

# PRE CUM MAINS 2024 DEC 2023: BOOKLET-2

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# 1. GENERAL STUDIES – 2

# 1) INDIA SRI LANKA

# A) SOME BASIC FACTS ABOUT SRI LANKA

Historically known as <u>Ceylon</u>, Sri Lanka is an <u>island country</u> <u>located in South Asia</u>. It lies in <u>Indian Ocean</u>, southwest of Bay of Bengal.

It is <u>located between latitudes 5 degree 55'- and 9-degree</u> 51' North.

<u>Gulf of Mannar</u> and <u>Palk Strait</u> separate Sri Lanka from India.

**Maritime Borders**: Sri Lanka shares a <u>maritime border</u> with the <u>Maldives</u> in the south-west and <u>India</u> in the northwest.

**Colombo**, the largest city is also <u>executive and judicial</u> capital of Sri Lanka.

# **Important Ports of Sri Lanka:**

- 1. **Port of Colombo**: The largest port of Sri Lanka. It is located at the mouth of river Kelani Ganga.
- 2. **Port of Hambantota**: It is also known as the Magapura Mahinda Rajapaksha port and is situated in the southern part of the SL. It is close to Asian and European marine trade routes, Suez Canal, and Malacca strait. It was constructed with the help of China's aid and has been given to China on a 99-year lease.
- 3. **Port of Gale**: Located on southwest of the country, it is the <u>largest port of the region</u>.
- 4. **Oluvil Port**: The port project was started in 2008 with the financial <u>support of Denmark's foreign ministry</u>. It is being developed in stages and 1st phase became operational in 2013.





1. **Port of Trincomalee**: It is located on the NE shores of SL and has the <u>second largest natural</u> <u>harbour in the world</u>. It is <u>ten times bigger</u> than the port of Colombo capable of accommodating ships of any size in its anchorage area.

# B) POLITICAL HISTORY OF SRI LANKA

- **1948:** Independence proclaimed; **D.S. Senanayake** becomes the first Prime Minister.

- **1956:** Solomon Bhandarnaike was elected as the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka. He made Sinhala the only official language. More than 100 Sri Lankan Tamil people were killed after the Tamil members of parliament protested.
- **1959:** Solomon Bhandarnaike was <u>shot by Talduwe Somarama</u>, a <u>Buddhist monk</u>. He succumbed to injuries the next day.
- **1960:** Sirimavo Bandarnaike becomes the <u>first women prime minister of the world</u>. She was sworn in on July 21, 1960, after her United national party won the elections.
- **1965:** Opposition party wins the election and tries reverse the nationalization.
- 1970: Sirimavo Bandarnaike reelected and brings back Sinhalese Nationalism.
- 1977: LTTE was formed
- 1983: 'Black July' riots erupted in Sri Lanka; about 400-3000 people were killed.
  - The <u>bilateral relations between India and Sri Lanka deteriorated in 1980s</u> with rising Tamil militant separatism in Sri Lanka.
- 1987: Indo-Sri Lanka Accord, which was intended to end the civil war between Sri Lankan Tamil nationalists and LTTE, signed.
  - It proposed a political solution to Sri Lanka's conflict by establishing a provincial council system and devolution of power for nine provinces in Sri Lanka. This is popularly known as the Thirteenth Amendment (13A) to the Constitution of Sri Lanka.
  - India also deployed <u>IPKF in Sri Lanka</u> intended to ensure peace (It is known as <u>'Operation</u>
     <u>Pawan'</u>, which ultimately resulted in the assassination of PM Rajiv Gandhi)
- 1988: Nationalist Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP) protest against the Sri Lanka-India agreement.
- 1990: Second Elam war breaks. East province taken over by Sri Lankan Forces after heavy fighting. The
  LTTE continued to kill civilians in the Eastern Province.
- **1991:** LTTE suicide bombers kill Rajeev Gandhi in Tamil Nadu. He was instrumental in bringing the Indo-Sri Lanka accord.
- **1993:** An LTTE <u>suicide bomber kills Ranasinghe Premadasa</u>, the third President of Sri Lanka during a mayday rally.
- **1994:** President Kumaratunga again initiates peace talks with LTTE.
- **1995:** The third Elam war breaks out after a suicide squad attacked two naval vessels in Trincomalee killing 12 soldiers.
- **2000:** The EU criticizes both the Tamil Tigers and the Sri Lankan security forces concerning the human rights situation in Sri Lanka.
- 2003: The Sri Lankan government and LTTE holds peace talks and agree on a ceasefire.
- **2005**: Rajapaksa elected for the first time.
- 2006: The political killings, child soldiers, abductions, and clashes between the government and LTTE creates tension around the country. The Trincomalee massacre of students happened in 2006. <u>It was considered to be an act of state terror</u>. Vankalai massacre of four minority Sri Lankan Tamils. It was also considered to be an act of state terror.
- **2007:** Atleast 28 people which includes, 14 cadres of LTTE, die in clashes between the security forces and the Tamil Tigers in September.

- **2008:** Government blames LTTE after 12 civilians killed and 100 injured over a suicide bomb attack. **Government launches a massive offense ending the 2002 ceasefire agreement**.
- May 2009: Velupillai Prabhakaran was killed by Sri Lankan army. The war between the tigers and Sri Lankan military reaches its bitter end and the tigers decide to silence their guns in the interest of Tamil citizens.
- **2010**: Mahinda Rajapaksa re-elected. He promised to <u>restore an Independent National Human rights</u> <u>commission</u> along with other commissions.
- **2012**: Rajapaksa government **dismisses UN report** which states that Sri Lanka intimidated UN members investigating abuses at the end of civil war in 2009. The former Sri Lankan Army chief, Sarath Fonseka freed after 2 and a half years. Sri Lanka was in the same state when it came to ensuring justice to the victims of numerous Human Rights violations.

### - Jan 2013: Dismissal of Chief Justice

- Rajapaksa dismisses <u>Chief Justice Shirani Bandaranayake after finding her guilty on three</u> offences including financial irregularities.
- **Sep 2013:** Tamil National Alliance (TNA) wins election at the Northern provincial council.
- **2014:** President Mahinda Rajapaksa <u>doesn't allow the UN to investigate the war crime during the Tamil Tiger insurgency</u>.
- **2015**: Maithripala Sirisena <u>defeats Rajapaksa in Presidential elections</u>, pledging accountability over alleged atrocities during the civil war.
- **2017** Jan: Police clash with <u>protestors demonstrating against a plan to evict villagers to make way for a mostly Chinese port and industrial zone near the port city of Hamabantota</u>.
- **2018** Oct: Constitutional crisis as President Sirisena replaces Prime Minister Ranil Wickeamsinghe with former President Mahinda Rajapaksa and suspends Parliament.
- **2019 Nov**: <u>Gotabaya Rajapaksa</u>, the younger brother of former president Mahinda Rajapaksa, wins the presidential election.
- **2020** Aug President Rajapaksa's SLPP party wins large majority in Parliamentary elections.
- **2022** Protestors force President Gotabaya Rajapaksa out of office during an economic crisis.
- **2022-July**: Ranil Wickremsinghe elected President by MPs.
  - This was after the ex-president Gotabaya Rajapaksa fled the country after thousands of protestors stormed his presidential residences. The protestors had also called for <u>resignation of Mr Wickrem Singhe</u>, a close ally of Rajapaksa political family who was appointed Prime Minister in May 2022.

