for India to break out of isolation, play role on world stage

- K M Panikkar, VT Krishnamachari

Congress's non-cooperation with the British during the war years created space for the Muslim League's demand for partition of India; but it did have the effect of forcing the British to reconsider their belief in holding on to India indefinitely.

Many of India's post-Independence initiatives, including non-alignment, the Panchsheel (five principles of coexistence) and the opposition to multilateral military alliances can be traced to the deliberations of the Indian National Congress during the independence struggle

Ideas and Individuals

Nehru

Nehruvianism

- Asserted his foreign policy wasn't crafted by him alone
- Fabian socialism + liberal internationalism + deep belief in critical role of strong state for gr & dvpment
- Uncompromising opponent of all forms of totalitarian rule
- Notion of India's inevitable rise tied w/ view that India has moral obligation to use her influence for good in the world

Key pillars:

- India great civilisation; can regenerate itself at all times
- Desire for indep & non-alignment in relation to great powers
- Strong belief in economic autarky
- Support for int'l insti in maintaining global order and world peace

KS Murty: nothing inevitable about the way India's foreign policy evolved, policy shaped 'almost exclusively by Nehru'

Realist rationale for preachiness

- Until India built its economic and military potential, only way it could punch above its weight was as champion of smaller nations in promoting a just and moral order of the world

Anti-colonialism as defining issue in post- WWII world

- Non-alignment to pre-emptively contain spread of Cold War

India's ngbd

- = South Asia + West Asia (Middle East) + Central Asia + South East Asia
- Different policies towards immediate periphery & distant cties
- Continue buffer zone policy
 - Prevent Nepal, Bhutan, Sri Lanka frm joining military alliances w/ either cold war bloc
- Treated 3 Himalayan kingdoms w/ nuanced differences
 - Sikkim: protectorate, later state in 1974
 - Bhutan: 'evolved' into a sovereign state
 - Nepal: always a fully sovereign country
- Leadership role beyond immediate ngbd

Non-alignment: Nehru's defence by friendship

Ensured domestic consensus on foreign policy - might not have been possible on aligning w/ either superpower

Employed non-alignment as tactic specifically for cold war

- Became moral code of conduct for executing foreign policy in post-Nehruvian era

Criticism

- Overly idealistic in a Hobbesian world based on realpolitik
- Strong moralistic tone in foreign policy
- Preached to others instead of accepting the dynamic of conflicting national interests that shapes int'l relations
- Dixit: naïve belief that since India 'had no expansionist or aggressive designs against any other country, India would not face any threats to its unity or territorial integrity'
 - Pak & China - revanchist even though India status quo power
 - Wars - 1948, 1962, 1965

No contemporaries/ successors ever attempted to disagree

Also a pragmatist and realist

- 'India would have to maintain ties with all countries irrespective of whether or not India approved or disapproved of their policies.'
- Not strong enough to have own way
- Bridge for mutual understanding b/w Cold War blocs
- Attempt to reconcile idealism & realism (sought to secure adv)
- Stance on nuclear weapons
 - Advocated disarmament
 - Supported indigenous development b'cos others were doing so
 - Nukes symbol of prestige, security, capability
 - Would disarm as part of global disarmament (don't need weapons of mass destruction to threaten/ bully others)

UN: opportunity to reshape the international system in ways that were both morally desirable and consistent with India's interests in particular

Patel

Foreign policy realist

Deemed pro-Western orientation to India's advantage

Need strong ties w/ US + more than formal asso w/ Brit Commonwealth

Rajaji

Opposed liberal internationalism, Fabian socialism

Support for free-mkt economics

Close ties w/ US, not Soviet

Realism as basis on foreign policy, not idealism

Alignment/ building regional alliances incl joint defence w/ non-communist cties (Israel, East Asia, Japan, Australia, New Zealand)

Superpower backing important

Viewed communism, esp Chinese, as major threat to global peace; not Western colonialism/ racialism

Non-alignment neither helped India achieve national interests nor helped making friends

Indira

Nehru's focus: Asia & world; scepticism of superpowers -> non-alignment

Indira's focus: South Asia

Suspicious of intentions and policies of superpowers, esp US, in India's immediate ngbd

Saw neo-colonialism as the new threat India had to stand up against

Realpolitik rather than idealistic

Use of moral slogans to boost India's status in the world

- Change in orientation fm idealistic player into a force to be reckoned with

Continued non-alignment

Principles:

National interest, honour, dignity

Foreign policy based on both history & geography

Self reliant nation (atleast base of self-sufficiency and self-reliance)

- While India was politically free, economic & tech dep on others meant that it didn't enjoy complete freedom
- Central question: being strong enough to prevent encroachment on national interests by outside powers, yet avoid intimidating small neighbouring states by increase of power

Increasing concern about security, defence

Indira Doctrine

- No foreign power should be allowed to cross crest of Himalayas
- India would consider the presence or influence of an external power in the region as adverse to its interests unless that power recognized Indian predominance
- Equivalent of US Monroe Doctrine

Strategy for increasing int'l weight

- Not align w/ superpowers
- Build economic, military strength, preferably indigenously
- India too large to be part of any bloc; but need economic, military & scientific resources to follow indep policy
- Sought new international economic order where the developing countries had a say

Maintained Nehru's dual policy regarding nuclear weapons

Continued building nuclear potential

- 1st nuclear test in 1974

Led military victory against Pak

Robust posture in fighting insurgencies within the country

Organisational conduct: appointment of foreign minister

Rajiv

Reflected Nehru's idealistic, moralistic streak + Indira's pragmatism

Principles:

- Nehruvian
 - o Non-alignment
 - Rise in membership; incl previously aligned cties

- Anti-colonialism
- Adherence to multinational institutions
- Desire for good reln w/ all cties
- Disarmament
 - 1986 - Declaration for a Nuclear Weapon Free & Non Violent World - w/ Soviet Union
- Pragmatism
 - Desire to improve reln w/ Pak & China
 - Benazir Bhutto in Pak - post-Partition leaders -- agreement on confidence building measures 1989
 - Laid down policy that allowed India-China to deepen economic reln despite unresolved border disputes
 - Willing to accommodate smaller neighbours + they had obligation to bear India's interests in mind
 - Didn't voice opposition to external powers involvement in S Asia but stuck to Indira doctrine

Sri Lanka policy

- Put Indian troops b/w 2 irreconcilable sides, neither liked India's presence

West

- Unencumbered by ideological scepticism
- Started repair of India-US reln
 - Economic, foreign affairs both
- Closer ties w/ US; but close id w/ developing cties

Focus on economic issues

Championed modernisation

- Need high tech, esp IT, to transform Indian economy and society

Trusted market; state not sole & key actor in economic arena

Proposed Global system of Trade Preferences

- Need to share skills, tech thru an info grid
- At NAM Summit
- To strengthen South's negotiating power

Organisation

- Sought outside advisers/ trusted own views
- Sought to implement drastic change
- Uncomfortable w/ status quo orientation

Post 1990

- Internal economic problems
- End of cold war
- Collapse of Soviet Union
- Opening up of economy
- Left wing still opposed economic reform, international realignment

I.K. Gujral

(Foreign Minister under VP Singh)

- PM had no knowledge or interest in external affairs
- Gujral saw himself as reviving Nehru's idealism

1990

Iraq invasion of Kuwait

- India chose to be neutral (ignored one NAM ctry had attacked another)
- FM got photographed w/ Saddam
- Cost goodwill of Kuwait, Gulf Arab ctries
 - o Reduced employment opportunities, withheld investment, job contracts

(PM)

Critique:

- Extreme idealism
 - o Gujral Doctrine - unilateral concessions to immediate neighbours
- Focused on diplomacy, left out intelligence gathering
 - o Drastic reduction of covert intelligence capabilities

Chandra Shekhar

PM after VP Singh

Weak coalition govt

Imp decisions:

- Allowed refuelling facility to US aircrafts during Gulf War
 - o Some mitigation to VP Singh + Gujral's errors

PV Narsimha Rao

At a time of domestic upheaval + Global shift of power

Initiated policies followed by successors irresp of political affiliations

Main features:

