

India and its Relationship with other Countries

43. Indo-US Relations Leading to QUAD

Indo-US Relations during the Cold War Era

- During the cold war era, most countries of the world got aligned towards either of the two power blocks, i.e. USSR (Warsaw Pact Nations) or the US led Western Block (NATO Countries).
- Pakistan joined the US led Western Block in 1954, while India decided to adopt the Non-Aligned policy and refrained from joining any of the power blocks, however, it had a leaning towards the Soviet Union.
- During the early 1950s, India was largely dependent on America and Soviet Union for food and provision of Development Loans. The share of aid from USA surpassed that of USSR by nearly double.
- Like in the present times, USA regarded India as a strategic partner and a counter weight to the rise of Communist China.
- That is why Kennedy administration openly supported India during the Sino-India war of 1962 and called it a blatant act of aggression.
- USA flew in humanitarian and limited military hardware supplies for the Indian troops.
- After the assassination of Kennedy in 1963, the Indo-US relationship gradually deteriorated under the Nixon administration. He established close ties with Pakistan and provided military and economic aid to Pakistan.
- A major reason for the American policy shift was that India started demonstrating closeness with the Soviet Union and the US wanted a close ally to counter the Soviet influence in the region.
- During the Indo-Pak war of 1971 USA openly provided Pakistan with military and moral support. In fact they even deployed their aircraft carrier 'USS Enterprise' towards the Bay of Bengal as a show of force during the war.

- In 1974, India conducted its first Nuclear Test much to the annoyance of the US, who called for imposing a ban on the export of nuclear material to India in 1978, as India did not sign the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty.
- When Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in 1980, the Regan administration improved ties with India, besides maintaining better ties with Pakistan to continue to maintain a credible influence in the area.
- During this period a range of selected military technology was supplied to India, like, super computers, night visions, and radars, gas turbines for naval frigates and engines for India's light combat aircraft.

Indo-US Relations after the Disintegration of USSR

- The first ripple of unpleasantness occurred in the Indo-US relationship when PM Atal Bihari Vajpayee government conducted the nuclear weapon testing at Pokhran in May 1998.
- USA voted for a UN Security Council Resolution condemning the tests and President Bill Clinton imposed economic sanctions on India, including cutting off all military and economic aid, freezing loans by American banks to Indian companies, prohibiting American aerospace technology and uranium exports to India.
- These sanctions had little effect on Indian economy as it had very limited trade with the USA.
- The sanctions were soon lifted and President Clinton visited India in Mar 2000. During this visit, the Indo-US Science & Technology Forum was established.
- During the period from 2001 to 2006, especially after the September 2001 attack on the World Trade Centre, the Indo-US relationship blossomed under the Bush administration.

- The main areas of confluence were, fighting Islamic extremism, energy security and fighting climate change.
- During the period from 2004 to 2008, bilateral trade between the two countries tripled.
- The Indo-US Civil Nuclear Agreement, called the 123 Agreement was signed in Oct 2008.
- In November 2010, President Barack Obama visited India and addressed a joint session of Indian Parliament and backed India's bid for permanent seat in the UN Security Council.

India formally re-engaged United States in strategic dialogue and the joint statement outlined extensive bilateral initiatives, like, countering terrorism, disarmament and non-proliferation, trade and economic relations, energy security, climate change, agriculture, education, health and science and technological development.

Immediate Concerns of USA

- USA wants to remain dominant and to be seen as the 'Big Brother' in the domain of world affairs. Its major concerns with respect to maintaining the balance of power, which no country in Eurasia or Asia can challenge are:
 - Contain China's military and economic expansionism.
 - Effectively control the spread of Islamic terrorism in AF-Pak.
 - Reign in the influence of ISSI and have West friendly regimes taking over control in the countries of Middle East region.
 - Stub Russia's influence in Ukraine, through coercive diplomacy and back up West Ukraine and Crimea to extend the Euro-US area of influence close to Russian border.
 - Increase leverage in Iran through a stick and carrot approach.
 - Improve economy at home and generate employment.

Role that India can Play to Support US Concerns

- Many of the above mentioned US concerns were also the core issues discussed during the

meet of the heads of NATO countries at Wales in August 2014.

- In most of the above explicit requirements, India can play a pivotal role. How it could do that, is discussed in the succeeding paragraphs:
 - China's policy of 'String of Pearls' by having a major presence and aggressive posture in the sub continent can be effectively countered through India's recently coined 'Link West and Look East Policy.'
 - USA extends solidarity to India and ASEAN countries in their views of calling China's ambition to expand its maritime borders in the South China and East China Seas as an unreasonable act of aggression.
 - India is actively engaged in building up an anti-China quorum in the region, e.g. PM Modi's visit to Japan, his ongoing endeavour to improve ties with SAARC countries and the SE Asian nations. The same appropriately serves the interests of US in the region.
 - India happens to be one of the largest donors for Afghanistan's reconstruction. It donated \$ 1.2 billion, which makes it the largest donor in the region.
 - Hence, after the exit of the US troops from Afghanistan, India is bound to play a pivotal role in the geo-politics of democratic Afghanistan.
 - Considering the known bias of Pakistan ISI and Military towards the Taliban, India will be its reliable strategic partner in keeping the fundamentalist forces in check in the region.
 - Since, India has traditionally maintained good relations with Iran and Russia; it can play an important role of a mediator between Iran-US and Russia-US to resolve the ongoing politico-military stalemate.
 - India provides the largest number of consumers for American goods, (every fifth human on the globe is an Indian). To boost American economy Indians must flourish and consume to make US

businesses and manufacturing to run profitably and also generate employment.

- India provides a large number of skilled professionals, especially in the IT sector, who are cranking the US economy to move in positive direction.
- USA has now surpassed Russia as India's number one defence supplier. India has signed / is in the process of signing major Defence deals with USA, like, 'M-777' Ultra-light Howitzers, 'Javelin' Anti Tank Guided Missiles, UAVs, and Apache Attack & Chinook Heavy- Lift Helicopters.
- The 145 Ultra-Light M-777 Howitzers are being procured for the new mountain corps being raised to counter the Chinese threat in NE India.

India & United states military forces are holding joint military drills from time to time to enhance high altitude training and foster increased co-operation between the nations.

The annual Yudh Abhyas exercise which translates as 'war practice' is designed to exchange best practices tactics, techniques and procedures between the armies of the two nations. The exercise highlights the growing defence relationship between India and the US In 2022 the two nations signed a space situational awareness agreement to support information sharing and co-operation in space.

Formation of the QUAD

The QUAD Group is an informal strategic dialogue with four members, namely, India, USA, Japan and Australia. The shared objective is to ensure and sustain an open, free and prosperous Indo-Pacific region.

- a) The QUAD Group is maintained by semi-regular summits, meetings, information exchanges and military drills of all the members.
- b) It is seen as a coalition of maritime democracies.

- c) The idea for the QUAD Group is attributed to former Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe who mooted it in 2007. However, its origins can be traced back to the 2004 Tsunami when India conducted relief and rescue operations for itself and neighbouring countries and was joined by Japan, the US and Australia.
- d) The move was paralleled by the joint military exercise 'Malabar' which was held at an unprecedented scale involving India, Japan, Australia, Singapore and the US.
- e) China issued formal diplomatic protests to the member of the QUAD.
- f) Then, Australia backed out in 2008 from the QUAD presumably due to pressure from the Chinese.
- g) Again in 2012, Abe brought forth the idea of Asia's "Democratic Security Diamond" comprising Japan, India, the US and Australia to protect the maritime commons from the Indian Ocean to the Western Pacific.
- h) It was in 2017, however, that the first official talks under the QUAD took place, in Manila, the Philippines.

QUAD Group Guiding Principles

The idea behind the QUAD Group is to keep the strategic and significant sea routes in the Indo-Pacific free of any influence (read Chinese influence). It is seen as a strategic grouping to pre-empt and reduce Chinese influences. The core objectives of the QUAD is to secure a rules-based global order, liberal trading system and freedom of navigation. It seeks to contain a 'rising China' and work against its predatory trade and economic policies. Another purpose of the QUAD is to offer alternative debt financing for nations in the Indo-Pacific region.

QUAD Group Significance

Give the growing military engagements and the matrix of trilateral and bilateral

relationships among the members of the QUAD Group. It is believed that if Chinese aggressions increase on the borders, India can take the support of the other QUAD members to counter the Chinese. India can take advantage of its naval front (unlike the continental front where China and Pakistan surround the country) and conduct strategic explorations in the Indo-Pacific region.

There are some challenges also facing the QUAD Group. While the member countries have recently come together sensing an expansionist China, they themselves have different aspirations and interests. It would be interesting to see how these varied disparities play out and the countries narrow their differences. Also, considering the economic might of China, none of the QUAD countries can afford to really take a vivid anti-China stance.

44. Exercise Malabar and 'Pivot to Asia Strategy' to contain China

Introduction

The annual Malabar series of Naval exercises between India and US commenced in 1992. The scope of training was to conduct Maritime Interdiction Operation exercises and hence, promote operational cooperation and improve coordination between the two Navies.

The conduct of Exercise Malabar was suspended by US after India conducted Pokharn Nuclear Test in 1998. However, the military cooperation between the two countries was renewed after the 9/11 twin towers attack, when India joined President George W Bush's campaign against international terrorism.

India also invited Japan to be a part of the exercise. Since 2007, India has only hosted Exercise Malabar. Malabar 2009, 2011, and 2014 were conducted off the coast of Japan and included the Japanese Maritime Self-Defence Forces.

Besides these three permanent members, Australia and Singapore are the two non-permanent members for Exercise Malabar.

Scope of Exercise Malabar

Scope of the exercise includes wide-ranging professional interactions during the Harbour Phase and a diverse range of operational activities at sea during the Sea Phase.

The overall aim of the exercise is to enhance the comfort level between the three Navies, so as to ensure freedom of navigation and freedom of commerce flow around the world.

Participation Levels during Previous Exercise Malabar

Indian Navy - INS Shivalik and INS Betwa, both are indigenous frigates, INS Ranvijay, a Guided Missile Destroyer, INS Shakti, a Fleet Support Ship. In addition, one Sindhugosh Class Submarine, INS Sindhudhvaj, Long Range Maritime Patrol Aircraft P8I and Integral Rotarywing Helicopters.

In order to learn more about the details of the above equipment, you could go through a previous blog on the subject by clicking this link: <http://www.olivegreens.co.in/blog/role-capability-and-modernisation-plan-of-indian-armed-forces>

US Navy - Represented by the ships from Carrier Task Force (CTF) 70 of the USN 7th Fleet, which is based at Yokosuka, Japan. The CTF for this exercise includes the Nimitz Class Aircraft Carrier - USS Theodore Roosevelt, Ticonderoga Class Cruiser - USS Normandy and Freedom Class Littoral Combat Ship - USS Forth Worth.

In addition, one Los Angeles Class Nuclear Powered Submarine - USS City of Corpus Christi, F18 Aircraft from US Carrier Air Wing and P8A Long Range Maritime Patrol Aircraft.

Japanese Maritime Self-Defence Forces - It is represented by JSFuyuzuki, a Missile Destroyer with SH 60K Integral Helicopter. Japan joined the Malabar Exercise in 2015. Australia became part of Malabar in 2020, making it a quadrilateral naval exercise thereby terming the alliance as QUAD.

China's New Maritime Operations Doctrine

The People's Liberation Army's Navy submarine operations in the Indian Ocean is being viewed as a cause of anxiety by India and the emerging 'security quartet', (India, US, Japan and Australian) in the Indo-Pacific region.

The submarine deployment at Colombo, when the visiting Song Class docked at Hambantota harbour built and administered by a Chinese construction company and the visit by the Chinese Yuan Class submarine to Karachi, enunciates the Chinese design of having a rotational, but permanent submarine presence to carve out controlled spaces in the Indian Ocean.

Furthermore, China has been cultivating naval cooperation with Bangladesh and Myanmar to gain access to the Bay of Bengal and has also been strengthening military cooperation with Sri Lanka.

The new doctrine of maritime operations as outlined by Beijing's 2015 Defence White Paper, lays a lot of emphasis on submarine and amphibious operations to gain 'access to contested spaces' and 'expand the PLA Navy's access to the Asian littorals'.

China's submarines, submerged in the depths of the Indian Ocean, are envisaged to defend tactical maritime territory, gather critical intelligence and nullify India's strategic advantage by evading Indian surveillance and even facilitate attacks on Indian shores.

As enunciated by the Defence White Paper, China has incorporated the conduct of amphibious operations in its military doctrine, to include ground assault drills by its marine forces.

The PLA Navy has conducted a series of island defence exercises, deploying dedicated amphibious task forces to the western and far-eastern Pacific.

Furthermore, the amphibious operations drills were rehearsed during the recently conducted Sino-Russian maritime exercises in the Sea of Japan, where a contingent of 200 marines was deployed to stage a joint amphibious and airborne landing.

The alarming rise in the attempts by Chinese naval ships to get close to Indian territorial waters as detected by India's Andaman and Nicobar Command holds testimony to its contemporary military intent.

Significance of Exercise Malabar

It has been a cause of serious concern to India, that Beijing has been deploying nuclear submarines in the Indian Ocean, highlighting growing Chinese confidence in maintaining a standing presence there.

In order to counterweigh a Chinese dominance in the Asia Pacific littorals, India along with US, Japan and Australia have established an alliance.

It needs to be understood that China has 'the greatest potential of any nation to militarily compete with the US and field disruptive military technologies that may offset traditional US advantages. Thus, US would like to see a 'weak and divided' China to continue its dominance in Asia.

Hence, the previous US President Barack Obama had unfolded a 'Pivot to Asia Strategy' to contain China. The above strategy entails the following:

- Establishing military, economic, and diplomatic ties with countries adjacent to China's borders, frustrating China's own attempts at alliance-building and economic partnership.
- Maintain military presence in Afghanistan, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan.
- Strengthen ties with emerging powers and 'enemy countries of its enemy', like South Korea, Japan, Vietnam and India.
- Increased involvement in the issues of South Asia, like the South China Sea and the Senkaku Islands to challenge Chinese hegemony.

45. India's Push for NSG Membership

Introduction

India, with its highly credible non-proliferation track record, has been admitted as the 42nd member of the elite export control regime, called the Wassenaar Arrangement (WA) on 07 December 2017.

The decision was taken at the two-day plenary meeting of the grouping on 06-07th December in Vienna, Austria. This admission opens the doors for India to acquire critical technologies that will help to appropriately address the demands of India space and defence sectors.

India is now a member of two, out of the four export control regimes, the other one being Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR).