### C) INDIA-SRI LANKA RELATIONS

### **Introduction**

India-Sri Lanka relations are more than 2,500 years old and are built upon, geographical, historical, cultural, economic and religious factors. Bilateral relations have traditionally been good.

- **The year 2023** is particularly significant in India-Sri Lanka relations as it marks <u>75 years of diplomatic relations</u> between the two countries and <u>200 years of the arrival of Tamil community</u> in SL.
- Both ethnic groups of SriLanka (Sinhalese Buddhist and Tamils) have origins in India.
  - » <u>Sinhalese Buddhist</u> who constitutes 80% of the population claim to have come from <u>Orissa</u> in the 5th century BCE.
  - » Tamils are the other ethnic group who constitute 20% of the population.
- **Traditionally**, as Sri Lanka's close neighbor, India has had a huge influence in the Island Nation's political, economic, social and cultural consciousness and its world view.
- **But** the relations saw **deterioration in 1980s**.
  - » SL accused India of supporting the Tamil Separatists in the north of Sri Lanka.
  - » Ethnic Civil war created <u>lakhs of refugees</u> creating security concerns in India.
- The Year 1987 saw the signing of India-Sri Lanka Peace Agreement.
  - SL amended the constitution to establish <u>provincial councils</u>, but it is <u>not in practice till</u> <u>now</u>.
  - India sent <u>IPKF</u> to see the implementation of the agreement. But LTTE didn't accept it leading to war. It led to <u>death of 2,000 Indian soldiers</u> and later the <u>death of former PM</u> Rajeev Gandhi.
- Hands off Policy of India in 1990s:
  - In 1990s India followed <u>hands off policy</u> which <u>gave space to extra-regional players.</u> This is seen as a <u>strategic mistake</u> on India's part by various international relations experts. It led to <u>increased influence of China in Sri Lanka</u>.

# Factors Which Bind India and Sri Lanka Together:

- 1. **Geopolitical Significance of SriLanka for India**: Geographical location of Sri Lanka gives it <u>a strategic place along the major sea lanes of communication from Europe to East Asia</u>.
- 2. Strong Political Cooperation:
  - Sri Lankan <u>Presidents, PMs, and foreign ministers have generally made New Delhi their first overseas destination</u>, within days or weeks after taking charge.
    - For e.g. <u>President Maithripala Sirisena visited India in Feb 2015 and May</u> 2016.
    - Similarly, after getting elected for 2nd term in 2019, Sri Lanka was the first destination for PM Modi.
  - In July 2023, <u>President Renil Wickremsinghe</u> visited India and took several steps towards strengthening of bilateral relations.
- 3. <u>Promoting Regional Cooperation</u>: Sri Lanka is both a member of SAARC and BIMSTEC and thus will play a crucial role in India's efforts to increase the regional cooperation in South Asia.

- 4. <u>Commercial Partnership</u> is very vibrant between the two countries and has witnessed considerable expansion in recent years. The coming into force of India-Sri Lanka FTA (ISFTA) in 2000 contributed to the bilateral trade.
  - India continues to remain the largest trade partner for SL.
  - India is also among the largest investor in SL.
  - After a five-year hiatus, in Nov 2023, India and Sri Lanka have <u>relaunched talks on</u> the Economic and Technology Cooperation Agreement. The 2 sides held <u>12th round</u> of negotiation on the agreement in Colombo.
- 5. **Development Cooperation**: India's development portfolio is quite wide in Sri Lanka. It includes housing projects, education, health, agriculture, infrastructure etc.
- 6. India's support during the financial crisis of Sri Lanka:
  - India offered Sri Lanka <u>assistance of \$4 billion</u> through currency swaps, loan deferrals, loan facilities, and multiple line of emergency credit.
  - India also <u>lobbied for Sri Lanka</u> in the IMF and the Paris Club (despite not being a part
    of it). India became the <u>first country to assure IMF of its debt restructuring to Sri</u>
    Lanka.
- 7. Cultural Aspects and People to People Contact:
  - Other than Tamils, 1,000s of people of Indian origin comprising of Sindhis, Gujaratis, Memons, Parsis, Malayalis and Telugu speaking persons have settled in SL and are engaged in various business ventures. Each of these communities have their own groups which organize festivals and cultural events.
  - The <u>Cultural Cooperation Agreement</u> has been signed between both the countries. The <u>Indian cultural centre in Colombo actively promotes awareness of Indian culture</u> by offering classes in Indian music, dance, Yoga etc.
  - Education is another important area of cooperation between India and Sri Lanka. India offers scholarship slots annually to deserving Sri Lankan students.

# President Ranil Wickremesinghe's India visit (July 2023)

Nearly a year after being sworn as the President of SL, Ranil Wickremsinghe visited India in July 2023. The visit was <u>significant in the growing relations</u> between the two countries.

# Key Highlights:

- A joint statement on economic cooperation titled "Promoting Connectivity, Catalyzing Prosperity: India-Sri Lanka Economic Partnership Vision" was released after talks between PM Modi and President Wickremesinghe. It lays out vision in five areas: Maritime, Air, Energy, Trade and People to People initiatives.
  - » New Investments in Maritime and Air Connectivity will involve <u>developing</u> <u>ports and airports</u> in Sri Lanka, resuming ferry services, expanding flight networks to TN and SL's northern and eastern province.
    - The two sides have also agreed to do <u>feasibility study on land bridge</u> (consisting of railway line).

» A major surge in energy connectivity will include renewable energy wind and solar plants in Sri Lanka. The two countries have also agreed to establish a power grid interconnection for bidirectional trade.

# Trade, Economy and Finance:

- » Both sides agreed to <u>boost private sector investments</u>, <u>recommence discussions on the Economic and Technology Cooperation Agreement</u>, <u>use the rupee as a currency for trade</u>, and <u>operationalize UPI</u> (digital connectivity).
- » They also agreed to explore the ways of enhancing tourism and cultural religious travel and educational collaboration.
- Together, the idea was to promote 'civilization ties, geographical proximity, cultural connect, and age-old goodwill between the people of two countries'.

### - Concerns:

» None of the <u>written documents</u> released during the meet <u>acknowledged</u> <u>previous commitments by Sri Lanka on honoring the 13th amendment for devolution of powers to the North and Eastern Provinces, and for resolving the long-pending issues over arrest of Indian fishermen.</u>

### - Conclusion:

The recent visit is an attempt to build on the looming optimism. Both countries home that connectivity will bring them together, build their trust, and further their interest.