- Economic reforms
 - o Big Idea: weave in economic needs into foreign policy priorities
- Look East Policy
 - o Economic success of Japan, Korea, other E Asian ctries
 - Prev mistake: India turned down ASEAN's founding membership offer in 1980s
- Boosted ties w/ Gulf Arab ctries

Vajpayee

(as MEA, 1977)

Main purpose of foreign policy - to promote harmony, trust, cooperative spirit among nations

India's concept of security not militaristic

Combined Jana Sangh's 'India First' approach w/ Nehruvianism

(as PM)

Strands of Nehruvianism

- Great civilisation, role to play in global arena
- Belief in economic indep

Difference

- Emphasised pursuit of economic & military power
 - o To gain acceptability as a major power
- Assertive
 - o Improved reln w/ Pak, China, US
 - Despite 1999 Kargil Conflict

FM: Jaswant Singh

- US friend, not threat
- China not a natural ally (unlike Nehru's 1962 view)

Manmohan Singh

Reversion to idealist proclamations, after pragmatism of Rao, Vajpayee

Sonia Gandhi's view prevailed

- Early Nehruvianism
- Fabian socialism
- Suspicion of West
- Non-alignment

Manmohan doctrine

- Obj: create a global envt conducive to economic devt, well being of Indians
- Greater integration w/ world economy, esp Asia
- Ties w/ major powers to be shaped by economic factors, esp energy security
- Greater regional cooperation, deeper physical connectivity w/in S Asia
- Global responsibility to assist societies in transition

Unable to implement policies, put forth numerous suggestions

IMP: conclusion of US-India civil nuclear deal

- Separated India's civil, military nuclear program
- Opened possibility of joining NSG w/o signing NPT

Modi

Personal popularity -> leeway to define own foreign policy

Key priorities:

- Economic interests
- South Asia

Elements of both continuity and change w/ predecessors

- Foreign, security policy formulated in PMO rather than foreign ministry
- Active pursuit of economic partnerships, investment
 - o Collaboration of Indian & int'l business in mfg expansion in India
- Genuine non-alignment
- Desire to rebuild ties in India's regional backyard

Harsh Pant: Modi seeks to dismantle non-alignment, move beyond ideological rhetoric to real action

- Diplomats provided w/ strategic evaluation of how Modi govt sees India's place in the world + encouraged to deepen and push India's economic interests

Regional focus

- Travel to immediate neighbours
- Started tenure by reaching out to Pak
 - o Broke off talks after Pathankot, Uri (2016)
 - o Surgical strikes - not first time, but first time media publicity
 - o SAARC 2016 cancelled

New global partners

Takes great political and psychological confidence to maintain equally good relations w/ such sharply divided leaders

Principles and Interests

Most significant:

- Safeguard independence
 - Autonomy of decision making
- +

- Territorial integrity, economic autarky, championing of anti-colonialism, aversion to military alliances, seeking a S Asia free from foreign influence

Strategic Autonomy

Throwback to indep struggle

Freedom only possible if you could freely for yourself while making decisions of war & peace and friend or foe

=> non-alignment

Werner Levi: for a nation w/ few effective means and little spare energy to influence international events, idea of making a virtue of staying out of international troubles is practical and wise

NAM ended up becoming an aggregation of states w/ disparate interests that had nothing in common except being former colonies

-> group behaviour dynamics; not always in tune w/ India's needs & interests

More anti-Western capitalism than against Soviet communism

=> later reluctance to be called American ally, preferred strategic partner

Desire for self-sufficiency extends to military arena

- Effort to indigenise weapons mfg not sufficiently successful so far
- Exclusive preference for PSEs
 - o Pvt sector invited recently

Make in India:

Security imperative has been merged w/ economic nationalism as a principle of external relations

Indian Exceptionalism

C Rajagopalachari: GGI - spoke about global citizenship and mission that lay ahead for all Indian citizens

Belief: India's civilizational greatness trumps the current status of the Indian state

Rests on the faith that there was something unique about India, which enabled it to gain independence w/o violence, revolution or war

'Indian character' - overcomes odds, circumvents difficulties

Ability to subsume various cultures under the rubric of Indian tolerance - Unique

Deep seated way of thinking ~ messianic vision of US

Tendency to stick to what Indians see as principles, not give up on them as part of compromise

- Compromises for self interest looked down
- Compromises made w/ a veneer of high-minded principle

Already considers itself a great power in its immediate ngbd

- Easy to fuel resentment or fear of domination among India's neighbours
- Haven't pursued hegemonic/ expansionist policy under any govt or leader
- Nehru: bilateral treaties w/ Himalayan kingdoms + offer of no war pact to Pak sufficient for S Asia
- Indira: notion of subcontinent as India's backyard

Managing a sphere of influence -- not only a function of telling others what to do but being able to expend resources that deny space to competitors

- Modi: use of economic diplomacy to build better ties w/ neighbours

Autarky & Multilateralism

Couldn't always use economic clout in conduct of foreign policy
Early leaders: economic foreign policy not as imp as security policy

Reluctance to undertake economic diplomacy

- Role of business orgs
 - o FICCI, ASSOCHAM, CII

Both diplomats, economic specialists deal w/ economic issues now

Initially,

- Didn't build India's economic muscle under existing rules of the game
- Hoped to lead other poorer nations in demanding changes to struct of global economy
- Tried to achieve economic self reliance thru
 - o Concessional development assistance
 - Contradictory policies (autarky + assistance requirement)
 - o Diversification of trading partners
 - o Change in international economic order
 - Constant tension w/ WTO asking for exceptions - product vs process patents - risks being left out of global trade arrangements

Failure to develop ties with the global economy contributed to a paucity of foreign investment, important technological lags, a lack of innovation, and the stifling of entrepreneurship
-> Hindu rate of growth

Consistent support for multilateralism

- Creating global norms thru multilateral insti
- seeks to keep in check the prospect of global institutions becoming instruments of renewed dominance by major powers.
 - o Reform global agencies
- Sought membership of almost every major global and regional organization possible.
 - o Active role in all
 - o Own interests + voice collective interests of developing nations
- deeply involved in international financial institutions (IFIs)
 - o wary of the potential for political and strategic factors influencing their decisions

Global Diaspora => Global Interests

Considered asset in exercise of global influence

- Though only in recent years

Nehru: expats loyalties must be towards ctry of adoption

- Recognised xenophobia risks
- Overwhelming due to numbers + economic position
- Interest in expats only cultural + humanitarian, not political

Gandhi fought for their rights to be treated as South African subjects of the British Crown, not as Indian citizens

=> no provision for dual citizenship

took time to grasp the enormous economic, strategic and diplomatic benefit of having a large and generally prosperous diaspora

- Separate Union Ministry - Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs
- Govt seeks to display power by playing direct role in well-being of overseas Indians
 - o Agreements w/ Gulf Arab cties to protect rights of workers
- issues of wages or living standards for Indian workers to visas and immigration policies of countries which affect Indian migrant labour, have now become part of India's foreign policy concern

- Considered internal affairs under Nehru

Institutions and Strategic Culture

Strategic Culture

Institutions

Legislations/ Programmes

Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation

- Estd 1964
- Bilateral programme of assistance of GoI
- Nodal division: DPA-II Dvpmnt Partnership Administration in Min of External Affairs
- 5 components:
 - Training in India of ITEC nominees
 - Project, feasibility studies;
 - Consultancy services for a ctry's particular needs or projects
 - Deputation of Indian experts abroad in whatever capacity abroad
 - Aid for disaster relief

HICDP High Impact Community Dvpmnt Scheme

- Imp dimension of dvpmt partnership b/w India & Maldives
- Projects under it driven by islands' community needs

Quick Impact Project

- Mostly covers upgradation of physical infra
 - Roads, local community centres
- Short gestation projects - immediately visible results
- Aimed to directly impact locals

Bilateral Relations

17 June 2020 12:14

[Quotes fm Abhijeet Sinha](#)

- " Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam " - the world is one
- "There are no permanent friends or foes in diplomacy; there are only permanent interests", said Henry Kissinger
- Power in the 21st century is no longer about subjugating other countries, it is more about controlling the action of others
- A country's international stature and power is built in its fields, factories, classrooms, laboratories and neighborhoods. Not at the high tables of diplomacy, nor on television.
- CHANAKYA: If you can't manage your own hinterland, then you should forget about rest of the world
- If you don't want to end up on the menu, ensure you are present at the table.