India is putting in its best efforts to join the 'Nuclear Suppliers Group' (NSG) (described ahead) and is at a fairly advanced stage of joining the 'Australia Group' (which was established in 1985 after the use of chemical weapons by Iraq in 1984 to help member countries to identify those exports which need to be controlled so as not to contribute to the spread of chemical and biological weapons).

India has taken a conscious decision, based on principles, to not to be a signatory of the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) or the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT), which has been providing the requisite cannon fodder to countries like China to obstruct India's entry into export control groups.

India's entry into the WA, despite being non-signatory to the NPT, also boosts its chances of admission into the folds of the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG).

Salient Features of the Wassenaar Arrangement

The Wassenaar Arrangement (WA) is an elite club of countries who subscribe to regulate the trade of dual use technologies, e.g. connected with nuclear energy and control the export of such arms and material. The ambit of its Charter is quite similar to NSG and MTCR.

The WA was founded in 1996 and has its Headquarters in Vienna, Austria. Other than China, all permanent members of the UN Security Council are its signatories.

As enunciated in its Charter, the primary objective of the organisation is to "promote transparency and greater responsibility in transfer of conventional arms and dual-use technologies."

Implications of Admission into WA for India

The major implications for India are as follows:

- Facilitate industrial tie-ups for procurement and manufacture of hi-tech items for Indian defence and space programmes.
- Create a ground for realignment of India in export control policy framework of other WA members, e.g. it can provide eligibility to India for certain licensing exceptions given only to WA member countries.
- Boost India's chances for admission into the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) as it is a non-signatory of NPT.
- Assist India to bolster bilateral ties with countries like Russia and France, which supported its membership to the organisation.

Reasons for India's Push to Join the NSG

India is the fourth largest energy consumer after China, USA and Russia and third largest importer in the world and its import dependence is expected to grow to 50% of its current total demand by 2030.

About 70% of India's electricity generation capacity is from fossil fuel and coal accounting for 40% of India's total energy consumption followed by crude oil and natural gas at 28% and 6% respectively.

The conventional sources of energy are limited and leave a huge carbon imprint, which is highly detrimental for the very survival of our ecosystem.

Therefore, it has become an imperative for India to aggressively pursue the development of unconventional, less polluting sources of energy. Amongst which, nuclear energy happens to be the cleanest and most efficient form.

Before we look at India's efforts to establish amiable contact with the coterie of nuclear suppliers, let's first understand a few important connected aspects.

Nuclear Energy Status for Sustainable Growth

India's current nuclear generation capacity is 4.8 GW and ranks 13th in the world, which account for only 1.2% of global nuclear capacity.

The installed capacity of nuclear energy is presently 4780MW, which accounts for 1.92% of the total power generation capacity of the country.

Currently, four indigenously developed 700 MW PHWRs are under construction, two each at Rawatbhata in Rajasthan and Kakrapar in Gujarat. Several others are also planned.

Kudankulam Nuclear Power Plant (KKNPP), the largest nuclear power station in India, is scheduled to have six 1000 MW VVERs, (a type of Light Water Reactor) built in collaboration with Atomstroyexport, the Russian state company and Nuclear Power Corporation of India Limited (NPCIL), with an installed capacity of 6,000 MW of electricity.

The commercial operations of the first two 1000 MW VVERs, started on 15 October 2016. The construction of the third reactor commenced on 29 June 2017.

The major challenges envisaged to be faced by the government to increase the nuclear power capacity to the designated 60 GW by 2030 are:

- Ensuring a credible, high level of safety at the plants.
- Capacity building and ensuring a perennial supply of fuel for the nuclear reactors. Nuclear liability in case of an accident and allied issues are inhibiting foreign companies to set up plants.
- Environmental clearances, politically motivated agitations and other regulatory

measures need to be addressed to encourage and win the trust of foreign companies.

Reasons for India not Endorsing the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) or the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT)

The endorsement campaign for NPT commenced in 1968 and it entered into force in 1970 for a period of 25 years. However, on 11 May 1995, it was extended indefinitely.

A total of 191 states have joined the Treaty, North Korea which has initially acceded to NPT, announced its withdrawal in 2003. Four UN member states never joined the NPT: India, Israel, Pakistan and Sudan.

The prime objectives of NPT is to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons and weapons technology, to promote cooperation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, and to further the goal of achieving nuclear disarmament.

The treaty is reviewed every five years in meetings called Review Conferences of the Parties to the Treaty of Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

As per the provisions of the NPT, non-nuclear weapon states were prohibited from, among other things, possessing, manufacturing or acquiring nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices.

All signatories, including nuclear weapon states, were committed to the goal of total nuclear disarmament (which on ground has not been implemented by the superpowers).

Similarly, the **Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT)** is a multilateral treaty by which states agree to ban all nuclear explosions in all environments, for military or civilian purposes. It was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on 10 September 1996.

However, the CTBT has not entered into force as eight specific states have not ratified the Treaty yet. It has been signed by 71 states.

The states that have not ratified the treaty are as under:

China, Egypt, Iran, Israel and the United States have signed but not ratified the Treaty; India, North Korea and Pakistan have not signed it.

India is among the few countries, which follow a self-imposed "no first use" policy, a pledge not to use nuclear weapons unless first attacked by an adversary using nuclear weapons.

The argument that India gives for not signing the NPT or the CTBT is that these treaties creates a club of "nuclear haves" and a larger group of "nuclear have-nots" by restricting the legal possession of nuclear weapons to those states that tested them before 1967, but the treaties never explains on what ethical grounds such a distinction is valid.

India's then External Affairs Minister said during a visit to Tokyo in 2007: "If India did not sign the NPT, it is not because of its lack of commitment for non-proliferation, but because we consider NPT as a flawed treaty and it did not recognize the need for universal, non-discriminatory verification and treatment."

Role of Nuclear Supplier's Group (NSG)

Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) is a multinational body comprising of 48 member states, which is concerned with reducing nuclear Proliferation by controlling the export and re-transfer of materials that may be applicable to nuclear weapon development and by improving safeguards and protection on existing materials.

The NSG was founded in response to the first nuclear test conducted by India in May 1974 and had its first meeting in November 1975.

A series of meetings by member nations were held in London from 1975 to 1978 and that is why this Group is also referred to as the 'London Group'.

The meetings resulted in agreements on the guidelines that were formally published and essentially comprised of the list of items, also called the Zangger "Trigger List", which could only be exported to non-nuclear states if certain International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) safeguards were agreed to or if exceptional circumstances relating to safety existed.

India's Pursuit for Nuclear Energy

In July 2006, the United States Congress amended US law to accommodate civilian nuclear trade with India and endorsed the United States-India

Peaceful Atomic Energy Cooperation Act in December 2006.

India committed as part of the Deal to classify 14 of its 22 nuclear power plants as being for civilian use and to place them under International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) safeguards.

Considering India's clean non-proliferation track record, the above said legislation allows for the transfer of civilian nuclear material to India.

The next hurdle was to get the approval of the Nuclear Supplier's Group (NSG) to allow major nuclear suppliers to indulge in nuclear trade with India.

During the initial meeting on 21-22 August 2008, the NSG member countries, specially, Austria, Switzerland, Norway, Ireland, and New Zealand, expressed strong reservations about the lack of conditions in the proposed exemption Guidelines.

However, on 06 September 2008, India was granted the waiver at the NSG meeting held in Vienna, Austria.

Consequently, India could commence nuclear trade with other willing countries. President Bush signed the agreement approved by the US Congress on 08 October 2008.

Further, as a result of protracted negotiations, PM Modi and Australian Prime Minister Tony Abbot were able to seal the civil nuclear deal with Australia, which holds the world's largest reserves of Uranium on 05 September 2014.

India's Push for NSG Membership

India had applied for NSG membership in May 2016. Concurrently, Pakistan and Namibia also applied along with India.

Pakistan's concurrent application for NSG was seen as an apparent attempt to block India's Membership to the NSG. It may be noted that Pakistan faces serious allegations of proliferation of nuclear technology by its scientist A Q Khan.

An elaborate plenary session of the NSG was held in Seoul from 20-24 June 2016. However, China put a spoke on the grounds that India was a non-signatory of NPT and giving membership to India would set a wrong precedence. Thereafter China has repeatedly blocked India's entry on the same ground.

Roadblocks in the Path of India's Membership for NSG

India's entry into the NSG is being very strongly contested by China for obvious reasons and other "non-proliferation hardliner" countries, like Austria and Ireland.

It needs to be understood that NSG member countries operate on consensus and each member has an equal vote. Giving India an admission into NSG is not as much of a debate, as setting up precedence by allowing a non-signatory of NPT into the NSG.

China has asserted its opposition to permit non Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) members into the NSG on 07th December 2017 and is poised to resist consideration of India's NSG membership.

China's opposition is broadly based along two lines: firstly, keeping India out of the nuclear club, being its major competitor in the economic arena and contender for nuclear material to fuel its reactors, and secondly, keeping Pakistan pegged with India for admission into NSG, so that a positive vote can never come through, considering the dubious track record of nuclear proliferation of Pakistan.

Conclusion

NSG membership would give India greater access to the international nuclear market, and will open up nuclear commerce for fuelling its reactors.

Besides, the NSG can be a source of legitimacy for a nuclear-armed state outside of the NPT, to be granted a special status that would hugely enhance India's image and regional power projection.

India has been granted entry into two key export control regimes, i.e. MTCR and WA. Hence, it may be reasonable to assume that India's aspirations for becoming a member of the NSG will also see the light of the day sooner or later.

46. Indo-China Relations

Introduction

Historically, India and China have had cordial relations for more than 2,000 years. The traditional Silk Road not only served as a route for trade, but also promoted the spread of Buddhism from India to China.

Modern relationship between the two countries began in 1950, when India was amongst the first countries to end formal ties with the Republic of China (Taiwan), and recognize the People's Republic China (PRC) as the legitimate government of Mainland China.

Major Issues of Dispute between India and China

India's Support for the Aspirations of Tibetan People

Mao Zedong, the Commander of the Liberation Army and the Chairman of the Communist Party of China viewed Tibet as an integral part of the Chinese State and was determined to bring Tibet under its direct administrative and military control.

Tibet serves as a buffer zone between India and China. India regarded the Chinese forceful occupation of Tibet as an act of aggression, while China considered India's posture on the issue as interference in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of China.

In April 1954, India and the PRC signed an eight-year agreement on Tibet that recognised sovereignty of China over Tibet as its autonomous region and set forth the basis of Indo-China relationship in the form of the Panchsheel or the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.

However, in 1959 India provided asylum to the Tibetan religious leader, Dalai Lama and thousands of refugees, who sought sanctuary in Dharamsala and in Indian North East states to escape atrocities by People's Liberation Army (PLA).

The above is the primary reason for deterioration of Indo-China relations leading to PRC accusing India of expansionism into Tibet and throughout

the Himalayan region, which finally resulted in the 1962 Indo-China war.

Border Disputes

China does not accept the Mc Mahon line as the legal delineation between India and China. It says that this was a demarcation agreed upon between erstwhile British Raj and Tibet.

In 1959, China claimed 104,000 km² of territory, over which India's maps were showing clear sovereignty, and demanded "rectification" of the entire border.

China made a proposal to India that it would relinquish its claim to most of India's northeast in exchange for India's abandonment of its claim to Aksai Chin.

The Indian Government rejected the idea of a settlement based on uncompensated loss of territory as being humiliating and unequal.

Unresolved border disputes resulted in a short border war between the People's Republic of China and India on 20 October 1962 and PRC pushed the Indian forces to within 48 Km of the Assam plains in the northeast and also occupied strategic points in Ladakh.

Finally, on 21 November 1962, PRC declared a unilateral cease-fire and withdrew 20 Km behind its contended line of control.

In late 1967, there were two skirmishes between Indian and Chinese forces in Sikkim. The first one was dubbed the "Nathu La incident", and the other the "Chola incident", where exchange of heavy fire took place at the Sikkim outpost.

During the whole conflict Indian losses were 88 killed and 163 wounded, while Chinese casualties were 300 killed and 450 wounded in Nathu La, and 40 in Chola.

Consequently, despite border skirmishes and discrepancies between Indian and Chinese maps, Chinese leaders amicably assured India that there was no territorial controversy on the border and on the other hand India avoided bringing up the border issue in high-level meetings.

In 1980, Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi approved a plan to upgrade the deployment of forces around the Line of Actual Control to avoid unilateral redefinitions of the line. India also increased funds for infrastructural development in these areas.

In 1984, squads of Indian soldiers began actively patrolling the Sumdorong Chu Valley in Arunachal Pradesh (formerly NEFA), which is north of the McMahon Line as drawn on the Shimla Treaty map.

However, in the winter of 1986, the Chinese deployed their troops on Sumdorong Chu before the Indian team could arrive in the summer and built a Helipad at Wandu.

In 1986 and India's grant of statehood to Arunachal Pradesh (formerly the North-East Frontier Agency) in February 1987 caused both sides to deploy new troops to the area, raising tensions and fears of a new border war.

The PRC relayed warnings that it would "teach India a lesson" if it did not cease "nibbling" at Chinese territory.

By the summer of 1987, however, both sides had backed away from conflict and denied that military clashes had taken place.

Six rounds of talks of the Indian-Chinese Joint Working Group on the Border Issue were held between December 1988 and June 1993.

The term Line of Actual Control (LAC) gained legal recognition after the Sino-India border agreements signed in 1993 and in 1996. The 1996 agreement states that no activity shall overstep the Line of Actual Control.

However, both sides have their own interpretation of the delineation of the LAC on the ground, as there is no clear demarcation of the boundaries, thereby leading to errors of perception and understanding of previous agreements.

In November 2006, China and India had a verbal spat over claim of the north-east Indian state of Arunachal Pradesh. India claimed that China was occupying 38,000 Square Km of its territory in Kashmir, while China claimed the whole of Arunachal Pradesh as its own.

In the recent times, frequent standoffs between troops from both sides keep happening; some major examples are given below:

May 2013

It happened in the area 30 km south east of Daulat Beg Oldi, where troops from both sides deployed for a week long standoff.

The matter was resolved and troops from both sides withdrew, at the cost of India agreeing to destroy some military structures along 250 km stretch near Chumar, which Chinese perceived to be threatening.

In October 2013 both sides signed a Border Defence Cooperation Agreement to ensure that border patrolling does not escalate into a military conflict.

September 2014

Chumar is an area 300km northeast of Leh, bordering Himachal Pradesh. China has since long been trying to reduce India's dominance in the area. However, each time swift response and an offensive – defensive posture adopted by Indian troops thwarted Chinese intrusion.

In the present scenario, China commenced construction work of a road, which, as per the border understanding of 2005, should have been intimated to India. Indian troops rushed to the site to stop the construction work.