# **Key Pain points/Challenges in India Sri Lanka Relations:**

# 1. Increasing Penetration of China in Sri Lanka

<u>China</u>, as part of their <u>string of pearl strategy</u> is trying to encircle India by <u>building strategic</u> <u>ports</u> all along the Indian Ocean including in Pakistan (Gwadar), Bangladesh (Chittagong), Myanmar (Kyauk Phru) and <u>Sri Lanka</u> (Hambantota)

### 2. Tamil Issues:

- <u>Ethnic conflict between</u> the Sinhala majority and Tamil Minority in SL has <u>severely</u> <u>undermined the bilateral ties between the two countries</u> in recent decades.
- Repatriation of refugees is another bone of contention
- Post war political and human rights issues; and India voting in UNHRC.

### 3. Fishermen Issues and Kachathivu Island Issue

• Incidents of <u>straying of Indian fishermen</u> in SL waters cause regular tensions between the two countries.

# 4. Domestic Politics of Sri Lanka:

• While the current SL government has indicated a strong desire to increase integration and connectivity with India, India is worried if this kind of <u>commitment will continue with</u> future governments or not. As Sri Lanka heads to presidential elections in 2024, India has

to be watchful about if the <u>appetite for connectivity and integration</u> will persist with the future government.

### **Way Forward for India**

- » Economic Integration of SL with India:
  - Closer economic integration between India and SL can result in <u>technology transfer, skill</u>
     transfer, and investment flow towards SL.
  - Establishment of a <u>land bridge</u> between TN and SL can lead to <u>increased trade between</u> South India and impoverished northern part of SL.
  - <u>China's passivity</u> and <u>India's proactive assistance</u> during SL's financial crisis has encouraged Sri Lanka to embrace a <u>major geopolitical turnaround</u> and calls to integrate with India are increasing in Colombo.
  - This integration will also be <u>supported by positive sentiments about India among Sri</u>
    <u>Lankan population in general</u>. India's future support in strengthening and development of **areas** <u>such as agriculture</u>, <u>dairy sector etc</u> can have a lot of positive impact on the lives of people and create positive sentiments about India.
- **Prosperity through connectivity**: 'Positive transformation' in India Sri Lanka relations can be brought through increased connectivity.
  - During the visit of <u>SL President Ranil Wickremsinghe in 2023</u> an <u>agreement for exploring</u> the possibility of **land bridge** (positively) having railway line was signed.
  - Another <u>very significant outcome</u> was the joint decision to '<u>carry out feasibility studies</u> on establishing a petroleum pipeline' (energy connectivity). This will ensure <u>fuel</u> sufficiency and thus energy security for Sri Lanka.
    - After <u>Nepal and BD</u>, Sri Lanka is the <u>third neighbours</u> with whom <u>India is building</u> 'energy connectivity', both in petroleum and power grid.
  - Other agreements related to <u>maritime connectivity</u>, <u>energy connectivity</u> and <u>fintech connectivity</u> were also discussed.
  - More work can also happen on maritime connectivity and air connectivity.
    - E.g. the recent restart <u>of Kankesanthurai-Nagapattinam</u> ferry service after almost 40 years.
  - All these connectivity initiatives are in sync with 'India's Neighborhood First' policy and 'SAGAR' Vision.
- » <u>India should consolidate its fragmented aid program</u>: Currently Indian aid is routed via <u>multiple</u> ministries and agencies. A <u>single development bank</u> will be much better.
- » India should engage with all sides of the political spectrum in SL: This would ensure that the process of cooperation, connectivity and integration between India and Sri Lanka will continue irrespective of the results of the 2024 Sri Lankan elections.
- » **On Ethnic Issue**, SL should ensure that <u>aspirations of Tamils are fulfilled</u>, and the process of rebuilding should ensure equality, justice and peace.
- » **Strengthening Security Cooperation**: SL needs to understand India's security concerns better.

# vi. **Conclusion**:

"Security and development interests of the two countries are intertwined, and therefore "it
is essential that we work together, keeping in mind each other's safety and sensitives" PM
Modi.

# 2) SOME ISSUES IN INDIA-SRILANKA RELATIONS (DETAILS)

# A) CHINA

### Background:

- In 2000s, China <u>realized Geographic strategic importance of Sri Lanka</u> which straddles the Indian Ocean and halfway between Gulf of Aden and Malacca Strait.
- It understood the <u>significance of SL to challenge both India and US naval forces</u> in the Indian Ocean.
- During the SL civil war, it <u>provided arms and training to SL army</u>. India was hoping that China's influence will reduce once the war was over. But the outcome was quite contrary. Currently, China has emerged as the biggest investor of Sri Lanka.

# - China's increasing Influence in SL and India's concerns:

- Increasing Chinese Military Presence: China's string of pearl strategy.
  - » Visit of Chinese Spy vessels (termed as 'research vessel by China') to Sri Lanka:
    - For e.g. in 2022, <u>Chinese vessel the **Yuan Wang 5**</u>, docked at **Hambantota port** in Sri Lanka. It was considered a ballistic missile and satellite tracking ship.
    - China reportedly has <u>7 such tracking ship</u>, which can operate in the Pacific, Atlantic, and Indian Oceans. This ship-based monitoring adds to China's land based tracking system.
    - Chinese continue to claim that these are <u>scientific missions</u>. But the Indian suspicion of China using these missions for military purpose, including intelligence gathering is also substantial.
- **China is also using Hambantota port** to refuel its warships and other ships that are present at any given point in time across western-eastern and southern ocean regions.
- Military Cooperation: China has provided <u>military assistance to Sri Lanka</u> including training and equipment. This cooperation <u>strengthens China's military presence in the Indian Ocean region</u> and gives it greater influence over SL's military policies.
- Huge Chinese debt to Sri Lanka:
  - » China owns <u>52% of Sri Lanka's debt</u>. And thus, <u>Sri Lanka is too dependent on China</u> and may succumb to Chinese pressure and compromise India's security.

### Economic Relations

- » Investments China has invested in <u>road infra</u>, <u>power plants</u>, <u>railways</u>, <u>EEZ</u>, <u>water supply</u> (softening) etc.
- » Trade:
  - China has emerged as the largest trade partner of SL
  - Sri Lanka and China are negotiating an FTA.
- SL is also participating in <u>China's OBOR</u> and under this China has built <u>two ports</u> one in Colombo and another in <u>Hambantota</u>.
- Soft power: China is using various soft power mechanisms, such as <u>cultural exchange programs</u> and <u>scholarships</u>, to increase its influence in Sri Lanka. This approach is subtle, but <u>plays an</u> important role in shaping public opinion.
- How has India tried to counter China's influence in SL?
  - a. Economic Measures:

- India was proactive in supporting Sri Lanka during its financial crisis of 2022.
- **Increased Investment**: India's investment in China has <u>significantly improved</u>. India is focusing on the development of ports, railways, roadways, housing infrastructure etc.
- India is also <u>planning to build Trincomalee port</u>. The port is envisioned as an <u>Indian counterweight</u> to Chinese development at Hambantota port.
- In 2015, India-Sri Lanka signed the <u>civil nuclear agreement</u> making India the first country to do so.

### b. Increased focus on Connectivity:

The 2023 visit of President Wickremsinghe to India primarily revolved around connectivity. India has focused on various types of connectivity (exploring land bridge, beginning of ferry after 40 years, maritime and air connectivity, energy connectivity, digital connectivity etc.).