Indian Ocean

Significance	- Oceanic resources - Continental shelf - Trade routes
Historical Bg	
Concerns	- China's Maritime Silk Road, String of Pearls - Energy security - Piracy - Disaster
Policies	
Cooperation	- SAGAR Safety and Growth for all in the Region - Coastal Surveillance Radar Project - IORA Indian Ocean Rim Association - Look East
Future Direction	
Remarks	

Pakistan

Significance	- 725 km long LoC
Historical Bg	
Convergence	- Trade -- when economies are deeply intertwined, there is much lower likelihood of military aggressions; S Asia among world's least economically integrated regions - —
Confrontation	- Border dispute <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • LOC, Siachen, Sir Creek (for EEZ, 26/11) • Siachen to control Khardung La (highest motorable pass) • Ceasefire violation • Diamer Bhasha Dam

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Proxy war in J&K since 1990s - Terrorist attacks <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mumbai, Uri, Pathankot - Abrogation of commitments <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2004 joint statement, Shimla agreement 1972 - Drugs & arms supply
Competition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Balochistan To parallel w/ Kashmir - Afghanistan peace process - Gwadar port - String of pearls
Cooperation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Indus Water Treaty 1960 - Locust attack 2020 - Kartarpur corridor
Future Direction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Bilateral dialogue: Foreign secy, NSA level - Track III diplomacy - More faith based corridors - Robust internal security - Strategic deterrence/ defensive offence - Balochistan, surgical strikes - International isolation - Mutually withdraw from Siachen w/ joint recording of current military position + convert it into international destination for glacial research <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Int'l presence -> deter potential occupation by Pak; check Chinese activities in Karakoram region
Remarks	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Change of strategy <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Balochistan, Gilgit-Baltistan (?) • Surgical strike/ strategic restraint -> called out Pak's nuke bluff • MFN Status withdrawal (hurts us more) - challenge Pak's MFN denial instead • SAARC withdrawal • Vacate PoK - new dd • Int'l pressure: Hangzhou Summit, UNGA, Goa Summit

China

Significance	India's 2nd largest trading partner (US 1st); deficit \$5.11 bn India among China's top 10
Historical Bg	
Convergence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Support for reforms in int'l financial structure <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support for alternatives: AIIB, NDB - Huge market size: global implications of eco policies
Confrontation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Border dispute <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Arunachal border dispute • Galwan Valley conflict • Tibet - no leverage for us by recognising it as part of China; instead claims on our territory based on Tibet status
Competition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Strategic/ Military <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • China's defence expenditure 4x India • River water diversion - Economic: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chinese cheap mfg threat to Make in India - Influence in ngbd <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pakistan • Road Connectivity Deal w/ Nepal • CMEC China Myanmar Economic Corridor • Afghanistan's Peace Process - Indian Ocean

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Djibouti, Gwadar • Both have signed defence cooperation w/ Maldives • Project Mausam : response to maritime silk road <p>- South China Sea</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • India has mining rights in Vietnam's EEZ (claimed by China) • We want freedom of navigation <p>- Connectivity</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Spice routes as response to BRI • CPEC through PoK <p>- Multilateral</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • China blocking us fm (UNESCAP?) since no border w/ Pacific
Cooperation	<p>- Economic:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stronger state-province diplomacy 3 sister cities - Aurangabad, Hyd, Chennai • Joint Economic Group - by Commerce Mins • Development Research Centre Dialogue, Financial Dialogue - by Secy, Dept of Economic Affairs (India) + Vice FinMin (China) • 6th Indi China strategic economic dialogue <p>- Strategic:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Military hotlines <p>- Connectivity:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • BCIM Corridor <p>- Cultural:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2nd informal summit @ Mamallapuram <p>- Multilateral:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CICA: Conference on Interaction and Confidence Building Measures in Asia • G20 • SCO
Future Direction	
Remarks	- Project Mausam

Nepal

Significance	<p>- Buffer state - northern 'borderland' flanks along w/ Bhutan</p> <p>- Open borders: geopolitical, eco significance - 1750 km (5 states)</p> <p>- Naxalite ties</p>
Historical Bg	<p>- Roti-Beti ka rishta</p> <p>- Hinduism, Buddhism (Lumbini)</p> <p>- Bedrock: India Nepal treaty of friendship 1950</p>
Convergence	<p>- Democracy - Westminster style</p> <p>- Secular ctry according to new constitution</p> <p>- Buddhist circuit, cultural links</p> <p>- Nepalese employed in India (B'lore)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Remittances ~30% nominal GDP <p>- Indians in Nepal - 8th largest incoming remittances</p>
Confrontation	<p>- India's big brother attitude - interventionist</p> <p>- Anti-India sentiment ~ nationalism in Nepal</p> <p>- Border dispute</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lipulekh, Limpiyadhura, Kalapani <p>- Water issues</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kosi flooding <p>- Communist govt & young democracy</p> <p>- Madhesis - people of Indian origin - treated unfairly</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Blockade

Competition	- Leaning towards China to reduce dependence on India <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Road Connectivity Deal w/ China • Military deal, military exercise • Use of Chinese ports for trade • KP Oli's communist govt - tilted
Cooperation	- Economic: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Motihari-Amlekhgunj Oil Pipeline • Nepal currency pegged to INR • India planning Buddhist tourist circuit • Nepal allowed to use Haldia port • Pancheshwar multi purpose project • Transmission line via Muzaffarpur • Railway lines: Raxaul-Kathmandu - Statagic: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Integrated check post • Cross border cooperation - Humanitarian: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Earthquake aid - Multilateral <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • SAARC • BBIN <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ MVA Motor Vehicles Agreement • BIMSTEC
Future Direction	- Weakening of ties <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Students going elsewhere to study -> less empathy w/ Indians - Need to develop border areas: roads, amenities - Renegotiate 1950 friendship treaty (did w/ Bhutan), other imp bilateral issues: open border, visa free, trade - Work on public perception in Nepal to generate goodwill for benevolence shown so far
Remarks	- Indo-Nepal v/s Sino Nepal - Indian aid seen in Nepal as favor bestowed to garner support rather than contribution to Nepal's planned dypment -- change this! v/s China picks projects of visibility and strategic location + competition on aid outside govt budget

Bangladesh

Significance	- Key to Act East policy
Historical Bg	1971
Convergence	- Bangla culture <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Renewal of cultural exchange program - Democracy(?)
Confrontation	- Water sharing <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ganga, Teesta, Barak • Sorted Feni - Illegal migrants <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • NRC - Illegal trade / border mismanagement - Lack of strategic coordination during NE insurgency 2001-06
Competition	
Cooperation	- Economic: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Setup power plants in B'desh (Reliance, BHEL); also sell power - North East

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Connectivity: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ road, rail, waterway thru B'desh ◦ BCIM Corridor • Electricity, internet (10 GBPS for 100 MW (?)) • Chittagong port <p>- Strategic:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Coastal surveillance program • Port usage • Sundarbans Moitry - BSF & Border Guard B'desh joint exercise <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ Border mgmt, prevent cross border crimes, human trafficking <p>- 7 deals on PM visit to India</p> <p>- Multilateral:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • SAARC, BIMSTEC
Future Direction	
Remarks	

Sri Lanka

Significance	
Historical Bg	
Convergence	<p>- Tamil population</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Issue: ethnic conflict - 1987 India-Sri Lanka Accord <p>- Buddhist culture, Ramayana circuit</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pursue tourism
Confrontation	<p>- Ethnic conflicts</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1987 accord -> Tamil reco official lg (13th CAA), power devolution • [India's foreign policy depends on implementation of 13th CAA] • Abstained in 2014, prev voted against on UNHRC resn <p>- Fishermen</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1974 ceded Katchatheevu (uninhabited island) to SL, traditional fishing zones went away
Competition	<p>- China's String of Pearls</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • +ve: trilateral dialogue Silk Route - India, China, Sri Lanka
Cooperation	<p>- Infra</p> <p>- India-Sri Lanka- Maldives NSA level dialogue, trilateral maritime security</p> <p>- Economic</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Comprehensive Economic & Technical Partnership pending for long <p>- Strategic</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GAGAN gps sharing • Coastal surveillance radar project - Mauritius, Seychelles, Maldives too <p>- Multilateral:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • SAARC,
Future Direction	<p>- Support broad constitutional soln to protect minority rights, unity</p> <p>- Developmental aid directed at Jaffna</p>
Remarks	