Meanwhile, China also called for reinforcement and at present 1000 strong Chinese force is sitting 5 km into India territory in eye ball to eye ball contact with Indian troops.

Demchok is the area where LAC ends and IB starts and also the area where Indus River enters into India from China. It was perhaps a diversionary tactic played by the Chinese by concurrently objecting to the constructing of an irrigation canal by India at Demchok, about 80 km from the Chumar site of confrontation.

They dispatched dozens of civilians and nomads to object and who pitched tents on the Indian side of the LAC. So it is more of an impasse between the local civilians of both sides in this area.

China's Policy of 'String of Pearls'

China has highly developed surface and air communication facilities all along the Tibetan

Autonomous Region (TAR), especially, opposite Arunachal Pradesh and is in the process of preparing a dozen more airfields in Tibet.

Indian side on the other hand, is highly under developed with difficult terrain and therefore, builds-up, movement and reinforcement of troops will be laborious and time consuming.

Assertive stance of China on the border is an indicator that it wants to stake its territorial claims and also dissuade India from building up infrastructure along the border.

Also, by slowly biting into pieces of Indian Territory through continuous intrusions, the Chinese are observing how India's political leadership and its security forces react to such provocation.

The PLA is training for short and swift conflict preceded by a cyber-offensive. An offensive could involve the use of missiles, anti-satellite weapons, overwhelming firepower and control over the air space. The extent and scale of conflict would depend on Chinese motives and intent.

China's larger strategy is to isolate India and keep it confined to the back waters of South Asia through its policy of establishing a 'string of pearls' by increasing its influence over all neighbours of India, like, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Myanmar, Bangladesh, Maldives, Bhutan and of course with its all-time ally Pakistan.

It is indulging in full scale infrastructure diplomacy by enhancing its connectivity to our buffer states of Bhutan and Nepal, forging better economic ties with Myanmar by assisting in its gas exploration and infrastructure development in Sri Lanka and Pakistan by building ports, etc.

Dynamics of Regional Alliances

China is improving economic and military relationship with countries that are presently on the hit list of USA, like Russia, Iran and even Pakistan. This alliance is also being viewed as a counter weight to the improved Indo-US relationship.

The very evident shift of US loyalties towards India and the fight against terror in Afghanistan coming to its culmination point, where USA required Pakistan's administrative support, the

dynamics of regional politics has deflected Pakistan towards China.

Similarly, Russia is looking for new trading partners in Asia after being severely hit economically by the crippling sanctions imposed by USA and Europe.

Also, It feels isolated at various global forums, e.g. G-20 Summit at Brisbane, Australia, US and its various European allies confronted President Putin on the issue of its military intervention in the internal matters of Ukraine.

Moreover, Europe, which was the major buyer of Russian oil & gas, has now turned towards Africa and countries like Azerbaijan where abundant gas reserves are available.

Under the prevalent circumstances, energy hungry China is its best hope and is being wooed by Russia by laying gas pipelines right up to China. This critical interdependence is likely to bind these two nations more closely.

China's Economic Clout

China's trade with India during the previous year was 76 billion which makes China its largest trading partner.

The trade deficit between India and China is 57 billion in favour of China, i.e. China exports more and imports less from India. That is a cause of serious concern for India.

China imports cheap raw materials from India and exports the finished products back to India due to its highly advanced manufacturing sector, which is the major reason for the trade deficit.

It is an undisputable fact that, India, from economic parity with China in 1980, has reached to the present scenario where China's growth has outstripped India by four times.

India needs to catch up with its main competitor in economic growth and development to realise its dream of becoming a regional power. For which it needs to seriously promote its manufacturing sector by implementing its programmes like "Make in India".

However, since 2012, the economic growth of China has slowed down India has overtaken China in growth figures.

China very well understands that to give a boost to its flagging economy, trade collaboration with India will pay rich dividends.

Impact of Improved Indo-US Relations

The recent surge in the economic and military relationship between India and USA has global ramifications. Besides, India's growing closeness with China's arch rival, Japan, in the new regime has also upset Beijing.

The Indo-US joint strategic vision for the Asia Pacific and Indian Ocean region that was enunciated by the Indian PM and US President had oblique references to China's aggressive stance in the South China Sea, which invited unsavoury responses from China.

Beginning on 5 May 2020, Chinese and India Troops engaged in aggressive melee, face-offs and skirmishes at locations along the Sino-Indian border including near the disputed Pangong Lake in Ladakh and the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) and also near the border between Sikkim and the TAR. Additional clashes also took-place at locations in the eastern Ladakh along the Line of Actual Control (LAC).

Indo China relations are in a state of limbo. There are no progress but no deterioration either at least on the surface. Despite frequent meetings between the two sides. India and China have not made much progress on their border stand off. There are still more than 60000 troops on each side of the Line of Actual control (LAC) the de facto border in regions disputes between the two neighbours and the potential for an accidental resumption of conflicts cannot be emphasized enough.

Conclusion

In the present times where economic interdependence and the shadows of disaster in the form of climate change and terrorism looms large, no nation is a permanent friend or an enemy; these are purely alliances of convenience.

Indian government is demonstrating a perceptive foreign policy by engaging every country that 'matters' meaningfully and resolving conflicts from a position of strength rather than playing up to any gallery.

India's economic growth story vis-a-vis China during the ensuing years will dictate the future dynamics of its relationship with China and its likely role in the Asia Pacific region.

47. Military Stand-off between India & China

Military Stand-offs with China

China does not accept the Mc Mahon line as the legal delineation between India and China. It says that this was a demarcation agreed upon between erstwhile British Raj and Tibet.

In late 1967, there were two skirmishes between Indian and Chinese forces in Sikkim. The first one was dubbed the "Nathu La incident", and the other the "Chola incident", where exchange of heavy fire took place at the Sikkim outpost.

During the whole conflict Indian losses were 88 killed and 163 wounded, while Chinese casualties were 300 killed and 450 wounded in Nathu La, and 40 in Chola.

Once again, when India granted statehood to Arunachal Pradesh (formerly the North-East Frontier Agency) in February 1987, there was an escalation on the border, resulting in both sides to deploy additional troops in the area, raising tensions and fears of a new border war.

However, by the summer of 1987, both sides backed away from the conflict zone.

The term 'LAC' gained legal recognition after the Sino-India border agreements signed in 1993 and in 1996. The 1996 agreement states that no activity shall overstep the Line of Actual Control.

China formally recognized Sikkim as an Indian state in 2003, on the condition that India accepted Tibet Autonomous Region as a part of China. This mutual agreement led to closer Sino-Indian ties, including trade and commerce.

The Daulat Beg Oldi Incident May 2013: A three-week standoff between Indian and Chinese troops took place along the Line of Actual Control, 30 km south east of Daulat Beg Oldi in Ladakh region and Aksai Chin.

The matter was finally defused on 05 May 2013. India agreed to destroy some military structures along 250 km stretch near Chumar, which Chinese perceived to be threatening.

Later, in October 2013 both sides signed a Border Defence Cooperation Agreement to ensure that

border patrolling does not escalate into a military conflict.

The Chumar Incident September 2014: Chumar is an area 300km northeast of Leh, bordering Himachal Pradesh. China has since long been trying to reduce India's dominance in the area.

In the said incident, China commenced construction work of a road, which, as per the border understanding of 2005, should have only started after prior intimation to India.

Indian troops rushed to the site to stop the construction work. Meanwhile, China also called for reinforcement and eventually 1000 strong Chinese force was mobilised that sat 5 km into India territory in eye ball to eye ball contact with Indian troops.

The tension was eventually defused by mediation at the highest level.

The Demchok Incident: Demchok is the area where LAC ends and IB starts and also the area where Indus River enters into India from China.

The Demchok incident was considered to be a diversionary ploy played by China, in which it objected to the construction of an irrigation canal by India at Demchok, about 80 kms from the above stated Chumar site of confrontation.

They dispatched dozens of civilians and nomads to object, and who pitched tents on the Indian side of the LAC. So, it was more of an impasse between the local civilians of both sides of the LAC.

Reasons for Doklam Stand-off

The specific reason for the stand-off at Doklam was India's objection to China building a road in the Sikkim sector of the border. India maintains that the area in question was under its jurisdiction, China, on the other hand, claims that the area belongs to China as per the 1890 Sino-British Treaty.

The Indian state of Sikkim is sandwiched between Bhutan to the East, Nepal to the West, and China to the North. The road construction by China in question was a stretch of road near the narrow

tri-junction where Sikkim, Bhutan, and China meet.

Meanwhile, Bhutan which does not hold diplomatic ties with China had also entered the fray and asked China to immediately halt its road construction activity and restore the status quo.

Political Reason: In an effort to appear politically correct, China wants to soften-up India's objection to the 'One Belt One Road' initiative on the grounds that China's construction efforts were impeding on India's sovereignty. In this case, China claimed to be the aggrieved party on the sovereignty issue.

Strategic Reason: The road in question was being built at a very close distance from India's most vulnerable geographic choke point, the Siliguri corridor.

The Siliguri corridor forms a chicken's neck and is the primary link between the North-eastern states and the rest of India. Capture of this strategic choke point can cut-off the complete North-eastern region in one stroke.

Hence, it goes without saying that India would aggressively react to checkmate any such Chinese manoeuvre.

China's Larger Strategic Objective

Incursions from China continue despite protests and meetings by India. The intrusions are well coordinated and show marked interest by the PLA in areas of military significance.

China has highly developed surface and air communication facilities all along the Tibetan Autonomous Region (TAR), especially, opposite Arunachal Pradesh and is in the process of preparing a dozen more airfields in Tibet.

Indian side on the other hand, is highly underdeveloped with difficult terrain and therefore, builds-up, movement and reinforcement of troops will be laborious and time consuming.

Assertive stance of China on the border is an indicator that it wants to stake its territorial claims and also dissuade India from building up infrastructure along the border.

Also, by slowly biting into pieces of Indian Territory through continuous intrusions, the Chinese are observing how India's political

leadership and its security forces react to such provocation.

The PLA is training for short and swift conflict preceded by a cyber-offensive. An offensive could involve the use of missiles, anti-satellite weapons, overwhelming firepower and control over the air space. The extent and scale of conflict would depend on Chinese motives and intent.

China's larger strategy is to isolate India and keep it confined to the back waters of South Asia through its policy of establishing a 'string of pearls' by increasing its influence over all neighbours of India, like, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Myanmar, Bangladesh, Maldives, Bhutan and of course with its all-time ally Pakistan.

Proactive Measures by India against China's Threat

India must vigorously pursue its 'Act East Policy' by engaging all SE Asian nations, who have clashing interests with China in the South China Sea.

Similarly, engaging with a heavy weight like Japan in trade and diplomatic ties will serve as an effective counter weight against China's expansionism, especially, when Japan and China are at daggers drawn over their dispute to control Senkaku (Diaoyu) islands in the East China Sea.

Improvement of infrastructure in the Northeast will go a long way to bind the region with the rest of the country, as also, serve for swift deployment of troops during an exigency.

The newly commissioned 9.15-kilometer-long Dholasadiya Bridge across the Brahmaputra River, which is designed to carry the weight of 60-ton main battle tanks, connects Arunachal Pradesh with the North-eastern state of Assam has been built with the primary aim of strengthening India's military prowess close to the disputed border with China.

The North East State Roads Investment Project will undertake road upgradation/ construction of a total of 433.4 km for the complete North East at a total cost of Rs.1355.83 crore. Under North East Road Sector Development Scheme (NERSDS), four inter-state neglected road projects have been taken up by Ministry of DoNER for upgradation through National Highway & Infrastructure Development Corporation Limited (NHIDCL).

The Indian Railways is also all set to go beyond Assam and cover the rest of the seven sisters by 2020.

Militarily, India needs to improve its force level along the LAC and NE border with China. Towards this end, a new Mountain Corps is being raised to meet this explicit requirement.

In order to appear more assertive and forceful in projecting its footprints, at the tactical level, renewed emphasis must be laid on patrolling and surveillance using satellites, unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs) and battle field surveillance radars.

Deployment of strategic assets, keeping the threat perception in mind, will serve as a serious deterrent and 'a threat in being', e.g. deployment of Agni V.

Last but not the least, considering that China is our largest trading partner, we must continuously engage China into meaningful talks and sincerely endeavour to resolve the long outstanding border disputes amicably.

India and China in December 2022 announced that their armies have begun to disengage from patrolling point -15 (pp15) in the Gogra Hotsprings area of Eastern Ladakh, marking a step forward to end the standoff ongoing since May 2020. On Sep 08, 2022, according to consensus reached in the 16th round of Indo-China Corps commanders level meeting, the India and Chinese troops in the area of Gogra Hotspring (pp-15) had begun to disengage in a co-ordinated & planned manner, which is conducive to the peace and tranquility in the border areas.

48. Belt and Road Initiative (BRI)

Background Information about Belt and Road Initiative (BRI)

The Belt and Road initiative (BRI) is a development project, which was unveiled by the Chinese leader Xi Jinping in September-October 2013.

The proposal is aimed to enhance connectivity between People's Republic of China and the rest of Eurasia. The project consists of two major components, one being land based called the **Silk Road Economic Belt (SREB)** and the other is through the ocean, called the **Maritime Silk Road (MSR)**.

The initiative calls for the integration of the region into a cohesive economic area through building infrastructure, increasing cultural exchanges, and broadening trade. Moreover, the proposal underlines China's desire to carve out a bigger role for itself in the global affairs.

China hosted a Belt and Road Forum (BRF) on 14-15 May 2017 to facilitate high-level delegations talks among leaders, including 29 Heads of State, on BRI.

India happens to be the only South Asian country, besides Bhutan, that has not joined in this ambitious connectivity project.

India has decided to boycott the Forum on principle as it opposes the OBOR leg, called the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) that runs through the Pakistan Occupied Kashmir (POK), which is a disputed territory.

Salient Features of Belt and Road initiative (BRI)

Scope of Project: Will cover 60 countries across Asia-Europe-up to East Africa.

Anticipated Cumulative Investment over an Indefinite Timeline: Between US\$4 trillion to US\$8 trillion.

The Silk Road Economic Belt: Will include countries situated on the original Silk Road through Central Asia, West Asia, the Middle East, and Europe. The major routes that defined the erstwhile Silk Route include:

- **Northern Route:** It started at Chang'an (now called Xi'an), an ancient capital of China, passed through the breakaway provinces of erstwhile USSR and ended at the Caspian Sea/ Black Sea.
- **Southern Route:** Also called the Karakoram route was mainly a single route running from China through the Karakoram Mountains, where it persists in modern times as the international paved road connecting Pakistan and China as the Karakoram Highway. It passed through northern Pakistan, over the Hindu Kush Mountains, and into Afghanistan, rejoining the northern route near Merv, Turkmenistan. Then, passing through Iran and Mesopotamia, it reached North Africa.
- **South Western Route:** This route followed the Ganges/Brahmaputra Delta, passing through northern Burma, into modern Bangladesh and further to Thailand and Java.