### c. Political:

- Recent bilateral visit between the two countries have increased.
- d. Since 2014, India has abstained from voting on UNHRC resolutions against SL.
- e. India is also collaborating with <u>other regional powers</u> like Japan and France to counter China's influence in SL and promote a rule-based order in the Indo-Pacific region.
- f. Other aspects of relationship as discussed in India-SL topic.

### Conclusion:

» India remains suspicious of China's increasing presence in the Indian Ocean and its influence on SL, which is strategically placed halfway along key east-west international shipping routes.

# B) FISHERMEN ISSUE

### - Why in news?

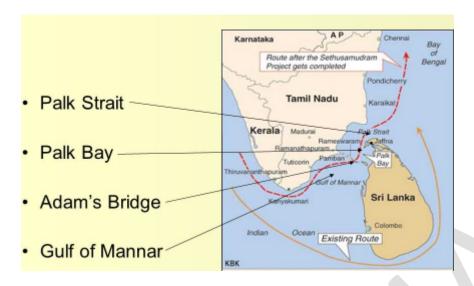
» In Aug 2023, the chief minister of Tamil Nadu M.K. Stalin revived the <u>debate over Kachathivu</u>, by reiterating the demand for <u>retrieval from Sri Lanka</u>. (Aug 2023)

### Example Questions

What are the key factors behind Indian fishermen regularly trespassing into Sri Lankan waters? Suggest some measures to deal with the issue? [15 marks, 250 words]

# Background

- » The Palk Bay, a narrow strip of water separating the states of TN in India from Northern Provinces of Sri Lanka, has historically provided rich fishing grounds for both countries.
- » Historically, the <u>shallow waters of Palk Bay</u> and <u>geographical contiguity</u> between India and Sri Lanka <u>facilitated the movement of ideas, goods and men.</u> The <u>bonds of ethnicity, language, and religion</u> helped fisherman lead lives of <u>harmonious coexistence</u> for several centuries. Frequent migration, inter-marriages were very common.



- » During the height of civil war, SL had imposed ban on fishing because of fear of LTTE 's Boat Bombs. Indian fishermen exploited the situation and crossed IMBL (international maritime boundary line). During this phase there was perfect camaraderie among Indian Tamil and Sri Lankan Fishermen as Sri Lankan Tamils who came to India as refugees were also being employed by Indian trawlers.
- » End of Civil War in SL in 2009:
  - The conflict has taken a <u>new dimension</u> since the end of Sri Lankan Civil war. The <u>region</u> has become highly contested site in the last 13 years.
  - Sri Lankan Tamils had lost ground to Indian fishermen.
  - Sri Lanka's complain of frequent trespassing of Indian fisherman in its waters.
- Main Issues (1. Kathchatheevu Island 2. Trespassing on IMBL 3. Economic and Environmental Issues)
  - » Kathchatheevu Island:
    - **About the Island**: it is an <u>uninhabited and barren 285 acre islet</u>. It is located <u>around 14</u> nautical miles from Rameshwaram.
    - Ongoing disagreement over the territorial rights to the island of Kathchatheevu.



Maritime Boundary Agreement of 1974: PM of India Shrimati Indira Gandhi and PM of SL Sirima R.D. Bandaraike, signed an agreement to demarcate the boundaries between the two

countries. A <u>close personal relations</u> between both Prime Ministers , <u>Indira Gandhi and S.</u> Bhandarnaike, facilitated the successful conclusion.

- Opposition to agreement: During the parliamentary debate, most of the opposition including DMK, AIDMK, Jan Sangh, Swatantra and Socialist Party, staged walkout in both houses.
  - » TN government and opposition parties had also <u>criticized the transfer of</u> Kathchatheevu and said that it didn't reflect the realities on ground.
  - » In the last 15 years, both Jayalaithaa and Karunaidhi had approached the Supreme Court on the matter.

### • What is the current stand of Gol?

» In Dec 2022, the Union government, while referring to the two agreements, pointed out in its reply in the Rajya Sabha that <u>Kathchatheevu "lies the Sri Lankan side of the India-Sri Lanka International Maritime Boundary Line"</u>. It also added that <u>matter was subjudice in the SC.</u>

### Note:

- The 1974 agreement had <u>allowed Indian fisherman some traditional rights around</u> Kathchatheevu island.
- St. Anthony's Church there holds an annual festival either in Feb or March drawing devotees from both sides of the Palk Bay, a tradition which has been going on.
- A supplemental pact in 1976 made it clear that <u>fishing vessels and fishermen of the two</u> <u>countries</u> "shall not engage" in fishing in the historic waters, territorial sea and EEZ of either of the countries.
- » Trespassing by Indian Fisherman: Frequent poaching by Indian fisherman into Sri Lankan waters. This causes Indian fisherman from coastal TN and Puducherry getting frequently arrested by the SL navy for "poaching" or engaging in illegal fishing activity in Sri Lankan waters.
  - Several <u>rounds of bilateral negotiations between the two countries</u> and <u>talks between</u> <u>fishing community leaders from both sides</u> have been held over the years, but a solution remains elusive.

### » Economic and Environmental damages due to use of mechanized deep water trawlers:

- Deep water trawlers <u>drag fishing nets through the seabed</u>. The practice <u>scoops out eggs</u>, young fishes, and other marine organisms that eventually die and are thrown back into the sea.
- This causes long term damage to both economy and environment.

### - Reasons for these issues

- a. <u>No well-defined boundary line between the two nations</u> despite the 1974 agreement. It leads to fishermen trespassing into Sri Lankan waters in search of better catch.
- b. LTTE issue had raised vigilance.
  - To check intermittent flow of Tamil Refugees
  - To prevent flow of <u>armed supplies</u> to Tamil Militant groups.
- c. Historical Perspective

Both Indian and Sri Lankan fisherman fishing in the Palk Bay area for centuries.

# Other complaints against Indian Fishermen

- <u>Deep Sea trawling</u>: TN is <u>yet to agree to the chief demand of the northern Tamil</u> Fishermen to stop bottom trawling to restore trust between both the sides.
- Misuse of Kathchatheevu rights given to Indian fishermen.

### - Impact

- **Bilateral Relations:** Cases of arrest of Indian fishermen by Sri Lanka leads to <u>worsening of</u> relations between the two countries.
- **Economic losses**: Unsustainable fishing from the region is <u>depleting fishing resources</u> of the region and impacting livelihood for fishermen on both sides.
- Palk Bay's Marine ecology is also suffering impacting both environmental and economic sustainability.
- » Increasing harassment of Indian fisherman: Sri Lankan Navy has taken tough stand on the breaching of International Maritime Boundary and resorted to arresting, killing and damaging of boats.
- » Tensions between TN and Central government in India:
  - TN assembly has passed a <u>resolution asking Indian government to take over</u> Kathchatheevu island.