Maldives

Significance	
Historical Bg	
Convergence	
Confrontation	

Competition	
Cooperation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Strategic: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • India supported fast track re-inclusion into Commonwealth • Indian naval presence since 2009 on Maldives's request - Economic: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 5 MoUs for Addu tourism zone @ Addu atoll
Future Direction	
Remarks	

Myanmar

Significance	- Access to SE Asia
Historical Bg	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Indian troops in Anglo-Burma War - Province of British India till 1937; separate colony since - Large Indian presence, anti-India sentiments - Indians stateless since 1962 coup in Myanmar - Bahadur Sha Zafar's tomb
Convergence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Free Movement Regime - Both fast growing economies - Buddhist cultural ties - New democratic govt
Confrontation	
Competition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - China Myanmar Economic Corridor <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inv seen as exploitative (forced land acquisition, flow of cheap goods, labour) - a
Cooperation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Prez visit - Economic: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • India largest provider of Grant Aid to Myanmar - Energy cooperation: GAIL, ONGC Videsh have stakes in Myanmar's offshore gas fields - Connectivity <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • BCIM • Kaladan Multimodal Proj • India Myanmar Thailand highway + proposal to extend to Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam • Issue: limited due to India's low capability to deliver projs - Strategic: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Maritime: IOR, near A&N • Democratic govt interested in balanced foreign policy • Insurgency in NE • Act East policy - Myanmar gateway to SE Asia • BCIM Corridor • Bought TAL Shyena 2017 (local anti-sub torpedo), INS Sindhuvir (diesel-electric kilo-class submarine) • Joint Anti-terror operations - Multilateral: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ASEAN (only member w/ land border) • BIMSTEC • Mekong-Ganga Cooperation • SAARC (observer) • BIMSTEC • SASEC

Future Direction	- Fast track projects - Effective communication - People-people ties (student, civil society, business exchange programs)
Remarks	- Rohingya Crisis

Bhutan

Significance	- Buffer state
Historical Bg	- Friendship Treaty 1949 - renegotiated in 2007
Convergence	
Confrontation	- Tourism new regulations (?)
Competition	
Cooperation	- Strategic <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 'ally' • IMTRAT Indian Military Training Team stationed in Bhutan • Doklam crisis 2017 • Remained out of BRI • Siliguri Corridor security - Economic <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • FTA • 3 major hydel plants by India: Chukha, Kurichhu, Tala <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ Sale of electricity to India • Considering expansion of railways • Indian LPG - Terrorism <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cooperated in flushing out ULFA, BODO fm Bhutan - Multilateral <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • BBIN <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ Rejected MVA for environmental concerns
Future Direction	
Remarks	

East/ SE Asia

Significance	
Historical Bg	
Convergence	
Confrontation	
Competition	
Cooperation	
Future Direction	
Remarks	

Japan

Significance	
Historical Bg	
Convergence	

Confrontation	
Competition	
Cooperation	- Strategic: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Defence pact: sharing military assets, capabilities <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Djibouti naval base ○ A&N military base ○ Similar pacts w/ US, France
Future Direction	
Remarks	

South Korea

Significance	
Historical Bg	
Convergence	
Confrontation	
Competition	
Cooperation	- Economic: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CEPA Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement signed - 2010 - to ease FDI restrictions, access for Indian service industry in S Korea - Multilateral:
Future Direction	
Remarks	- Relations w/ North Korea

Singapore

Significance	- Major financial hub
Historical Bg	- 'Singapura' - lion city - Sanskrit - Trade reln since Chola period
Convergence	
Confrontation	
Competition	
Cooperation	
Future Direction	
Remarks	

Central Asia

Significance	- Access to Europe & Russia
Historical Bg	
Convergence	- India Connect Central Asia Policy 2012
Confrontation	- China's BRI
Issues	- Landlocked - Limited trade

Competition	
Cooperation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Energy <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • TAPI pipeline Turkmenistan Afghanistan Pakistan India • ONGC stake in Kazakhstan • Proposed pipeline from Russia - Terrorism - Defence <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Indian Base in Tajikistan • Annual joint military exercise w/ Kyrgyzstan - China Factor <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ambivalent Mongolia - Nuke <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kazakhstan (?) - Space <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Baikonur in Kazakhstan - launch site for Russian sats
Future Direction	
Remarks	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Steps <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • SCO • Ashgabat • INSTC • Chabahar

West Asia

Afghanistan

Significance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Geo-political <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Connectivity projects: CPEC (BRI), TAPI, New Silk Road Initiative • Heart of Asia Conference (began from New Delhi) - Strategic <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Afghan stability imp for J&K peace • Pak's Taliban control -> repercussions on Western border of India • Gateway for IS into India if unstable
Historical Bg	
Convergence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Soft power: popularity, pro-India sentiment among Afghan popn - Concerns on Pak's good-bad terrorism classification <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Highlight Pak's role in fuelling terrorism at int'l forum
Confrontation	
Competition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Vacuum by US withdrawal -> India vs China competition to gain influence
Cooperation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Economic <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rare earth metals • Investment opportunity for Indians • Infrastructure: TAPI, Salma dam, Highway to Iran - Energy security <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • TAPI, Oil and gas reserves - Cultural/ Political <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New Parliament building, libraries at local level - P2P - Strategic <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strategic partner since 2011 • Military assistance: Mi25 attack helicopters, jeeps - Multilateral: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • SAARC

Challenges	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Pak issue <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • US excluded India on Pak's insistence <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ Afghan doesn't trust Pak much • Indo-Afghan security cooperation not enhanced to avoid antagonising Pakistan • Pak reluctant to include India in APTTA Afghanistan Pakistan Transit Trade Agreement (equal access to each ctry upto national bdaries <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ Hinders overland trade b/w India & Afghan - Peace process <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • India excluded • Talks b/w Afghan govt & Taliban thru Quadrilateral Coordination Group (US, Pak, China, Afghan) • US exiting but Fragile National Unity Govt - Threat to Indian interests <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Military personnel working there unsafe • India's military assistance could go into militants' hands
Future Direction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Economic <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Enhance trade reln after induction into WTO • Operationalise Chabahar -> increase investments - Strategic <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Share experiences in conducting peaceful elections in disturbed regions (Kashmir valley) • Highlight Pak's terror fuelling role at int'l forum • Mediation: minimal role so far b'cos Taliban HQ in Pak; opposition of Taliban in India
Remarks	- US's Afghanistan Policy

Israel

Significance	
Historical Bg	
Convergence	
Confrontation	
Competition	
Cooperation	
Future Direction	
Remarks	

Saudi Arabia

Significance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Ancient ties <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1st mosque in Kerala by Arab trader - Cheraman Juma Masjid
Historical Bg	
Convergence	
Confrontation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - India's reln w/ Iran, Israel - SA's rivals - Living conditions of diaspora - Covert support to Sunni terrorist orgs - Pak historic ally - Aggressive West Asia policy <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Air strikes in Yemen • Disturbed Syria -> ISIS breeding ground
Competition	- Major role in BRI

Cooperation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Energy security <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Indian mkts imp for SA (shale boom, dec Chinese dd) - Economic: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bilateral trade (\$40bn) - diversified • SA wants to become mfg hub • SA plans to build deep sea port -> can help India's connection w/ Africa - Strategic: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Riyadh Declaration 2010: intel sharing, security partnership • Counter terrorism cooperation - anti-Pak - Diaspora <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 7mn people • Our stakes in their eco revival when oil price plummets
Future Direction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Need to balance reln w/ all major W Asian powers - Multi-directional policy (trend since 1990s)
Remarks	