The New Silk Route: The **New Eurasian Land Bridge**, which is railway connectivity from China to Central Europe through Kazakhstan, Mongolia and Eastern Europe going up to Russia. This route, which was planned for implementation in 1990, is also referred to as the "New Silk Road".

In 2008 the railway line was further extended to connect the cities of Ürümqi in China's Xinjiang Province to Almaty and Astana in Kazakhstan.

In October 2008 the first Trans-Eurasia logistics train reached Hamburg in Germany from Xiangtan, China and since July 2011 the line is being extensively used by freight service that connects Chongqing, China with Duisburg, Germany. The same has cut travel time for cargo from about 36 days by container ship to just 13 days by freight train.

On 15 February 2016, the first train dispatched under the OBOR scheme arrived from eastern Zhejiang Province of China to Tehran, the Iranian capital. Now plans are underway to extend the route past Tehran, through Istanbul, the capital city of Turkey into Europe.

In January 2017, the service sent its first train to London. The network additionally connects to Madrid, Spain and Milan, Italy.

The Maritime Silk Road: This initiative, also known as the "21st Century Maritime Silk Road", is a complementary initiative aimed at investing and fostering collaboration in Southeast Asia, Oceania, and North Africa, through several contiguous bodies of water, i.e. the South China Sea, the South Pacific Ocean, and the wider Indian Ocean area.

Hidden Agenda of China – ‘Debt Trap’

The Chinese premier, Xi Jinping in November 2014 had announced a plan to create \$40 billion development fund, which would help finance China's plans to develop the New Silk Road and the Maritime Silk Road.

China has demonstrated perceptive business acumen by investing in businesses rather than lending money to countries for various projects.

Also, China has accelerated its drive to draw Africa into the Maritime Silk Road, which has unlimited resources and unexplored avenues of investment. An example of the same is the speedy construction of a modern standard-gauge rail link between Nairobi and Mombasa.

However, the West sees the BRI as an initiative created by China, ‘only’ for China. Although the recipient country benefits from the infrastructure being developed by China over there, but there is also a serious threat of getting sucked into a debt trap that allows Chinese companies to take over the assets so created in that country in case of non-payments.

The contracts signed by China often lack transparency, the terms and conditions are economically binding on the recipient country and the contracts are executed by Chinese contractors using Chinese building materials, equipment and Chinese labour. Thus, entire benefit of creating the infrastructure project goes to the Chinese state.

It is rather alarming to see that indebtedness to China is growing in a number of developing countries like, Sri Lanka (lost Hambantota port to China), the Maldives, Pakistan, Kyrgyzstan,

Djibouti (important US base in Africa, losing its assets to Chinese companies), Zambia, etc.

Besides, flagship BRI projects have been suspended by the recipient countries like, Malaysia, Pakistan, Nepal, Myanmar, Sierra Leone and Tanzania to prevent the country from losing its assets to China.

The primary motive of China for its BRI is being envisaged as follows:

- a. To establish strong economic dependence among developing countries on China (now China is the largest trading partner for more than 125 countries throughout the world) for subsequent use as a lever of pressure on the recipient country.
- b. Reformat the international economic system, as also, the global transport and logistics system, so as to create a Chinese-centric world.
- c. Provide a fillip to its flagging economic growth due to falling exports, which has created an industrial overcapacity resulting in unemployment and disenchantment amongst the Chinese masses.

CPEC – A ‘Killer’ for Pakistan’s Economy

Pakistan owes \$19 billion (1/5 of its total debt) to China. The CPEC loans will add \$14 billion to Pakistan’s total public debt, raising it to \$90 billion by June 2019. It will be a real uphill task for Pakistan to service huge amount of debt, which will amount to nearly \$100 billion by 2024.

Pakistan’s external debt is now \$91.8 billion and its public debt-to-GDP ratio is a shocking 70 percent. The vicious cycle of debt is tightening its noose on Pakistan, as more than two-thirds of the early loans that it took from China have been extended at a very high rate of interest of seven percent.

Pakistan’s central bank had to recently devalue its currency twice to contain the damage. It is left with few options other than running down the country’s foreign-exchange reserves. Over the past fiscal year, a third of the reserves have evaporated.

Consequently, Pakistan’s central bank was forced to borrow around \$2 Billion from China. It is

expected that Pakistan would require another \$2 Billion from World Bank or China to tide over its balance of payment crisis.

Moreover, as increasing number of Chinese enterprises are acquiring stakes along CPEC, Pakistan government is forced to take more and more loans from Chinese state-owned banks to support balance of payments. Consequently, reducing the space to negotiate and protect its own national interests.

Hence, Pakistan is fast moving towards a stage where China would have literally bought out Pakistan.

One Road, One Belt, One Big Mistake for China

At the time BRI was launched in 2013, China's foreign exchange reserves were approaching \$4 trillion. It seemed a brilliant idea to use some of the foreign exchanges to invest in infrastructure. Besides, using Chinese contractors and materials, BRI could also help solve China's problem of excess capacity in its steel, cement, and construction industries.

However, the narrative has changed the lot over the previous five years. China's economic slowdown has triggered a capital flight, draining more than \$1 trillion from its foreign exchange reserves. The ongoing US-China trade war has also adversely impacted China's economic prospects. Consequently, China will unlikely generate sufficient foreign exchange surpluses to finance BRI on the planned scale.

The investment decision of BRI seems to be driven by geopolitical needs instead of sound financial

sense. China has invested trillions of dollars to develop the world's poorest regions. Most of these loans are likely to become bad debts and the shock of the same will have to be absorbed by the Chinese economy, which is already on a decent.

The deteriorating balance of payments will force Beijing to use its foreign exchange reserves mainly to defend its currency, the Yuan, and maintain investors' confidence in China's macroeconomic stability.

Thus, China is more likely to review its external commitments carefully. As it appears now this One Road, One Belt idea is turning up to be a One Big Mistake for China.

China's finance and investments in the BRI in the first half of 2022 states that the Chinese engagement through financial investments and contractual co-operation for the first half of 2022 in the 147 countries of the BRI was about US \$ 28.4 billion.

The BRI is spread across all continents; 43 countries are in sub-Saharan Africa, 35 BRI countries are in Europe & Central Asia and includes 18 countries in the European Union (EU) that are part of BRI, 25 BRI countries are in the East Asia & Pacific.

It is an effort to develop an expanded, interdependent market for China, grow China's economic & political power and create the right conditions for China to build a high technology economy.

49. Indo-Iran Relations

Historical Perspective to Indo-Iran Relationship

After independence and creation of Pakistan, India lost the geographical boundaries with Iran and this brought distance between the two nations. Formal diplomatic relations between India and Iran were established on 15 March 1950.

During the cold war era, though India remained non-aligned, it fostered strong military links with the Soviet Union; while Iran signed the US led Central Treaty Organisation (CENTO) and enjoyed close ties with the United States.

However, during the immediate period post the Islamic Revolution in Iran in 1979, Iran momentarily shared better ties with India.

Once again, during the Iran-Iraq war that lasted for nearly a decade during the 1980's, the relationship deteriorated because, Pakistan provided intimate support to Iran, while India maintained close relations with Iraq.

Indo-Iran relationship took a turn for the good in the 1990's, when both India and Iran supported the democratic government of the Northern Alliance against the autocratic regime of the Taliban's in Afghanistan.

Both countries firmly support the anti-Taliban government of Ashraf Ghani, which has the backing of the United States.

The first bilateral agreement on Defence Cooperation was signed in December 2002.

In 2009, India under the pressure from US, voted against Iran in a resolution passed by UN watchdog for atomic expansion, the IAEA, censuring the Iran over its controversial nuclear programme demand. Naturally, the same brought in some sourness in the Indo-Iran relationship.

However, in 2013, India was able to hold its ground when US once again pressurised India to stop buying oil and completely freeze its economic relations with Iran over its nuclear ambitions.

India didn't bow to US pressure and continued to buy oil from Iran. It is perhaps one of the important reasons that Iran looks at India as a

trusted partner, now that the sanctions are being progressively lifted.

Areas of Interdependence between India and Iran

Source of Oil and Gas: India imports 80% of its oil demand. Saudi Arabia is one of the largest suppliers of oil to India, followed by Iran, Iraq, Nigeria and Venezuela.

Iran is India's second biggest supplier of crude oil after Saudi Arabia.

India has always maintained good ties with Iran and with the Chabahar Port becoming operational, the availability and movement of oil to India from Iran will become highly cost effective.

Besides the above, India's largest offshore drilling services provider Aban Offshore gets 35 per cent of its revenues from Iran. Better ties and easing of sanctions in Iran will help improve its functional ability.

Iran and India have also agreed to sign a contract to develop the Farzad B gas field, which is a natural gas field in the Persian Gulf.

Farzad B, has an estimated reserve of 12.8 trillion cubic feet of gas, and was opened in 2008 by a consortium of three Indian companies: ONGC Videsh, Oil India and Indian Oil.

Infrastructure Development: India had earlier constructed the Zaranj-Delaram road in 2009 which can give access to Afghanistan's Garland Highway, setting up road access to four major cities in Afghanistan - Herat, Kandahar, Kabul and Mazar-e-Sharif.

India and Iran have also signed the following deals for infrastructure development in Iran:

- India signed a commercial contract for ten years (extendable) to build and operate the strategic Chabahar Port on Iran's southern coast. India will guarantee 30,000 TEUs of cargo at the Chabahar port which will go up to 2,50,000 TEUs by the 10th year.
- India is planning to invest billions of dollars in setting up industries, ranging from aluminium smelter to urea plants in Iran's Chabahar Free

Trade Zone. Indian Public Sector Undertaking (PSU) Nalco will set up the aluminium smelter while private and co-operative fertiliser firms are keen to build urea plants provided they get gas at less than \$2 per mmBtu.

- At present, we spend Rs. 45,000 crore annually on urea subsidy, and if we can manufacture it in the Chabahar Free Trade Zone and move it through the port to Kandla and onward to hinterland, we can save that amount.
- Indian railways PSU, IRCON will build a rail line at Chabahar to move goods right up to Afghanistan.
- India Ports Global Pvt, a joint venture of the Jawaharlal Nehru Port Trust and the Kandla Port Trust, will invest \$85 million in developing two container berths with a length of 640 metres and three multi cargo berths. The Indian consortium has signed the port pact with Aria Banader Iranian.
- India, Afghanistan and Iran, also separately signed an agreement to set up a trade and transport corridor, with Chabahar as the hub.
- India is planning to finance another road network inside Afghanistan to enable Iran access to as far as Tajikistan through a shorter route.

Strategic Advantages of the Recent Indo-Iran Agreements

At present India does not have a direct land access to Afghanistan and beyond to Central Asia, Russia and Europe, excepting, through Pakistan.

The distance between Kandla Port in Gujarat and Iran's Chabahar Port is less than the distance between New Delhi and Mumbai.

Hence, the access to Chabahar Port will help India gain a foothold in Iran which will enable quick movement of goods first to Iran and then onwards to Afghanistan and Russia through a new rail and road link being planned, as discussed above.

Thus, it will now be possible to go to Afghanistan and further to Russia and Europe without going through Pakistan.

Similarly, Afghanistan is a land-locked country and does not have a direct access to the Iranian ports, so it is dependent on the Pakistani port of Karachi.

This landmark agreement will also help Afghanistan to get access to the Iranian port as an alternative to the port at Karachi. The same will cement strategic ties and foster trade between India-Afghanistan-Iran.

India's move to build and operate the Chabahar Port is also being viewed as a significant counterweight to China's influence in Pakistan.

Chabahar is about 100 km from the Chinese-run Gwadar Port in Pakistan, which is a part of China's \$46 billion plan to develop China-Pakistan Economic Corridor aimed at opening new trade and transport routes across Asia.

Geo-Political Relevance of Improving Ties with Iran

Iran is a leading Shiite power in the Middle East, while Saudi Arabia is the Sunni heavy weight in the region. A realignment has begun amongst the key Gulf countries and interestingly, most of the dominant players are important partners of India, especially Iran, Israel and Saudi Arabia.

Furthermore, Saudi Arabia enjoys fairly strong and cordial ties with Pakistan. The major cause of concern for India has been the Saudi funding of various charities in Pakistan, many of which promote Wahhabism, which is the most stringent and orthodox form of Islam. The same has been giving rise to religious fundamentalism in the region.

Therefore, while walking this tight rope, a renewed and meaningful engagement, especially with the Iranian leadership, had become an important imperative for India.

Conclusion

The agreement to develop the Chahabar Port and further enhance the connectivity and avenues for improving trade links with Afghanistan and Central Asia is considered highly significant.

India has been able to offset the strategic advantage gained by China by way of developing the Gwadar Port and the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor to forge new trade and transport routes across Asia.

Maintaining good relations with Iran will help India to bolster economic ties, create a balance of disposition and provide credence to India's image as an important player in the global arena.

50. Indo-Israel Relationship

Introduction

Prime Minister Narendra Modi happened to be the first Indian prime minister to visit Israel in 2017, ever since India recognized Israel as an independent state in 1950.

The primary reason for maintaining distance with Israel was that India wanted to keep the oil exporting Arab community humoured and continues even till date to principally support the Palestinians' right to self-determination.

Besides, perhaps the political masters of the time felt that building a close relationship with the Jewish State of Israel may antagonise India's large Muslim population.

The end of the Cold War and the subsequent changing landscape of Middle East politics provided India with powerful incentives, especially in terms of procurement of state of art military equipment to change its conventional approach.

Contours of Indo-Israel Relationship

India recognised Israel in 1950 and allowed Israel to maintain a consulate in Mumbai to facilitate the voluntary immigration of thousands of Indian Jews to Israel.

During the next four decades, India publicly kept a distance with Israel for the reasons stated above. It was only in 1992 that India established full diplomatic ties with Israel.

The period from late 1980's saw a great deal of bilateral activities between the two countries. Thousands of Indians have been travelling to Israel for special courses and training sponsored by the government of India in agricultural technology and community development.

Israel openly supported India for the first time during the Kargil conflict with Pakistan in 1999, when Israel supplied India with weapons and humanitarian aid.

Also, during the devastating earthquake in 2001, Israel dispatched its emergency response

delegation to India for two weeks to provide humanitarian relief and treatment for the victims.

The Indo-Israel relationship, in the ensuing years further blossomed and India soon became one of Israel's largest trading partners.

The primary areas of convergence included security, agriculture and water desalination. Incidentally, Israel happens to be India's third largest arms supplier (at estimated value of \$1 billion).