### - Possible Steps that can be taken

- a. <u>Developing fish farming extensively in Indian waters</u> would prevent our fishermen from venturing into Sri Lankan waters for 'big catch'.
- b. India can also think of <u>leasing fishing blocks</u>, especially those identified as 'surplus' total available catch, from Sri Lanka.
  - One option could be to get back the island of Kathchatheevu on "lease in perpetuity"
- Strict and complete ban on mechanized trawlers to preserve marine resources
  - It is banned in Sri Lanka, so ban by India would ensure equal rights for Sri Lankan Tamils
  - It would also reduce animosity between the fishermen of two countries.
- d. <u>Educate Indian fishermen</u> to keep on the Indian side on high sea: Use <u>devices integrated with</u> GPS to check weather on Indian waters or not.
- e. Greater cooperation between coast guards of the two countries.
- f. <u>Permit licenses Indian fishermen to fish within designated area of Sri Lankan waters</u> and <u>vice</u> versa.
- g. The two government could also <u>consider the creation of Palk Bay Authority</u>, comprising fishery experts, marine ecologists, fishermen's representatives, strategic specialists, and government officials. It should include officials from both governments.
  - The authority should <u>determine ideal sustainable catch</u>, <u>type of fishing equipment that</u> <u>can be used</u>, and the <u>number of fishing dates for Indian and Sri Lankan fisherman</u>.
  - Special provisions could be made to protect the interest of traditional fisherman.

### - Conclusion:

Fishermen issue has remained a bone of contention in the bilateral relations of the two countries for long now. The recent <u>cordiality in relations</u> between the two countries gives an opportunity of <u>bringing back the issue of table and find a long-term sustainable solution to the problem.</u>

# C) TAMIL ISSUE

- Why in news?
  - Focusing on 13-A sans police powers '<u>practical'</u>: Ranil Wickremsinghe tells Parliament (Aug 2023)
- Important concerns from India's perspective:
  - » Repatriation of refugees currently in India
  - » Post war political and human rights issues:
    - » Key concerns of Tamils include military involvement in civil life in north and eastern province, occupancy of land by armed forces; women security;
    - Lasting political solution to address the grievances of Tamil people: 13th Amendment:
      - Born out of <u>Indo-Lanka accord of 1987</u> 13th amendment has <u>remained a long</u> <u>pending demand of Tamil National Alliance (TNA)</u>, the main party representing the island's Northern Tamils.
      - The amendment <u>envisages</u> <u>substantive</u> <u>devolution</u> <u>of</u> <u>political</u> <u>powers</u> to the provinces.
  - India stands for United SL and devolution of powers to provinces.
    - PM Modi, in his press conference after meeting Mr. Wickremsinghe on 21st July 2023 aid: "We hope that the Government of Sri Lanka fulfill its commitment to implement 13th amendment and conduct provincial council elections"
  - In Aug 2023, Sri Lankan President <u>Ranil Wickremesinghe</u> reiterated his offer to the Tamils of <u>implementing 13th Amendment without police powers</u>, while proposing a step-by-step approach to devolving powers to provinces.
    - » Under the 13th Amendment, <u>police powers have emerged as the most delicate issue</u> in the transfer of authority to the Provincial Councils.
    - » The <u>Tamil National Alliance (TNA)</u>, the largest parliamentary grouping of Tamil legislators from the island's north and east, 'categorically rejected' it saying that the proposal is far from meaningful power devolution based on federal arrangement.
  - India's voting at UNHRC:
    - » Differences over former President's reluctance to address post-war political and human rights issues relating to the Tamil minority led to <u>India voting against Sri Lanka twice</u> (2012 and 2013) at the UN Human Rights Council and abstaining once.
    - » But, since 2014, India has <u>abstained from voting</u> in resolution criticizing Sri Lanka.
    - In 2022, also <u>India abstained from voting on a resolution on Sri Lanka at the UNHRC</u>, while observing that Sri Lanka's progress in implementing commitments on the 13th Amendment, meaningful devolution, and early provincial elections remains "inadequate".
      - The resolution was passed, and called upon the government of Sri Lanka to ensure prompt, thorough and impartial investigation and, if warranted, prosecution of all alleged crimes relating to human rights violation and serious violation of international humanitarian law.

• Earlier, in 2021 also India had <u>abstained from voting a resolution agaisnt Sri</u> Lanka.

# **D) RECENT START OF FERRY SERVICE** (USEFUL FOR PRELIMS)

Passenger Ferry Service between India and Sri Lanka begins again after nearly 40 years (Oct 2023) Background:

- » Maritime linkage between India and Sri Lanka isn't new. The Indo-Ceylon Express of Boat Mail ran between Chennai and Colombo via the <u>Thoothukudi port</u> from the early 1990s up until 1982.
- » However, the Civil war in Sri Lanka resulted in the halting of these services.

# Re-beginning:

- An international, high-speed passenger ferry service between <u>Nagapattinam on eastern</u> coast of TN and <u>Kankesanthurai</u> in the northern province of SL, has resumed from 14th Oct 2023.
- <u>The high speed craft (HSC) Cheriyapani</u>, embarked on its journey with 50 passengers and
   12 crew members.

# - Significance:

- » The initiative is <u>aimed at bolstering bilateral ties</u>, <u>boosting tourism</u>, <u>and increasing people</u> to people contact. It will bring our countries, people and hearts closer.
  - PM Modi has called this a <u>new chapter in diplomatic and economic ties between India</u> and Sri Lanka.
  - <u>Increased connectivity</u> between the two nations whose people have travelled across the Palk bay for centuries.
  - The service will <u>strengthen cultural ties</u> by <u>boosting religious tourism</u>. From India, travelers can access significant religious sites in Colombo and southern parts of SL. <u>Indian Pilgrim centers</u> such as <u>Nagapattinam</u>, <u>Nagore</u>, <u>Velankanni</u>, <u>Thirunallar</u>, and <u>temple towns such as **Thanjavur**, **Madurai**, and **Tiruchi**, are expected to see an <u>influx</u> of Lankan tourists.</u>
  - It will also <u>strengthen cultural ties</u> between the two nations as several <u>religious</u> <u>places could be visited</u> through this service.

# 3) PARIS CLUB

Why in news?

» Sri Lanka reaches agreement with India, Paris Club on debt treatment (Nov 2023)

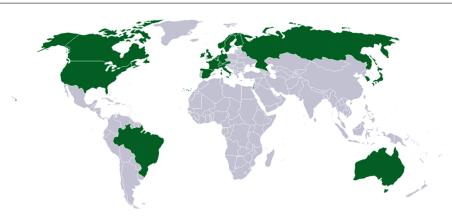
The Paris Club is a group of mostly western creditor countries that grew from a 1956 meeting in which Argentina agreed to meet its public creditors in Paris.

 It describes itself as a <u>forum</u> where <u>official creditors meet</u>

# to solve payment difficulties faced by debtor countries.

 When debt countries undertake reforms to stabilize and restore their macroeconomic and financial situation, Paris Club Creditor provide an appropriate debt treatment.

Their **objective** is to find <u>sustainable</u> <u>debt relief solutions for countries</u> <u>that are unable to repay their</u> bilateral loans.