Iran

Significance	Dominant regional power
Historical Bg	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - New Delhi Declaration 2003: laid ground for all cooperation areas <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hindered by US sanctions, India voted against Iran at IAEA
Convergence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Shia population <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • For Track III Diplomacy
Confrontation/ Challenges/ Issues	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Chinese influence <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lausanne agreement - Iran & P5+1 • Iran shown interest in growing ties w/ India too though - Damage during sanction years (when) - Iran Pak reln <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improving b'cos of stabilising role in Afghanistan • PASSEC: Pak's naval exercise w/ Iran - JCPOA - Geopolitical risks: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tension b/w West & Iran
Competition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Western nations also looking for eco cooperation w/ Iran
Cooperation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Energy: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reliant on Iran for diversification • Iran looking for buyers too - China, India, Japan major - Strategic: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Connectivity to Afghanistan & C Asia <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ Ashgabat Agreement (transport corridor - Gulf to C Asia) ◦ Both want stable govt in Afghanistan • Anti-terror against IS, al Qaeda - Economic: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Oman-Iran-India pipeline • Iran needs inv to raise crude prodn - India interested • Chabahar port -
Future Direction	
Remarks	'Nightingales of Iran sing more beautifully because of sweets that come from India'

USA (need more)

Significance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Innovation & entrepreneurship: sister innovation hubs - Infra collab
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	- Bilateral trade volume
Historical Bg	
Convergence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Democratic, pluralistic society - Dvpmnt aid, setting up IITK, power plants - Attitude to China <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Aligned interest in Pacific & Indian Ocean - Afghanistan Policy <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Abandoning policy of surge & exit -> prevent growing influence of China-Russia-Pak • Use of MOAB -> continued military presence of US • Stance against all terror groups incl Taliban & IS <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ Changed! ◦ Russia, China - pro-Taliban, anti-IS stance
Confrontation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Interference in India-China, India-Middle East reln due to defence & foreign policy alignment - Misaligned interest in west Indian Ocean - Gwadar port vs Taliban - Military dep may inc our vulnerability - US also provides equipment to Pak - Trade, IPR (pharma, solar dispute) not aligned: US carving multilateral agreements outside WTO - India not part - US considers India irritant in trade negotiations - left out of Trans Pacific Partnership TPP
Competition	
Cooperation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Economic <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High level of bilateral trade • Infra collab: 3 smart cities - Allahabad, Ajmer, Vizag - Energy <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Clean Energy Finance Initiative (2016) - Strategic eval <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dialogue elevated to Strategic & Commercial Dialogue • Since 2005 - greater access to military tech • DTTI Defence Trade and Tech Initiative • LEMOA (2), 'Major Defence Partner' • BECA (geo-spatial digital mapping) • COMCASA/ CISMOA - secure radio equipment • Counter-terrorism <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ India joined global database maintained by TSC Terrorist Screening Centre of US ◦ Pressure on Pak to stop funding • Joint patrolling, anti piracy, peacekeeping operations - Nuke <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Civil nuclear deal signed 2008 - exceptions for India: access to NSG w/o NPT ratification • Tarapur power plant 1960s • Collab b/w Westinghouse & NPCIL for power plant
Future Direction	
Remarks	- Interventionist stance: we need to pursue multilateralism instead of closeness w/ few partners for strategic autonomy

Australia

Significance	
Historical Bg	- Brit link: Commonwealth traditions

	- Soldiers fought together in World Wars
Convergence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Indian diaspora - English language - Pluralistic societies - Westminster style democracies - Sports links: Cricket, Hockey
Confrontation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - VISA issues <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More stringent conditions - Xenophobia against Indian students - Reduction in trade - CECA discussions stalled: Comprehensive Economic Cooperation Agreement
Competition	
Cooperation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Economic <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • \$29bn trade • we are their 5th largest trading partner • Mutual investment \$20bn • Aus largest producer of LNG <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ We currently import max fm Qatar, West Asia unstable • Australia-India Leadership Dialogue - Strategic <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • QUAD: for connectivity in Indian Ocean, Pacific • AUSINDEX: maritime exercise • Use of common platforms: Hawk, C-130, P-8 • Anti-terror <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ Working Group on Counter-Terrorism • Bilateral Dialogue on Cyber Issues • Annual '2+2' Foreign Secy, Defence Secy dialogue - Nuke <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Largest reserves of Uranium <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ Kazakhstan is largest producer • Civil Nuclear Cooperation - 2014 - Cultural <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Indian diaspora - Multilateral: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • IOC-RIM • ASEAN +6 • International Solar Alliance • East Asia summit: India, Aus, NZ • India-Australia-Japan Trilateral Dialogue • Indonesia-India-Australia trilateral dialogue • Supports our UNSC candidature
Future Direction	
Remarks	

Europe

Russia

Significance	- Link b/w India & Central Asia
Historical Bg	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Mediation for 1965 war: Tashkent agreement - Treaty of Friendship 1971 - for B'desh liberation war - Declaration of nuke free world ()
Convergence	- Favour for multipolar international system

	- Chinese mkt domination, future hegemony common concern
Confrontation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Military <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Excessive dependence, low serviceability (spare scarcity) • Rising procurement fm France, Israel • Stagnant arms trade w/ Russia - Sanctions post Crimea annexation + LEMOA (w/ US) -> Russia suspicious - Growing proximity to China & Pak <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Military exercise despite Uri • Power of Siberia pipeline (to China)
Competition	
Cooperation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Economic: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Eastern Economic Forum (<i>more?</i>) - Strategic: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Russia's 2nd largest arms market • Anti-terror intelligence sharing - Pak, Syria - Nuke: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kudankulam plant - Multilateral: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Russia's role in SCO membership for India
Future Direction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Anti-terror cooperation - Assurance that LEMOA won't impact Russian interest <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Clause that we can stay away if US attacks a friend - Progress on R-I-C alliance to resolve standing issues
Remarks	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Need to develop indigenous defence prodn capacity, diversify procurement -> reduce dep on Russia - Multilateralism is way forward

France

Significance	
Historical Bg	
Convergence	
Confrontation	
Competition	
Cooperation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Civil Nuclear Energy Cooperation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support for NSG membership • Didn't condemn Pokhran; stood for India against sanctions • Jaitapur (Pressurised Water Reactor) - issue of cost! - Defence <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Military equipment supplier since 1953 • Rafale aircraft deal - Economic - Strategic <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Counter terrorism intelligence sharing: 'Paris to Pathankot' common threat • IOR maritime security (Reunion Islands) - Space <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ariane: India's preferred LV for geostationary sats • France uses India's PSLV for SPOT (Satellite for Observation of Earth) sats
Future Direction	
Remarks	

Africa

Significance	
Historical Bg	
Convergence	
Confrontation	- Safety of African nationals in India
Competition	
Cooperation	
Future Direction	
Remarks	

Seychelles

Significance	- China acquired naval base in Djibouti (gulf of Aden)(Japan defence pact)
Historical Bg	
Convergence	
Confrontation	
Competition	
Cooperation	- Strategic: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • India building 1st naval base • Connected by Coastal Radar project
Future Direction	
Remarks	

Mauritius

Significance	
Historical Bg	
Convergence	- Diaspora: 70% Indian origin
Confrontation	
Competition	
Cooperation	- Strategic <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Coastal Surveillance Radar - Economic <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 33% FDI in India • Largest source of import for Mauritius
Future Direction	
Remarks	

Latin America

Significance	
Historical Bg	
Convergence	
Confrontation	- Embassy not in all ctries - Distance - Limited P2P interaction - China's FTAs v/s our PTAs
Competition	

Cooperation	
Future Direction	- Case study for Naxal, NE related to Colombia (end of Civil War)
Remarks	

Brazil

Significance	
Historical Bg	- Cultural connection w/ Goa since 16th C - Portuguese - Most cattle stock of Indian origin
Convergence	- Ayurveda, yoga popular in Brazil
Confrontation	
Competition	- China has FTA; India has PTA
Cooperation	- Economic <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ~\$10bn trade - Strategic <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strategic partnership since 2006 - Nuke <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Brazil member of NSG • Nuclear trade possibility ripe - Multilateral <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • BRICS • G-4 for UNSC entry - both support each other • IBSA • BASIC • G 20
Future Direction	
Remarks	