The bilateral trade between Israel and India amounted to \$4.13 billion last year. Israel exported \$1.15 billion worth of goods to India amounting to 2.5% of Israel's total exports for the year.

Major Areas of Convergence

Defence Cooperation

Defence hardware procurement from Israel mainly commenced after India proceeded to implement its perspective planning of modernising its armed forces in the beginning of this decade.

In 2011, critical procurements were made, like the four advanced Israeli Phalcon AWACS planes (airborne warning and control systems) which are capable of detecting hostile aircraft, cruise missiles and other incoming aerial threat, ground-based radars and also, a thousand X-95 Assault Rifles for use by commando units in counter-insurgency operations were procured.

During the next two years many other state of art pieces of equipment were requisitioned from Israel, like the Sword Fish ground radar trackers, precision-guided artillery, different types of missiles, two more AWACS units and long-range anti-missile defence batteries for deployment aboard Indian naval ships.

November 10th, 2014 marked a milestone in Indo-Israel defence cooperation, when the long-range surface-to-air Barak-8 missile system, which was jointly developed by India's DRDO and Israel's Aerospace Industries, was tested in Israel. This missile, which has costed the Indian government

approximately \$1.4 billion, can be launched from land and naval ships.

It is interesting to note that after PM Modi assumed power, in 2014 alone, Israel exported \$662 million worth of Israeli weapons and defence items to India. This export number is greater than the total Israeli exports to India during the previous three years combined.

Further, in order to check the efficacy of the Barak-8 long-range surface-to-air missile, it was test fired multiple times, on 30th December 2015 and 30th June 2016 from aboard Indian warship INS Kolkata and again on 20th September 2016 at the Chandipur research and development base in Odisha, on the Bay of Bengal.

Giving a boost to the 'Make in India' campaign, Indian firm Reliance Defence and Israeli firm Rafael Advanced Defence Systems signed an agreement worth \$10 billion on March 30, 2016 to cooperatively produce air-to-air missiles, various missile defence systems, and surveillance balloons for the Indian military. This undertaking is projected to provide employment for 3,000 Indians at a facility in Madhya Pradesh.

Indian officials signed defence contracts worth a combined \$1.4 billion with Israeli Aerospace Industries (IAI) during the historic visit of Israeli President Reuven Rivlin to India on 16 November 2016.

The contracts include purchase of two more Phalcon/IL-76 Airborne Early Warning and Control Systems (AWACS), valued at \$1 billion, as well as 10 additional Heron TP UAV drones, valued at \$400 million.

The Indian Navy launched a new, Israeli-developed Integrated Under Water Harbour Defence and Surveillance System (IUHDSS), in February 2017. The system will enhance the security of above and below-water vehicles operated by the Indian Navy in the Mumbai Naval Harbour.

India and Israel reached a deal worth approximately \$1 billion for India to purchase 8,356 Spike anti-tank guided missiles and 321 missile launchers developed by Israeli Rafael Advanced Defence Systems Ltd in October 2014.

However, the contract got deferred due to costs and vendor issues. During the recent visit of PM Modi to Israel, this contract was reactivated after due negotiations.

In April 2017, India signed a contract worth about \$2 billion to procure anti-tank missiles and advanced air defence systems from Israel Aerospace Industries (IAI).

In May 2017, IAI secured another contract for \$630 million to supply Barak-8 missiles to the Indian Navy. Both deals also involve technology transfer and production in India.

The Indian military successfully tested the Israeli-made Surface-to-air Python and Derby missile system (SPYDER) on 11th May 2017. Python and Derby missile system has a range of 15 km and is meant for low-altitude missile strikes.

Indian security firm Punj Lloyd and Israel Weapons Industries collaborated to form the Punj Lloyd Raksha Systems, or PLR, in May 2017.

This joint venture aims to target the supply of carbine, assault rifle, sniper rifle and light machine guns for armed forces, paramilitary forces and state police. This firm is the first private small-arms manufacturer in India to produce equipment for both local and export use.

Joint Military Training

On 10th May 2017, three warships from the Indian navy, namely, INS Mumbai, the INS Trishul, and the INS Aditya docked in the port of Haifa to participate in a naval drill with the Israeli navy. This is the eighth time that Indian ships have docked at an Israeli port, the first being in 2000.

Pilots from India joined pilots from Israel, the United States, Germany, France, Italy, and Poland in June 2017 for the "2017 Blue Flag Exercise", the largest aerial training exercise to ever take place in Israel.

Cooperation in the Field of Space

The head of Israel's space research program, and the head of the Indian Space Research Organization (ISRO), signed an agreement on space cooperation between the two countries in November 2002.

During the recent visit of PM Modi, the Israel Space Agency and the Indian Space Research Organization signed an agreement to foster partnership in the development of electric propulsion systems for small satellites, and creating systems to accurately measure the extreme conditions of outer space.

Also a collaborative agreement was also signed during PM Modi's visit to Israel between the Asher Space Research Institute and the Indian Institute of Space Science and Technology to establish joint study and research exchange programs.

Cooperation in the Field of Agriculture

Agricultural cooperation between the two countries has been flourishing for a decade now. Cooperation in this field commenced with the establishment of Centres of Excellence in a number of Indian states since 2009. More such Centres of Excellence have been envisaged to be set up.

The most interesting collaboration between Israel and India in the agriculture sphere is the Olive Plantation Initiative in Rajasthan.

Also, a number of states, the most recent example being Punjab, are keen to seek Israeli assistance in drip irrigation. Irrespective of the political affiliation of the party in power, states have welcomed such cooperation.

Improvement in People-to-People Contact

PM Modi effectively used the tool of soft power, i.e. greater people-to-people contact, and greater state-to-state diplomacy to further relations with various countries.

India has been focusing on this aspect, and since 2015 efforts have been made to attract more Israeli tourists, especially those of Indian origin.

Similarly, the number of tourists from India to Israel has also witnessed an increase. In 2016, over 40,000 Indians visited Israel. The planned increase in the number of flights will give a further spurt to tourism exchanges.

Moreover, education exchanges between both sides are steadily rising. Presently, one-tenth of foreign students in Israel are from India.

Conclusion

The visit of PM Modi to Israel has been a resounding success and has infused a new energy into the Indo-Israel relationship.

Prime Minister and Israeli Premier upgraded the current bilateral relationship to a "strategic partnership," and agreed that "strong measures must be taken against terrorists, terror organisations, their networks and all those who encourage, support and finance terrorism, or provide sanctuary to terrorists and terror groups."

Israeli PM said that the India-Israel relationship today could be described as "I-square T-square", i.e. "Indian Talent and Israeli Technology."

India and Israel signed seven agreements in the fields of water, agriculture, and space, including a \$40 million joint fund for research and development in innovation.

It is proposed to take the current bilateral trade of about \$4-5 billion to \$20 billion in the next five years.

The high-tech Israeli companies produce robotic waterless cleaners for solar panels and portable desalination units, which could help India, solve its water and energy crises.

Israeli officials and their Indian counterparts signed an agreement to create the India Israel Innovation Initiative Fund (I4F) and the two countries pledged \$4 million per year each to I4F over a five-year period.

51. Indo-Japan Relations

Historical Perspective

Traditionally over the century's relationship between India and Japan has remained fairly cordial. Buddhism spread from India to Japan via China and Korea.

During the 20th century Japan embarked upon the process of modernisation and development and India viewed Japan with admiration and as a symbol of Asian resurgence in a world that was more western power centric.

During the Second World War India was under the British and hence fought the war against the Japanese. When Japan conquered Burma and reached the Indian border, 67,000 Indian soldiers were taken as prisoners of war by Japan.

These prisoners of war were indoctrinated against the British, and many of them joined the Indian National Army (INA) to fight against the British rule in India.

In 1944-45 joint forces of India and Britain defeated Japanese forces in Burma and INA disintegrated.

Japan supported the Indian Independence Movement, and accepted many activists that escaped from British rule and stayed in Japan. The prominent one's being, Rash Behari Bose, the leader of Indian Independence Movement and Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose who organised and led INA to fight alongside the Japanese Imperial Forces against the British.

Most prominent offensive was launched in the NE state of Manipur, the battles of Imphal and Kohima led to a major defeat of Japanese forces and INA completely lost its cohesion.

India for the first time after the second world war established diplomatic ties with Japan after restoration of its sovereignty in April 1952 by signing a Peace Treaty.

Commerce resumed and India supplied Japan with iron ore to reconstruct and rehabilitate Japan after the devastation of the World War II. Japanese PM visited India in 1957 and Japan started providing loans/aid to India.

During the cold war era, the relationship between India and Japan were constrained due to Japan aligning with the USA, which was assisting Japan in its World War II reconstruction and India's pursuing a non-aligned foreign policy.

Relations During Recent Times

During the Narasimha Rao Government, India initiated the Look East policy, which was carried forward by subsequent PMs, posited Japan as a key partner and since 1986 India is the largest recipient of Japan's Official Development Assistance.

Relationship between these two countries suffered a setback after the Pokhran-II nuclear weapon test by India, as Japan imposed economic sanctions on India. The sanctions were lifted after three years.

Ever since then the relationship has improved exponentially, and a number of manufacturing companies, like Sony, Suzuki, Toyota and Honda established their facilities in India.

Japan has also financed a number of infrastructure development projects, the most notable being the Delhi Metro.

The year 2007 was declared as the Indo-Japanese Friendship year and a number of economic and defence related cooperations were initiated. Japanese Self Defence Forces and the Indian Navy participated in a joint exercise in the Indian Ocean.

The previous Japanese PM, late Shinzo Abe was invited as the chief guest for 2014 Republic Day Parade. He had been given Indian award 'Padam Vibhushan'.

The recently concluded visit of PM Modi to Japan has opened vistas for cooperation and the two countries have signed an agreement on 'India-Japan Special Strategic and Global Partnership'.

Benefits to India of Improving Ties With Japan

Catalyze India Economic Growth

Japan ranks India as the most promising overseas investment destination over the long term. Japan currently is India's fourth largest FDI source.

After having assisted in the Delhi Metro Project and a railway project between Mumbai-Delhi, Japan is now in the process of discussing the Delhi-Mumbai Industrial Corridor Project, Dedicated Freight Corridor Project on the Mumbai-Delhi and Delhi- Howrah routes and Chennai-Banglore Industrial Corridor Project.

Since the signing of Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement in 2010, Japan has set up many prominent companies in India. During PM Modi's recent visit to Japan, PM Shinzo Abe pledged \$35 billion in private and public investments.

These funds will be used to improve Indian manufacturing skills, create 'smart cities', electronics industrial parks, build high speed rail lines and urban subways, clean up river Ganga, produce clean energy and speed up rural development.

China is the largest importer of Indian raw materials and exports the finished products back to India resulting in a huge trade deficit (value of import from India is lower than the value of export for China) in favour of China. It was \$1 billion in 2002 and has nearly reached \$ 35 billion as on date.

Besides, the cheaper Chinese goods flooding the Indian markets (through legal and illegal route) give an unreasonable competition to Indian manufacturers, thereby stemming their growth prospects. A very low profit margin is the major reason for our manufacturing sector to be lagging behind.

Hence, China can leverage its financial clout by arm twisting India, since it is a major supplier of power and telecom equipment to India and also it provides loans to Indian companies in financial distress.

China finds India as its main regional competitor, and is therefore systematically trying to prune its aspirations at the nascent stages only.

Collaborating with Japan will restrict Chinese monopoly and prevent Sino-centric Asia.

Ensure Favourable Balance of Power in Asia

China is following a policy of slowly nibbling at land and maritime boundaries of neighbouring countries. Claiming islands in the South China and East China Seas allows China to extend its maritime border, the same has two advantages.

Firstly, abundant natural resources and oil reserves that lie untapped become intrinsically available to China and it is able to control the energy supplies and transport routes across a major portion of the world's busiest waterways.

Secondly, China has established an Air Defensive Identification Zone over the areas claimed by it in the South China Sea (which is roughly 80% of it), through which it restricts the fly past of aircrafts of other countries. Thus, effectively expanding its international frontiers.

The historic 'India-Japan Special Strategic and Global Partnership' agreement signed during the visit of PM Modi to Japan will facilitate cooperation on defence technology, maritime security and create means to deter aggression and ensure favourably balance of power in the Indo-Pacific region.

Finally, to conclude, the strong convergence of economic and security interests of the two countries is likely to cement the relationship significantly and this liaison will foster a new dimension to India's pursuit to growth and sustainable development. Various commemorating events took place in both countries. In 2022 Japan celebrated anniversaries with the seven countries of South West Asia, including India,

The year 2022 is important in the Indo-Japanese relations. On 19th May 2022, the PMs of India and Japan held an important summit to work towards creating a world order that would ensure-peace, stability and prosperity in the world. This summit discussed Indo-Pacific situations, Afgan-Pak region, North Korean ballistic Missile Test, disarmament and growing challenges in the East & South China Seas.

52. Baluchistan Issue and Significance of Gilgit-Baltistan Area of Jammu & Kashmir

Overview of the Baluch Insurgency

Geographic Location: Baluchistan Province is the largest region of Pakistan, comprising 44% of the country's total area. The Province has a porous border with Iran to its West, Afghanistan to its Northwest and the Gulf of Oman forms its Southern border.

It is a highly resource rich Province, which also houses Pakistan's most strategic Gwadar Port within its territorial boundary. This Port and Gwadar economic zone has been leased out by Pakistan to China for construction, exploitation of its resources and operation of the Port.

Chinese government has announced to finance Chinese companies as part of its \$45.6 billion energy and infrastructure projects to build the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) that will link Chinese Xinjiang Province to the Gwadar Port.

Demography: The Province of Baluchistan comprises of highly rugged mountainous and desert terrain. The area is very underdeveloped and sparsely inhabited, with only 5% of the total population of Pakistan residing here. Sunni Islam is the predominant religion being practised by the Baluchi population.

Historical Perspective: The British invaded the Kalat area of Baluchistan in November 1839, and by 1869 was able to establish British supremacy in the complete Baluchistan region, including Baluchi dominated areas of adjoining Iran and Afghanistan.

In 1931, the educated Baluch middle class commenced a campaign for an independent Baluchistan, free of the British. Baluchistan Muslim League allied with the Muslim League, headed by Pakistan's father of the nation, Muhammad Ali Jinnah in June 1939.

Jinnah at that stage promised to declare the 'Kalat State as an independent state on 05 August 1947, enjoying the same status as it originally held in 1838.

Baluchistan was divided between four princely states under the British Raj. Three of these, Makran, Las Bela and Kharan joined with Pakistan in 1947 after independence.

The Khan of Kalat, Ahmad Yar Khan, declared Kalat's independence as this was one of the options given to all of the 535 princely states by British Prime Minister Clement Attlee.