Map showing Paris Club countries highlighted in green. (Via Wikimedia Commons)

There are <u>22 members</u> to this grouping and all of them are <u>members</u> of OECD

<u>Members are</u>: Canada, USA, Brazil, Ireland, UK, Spain, France, Italy, Switzerland, Germany, Belgium, Netherlands, Denmark Austria, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Russia, Japan, South Korea, Israel, and Australia.

# » How many agreements have Paris Club been involved in?

• Since its beginning, Paris Club has <u>reached 470+ agreements</u> with 102 different debtor countries. Since 1956, the <u>debt treated in the framework of Paris Club Agreements</u> amount to **more than \$610 billion**.

# » How has Paris Club been involved in debt agreements: Key Features of Paris Club Debt Agreements:

- **Principle of Consensus and Solidarity**: Any agreement reached with debtor country <u>will apply</u> equally to all its Paris Club creditors.
- A debtor country that signs an agreement with its Paris Club Creditors, should not then accept from its non-Paris Club commercial and bilateral creditors such terms of treatment of its debt that are less favorable to the debtor than those agreed with the Paris Club.

### **»** The role and importance of Paris Club Creditors:

The Paris Club countries <u>dominated bilateral lending in the last century</u>, but their <u>importance</u> <u>has receded over the last two decades</u> or so. This is because of <u>rise of China</u> as the world's <u>largest bilateral lender</u>.

### » Sri Lanka agrees debt restructuring with Paris Club Creditors and India (Nov 2023)

• Sri Lanka has reached an "agreement in principle" with India and the Paris Club group of creditors including Japan, on a debt treatment plan that will help the crisis hit island nation tap the next tranche of the IMF's nearly \$3 billion recovery package.

# O Background:

• Due to economic crisis, <u>Sri Lanka defaulted on its nearly \$51 billion foreign debt</u>. Therefore, restructuring of loan became necessary to begin its economic recovery plan.

- Major lenders formed <u>OCC (Official Creditor Committee)</u> in May 2023 in <u>response to</u> Colombo's request for debt treatment.
  - This OCC is co-chaired by India, Japan, and France, as chair of the Paris Club.
  - This committee held <u>several discussions with Sri Lankan officials</u> over the last few months, evaluating possible options in recasting Colombo's outstanding debt, such as altering the interest payments or the term of loans.
  - <u>China</u>, which is the <u>largest creditor</u> of Sri Lanka has decided to <u>stay out of the</u> platform but attended the meeting as observer.
  - **Japan and India,** the two other largest creditors for Sri Lanka have called for the need for creditor parity and transparency.
- » In Nov 2023, the OCC [Official Creditor Committee] and Sri Lanka agreed on the <u>main parameters of a debt treatment consistent with those of the Extended Fund Facility</u> arrangement between Sri Lanka and IMF.
  - The parameters of the agreement have not been finalized yet, but the Paris Club said that OCC is ready and looks forward to formalizing the agreement in the coming weeks in a MoU with Sri Lanka.
  - OCC has also noted that it expects that "other bilateral creditors" (a reference to China) should consent to sharing in a transparent manner, the information necessary for the OCC to evaluate comparability of treatment regarding their own bilateral agreement.
  - The OCC further asked Sri Lanka to continue to engage with its <u>private creditors</u> who would hold the largest chunk of the island's foreign debt and swiftly firm up "<u>an agreement on terms</u> at least as favorable as the terms offered by the OCC".
  - China has assured Sri Lanka of cooperation in the debt restructuring process and Sri Lanka has, in turn, assured other creditors of China's transparent participation, but the specifics of the possible debt treatment plan are awaited

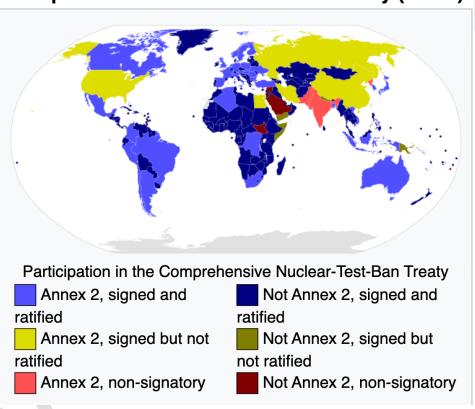
# 4) COMPREHENSIVE NUCLEAR TEST BAN TREATY (CTBT)

- Why in news?
  - » Russia passes a law revoking Russian ratification of nuclear test ban treaty (Nov 2023)
- Introduction
  - » CTBT is a multilateral treaty by which states agree to <u>ban all nuclear explosions in all environments</u>, for <u>military or civilian purposes</u>.
    - Need: Between 1945 and 1996, over 2,000 nuclear tests were conducted mainly by the US (over 1,000), Soviet Union (700) and France (200) – the treaty was brought to bring this to halt.
  - The treaty was negotiated at the <u>Conference on Disarmament</u> in <u>Geneva and adopted by the UNGA in 1996</u>. But the treaty has <u>not entered into force yet</u>, <u>due to the non-ratification of the 8 specific nations</u>.
  - » When would the treaty come in force?
    - The treaty would enter into force 180 days after the 44 states listed in Annex-2 of the treaty ratify it. These annex-2 states are those states which participated in the CTBT's

negotiation between 1994 and 1996 and <u>possessed nuclear power reactors or research</u> reactors at that time.

- » As of Dec 2023, 9 annex-2 states have not ratified.
  - USA, China, Egypt, Iran and Israel have signed but not ratified.
    - Russia had signed and ratified but later withdrew ratification.
  - India, North Korea and Pakistan have not signed the treaty.
- » Total 184 countries have signed the treaty (17 (including Russia) without ratification):

# **Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT)**



# - Significance of CTBT

- Prevents Nuclear Proliferation: CTBT is the last barrier on the way to develop nuclear weapons. It not only curbs the development of new weapons, but also prevents the improvement of existing designs. When in force, it will provide a legally binding prohibition on nuclear testing.
- » Prevents environmental damage that occurs due to nuclear testing.
- » <u>It's non-discriminatory</u> as under this treaty <u>everyone has the same obligation</u> -> never to conduct nuclear explosion.

# Russia withdraws from the ratification of the treaty. (Nov 2023)

» Russian President Vladimir Putin has signed a law <u>revoking Russian ratification of the CTBT</u>. Russia had ratified the agreement in 2000.

### » Why?

 Russia says the aim is to <u>restore parity with the US</u>, which has signed but has never ratified the 1996 treaty, and that it will not resume testing unless Washington does.

# - Why has India not signed the treaty yet?

» CTBT doesn't deal with India's stand of Complete disarmament in a time bound manner. It is just restricting the new tests.

### » Discriminatory

• For countries who already have large stockpiles of nuclear weapons, this is advantageous as it prevents others from getting it. For India, this pact will act as a hindrance in testing new technologies.

# » Technology difference between P-5 countries and India

- P-5 countries no more need to go for testing to enhance their stockpiles as they have developed laboratory stimulated testing mechanism which will not require nuclear explosions.
- » India's vulnerable neighborhood makes it mandatory for India to keep the option of future tests open. China already has a huge stockpile and as per CTBT (and NPT) it will be able to retain its arsenal but prevent India from developing more. This will give China an upper hand.