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Significance	
Historical Bg	
Convergence	
Confrontation	
Competition	
Cooperation	
Future Direction	
Remarks	

Multilateral Relations - involving India

20 June 2020 12:55

Regional Orgs

SAARC

Significance	- 20% of world population
Members	- 8 - Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Maldives
Secretariat	- Kathmandu
Structure	
Mandate	- No discussion on bilateral issues - Sub-groupings allowed
Progress	- Online summit on Corona - Economic: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • SAFTA South Asia Free Trade Agreement - Strategic: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • SAARC Satellite: ngrs bypassed India to launch own sats w/ China/ US help
Issues	- Pak: elephant in the room - No talks since 2016 - Charter doesn't allow discussion on bilateral issues - Indian aid reduced by 20%, China entering - Among least connected regional bodies
Sub-groupings	- BBIN : Bangladesh Bhutan Indian Nepal
Way Forward	
Remarks	- SC recommendation for a common SAARC Court <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Judges from all cties - Issues like cross border terrorism, smuggling, trafficking



ASEAN +6

Significance	
Members	
Secretariat	

Structure	
Mandate	
Progress	
Issues	
Way Forward	
Remarks	

RCEP

- Signed w/o India;
- Japan worked hard to keep doors open for Indian accession
- India invited as 'observer'
- 'If you don't want to be on the menu, you should be at the table'
- Draw parallelism with BRI - initially called isolationist stand; later like minded democracies called us 'prescient'
- Needs to be tested
- Our share in the imports of RCEP partner countries have either stagnated or fallen

SCO Shanghai Cooperation Organisation

Significance	- ~50% world population - observer status in UNGA; reln w/ EU, ASEAN, Commonwealth, OIC - Allows us access to Central Asia - mineral, oil, export mkt
Members	- 8 - India, China, Russia, Pakistan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan - Observer: Afghanistan, Iran, Mongolia - Dialogue partners: Belarus, Sri Lanka, Turkey
Secretariat	
Structure	
Mandate	- Areas: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Military collab • Connectivity • Counter terrorism • Energy sector • Increasing trade • Drug trafficking
Progress	-
Indian interests	- Access to Central Asia - Economic treaties w/ entire Asia (w/ SAARC, RCEP, SCO) - Forum to check terrorism - Platform to engage w/ Pak - Ufa talks 2015 - Political balance: against pro-US tilt - Solidifies plans for trade routes to Russia via Chabahar - INSTC , Ashgabat - Might counter Chinese influence in the region
Issues	- Anti-NATO: could harm our reln w/ US - China dominance - Pak presence to counter us
Way Forward	
Remarks	

Mekong Ganga Cooperation

Significance	- Commercial, cultural linkages
Members	- India, CMLVT Cambodia, Myanmar, Laos, Vietnam, Thailand
Secretariat	- No permanent secretariat - No budget
Structure	
Mandate	- For closer connection b/w people of the two basins - Areas: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • tourism, culture, education, transport & communication
Progress	
Issues	- Thailand lost interest after formation of ACMECS w/ all members minus India
Way Forward	
Remarks	more

BIMSTEC Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation

Significance	- Geographically coherent, more like minded grouping than SAARC - ~22% world population - \$2.7tn combined GDP - Sustained avg annual gr rates b/w 3.4% - 7.5% - Untapped resources in Bay of Bengal - Trade route: 25% of world trade
Members	- India, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Myanmar, Thailand, Nepal, Sri Lanka
Secretariat	- Dhaka - 1997
Structure	- Sector Driven Cooperative Organisation - economic
Mandate	
India's interests	- Neighbourhood first, Act East - Connects Bay of Bengal & Himalayan ecologies - Connection for landlocked NE states - Funnel to Malacca strait - To counter assertive China - Will complement trilateral highway, Kaladan
Progress	- Disaster Management Exercise <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2nd Ed in Bhubaneswar, Odisha
Issues	- Refugee - Role of Himalayas as a geographical break - Lack of interest fm Thailand - CMLV - Drugs, terrorism
Way Forward	
Remarks	

BBIN

Significance	- SAARC allows subgrouping among members - Part of Act East Policy - Cultural linkage - Development of NE region
Members	- Bangladesh Bhutan India Nepal

Secretariat	N/A
Structure	
Mandate	- Connectivity, Economic development, regional integration - Low trade despite SAFTA
Progress	- Motor Vehicles Agreement 2015 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No need to unload at border check point • To promote efficient flow of traffic • With assistance fm ADB • Bhutan withdrew - domestic resistance - BBIN Road Corridor <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Thru chicken's neck under construction - BBIN Power Market <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Under discussion
Issues	- Bhutan withdrew 'for now' - Non-binding agreement - Insufficient infra - Need for liberal visa regime - Synergy b/w govts
Way Forward	
Remarks	

IORA Indian Ocean Rim Association

Significance	- Project Mausam
Members	- 20 - Since 1997
Secretariat	
Structure	- Tripartite: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Govt + business + academia
Mandate	- Principle: open regionalism - Economic cooperation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Trade facilitation, inv promotion - Social dvpment of region - Obj: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sustainable gr, balanced dvpment • Lower trade barriers • Economic cooperation
Progress	
Issues	
Way Forward	
Remarks	- Prev Indian Ocean Rim Initiative; IOR-ARC Indian Ocean Rim Asso for Regional Cooperation

FIPIC Forum for India Pacific Cooperation

Significance	- Expand engagement in Pacific region - Large EEZs, even though small cties - Address Chinese expansion - Act East policy
Members	- India + 14 Pacific Islands Countries PICs

	- Cook Islands, Fiji, Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Micronesia, Nauru, Niue, Samoa, Solomon Is, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu
Secretariat	
Structure	
Mandate	- Trade, investment facilitation - Exchange of business delegations - Areas: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Agri, fisheries, food processing, solar energy • E-networks for tele-edu, tele-medicine • Space cooperation, climate change
Progress	- Space diplomacy: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mangalyaan tracker based in Fiji - India offered support in Space tech, Pharma, IT, MSME, connectivity, naval support, scientific support
Issues	- Limited connectivity, small sizes
Way Forward	
Remarks	- Diaspora in Fiji

East Asia Summit

Significance	
Members	
Secretariat	
Structure	
Mandate	
Progress	
Issues	
Way Forward	
Remarks	

SASEC South Asia Sub-regional Economic Cooperation

Significance	- Not part of SAARC, alternate grouping
Members	- BBIN, Maldives, Sri Lanka, Myanmar
HQ	- Manila, Philippines
Structure	
Mandate	- Promote regional prosperity - Priority areas: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Transport • Trade facilitation • Energy • Economic corridor development ECFD
Progress	- SASEC Road Connectivity Scheme <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Financed by ADB, Nepal govt
Issues	
Way Forward	
Remarks	

Others

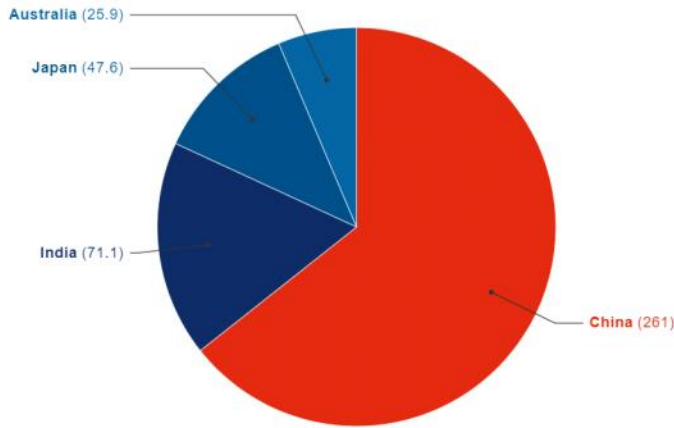
Trade: WTO, G33, Doha, GI, SPS, Seeds, BIT
 Environment - CBDR -Paris, Kigali