Going back on its promise, on 27 March 1948, Pakistan formally annexed Kalat. Yar Khan was forced to sign a treaty of accession, submitting to the federal government. Jinnah and his successors allowed Yar Khan to retain his title until the province's dissolution in 1955.

Commencement of Insurgency Movement: Baluch separatist movement gained momentum in the 1960s, following the introduction of a new constitution in 1956, which limited provincial autonomy and enacted the 'One Unit' concept of political organisation in Pakistan. As per this policy, government's representation for tribal leaders decreased.

Militant leader, Sher Muhammad Bijrani Marri formed a group and led militants into guerrilla warfare from 1963 to 1969 by creating their own insurgent bases, spread out over 45,000 Sq. miles (72,000 Sq. km) of land. Their goal was to force Pakistan to share revenue generated from the Sui gas fields with the tribal leaders.

The insurgents bombed railway tracks and ambushed convoys. The Army retaliated by destroying vast areas of the Marri tribe's land.

This insurgency ended in 1969, with the Baluch separatists agreeing to a ceasefire. In 1970 Pakistani President Yahya Khan abolished the "One Unit" policy, which formally led to the recognition of Baluchistan as the fourth province of Pakistan.

However, the unrest continued into the 1970s, culminating into the government ordering military operations in the region in 1973.

The same resulted in further escalation of the situation and a large numbers of Marri and Mengal tribesmen joined into the guerrilla warfare against the central government.

The Pakistani military lost 300 to 400 soldiers during the conflict with the Baluchi separatists, while between 7,300 and 9,000 Baluchi militants and civilians were killed.

There were many incidents of militant actions and counter actions by the Pakistan army like:

- In 2004 an insurgent attack on Gwadar port resulting in the deaths of three Chinese engineers and four wounded, which drew China also into the conflict.
- In August 2006, Nawab Akbar Khan Bugti, 79 years old Baluch leader, was killed in fighting with the Pakistan Army, in which at least 60 Pakistani soldiers and 7 officers were also killed. Pakistan's government had charged him with responsibility of a series of deadly bomb blasts and a rocket attack on President Pervez Musharraf.
- In April 2009, Baluch National Movement president Ghulam Mohammed Baluch and two other nationalist leaders (Lala Munir and Sher Muhammad) were seized from their small legal office by gunmen and their bullet ridden bodies were discovered five days later. This incident resulted in widespread agitations by the local people against Pakistan security forces.

Reasons for Unabated Unrest

Regional Divide: The state of Punjab, territory wise constitutes less than one fourth of Pakistan, but make up for 45% of Pakistan's population, whereas, Baluchistan extends over nearly half of the territory of Pakistan, but constitutes only 5% of its total population.

Further, Baluchs' did not look at Pakistan army's intervention into their regional politics very favourably, as they saw the Punjabi dominated military lacking in representation of Baluch interests.

Neglect of Baluchistan by Pakistan Government: Since the mid1970s Baluchistan's share of Pakistan's GDP has dropped from 4.9 to 3.7%. It has the highest infant and maternal mortality

rate, the highest poverty rate, and the lowest literacy rate in Pakistan.

There is a huge divide between the haves and the have-nots in Baluchistan. The provincial government ministers and officials, own "pieces of land greater in size than some small towns of the country", and own luxury vehicles, properties, investments and businesses valued at millions of rupees.

Unfair Revenue Sharing of Assets of Baluchistan: The Baluchs' feel that the centre government of Pakistan has been unfair in sharing of the revenue generated by resources intrinsic to Baluchistan, like natural gas and oil reserves, exploitation of a host of minerals, usage of Gwadar Port, etc.

Skilled workers are often imported from other region, which has created resentment amongst the local inhabitants, e.g. Karachi has been a national financial hub in Pakistan. However, the local inhabitants (Sindhis) became a minority in the largest city of their province due to multiculturalism and non-Baluch immigration from other regions of Pakistan.

Also, marginalisation as a result of increased Pashtun migration from Afghanistan during the Afghan War drives the insurgency movement in Baluchistan.

Iran being a Shiite majority country has been helping Pakistan militarily in subduing the Sunni dominated Baluchistan, which is also a cause of anguish amongst the Baluch people.

Rampant Corruption and Gross Human Rights Violations: There has been a governance deficit in Baluchistan as the elected government in the province did not get significant mandates, because the Baluch parties boycotted the last election and many people were elected with an electoral turnout as low as 10 to 15 per cent.

So, these political leaders are seen by the majority of Baluch as the puppets of Islamabad, who do not care to safeguard the interests of the Baluch people.

The Pakistan military's very "harsh response" including the use of air power in the region led to "a spiral of violence", resulting in widespread human rights abuses, mass internal displacement

and the deaths of hundreds of civilians and armed personnel.

Moderate Baluchs have been alienated from the government by the imprisonment of civilians without charges, and routine kidnapping of dissidents.

India's Support to the Humanitarian Crisis in Baluchistan

It is for the first time that India has openly highlighted the cause and sufferings of the Baluch people. India has also garnered support of Bangladesh and Afghanistan on the issue, who are also affected by Pakistan's state sponsored terrorism on their soil.

India and Pakistan had agreed in 1972 while signing the Shimla Agreement that they would keep J&K as a bilateral issue and would refrain from third party mediation.

However, Pakistan has always highlighted this bilateral issue in all international forums. So, it is high time now for India to highlight the atrocities and human rights violations being committed by Pakistan in so called Azad Kashmir or POK, as we refer to it, and also in Baluchistan.

Besides, Pakistan army, which is presently overstretched to fight on three fronts, i.e. militancy in the AF-Pak area of Waziristan, the Baluchistan insurgency and the Line of Control with India, saves India some effort to keep the notorious Pakistan military and the ISI on its toes.

Lastly, Gwadar Port in Baluchistan is strategically and economically as important to Pakistan and China, as the Chabbar Port in Iran is to India, as it phenomenally reduces the distance to Central Asia and Europe.

The militancy in Baluchistan will adversely affect both these countries, especially, China which has committed billions in that region, to include:

- \$230 million to construct a new international airport in Gwadar.
- Development of the city of Gwadar by the construction of a 300MW coal power plant, a desalination plant, and a new 300 bed hospital.
- Companies from Xinjiang have signed agreements with their Pakistan counterparts

in April this year worth \$2 billion for infrastructure, solar power and logistics.

- The expanded port will be located near a 2,282 acre free trade area in Gwadar, which was handed to the China Overseas Port Holding Company in November 2015 as part of a 43-year lease.
- Businesses located in the zone would be exempt from customs authorities as well as many provincial and federal taxes.

It is being envisaged that by 2025, the manufacturing and processing industries will be developed, and further expansion of the zone is intended to be complete by 2030.

However, the prevalent hostile environment in Baluchistan will severely hamper the proposals.

Significance of Gilgit-Baltistan Areas of Jammu and Kashmir

The Gilgit-Baltistan area of Jammu and Kashmir occupied by Pakistan covers 85,793 sq km. It was further divided in 1970 into two separate administrative divisions: Mirpur-Muzaffarabad (which Pakistan calls Azad Jammu and Kashmir, or AJK) and the Federally Administered Gilgit-Baltistan.

Gilgit-Baltistan was earlier referred to as the "Northern Areas" in Pakistan. Pakistan illegally ceded the Shaksgam Valley, around 5,180 sq km, to China in a 1963 border agreement.

In order to accord some legal cover, in 2009, Pakistan passed a Gilgit-Baltistan Empowerment and Self-Governance Order. The order allegedly granted self-rule to the people by creating a legislative assembly and a council, yet did not provide for any constitutional means of linking it to Pakistan. Islamabad believes that this way it is able to maintain its somewhat convoluted stand on Jammu & Kashmir.

However, Pakistan has denied the people of the region their political rights, and has been continuously working towards absorbing these territories. The fact that a federal minister of Pakistan is also the 'Governor of Gilgit-Baltistan' speaks for the restricted freedom given to the region for self governance.

The significance of the Gilgit-Baltistan region is that, China has constructed the Karakoram Highway linking Kashgar in Xinjiang with Gilgit and Abbottabad through the Khunjerab Pass. China's Silk Road Initiative is being developed as a link from Xinjiang to Gwadar port in Balochistan through a highway, a possible railroad and oil and gas pipeline.

Thus, both Pakistan and China will obstruct, tooth and nail, any move by India or claim, howsoever legitimate to acquire back this region, which rightfully belongs to India.

Conclusion

The Pakistan Occupied Kashmir (POK) and the Gilgit-Baltistan areas, as remarked by PM Modi during his Independence Day speech in 2015, are very much an integral part of India, which has been illegally occupied by Pakistan since 1947.

In keeping with the Shimla Agreement of 1972, India had tended to play down, its own legal claim over the Gilgit-Baltistan, especially at the international forums. As a result, the world assumed that the 'Kashmir problem' only pertained to the Kashmir Valley which was in India's possession.

Now that Pakistan has completely gone overboard, in contravention to the Shimla Agreement, by expressing its solidarity through moral and material support to the so called cause of J&K, India should also not leave any stone unturned to highlight the sub-human conditions and the human rights violations that the people of POK, Gilgit-Baltistan and Baluchistan are suffering from time immemorial.

53. Indo-Russia Relations

Introduction

The relationship between India and erstwhile Soviet Union (USSR) during the era of cold war was highly cordial and enjoyed a strong strategic, military, economic and diplomatic relationship. After the disintegration of the USSR, Russia inherited the close ties being shared with India.

Traditionally, the Indo-Russian strategic partnership covered the areas of cooperation in defence, civil nuclear energy, anti-terrorism and Space. The latest dimension that has been added now is economic cooperation.

India and Russia signed a "Declaration on India-Russia Strategic Partnership" in October 2000. The same was elevated to "Special and privileged Strategic Partnership" in December 2010. President Vladimir Putin has signed both these Declarations during his earlier visits to India.

The main body that conducts affairs at the governmental level between both countries is called **Indo-Russian Inter-Governmental Commission (IRIGC)**. It is the largest and most comprehensive governmental mechanisms that India has had with any country internationally.

Russia currently is one of the only two countries in the world, besides Japan, that has a mechanism for annual ministerial-level defence reviews with India.

Considering India's growing need for energy security, it is essential that we align towards Russia, which has abundance of oil and natural gas reserves and can share resources and technology for civil nuclear energy to meet our energy demands.

Reasons for Russia to Improve Ties with Asia

Russian economy has been crippled because of US-EU sanctions post the Ukraine crisis, falling price of oil, which is Russia's major source of income, and the impact of fast depreciating Russian currency, leading to flow of investments out of the country (capital flight).

Russia is said to be losing \$40 billion a year due to sanctions, around \$100 billion on account of

falling oil prices, and some \$130 billion in capital flight. Further, inflation in the country is expected to be in double digits by the beginning of 2015.

European Union is exploring alternate sources of gas for its domestic requirements to punish Russia on account of its military intervention in Ukraine and hence, Russia has shelved its \$50 billion South Stream gas pipeline project, which was to run across the Black Sea to Southern and Central Europe.

The above said compulsions are drawing Russia towards fresh markets for its energy and bilateral trading partners in Asia.

Major Areas of Indo-Russia Cooperation

Geo-Political Cooperation

Both countries are members of many international bodies where they jointly collaborate closely on matters of shared national interest, e.g. the United Nations, BRICS, G-20 and Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO), where India has observer status and has been asked by Russia to become a full member. Similarly, Russia has expressed interest in joining SAARC with an observer status.

India and Russia will have to play a united and active role to maintain peace and stability in the fragile peace process in Afghanistan and its neighbourhood after the withdrawal of US led NATO forces by next year.

Economic Cooperation

A mutual investment between the countries at present is highly inadequate, i.e. Indian investment in Russia is about 5 billion dollars, mainly in the energy sector, whereas Russian investment in India is not more than 3 billion dollars.

Russia has been invited to invest in the Delhi-Mumbai industrial corridor, smart city building programs.

Indo-Russia bilateral trade during 2013 was just \$10 billion and it was decided during the Annual

Summit 2014 that bilateral trade would be doubled during 2015.

Enhancement of bilateral trade through the International North South Corridor Project (INSTC) by freight forwarders and exporters to facilitate trade, especially in Agriculture and Food Processing was discussed during the Annual Summit.

The priority areas of cooperation between two countries include, hydrocarbons, coking coal, fertilizers, mining, civil aviation, infrastructure and trade in rough diamonds.

President of the non-profit Partnership (NP) GLONASS Alexander Gurko voiced Russia's proposals to India of a joint production of navigation receivers and its exports to third markets.

Sergei Aksyonov, the head of the Crimean government, made his first international trip in his capacity of the Crimean leader, as he accompanied President Vladimir Putin on his trip to India. He invited India business men to visit Crimea and explore opportunities for investments and joint ventures.

Both countries have been discussing to have a free-trade zone with the Customs Union consisting of Russia, Belarus, and Kazakhstan. Also the creation of a comprehensive economic cooperation agreement with the Eurasian Economic Union that would kick start from January 1, 2015 is under discussion.

Cooperation in Energy Sector

Cooperation in energy sector is one of the key issues that have brought both countries together to further harmonise relationships.

The proposed establishment of additional nuclear power plant units in Tamil Nadu, laying down of gas pipelines from Russia to India, and joint exploration of energy resources is a vivid demonstration of decisive bonding in this sphere between the two countries.

ONGC Videsh Limited has \$ 5 billion investments in Sakhalin and Imperial Energy Limited in Tomsk.

Furthermore, during the visit of Russian President Vladimir Putin to India, on 11 December 2014,

Russia and India agreed to build at least 20 new nuclear power units within the next 20 years.

Installation of two new units at Kudankulam will commence forthwith, which will be over and above the two already in a near functional state at the Kudankulam Nuclear Power Plant.

A \$1bn (£630m; €800m) joint venture to support hydro-electric power projects in India has also been agreed upon.

Russian oil producer Rosneft signed a deal to supply India with 10 million tonnes of oil per year starting from January 2015.

Defence Cooperation

Indo-Russia defence agreements are also getting rebooted. India has agreed to assemble 400 Russian multi-role helicopters a year. Joint defence ventures like fifth-generation fighter jet and a multi-role transport aircraft, and development of new modifications of the BrahMos missile.

INS Vikramaditya (formerly The Admiral Gorshkov) was upgraded at the Sevmash shipyard. It was handed over to India in November 2013, and its warranty period expired on 16 November 2014.