### - Conclusion

» India's concerns are genuine and moreover the objectives of CTBT have been almost completely achieved (except in case of North Korea) by voluntary moratorium on tests by all the countries. India should keep striving for a more comprehensive agreement which calls for denuclearization of earth in phased manner rather than allowing some countries to remain with large arsenal and preventing others from getting the same.

# 5) VIENNA CONVENTION OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS (VCDR), 1961

### E) ABOUT THE CONVENTION

### - Introduction

- » VCDR of 1961 is an international treaty that defines the framework for diplomatic relations between independent countries. It specified the privileges of a diplomatic mission that enable diplomats to perform their functions without fear of coercion or harassment by the host country.
- » It forms the <u>legal basis of diplomatic immunity</u>. Its articles are considered <u>cornerstone of</u> modern international relations.

# History

- The <u>first attempt</u> to codify diplomatic immunity into diplomatic law occurred in <u>Congress of Vienna in 1815.</u>
- The <u>present treaty</u> on the treatment of diplomats was the outcome of a <u>draft by International</u> Law Commission. The treaty was adopted on 18 April 1961, by the United Nations Conference

on Diplomatic Intercourse and Immunities held in Vienna, Austria and first implemented in April 1964.

The same conference also adopted the <u>Optional protocol concerning the acquisition of Nationality</u>, the <u>Optional Protocol Concerning the Compulsory settlement of Disputes</u>, the Final Act and four resolutions annexed to the act.

# - Key Provisions of VCDR

- <u>Persona Non Grata:</u> The host nation at <u>any time and for any reason</u> can declare a particular member of the diplomatic staff to be <u>persona non grata</u>. The sending state must recall this person within a reasonable period of time, or otherwise this person <u>may lose their diplomatic immunity</u>. (Article 9)
- <u>Inviolable Premise</u>: The <u>premises of a diplomatic mission</u>, such as an embassy, are inviolable and <u>must not be entered by the host country except by permission of the head of the mission</u>. Furthermore, the host country must <u>protect the mission from intrusion or damage</u>. The host country must never search the premises, nor seize its documents or property. (Article 22)
  - Article 30 extends this provision to the <u>private residence</u> of the diplomats.
- Archives and document inviolable: Article 24 establishes that the archives and documents of a diplomatic mission are inviolable. The receiving country shall not seize or open such documents.
- <u>Free Communication:</u> The host country must permit and protect free communication between the diplomats of the mission and their home country. A <u>diplomatic bag</u> must never be opened even on suspicion of abuse. A <u>diplomatic courier</u> must never be arrested or detained. (Article 27.)
- <u>Diplomatic Immunities</u>: Diplomats must <u>not be liable to any form of arrest or detention</u>. They are <u>immune from civil or criminal prosecution</u>, though the <u>sending country may waive this right under Article 32</u>.(Article 29)
  - Under <u>Article 34</u>, they are <u>exempt from most taxe</u>s, and under <u>Article 36</u> they are exempt from <u>most customs duties</u>.
- Actions not covered by diplomatic immunity: Actions not covered by diplomatic immunity: professional activity outside diplomat's official functions. (Article 31.1c)
- Extension of protection to family members: The family members of diplomats that are living in the host country enjoy most of the same protections as the diplomats themselves. (Article 37)

### Optional Protocols

- In the same year that the protocol was adopted, <u>two amendment protocols</u> were added. Countries may ratify the treaty without necessarily ratifying the optional protocol.
  - 1. **Concerning Acquisition of Nationality :** The head of the mission, the staff of the mission, and their families, shall <u>not acquire the nationality of the receiving country</u>.
  - 2. **Concerning compulsory settlement of dispute :** Dispute arising from the interpretation of this treaty <u>may be bought before the ICJ</u>.

### Membership

As of Nov, 2023, it has been ratified by 193 countries.

# F) INDIA-CANADA RIFT ON DIPLOMATIC ROW

# - India Sought Parity in number of diplomats:

- India asked <u>Canada to downsize its diplomatic staff in India</u>. India has <u>20 diplomats in Canada</u> and sought a <u>similar number of Canadian diplomat in India</u>.
  - India's move followed the <u>Canadian PM Justin Trudeau's remarks in Canadian Parliament in Sep 2023</u> who claimed a <u>potential Indian link to the Killing of pro-Khalistan separatist leader Hardeep Singh Nijjar</u> in Canada earlier this year. India has rejected this claim and have called it "absurd" and "motivated".
- In Oct 2023, Canada announced <u>recalling of 41 diplomats and their families</u>. It was done as the diplomats were in danger getting their immunity stripped on an arbitrary date.
  - Canadian foreign minister has said that the "unilateral revocation of the diplomatic privilege and immunity is contrary to international law" and is violation of the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations.
  - <u>US and UK backed Canada</u>, stating that Diplomats are required to be on the ground to <u>resolve</u> differences. Notably, the two countries are also part of the <u>Five Eyes Intelligence-sharing</u> alliance with Canada, which also include <u>Australia and New Zealand</u>.

# What did India say?

- Official statement of MEA has clarified that <u>India hasn't violated any international legal principle</u>.
   It has adhered to **Article 11.1** of the VCDR based on two-pronged reasons.
  - Firstly, <u>Canada has massive number of Diplomatic staff</u> in India as compared to its counterpart
  - ii. Secondly, <u>Canadian personnel have been continuously interfering in India's internal</u> affairs.
- Article 11 says that in the absence of specific agreement, as to the size of the mission, the
  receiving state may require that the size of a mission be kept within limits considered by it to be
  reasonable and normal, having regard to circumstances and conditions in the receiving state
  and to the needs of the particular mission

# Has this demand for parity occurred in the past?

• Around 2017, Russia and USA also asked for each other's diplomats to be recalled over the principle of parity and reduced the presence of their missions.

### Conclusion:

It is thus clear that the recall of Canadian diplomats is in now way violation of the international law. Even in the scenario where recall seems to be unreasonable, it could still be justified as a valid countermeasure by India in response to security interference by Canadian diplomats and safety issues of Indian diplomats.

# 6) UNSC REFORMS

- Why in news?

» With two major wars (Russia-Ukraine) and (Israel-Hamas) happening in last two years, UNSC's ability to ensure international peace and security is again being questioned (Nov 2023)

# - Example Questions

- » What are the functions of United Nations Security Council? Why is there a consistent demand for reforms and expansion of UNSC? [15marks, 250 words]
- » Discuss the impediments India is facing in its pursuit of a permanent seat in UNSC. [10 marks, 150 words] [CSM 2015]

# - Important Quotes:

"The world has changed. Our institutions have not. We can't effectively address problems as they are if institutions don't reflect the world as it is.": UN's Secretary General, Antonio Guterres.