BRICS

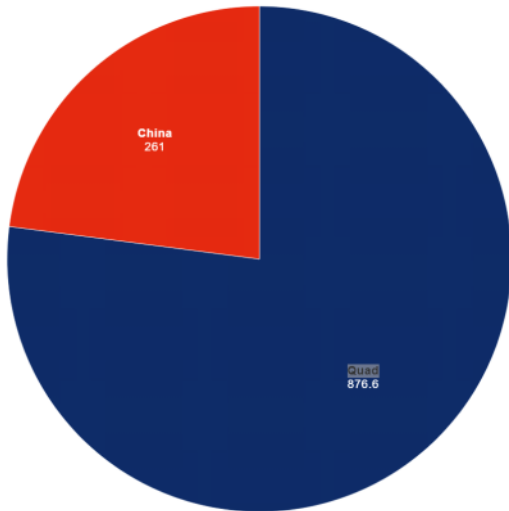
Significance	- 40% world popn - 30% GDP
Members	- Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa
Secretariat	
Structure	- Annual summit, no organisational structure - Chair rotated alphabetically among members
Mandate	- Economic cooperation - People to people cooperation - Political and security cooperation - Mechanism: Track I, II, III - Dominated by climate change & development finance (for infra)
Progress	- BRICS Bank - aka NDB New Dvpmnt Bank <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • HQ: Beijing • Equal stake of each ctry, initially \$10bn each, to be raised to total \$100bn • None can increase stake w/o others' consent • Others can join; founding members min stake 55% • Pros <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ Promote trade in resp currencies ◦ Addl funds for dvpment ◦ Not subject to western vetoes ◦ Equal voting rights - CRA Contingency Reserve Arrangement <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Initially \$100bn <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ China: \$41bn ◦ India, Russia, Brazil - \$18bn ◦ S Africa - \$5 bn • Based on currency swap • To ease liquidity pressure; avert BoP crisis ➤ Implication of Chinese presence here
Issues	- Marked dominance of Russia, India, China - Need to expand agenda for increasing relevance in global order - Discomfort b/w India & China - Doklam, Galwan
Way Forward	- Realistic assessment of opportunities, inherent limitations by each member - Commitment for multi-polar world - Addl BRICS instis - research wing (~OECD) - BRICS Credit Rating Agency - mooted by India
Remarks	

QUAD

China spends more on defence than India, Japan, Australia put together (US \$ billion)



Military Spending: Quad Nations vs China (US \$ billion)



Nato in indo pacific - <https://nationalinterest.org/blog/buzz/does-indo-pacific-need-alliance-nato-170896> (arguments against)

Power balance in the Indian ocean



Supply Chain Resilience Initiative

- With Japan, Australia, S Korea(?)
- Away from China
- Could be affected by decision to stay out of RCEP

Significance	
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Members	
Secretariat	
Structure	
Mandate	
Progress	
Issues	
Way Forward	
Remarks	

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Int'l Orgs, Imp Summits

18 June 2020 17:41

Economic

- WTO
- IMF
- WB
- AIIB
- ADB
- NDB
- ASEAN +6

Security

- UNSC
- NSG
- CCIT - Comprehensive Convention on International Terrorism
 - o Objectives
 - Universal definition of terrorism; to be adopted by all 193 members of UNGA into own criminal law
 - Ban all terror groups, shut down terror camps
 - Prosecute all terrorists under special laws
 - Make cross border terrorism an extraditable offence worldwide
 - o Opposition from 3 blocks
 - US - wants to exclude acts committed by state military during peacetime (Afghanistan, Iraq)
 - OIC - wants exclusion of national liberation movements -- self determination different from criminal terrorism (Israel-Palestine)
 - LatAm - wants inclusion of 'state terrorism', violation of Int'l Human Rights laws by states

Health, Environment

- WHO

Justice/ Human Rights

- ICC
- International Court of Arbitration
- UNHCR
- New York Declaration

United Nations

Significance	
Members	
Secretariat	
Structure	
Mandate	
Progress	
Issues	
Way Forward	
Remarks	

India-UN Dvpmnt Partnership Fund UNDPF

- Estd 2017
- Dedicated facility w/in UN Fund for South-South Cooperation
- supports Southern-owned and led, demand-driven, and transformational sustainable development projects across the developing world, with a focus on least developed countries and small island developing states
- Related: [ITEC Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation](#)

WTO

Significance	
Members	
Secretariat	
Structure	
Mandate	
Progress	
Issues	
Way Forward	
Remarks	

IMF

Significance	
Members	
Secretariat	
Structure	
Mandate	
Progress	
Issues	
Way Forward	
Remarks	

FATF

Significance	
Members	
Secretariat	
Structure	
Mandate	
Progress	
Issues	
Way Forward	
Remarks	

WHO

Significance	
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Members	
Secretariat	
Structure	
Mandate	
Progress	
Issues	
Way Forward	
Remarks	

ADB Asian Development Bank

Significance	
Members	
Secretariat	
Structure	
Mandate	
Progress	
Issues	
Way Forward	
Remarks	

AIIB Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank

Significance	
Members	
Secretariat	
Structure	
Mandate	
Progress	
Issues	
Way Forward	
Remarks	

G20

Significance	
Members	
Secretariat	
Structure	
Mandate	
Progress	
Issues	
Way Forward	
Remarks	

IR - Elaborations

18 June 2020 14:19

1. India China Strategic Economic Dialogue

- Why in News? India hosted the 6th India-China Strategic Economic Dialogue in New Delhi.
- It is a bilateral dialogue platform between the planning bodies of India and China- the Planning Commission of India (now NITI Aayog) and the National Development and Reform Commission (NDRC) of China.
- The idea of having such a dialogue was first floated by Premier Wen Jiabao on his visit to India in 2010

2. Arunachal Border Dispute

- a. Objection to Home Min's visit to Arunachal marking 34th Statehood Day
- b. Launched multiple projects - industry, roads
- c. 1140 km Eastern sector bdary - McMahon line
 - i. Tibetans who signed the 1914 treaty didn't have the auth
- d. For China - Arunachal = TAR Tibet Autonomous Region ~ South Tibet



3. Sister City relnship aka Twin towns

- a. Legal/ social agreement b/w towns, cities, counties, states, etc
- b. Geographically, politically distinct areas to promote cultural, commercial ties
- c. Eg.
 - i. Aurangabad & Dunhuang (China)
 - ii. Hyderabad and Qingdao (China)
 - iii. Chennai and Chongqing (China)
 - iv. Ahmedabad and Kobe (Japan)
 - v. Delhi and Chicago (USA)

4. 2nd India-China Informal Summit aka Mamallapuram Summit

- Takeaways:
 - Establish a High-Level Economic and Trade Dialogue mechanism.
 - 2020: designated as Year of India-China Cultural and People to People Exchanges.
 - 'Sister-state relationship' between Tamil Nadu and Fujian Province.
 - Chennai connect to manage differences in such a way that they would "not allow differences on any issue to become disputes".
 - First informal summit took place in April 2018 in Wuhan.

5. India Nepal Cross Border Cooperation

- Nepal's Armed Police Force (APF) has assured India, cooperation in checking doubtful "third country" operatives on its soil.
- during 4th India- Nepal coordination meeting held between Indian border guarding force [Sashastra Seema Bal](#) (SSB) and its Nepalese counterpart Armed Police Force (APF) at Pokhara, Nepal.
- first time joint RoDs had a special mention of 'third country' operatives.
- Incl: terrorists fm Pak & other cties, smugglers, FICN fake Indian currency notes mafia

6. [Integrated Check Post](#) w/ Nepal
 - 2nd - at Jogbani (Bihar) - Biratnagar (Nepal)
 - 1st @Raxaul

7. China Nepal Road Connectivity Deal
 - All-weather road connectivity b/w Kathmandu & Tibet Autonomous Region
 - Part of THMCN Trans-Himalayan Multidimensional Connectivity Network umbrella
 - Announced in 2018
 - THMCN: economic corridor b/w China, Nepal
 - Part of BRI

8. Bangladesh PM Visit to India
 - MoUs
 - Coastal Surveillance System
 - Withdrawal of [Feni](#) river water by India
 - b/w Uni of Hyd & Uni of Dhaka
 - Cooperation in Youth Affair
 - Standard Operating Procedure on use of Chattogram, Mongla ports for movement of goods to and from India
 - Renewal of Cultural Exchange Programme
 - Joint declaration
 - Celebrate Gandhi's 150th birth anniversary 2019
 - Birth centenary of Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman 2020
 - 50 yrs of Bangladesh War of Liberation 2021

9. India Sri Lanka Infrastructure cooperation
 - MoU to develop Trincomalee port, oil tank farms, LNG terminals
 - Joint India-Japan agreement to develop the East Container Terminal at Colombo harbour, and offer to operate the Mattala Airport in Sri Lanka.
 - Building infrastructure in the Northern and Eastern Provinces, including upgrading the Jaffna-Colombo rail track, providing electricity transmission lines for power imports from India, and rebuilding the Kankesanthurai port.
 - India is Sri Lanka's largest trading partner globally, while Sri Lanka is India's second largest trading partner in the SAARC.
 - Indo-Sri Lanka Free Trade Agreement was signed in March 2000.