India has signed 182 contracts with Russia over the last three years with domestic and foreign vendors for the procurement of defence equipment for the three armed services. In October 2018 deals worth \$7 billion have been signed. The following major equipment is in the pipeline:

- \$5.2-billion deal for five regiments of S-400 air-defence shield to be delivered by 2020.
- \$2.2-billion deal to procure four new warships for the Navy.
- Building of two advanced Talwar class frigates at the Goa Shipyard and purchasing two directly from Russia's Yantar shipyard at a cost of \$900 million.
- MoU signed to manufacture Russian AK-103 assault rifles in India in partnership with the Ordnance Factory Board.
- \$1.1-billion deal for new medium lift helicopters to be used by both the defence and home ministries.

- Talks are also on between the two nations for 48 additional Mi-17 V5 choppers since 2015.

In the defence cooperation sector, there are many ongoing flagship commitments, like joint annual military exercises, licensed production of Russian Sukhoi-30 aircrafts and T-90 tanks in India, etc.

Cooperation in Diamond Industry

India is the global hub for cutting and polishing the gemstones, and Russia controls almost one fourth of global diamond reserves. Russian mines sell most of the rough produce to the diamond hubs of Antwerp and Dubai from where it comes to India for final finishing.

Decision to directly supply rough diamonds to India was favourably discussed during the Annual Summit and it is being proposed to build a diamond hub in Mumbai, which will increase bilateral trade turnover by 4-5 billion dollars.

Facilitating Visa Processing

In order to simplify visa processing, specialised Russian Visa Application Centres have been recently opened in Delhi, Mumbai, Chennai and Kolkata and the modalities of issuing e-visas was discussed during the Annual Summit. The same is aimed at promoting tourism and improving the quality of service provided to Indian citizens looking to visit Russia.

For India, Russia remains an important supplier of Weapons and most recently oil. Post Russia-Ukraine conflict, India has not joined the West's sanctions on Russia. By doing so, it has demonstrated its independent foreign policy. For Russia, India is an important market for arms and oil. Indo-Russian ties have endured for over two generations. India has no reason to forsake the benefits of this relationship, nor does Russia.

The encounter at the Sep 2022 SCO summit in Uzbekistan between the Russian President and the Indian PM captured the change that is occurring between the India Russian partnership. Speaking about the Kremlin's invasion of Ukraine, the India PM in what amounted to a public admonition, told the Russian President that he should rely on diplomacy and take the path towards peace to wind up a war that had caused food and fuel prices to soar. India, while it has

long depended on Russia and still regards it as an important country, increasingly seeks to set the terms of their engagement.

Conclusion

India is walking a tight rope while it indulges in meaningful economic cooperation with Russia and at the same time extends its committed friendship to USA.

While defence preparedness and energy security are India's undisputed imperatives, having the backing of USA in a scenario of Chinese expansion and growing regional jihadist fundamentalism is also extremely essential.

54. Indo-Sri Lanka Relations

Introduction

The relationship between India and Sri Lanka dates back to the epic age, however, during the modern times it has shared friendly relations for nearly 2500 years. Buddhism spread to Sri Lanka from India during the era of Mahinda, the son of Buddha.

India and Sri Lanka are members to a number of regional and multi-lateral organisations, like, South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation (SAARC), South Asia Cooperative Environment Programme, South Asian Economic Union, etc.

India and Sri Lanka signed a bilateral Free Trade Agreement in 2000, because of which today Sri Lanka is India's largest trade partner in South Asia. Major trade takes place in the areas of Petroleum retail, telecom, tourism, banking, medical, oils and metal industry like copper, IT, food processing, etc.

Role of India in Lanka's Geo-Political Landscape

Sri Lanka has a majority population comprising of Sinhalese, with Buddhist ethnicity and a minority population of Tamils, who are Hindus. The Tamils occupy the northern region of Sri Lanka and are considered to have originally moved from South India.

During the late 1970's and early 1980's, there was an uprising by the Tamils against the Sinhala centric Government policies. India provided moral support to the Tamil movement and discreetly trained their militant cadres; most significant amongst them was the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Elam (LTTE).

Sri Lankan armed forces tried to tighten the noose around the Tamil militants by blockading their hub at Jaffna in 1987. India opposed the Sri Lankan governments move and openly came forth to support by providing air supply of medicines and food to the besieged Tamils in Jaffna.

Sri Lankan government realised that without involving India into this dispute they will not be able to find a solution to the problem.

Hence, on 29 July 1987, an Indo- Sri Lanka Peace Accord was signed between India PM Rajiv Gandhi and Sri Lankan President JR Jayewardene.

As per the provisions of this Peace Accord, the 13th Amendment to the Sri Lankan Constitution was made, which provided for greater autonomy to the Tamils, by way of devolution of power to Provinces rather than centralised authority and also accepted Tamil as an official language besides Sinhala.

The Peace Accord also mandated Sri Lankan troops to move back to their barracks, deployment of Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) and disarming the Tamil Tigers.

However, India was not completely successful in their mission of remaining a peace keeper and got involved in intense fighting with the insurgents, who did not accept the Indo-Sri Lanka Peace Accord.

A lot of Indian soldiers lost their lives while fighting 'someone else's war', as they had little knowledge of the terrain and layout of the built up areas. In fact, the initial contingent of Indian troops landed up at Sri Lanka even without the maps of the area.

Moreover, the Sri Lankan government took advantage of the situation to aggravate the armed conflict between Indian Army and the Indian Army trained LTTE, by providing them moral and material support. Pakistan and Israel also played a hand in arming and training the militant groups.

Finally, Sri Lankan President Ranasinghe Premadasa demanded Indian troops to withdraw and the withdrawal was completed by March 1990.

On 21 May 1991, PM Rajiv Gandhi was assassinated by the LTTE and the situation of the civil war in Sri Lanka reverted back to square one.

President Mahinda Rajapaksha stepped up the operations into the northern heartland of the LTTE IN 2007. He took India into confidence, which provided intelligence support to the Sri Lankan forces.

By 2009 LTTE was completely annihilated amidst a lot of despicable human rights violations.

Major Issues of Concern

Fishing Dispute

The distance between India and Sri Lanka in Palk Strait is only 12 Nautical miles and hence, often Indian fishermen stray into Sri Lankan maritime borders.

The Sri Lankan Navy has been firing at Indian fishermen and in the last 30 years more than 530 Indian fishermen have been apprehended by the Sri Lankan Navy.

Issue of HR Violations in Respect of Sri Lanka Tamils

A lot of Human Rights violations took place against the people of Tamil origin during the Sri Lankan military operations to eliminate LTTE. It is estimated that nearly 50000 unarmed civilians were killed and gross Human Rights violation occurred.

Reverberations of the same was extensively felt in South India, mainly, Tamil Nadu because of the ethnic similarities. The pressure groups had forced PM Manmohan Singh to call off his visit to Colombo to attend the previous Commonwealth Head's of Governments Meet (CHOGM).

Growing Chinese Influence in the Indian Ocean

President Rajapakse was inclined towards improving ties with China and during his Presidency, China invested billions in loans and infrastructure projects, becoming the country's biggest foreign financier and enjoying significant political and even military influence.

China funded much of Sri Lanka's post-war infrastructure under the Rajapakse administration. Some examples are given in the succeeding paras.

An estimated 36,000 ships, including 4,500 oil tankers pass from the southern maritime border of Sri Lanka annually. Since, it is a highly busy sea route, it is in the economic interest of Sri Lanka to improve the port facilities there.

China has constructed for Sri Lanka the world's biggest port on land till date, called the Port of Hambantota with an investment of US \$361 million and out of which, 85% was financed by

China. Sri Lanka has leased out the port to China for 99 years as it is unable to pay the debt.

Besides this, Sri Lanka has commenced the construction of a Chinese-backed \$1.4 billion port city which China views as a "maritime silk road" in the face of growing economic competition from Japan and India.

China is purposefully wooing Sri Lanka, by upgrading its infrastructure. It has committed \$ 3.7 billion for its largest container terminal at Colombo Port last year.

The development of facilities by China in the region is being considered as a propagation of its "string of pearls" strategy to counter the rise of its Asian rival, India.

In a show of strength to India, China had dispatched a warship and two Chinese submarines in Sri Lankan waters.

Changing Contours of the Indo - Sri Lanka Relationship

President Maithripala Sirisena, who won the presidential election against President Mahinda Rajapaksa, is clearly more inclined towards India as compared to his predecessor who preferred China to India.

President Sirisena showed the above intent to forge closer ties with India, by visiting India from 15-17 February 2015, just after one month of assuming office.

The major significance of this visit was to rebuild some of the trust eroded during Rajapakse's decade-long rule.

Improving Indo-Sri Lanka Ties

Agreements signed between India and Sri Lanka in the recent times include, one on increasing trade as well as a landmark deal on civilian nuclear co-operation - the first that Sri Lanka has signed with any country.

Under the proposed civilian nuclear co-operation agreement, India would provide technical assistance in education, training and disaster management.

Sri Lankan government is also keen to secure India's support for ethnic reconciliation following the island's decade-long ethnic war that ended in 2009.

The issue pertaining to fishermen straying into Indian waters is now being discussed more amicably to ensure that such small irritants do not create unwarranted misunderstandings amongst the two countries.

Sri Lanka to move away from China and towards Economic Integration with India

In a recent address in November 2022 President of Sri Lanka defended the Chinese built Hambantota port but pledged to address India's security concerns. By offering support during Srilanka's economic collapse in the year 2022, India has widened its footprints in Srilanka after a decade of losing ground to China.

India can followup on its humanitarian and financial aid by building holistic maritime security and connectivity linkages with Srilanka. The Indian

Prime Minister held that India will continue to stand with the people of Sri Lanka and support democracy, stability and economic recovery.

India and Sri Lanka have a legacy of intellectual, cultural, religious and linguistic interaction and relationship between the two countries are more than 2500 years old. Both countries share a broad understanding of major issues of international interest.

In recent years, significant progress in the implementation of developmental assistance projects for Internally Displaced persons (IDP's) and the disadvantaged sections of the population in Sri Lanka has helped further cement the bonds of friendship between India & Sri Lanka.

55. India-UAE Relations Leading to I2 U2 Accord

Introduction

In an unprecedented departure from the convention, the Narendra Modi government, on the occasion of the nation's 68th Republic Day, invited a contingent of 179 United Arab Emirates (UAE) soldiers to participate in the parade at the national capital's majestic "Rajpath" in Jan. 2017.

The UAE's Crown Prince Sheikh Mohammed bin Zayed Al Nahyan and Deputy Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces of the UAE was the guest of honour at the Republic Day celebrations. Displaying a special gesture of respect this time around, the UAE contingent was allowed to lead the parade.

Prime Minister Narendra Modi has been very upfront with his initiative to reach out to the Middle East nations, especially UAE, with varied objectives in mind. We shall discuss the same in the ensuing paragraphs.

India-UAE Relations

The UAE is a federation of seven emirates, and was established on 02 December 1971. The constituent emirates are Abu Dhabi (which is the largest and serves as the capital), Ajman, Dubai, Fujairah, Ras al-Khaimah, Sharjah and Umm al-Qwain.

Each emirate is governed by an absolute monarch and together, they jointly form the 'Federal Supreme Council'. One of the monarchs is selected as the President of the United Arab Emirates.

Sheikh Zayed, ruler of Abu Dhabi and the first President of the UAE, oversaw the development of the Emirates and steered oil revenues into healthcare, education and infrastructure.

The ties between India and the United Arab Emirates have been traditionally close on account of commerce, culture and kinship and dates back to 3000BC.

People-to-people contacts and barter trade for clothes and spices from India in exchange for dates and pearls from the region have existed for centuries.

At present, UAE is home to nearly 2.6 million Indians, who are playing a major role in its nation building. The Indian expatriates constitute 15 and 20 percent professionally qualified personnel, 20 percent white-collar non-professionals (clerical staff, shop assistants, sales men, accountants, etc), and the remainder 65 percent comprises blue-collar workers.

The Indian expats at UAE significantly contribute towards the Indian economy, with an annual remittance of about 15-17 billion.

PM Modi had commenced his engagement with UAE, with an official two day visit to the country in August 2015, and had held extensive talks with the Crown Prince Sheikh Mohamed bin Zayed Al Nahyan in Dubai.

The most significant highlight of the visit was that the Indo-UAE relationship was elevated to a 'Comprehensive Strategic Partnership'. Thus, turning a new chapter in the Indo-UAE relationship after a long gap of 34 years, as the last PM of India to have visited UAE was Mrs Indira Gandhi in 1981.

The key areas of cooperation charted out during this very meaningful engagement included, trade and investment, defence, security, maritime security and intelligence sharing.

The two countries have further consolidated the "strategic partnership" by signing 16 pacts in various fields during the recent visit of the Crown Prince of UAE to India.

Reasons for India's Overreach to the United Arab Emirates (UAE) and Requirement of Realignment of Ties with the Middle East Nations

Source of Energy Import: The primary reason for India's overreach to the UAE is that, UAE is India's gateway to West Asia in general and the Gulf region in particular, and most importantly, the region is the source of 70 percent of India's energy imports.

The UAE is a significant contributor to India's energy security and was the fifth largest supplier of crude oil in 2015-16.

Employment to India's Workforce: The Gulf region provides employment to a lot of Indians with diverse skill sets.

Indian expatriate labour constitutes around 30 percent of the total population of the UAE, and Indian workforce has a significant presence in Bahrain, Oman, and Qatar.

Economic Interdependence: The second major reason for forging better ties with UAE is the economic interdependence. Indo-UAE trade stands at \$50 billion, making the UAE India's third largest trading partner for the year 2015-16, after China and the US.

It may be noted that, the UAE is the second largest export destination for India with an amount of over \$ 30 billion for the year 2015-16. And of course for UAE, India is the largest trading partner for the year 2015 with an amount of over \$ 28 billion (non-oil trade).

Further, fortunately for India, the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), comprising of Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the UAE have adopted a 'Look East Policy' and are looking for promoting long term economic and trade relations with countries like India. Thus, India needs to reciprocate and consolidate upon this initiative taken by the GCC, especially UAE.

In order to bring out the relative significance of Indo-UAE trade, while of the total Indo-GCC bilateral trade of \$ 97,467.61 million, Indo-UAE trade accounted in this to the extent of \$ 49,745.95 million.

Investments in Developing Infrastructure in India: The UAE is the tenth biggest investor in India in terms of FDI. There is an estimated \$8 billion UAE investment in India of which around \$4.03 billion is in the form of foreign direct investment, while the remaining is portfolio investment.

The favourable investment climate in India is expected to draw other GCC states such as Saudi Arabia, and Oman, besides the UAE, also to invest in India and participate in its planned infrastructure expansion.

Fillip to Indian Investments in UAE: The Gulf States are interested in human resources from India to develop sectors in which India is proficient, like information technology, construction, transportation, and services.