### Introduction

- The UNSC is <u>one of the six principal organs</u> of United Nations. It was <u>formed immediately</u> <u>after World War II</u> with the prime responsibility of <u>maintaining international peace and security</u>.
  - It achieves this through <u>investigating any dispute</u> which may lead to international friction, <u>regulating armament</u>, <u>peace keeping operations</u>, <u>international sanctions</u> and authorization of military actions.
- » The Security Council has a special place among the UN organs as it is the only organ that has the **powers to take binding decisions** that member states have agreed to carry out (Article 25 of UN Charter).
- » Other crucial functions of UNSC include <u>recommending admission of new members to UN</u> and to recommend to the general assembly the <u>appointment of secretary general</u> and together with the assembly, elect the <u>judges of the ICJ</u>.

### Membership

- » The UNSC consists of 15 members.
  - Of these <u>5 members are permanent with veto powers</u> (USA, UK, France, Russia and China) and <u>remaining 10 are non-permanent members</u> who are elected by UNGA (at least 2/3rd votes) on a regional basis to serve a term of two years. Five non-permanent members are elected every year.

# - Regional Groups from which non-permanent members come:

- » African group 54 3
- » Asia-Pacific group 53 -2
- » Eastern European 23 -1
- » Latin America and Caribbean 33 2
- » Western European and other groups 28 2
- **Elections:** NP members chosen by regional groups confirmed by UNGA.

- » A member country needs to secure the votes of <u>2/3rd of the members present and voting</u> at the General Assembly session (i.e. minimum 129 votes if all 193 member states participate.
- » **India** has so far been a non-permanent member of the UNSC **eight time**: 1950-51, 1967-68, 1972-73, 1977-78, 1984-85, 1991-92, 2011-12 and 2021-22.
- UNSC members are always present at UNHQ to meet at any time.
- **Presidency** held for a month by a member on rotational basis of English alphabet.
- Why demands for reforms and Expansion at UNSC
  - Undemocratic
    - Only a few countries are able to take many important decisions.
    - If we exclude China, the <u>other 4 P-5 countries</u> only contribute to 7% of the world's population.
  - Anachronistic changing global order.
    - Since its inception, the global order has witnessed significant shift.
      - Number of countries have increased; we have shifted to a <u>multipolar world</u>; a <u>population explosion</u> (from 2.2 billion to nearly8 billion)
    - Thus, current composition of UNSC represent the post <u>WW-II realities</u> and have <u>not</u> kept pace with the changing nature of the geopolitical scenario.
  - Inequitable economic and geographical representation
    - Economic powers like Japan, Germany, India and Brazil are not Part of P5.
    - UNSC's 75% work is focused on Africa, and still, they don't have any permanent membership.
  - Regional Distribution of seats are also unfair.
    - **Europe**, for instance, <u>accounts for 5% of the world's population</u>, but it still controls 33% of the seats in any given year.
    - Even for non-permanent seats, more than 50 Asia Pacific countries vie for 2 seats and around 30 west European and other groups have been allocated 2 seats.
  - Too powerful
  - Weapons exporting countries at the helm.
    - It hinders disarmament and somehow negatively impacts world peace and security.
  - P-5 countries involved in a number of conflicts.
    - e.g. US, Russia, China etc.
  - Continuation of North-South Divide
- Demands for reforms on 5 key issues.
  - » Categories of membership
  - » Veto power
  - » Regional representation
  - » Size of the enlarged council and its working methods
  - » Security council general assembly relationship

- **G-4** countries bidding for permanent membership of UNSC.
  - » Germany among the largest contributors to UN, most well-functioning economy of Europe
  - » Japan
    - One of the largest contributors
    - Behaved impeccably in international forums since the UN got formed in 1945
  - » Brazil 5th largest territory, most suitable to represent South American continent
  - » India 2nd largest population
    - Largest average contributor to UN Peace Keeping force

# Coffee Club / Uniting for Consensus

- » Italy, Spain, Argentina, Canada, Mexico, South Korea and Pakistan
- » Opposed to G-4 becoming permanent members with a veto power
- » Favors expansion of the non-permanent seats with regional representation.

# Africa Group

- » Demands two permanent seats, because of historical injustices
- » Council's agenda largely concentrated on the continent

# L69 Group

- » It is a group of developing countries from Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean, Asia and Pacific (Small Island Developing States). They form a <u>major bloc that is united by the common cause of achieving the lasting and comprehensive reform of the UNSC</u> by expanding both permanent and non-permanent seats.
  - It currently has 32 members.
- » The group derives it name from the <u>draft document number "L.69" that the group had tabled</u> in 2007-08, which led to the <u>initiation of the Intergovernmental Negotiation (IGN) process</u>.
- » **Note:** India is a member of the grouping.

### Reforms are difficult because of stringent provisions

- **»** Bar on amending UN Charter has been kept very high:
  - Reform requires the **agreement of atleast two-third of UN member states (129/193)** and that of all the **P-5 members of UNSC** enjoying the Veto right.
- » Inter-Governmental Negotiations (IGN) on Security Council Reform has been going on since last 13 years. They have been working on various aspects of reform, including categories of membership, issues relating to the veto power and regional representation.
  - The IGN has been extremely difficult, contentious and complicated because of the different groups, their views and different interests. This has resulted into very little progress over the last 1 decade.
- » Finally, the <u>P-5 members inherently have been opposed to expansion of veto or permanent status.</u> Those who already have power are always reluctant to share it.
  - For e.g., China has been blocking efforts to <u>begin formal negotiations on UNSC expansion</u>, saying that there is no need to rush through the reforms.

# - Why do India demand more permanent role at UNSC?/ India's Bid for UNSC:

- » Amongst all the aspirants who want to be permanent member of UNSC, India is the most vociferous one.
- » India is eminently suited for permanent UNSC membership by any objective criteria, such as population, territorial size, GDP (3rd in terms of PPP), economic potential, Civilizational legacy, cultural diversity, political system (largest democracy) and past and ongoing contributions to UN Activities especially to UN peacekeeping operations.
  - Largest average contributor to UNPKF
  - Elected 8 times in UNSC (1950-51, 1967-68, 1972-73, 1977-78, 1984-85, 1991-92, 2011-12, 2021-22)
- » India is also a <u>nuclear weapon state</u>.

# Advantages of permanent membership of UN

- » Better protection of India's strategic interest at UNSC
- » Represent the interest of other developing countries.
- » Contribute to world peace.

# - Challenges to India's UNSC membership:

- » Difficulties of Inter-Governmental Negotiations Differences between various countries, regional rivalries etc.
- » Inherent opposition by P-5 countries to expand the veto power
  - China specially, has always obstructed the idea of India's exclusion.
- » **G-4** has also limited options for sole negotiations.
- » Resources allocated by India at UN for diplomacy -> lack of enough number of staff; budgetary share of India is also not in top 20.
- Despite some of these challenges, GoI has accorded highest priority to its stand on getting a permanent seat in the expanded UNSC. To get international support needed, it has been actively raising issue in all important bilateral and multilateral forums. It has enhanced its engagement with the reform-oriented countries in the G-4; and with the L.69 Group a cross regional group of countries from Asia, Africa and Latin America.

### Conclusion:

• Reforms are also necessary to make the UNSC more legitimate, effective, and representative in character and also to correct historical injustices in South Asia, Africa and Latin America.