10. India Maldives projects
 - 5 MoUs for estb Addu Tourism zone
 - Addu atoll aka Seenu Atoll - southernmost atoll of Maldives
 - Unique small lakes, wetlands, marshy taro fields
 - Has some of earliest known settlements recorded in Maldives
 - 6th MoU to set up bottled water plant in Hoarafushi
 - All 6 projects under India's [HICDP High Impact Community Dvpment Scheme](#)

11. China Myanmar Economic Corridor
 - Proposed under BRI
 - Central road, rail transport infra
 - Yunnan Province (S China) to Kyaukphyu in Rakhine state thru Muse, Mandalay
 - Another node to access Indian Ocean for China

12. Myanmar Prez visit agreements
 - New coordinated bus service: Mandalay & Imphal
 - Assistance in ICP construction at Tamu
 - Medical radiation equipment Bhabhatron II for cancer treatment, stronger health sector cooperation
 - Govt to govt cooperation in petroleum: refinery, stockpiling, blending, retail
 - Extend [QIP Quick Impact Project](#) schemes to Myanmar

- Aadhaar model based e-ID cards in Myanmar
- RuPay Card in Myanmar
 - Also in UAE, Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, Maldives, Bhutan
- More projects for Rakhine State Dvpmnt Programme
- Continue talks on Mutual Legal Assistance Treaty, Extradition Treaty
- Early completion of final leg of Kaladan project
- India-Myanmar Friendship Project: 250 pre-fabricated houses given for refugee rehabilitation

13. Free Movement Regime

- to facilitate free movement of the tribal people along the border of India and Myanmar, the mechanism of the free movement regime was introduced.
- Free Movement Regime (FMR) allows the tribes living along the border to travel 16 km across the boundary without visa restrictions.
- India, Myanmar have signed Land Border Crossing Agreement on May 11, 2018, which will facilitate regulation and harmonization of already existing free movement rights for people.
- It facilitates movement of people on the basis of valid passports and visas which will enhance economic and social interaction between the two countries.

14. Pakistan's Ceasefire Violations

- 2003: ceasefire agreement signed
- Reasons:
 - Show of power
 - Pak blames border works by India as violation of 2003 agreement
 - Pak's deep state not in sync w/ political leadership
 - Kashmir peace -> identity, ideology of Pak army will be defeated
- Impact:
 - Alienated borderlands = extremely unfavourable conditions
 - Militarization of borderlands
 - Loss of life, livelihood
- Bilateral ties:
 - Scepticism on longevity of dialogue
 - Durable Pak policy: unresolved challenge
- Response:
 - Need to cool down rising tensions
 - Forceful response by military only meets immediate psychological needs
 - Involve multiple fronts: military, political, diplomatic

15. Strategic Restraint

- Responding in a way that does not potentially become strategically costly for India by risking a broader conventional war

16. China's String of Pearls



17. Locust crisis & India-Pak relations

- Locust Warning Organisation
 - Setup in 1939 after 5 year invasion 1926-31
 - HQ: New Delhi; substation: Karachi
- FAO Desert Locust Commission
 - 1964; annual sessions
 - With Iran, Pakistan, Afghanistan, India
 - Continued even when India-Pak turmoil
 - No diplomats; only locust control experts
- 1977: border meetings began
- 1991-2003: annual special border surveys by locust control officers
- 2005-2019: joint border meetings
- Politics, diplomacy kept out; issue: insecurity, sensitivities in the region

18. Diamer Bhasha Dam

- Concrete-filled gravity dam in Gilgit-Baltistan (PoK) on Indus River
- Purpose:
 - Power generation
 - Irrigation
 - Flood alleviation downstream Indus



- India consistent in opposing infra projects through PoK

19. Dynamics of IR with Pak

- Major stakeholders in favour of peace: The civil society, the political parties, and even

- the military establishment of Pakistan
- Both Islamabad and Rawalpindi, two centres of power, are now on the same page in seeking “honourable peace” with New Delhi on the basis of “sovereign equality”.
- Heavy price paid by Pakistan: supporting Islamist extremism, terrorism.
- Consensus on futility of using terrorism as foreign policy
- Conducive conditions for dialogues
- *Realisation that Pakistan has suffered a lot:*
 - Harm at home and to the global image:
 - large number of casualties: civilians, soldiers
 - threat of FATF blacklisting:
- *Decrease in religious radicalisation in Pakistan*
 - decrease in financial support to radicalism: shrinking inflow of petrodollars from Saudi Arabia and Gulf countries
 - Declining ideological influence on Pakistan’s civil society
 - Export of Wahhabism no longer a foreign policy priority of the Saudi Arabian government.
 - UAE pursuing inter-religious tolerance zealously
- *Interest of China*
 - Rise of China as an economic and security partner
 - CPEC. BRI: security threat fm terrorism concern for China
 - Islamist groups could foment trouble in China’s Muslim-majority Xinjiang province.
 - India-China factor: steady effort to improve relations with New Delhi - rising economic, geopolitical stature in Asia and globally.
 - Possibility of India-China-Pakistan cooperation: mooted at Mamallapuram summit by Xi Jinping
- *Military establishment in favour of peace.*
 - fully convinced of the need for normalisation of India-Pakistan
 - Opening of Kartarpur Sahib Corridor: Gen. Bajwa’s personal commitment to the project.
 - economic crisis in Pakistan
 - Discussion on the Kashmir issue: possible
- Conclusion: India needs to seize the opportunity to resume the talks with Pakistan on all the contentious issues and try to resolve the disputes so that the improved relations could help both the countries and the neighbouring countries.

20. Border Dispute w/ Nepal - 2020

- Kalapani: long-standing issue
 - Close to Lipulekh Pass on India-China border
- Bg: Treaty of Sugauli 1816
 - Kali river: bdary
 - Dispute: origin of Kali
 - Pithoragarh distt: confluence of streams fm Limpiyadhura (NW) & Kalapani (NE)
 - Early Brit maps: NW stream Kuti Yangti is origin
 - 1857, 1879: changed to NE stream Pankha Gad - just below Kalapani - Nepal accepted this change
 - Bdary inherited in 1947
- Lipulekh Pass
 - Identified for pilgrims, trade in 1953 by India-China
 - Stopped 1962
 - 1981 pilgrimage resumed, 1991 border trade resumption
- 1996: Treaty of Mahakali (another name for Kali)
 - Issue of origin of Kali first raised
 - 1981: Joint Technical Level Boundary Committee - to replace damaged border pillars
 - 98% clarified; unresolved: Kalapani, Susta
 - Dissolved in 2008; decided to discuss at Foreign Secy level
 - 2009: Ghatibhar-Lipulekh hardtop road began - no objections fm Nepal

- 2014: Boundary Working Group set up - to restore boundary pillars
- 2019: 8th Ed map by Survey of India
 - To reflect J&K change
 - Nepal raises objections although no change done to India Nepal border
 - Nepal invoked Foreign Secy level talks for resolution - India dragged feet
- 2020: Nepal's new map based on old Brit map (170 yr)

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