There are several prominent private and public sector Indian companies and banks (60,000 Indian companies in total) that are already operating in the UAE, including companies such as L&T, ESSAR, Dodsal, Punj Lloyd, Engineers India Ltd. and TCIL.

Cooperation on Security Concerns: A sizeable trade to India flows through the Gulf of Eden, which is fraught with piracy and terrorism.

In order to provide protection to commercial vessels, Indian warships have also been deployed in the Gulf of Aden to carry out anti-piracy patrols on the route usually followed by Indian commercial vessels between Salalah (Oman) and Aden (Yemen).

Tackling Terrorism and Growth of Radicalism The UAE is a Muslim country, which is at the same time a modern country, without any direct linkages between terrorism and religion.

It shares India's concerns about growing threats of terrorism and radicalisation worldwide. During the official interaction between PM Modi and the Crown Prince of UAE, of the 31 points that were discussed 17 pertained to security.

The major aspects that were discussed and agreed upon for putting in coordinated efforts included: counter radicalization and misuse of religion by groups and countries; denounce and oppose terrorism in all its forms and manifestations; enhance cooperation in counter terrorism, intelligence sharing and capacity building; promote cooperation in cyber security; establish a dialogue between the national security advisors and the national security council's; cooperate in maritime security and strengthen defence relations; and establish a strategic security dialogue.

Access the Strategic Choke Points Connecting the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean: An important component of India's overreach to UAE and the other Gulf nations is to be able to keep a vigilant eye on the important choke points through which the flow of India's trade takes place to West Asia and Europe.

The same was only possible by way of developing defence-cooperation with both Iran on the one hand and Gulf countries on the other.

Maintaining a Balanced Disposition in the Middle East: The Modi government has been able to walk the tight rope with respect to developing all round

relations with Israel on the one hand and Iran on the other, PM's visits to Saudi Arabia, Qatar and the UAE dispelled the notion that India's strategic goals in West Asia, the country's "extended neighbourhood," had any malice.

Royal Snub to Pakistan: The UAE, like Saudi Arabia, are old strategic allies of Pakistan. The UAE, along with Saudi Arabia and Pakistan were the only three countries to recognize the Taliban government in Afghanistan.

The UAE has made a critical shift in its policy, since then, and has openly backed India on terrorism emanating from Pakistani soil.

The acceptance of India's invitation by the Crown Prince of UAE to not only be the chief guest at the Republic Day parade, but also, make its contingent march shoulder to shoulder with Indian troops, has a much deeper symbolic significance that may qualify for a "royal snub" to Pakistan.

Treatment of Indian Labour

This frequently flares up as Indians are not granted citizenship in the UAE and conditions at Indian Labour camps become a matter of concern.

I2U2 Initiative :

Background :

I2U2 initiative is a new grouping of India, Israel, USA and UAE and was initially formed in October, 2021 following the **Abraham Accords** between Israel and the UAE, to deal with issues concerning maritime security, infrastructure and transport in the region. At that time, it was called the '**International Forum for Economic Cooperation**'. That was also referred as the '**West Asian Quad**'.

- In the grouping's name, 'I2' stands for India and Israel, whereas 'U2' stands for USA and the UAE.
- This is a great achievement which tells the geopolitical changes that happen in the region.
- This will not only revitalize and re-energize the system of alliances and partnerships around the world, but also stitch together

partnerships that did not exist previously or were not utilized to their full extent.

1. Importance of I2U2 Grouping

- Security Cooperation:** This will help the countries in exploring security cooperation among the four nations within the framework of these new groupings.
- Technological Hubs:** Each of these countries is a technological hub. Biotechnology, of course, is prominent in each of these countries as well.
- Food Security:** This initiative offers an opportunity to discuss food security.
- Work Together in Different Fields:** These countries could cooperate on a number of levels, whether it's technologies, trade, climate, fighting against Covid-19, or even security.

2. Significance of I2U2 for India

Advantage from Abraham Accords: India will get advantage of the Abraham Accords to deepen engagement with Israel without risking its ties with the UAE and the other Arab states.

Trade and Commerce: India is a **massive consumer market**. It's a massive producer of high-tech and highly sought-after goods as well. India will benefit from this grouping.

Alliances: It will help India in building alliance-political alliances, social alliances.

Conclusion

The diplomatic overreach extended by India to UAE on its 68th Republic Day defines its continued efforts to harness India's stakes in a region, which is passing through a phase of momentous change. There are regional pressures of ethnic divide and fight for dominance to control the resources in the region, happening in the backdrop of external forces exerting pressure to realign loyalties for personal gains.

India's interests lies in the emergence of a stable balance of power in this region which is presently beleaguered by multiple fault-lines.

56. Indo-Pak Relations

Creation of Pakistan

On 18 July 1947, the British Parliament passed the Indian Independence Act that finalized the arrangements for partition.

The Partition of India on 15 August 1947, led to the creation of the sovereign states of the Dominion of Pakistan (which later split into the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and the People's Republic of Bangladesh in 1971) and the Union of India (later Republic of India on 26 January 1950).

The border between India and Pakistan is delineated by the Radcliffe Line. It was determined by a British Government commissioned report prepared under the chairmanship of Sir Cyril Radcliffe. India was formed out of the majority Hindu regions of British India, and Pakistan from the majority Muslim areas.

The Partition also resulted in the respective divisions of other assets, including the British Indian Army and the Indian Civil Services and other administrative services, like the railways, and the central treasury.

Unfortunate as it was, in the riots which preceded the partition in the Punjab region, nearly 200,000 to 500,000 people were killed in the retributive genocide. UNHCR estimates that 14 million Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims were displaced during the partition; it was the largest mass migration in human history.

The scars left by the heinous human rights violations that took place during partition still haunt the people from both sides of the border. Perhaps, this has always been at the root of the India-Pakistan discord.

Major Challenges in Indo-Pak Relations

The major issues of concern that afflicts Indo-Pak relations are highlighted in the subsequent paragraphs.

Border Disputes in J&K and Sir Creek in Gujarat

Creation of Pakistan Occupied Kashmir (POK)

On 15 Aug 1947, India and Pakistan were granted independence from the British rule to exist as independent nations. The State of J&K had opted to neither join India or Pakistan, but to exist as an independent entity.

On 20 October 1947, Azad Kashmir Forces, supported by Pakistan army attacked the frontiers of the State and marched towards Srinagar garnering more local support along the way, as the State, at that time had 75% Muslim population.

Maharaja Hari Singh, the then ruler of J&K, approached India for assistance. India dispatched its troops to halt the advance of the Azad Kashmir Forces, with the condition that the State of J&K would accede to India.

Hence, an 'Instrument of Accession' was signed between the Indian PM, Pandit JL Nehru and Maharaja Hari Singh on 26 October 1947. Sheikh Abdullah was appointed as the head of the emergency administration and he endorsed the accession to India as an ad hoc arrangement, which would ultimately be decided by taking the wish of the people of J&K into consideration through holding of a plebiscite.

The troops of the Azad Kashmir and Pakistani Forces were repelled back to the line of the present Line of Control (LOC). Hence, the area of J&K which is still in the possession of Pakistan is called Pakistan Occupied Kashmir (POK). Similarly, the area of J&K held with Indian is called by Pakistan as the Indian Occupied Kashmir.

Pakistan disputed the legality of Instrument of Accession, which lead to the first Indo-Pak conflict in 1948. A ceasefire was proclaimed on 01 January 1949 and India took the issue to the UN Security Council for resolution.

The UN Resolution of 05 January 1949 stated that the decision regarding accession to India or Pakistan was to be decided through a fair and

impartial plebiscite, conducted after the area was demilitarised.

Both, India and Pakistan had their own interpretation of this Truce Agreement, like disbanding the Azad Kashmir Force, withdrawal of troops, etc and hence, plebiscite was never held.

Delineation of Line of Control

On 02 July 1972 Simla Agreement was signed between Pakistan's President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Indian PM Indira Gandhi, which paved the way for peaceful negotiations between the two countries.

The Agreement identified J&K as a bilateral issue and called for both countries to "settle their differences by peaceful means through bilateral negotiations".

The agreement also converted the cease-fire line of December 17, 1971 into the 'Line of Control' between India and Pakistan and it was agreed that "neither side shall seek to alter it unilaterally, irrespective of mutual differences and legal interpretations".

India decided to construct the Border fence to prevent cross border terrorism and illegal smuggling of arms/ammunition and narcotic substances. The construction of the barrier was begun in the 1990s, but slowed down in the early 2000s as hostilities between India and Pakistan increased.

In Nov 2003, a Ceasefire Agreement was signed between India and Pakistan and by September 2004, the fencing in J&K was completed. The infiltration of militants has reportedly been reduced to 80% after the border fence has been erected.

Border Dispute in Sir Creek

Sir Creek is a 96 km strip of uninhabited marshland on the border of India and Pakistan. The creek, which opens up into the Arabian Sea, divides the Gujarat State of India from the Sindh province of Pakistan.

The long-standing dispute hinges in the actual demarcation "from the mouth of Sir Creek to the top of Sir Creek, and from the top of Sir Creek eastward to a point on the line designated on the Western Terminus of Pakistan.

The Sind province of British India, after independence split into two, i.e. Gujarat in India and Sindh in Pakistan.

At the time of Partition there were 1,400,000 Hindu Sindhis, though most were concentrated in cities such as Hyderabad, Karachi, Shikarpur, and Sukkur. Hindu Sindhis shared good relations with Muslim Sindhis, and hence, the migration happened fairly peacefully.

Reasons for the Sir Creek Dispute

The dispute lies in the interpretation of the maritime boundary line between Pakistan and India. Pakistan lays claim to the entire creek as per paragraphs 9 and 10 of the Sind Government Resolution of 1914 signed between the then Government of Sindh and Rao Maharaj of Kutch.

The Resolution, which demarcated the boundaries, included the creek as part of Sindh, thus setting the boundary as the eastern flank of the creek.

However, India's justification is that as per International law, the river boundaries between two states are to be divided by the mid-channel. Hence, it claims that the boundary lies mid-channel (and not on the eastern flank of the creek) as depicted in another map drawn in 1925, and implemented by the installation of mid-channel pillars back in 1924.

Pakistan's contention is that the above said doctrine is applicable to bodies of water that are navigable. However, in the case of Sir Creek it is not applicable, as it is a marshy land which is non-navigable. But India's reasoning is that the water way is navigable during high tide.

Another point of concern for Pakistan is that Sir Creek has changed its course considerably over the years. If the boundary line is demarcated according to the stated international law, Pakistan stands to lose a considerable portion of the territory that was historically part of the province of Sindh.

Besides, Pakistan will have to shift its Western Terminus several km away and also tend to lose several thousand square km of its Exclusive Economic Zone as enunciated by the UN Convention on Law of the Sea.

Thus, due to clash of interests, this long outstanding territorial dispute has remained unresolved inspite of frequent rounds of boundary talks between the two countries.

Cross Border Terrorism and Ceasefire Violations

Reasons for Ceasefire Violations' by Pakistan

Some of the compelling reasons for Pakistan to violate the Ceasefire Agreement of 2003 are as follows:

- Provides covering fire to militants while infiltrating into J&K. Infiltration and sustenance of Pak militants after it snows heavily in the higher reaches becomes difficult, so maximum ceasefire violations occur pre-winters in their desperate attempt to infiltrate maximum militants.
- Pakistan wants to demonstrate solidarity with the separatists of J&K by resorting to heavy firing along the LOC, during the visits of dignitaries and conduct of important events in J&K. Regrettably, the PDP government thanked the separatists for allowing peaceful conduct of State elections.
- Pakistan wants to highlight the issue of J&K at various world forums, as was done by PM Nawaz Sharif during his speech in UN General Assembly Meet at New York. Hence, the provocation at the border is heightened to draw reaction from India, which would label J&K as a disputed territory.
- Conventionally, any political party that has ruled Pakistan during the short democratic interludes, has done so through 'India bashing' and displaying solidarity with the separatists of J&K. Hence, through ceasefire violations the political masters of Pakistan demonstrate their 'so called' solidarity to 'the cause'.
- It has always been the practice that Pakistan resorts to India centric activities to divert the attention of its local population from internal socio-political crisis.
- The stated policy of the Pakistani establishment is to 'bleed India from a thousand wounds' by fighting the low cost and highly effective, Low Intensity Conflict with India.

- By resorting to unprovoked ceasefire violations, Pakistan military demonstrates its dominance in Pakistan's scheme of things. Besides, it sends an unequivocal message to India that it does not need orders from the democratic government of Pakistan to display aggression.
- Pakistan Army and ISI want to keep the issue alive to maintain their position of prominence in Pakistan. In case they do not display their continuous aggression, their authority and credibility will get a beating in the eyes of the people of Pakistan. Besides, the Military establishment wants to undermine the authority of their democratic government by maintaining an offensive stance towards India.
- The eminent threat by Al Qaida to establish its militant wings in India and the support assured by Pakistani Jihadist elements and Taliban's to the Islamic State has served as a catalyst for Pakistan to activate its cross border provocations with renewed vigour.

India's Options to Tackle the Situation

Options available with India to address the unprovoked ceasefire violations are given below:

- Military retaliation should be measured, but 'decisive and damaging'. The identified staging areas of jihadists along POK (identified through improved intelligence network, by using human intelligence and technological devices) to be totally degraded using precision guided weapon to avoid collateral damage. Surgical strikes in 2016 and the Balakot pre-emptive air strikes of 2019 are good examples of precision attacks on terrorist infrastructure in Pakistan.
- The retaliatory pounding must be extremely strong and should generate fear psychosis in the minds of Pakistani field commanders. The same may require heli-lift and deployment of heavy weaponry to the forward areas by Indian Army.
- Mobilize world opinion to call Pakistan's bluff, apply coercive diplomacy and at the same time indulge in meaningful bilateral talks, & include all stakeholders in such discussions.

- Endeavour to win the 'hearts and minds' of the local population, by supporting and promoting their interests, by way of ensuring their safety, security and above all dignity.
- Encourage and create investment climate in the J&K, create employment opportunities, improve infrastructure, promote tourism in a major way, etc.
- Put into place a credible psychological drive to favourably shape the opinion of the people of J&K, through visible means of promoting communal harmony, awareness about India's genuine intent to safeguard their interests and highlighting the damage being caused to the State by the separatist elements and the nefarious designs of Pakistan.

Talibanisation (Growing Fundamentalism) of Pakistan

Pakistan's entity is synonymous to coups and military interference.

Gen Ayub Khan in 1958, deposed PM Firoz Khan Noon, Gen Zia ul Haque, in 1977, deposed PM Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who was latter executed, and in 1999, Gen Pervez Musharraf removed PM Nawaz Sharif to assume power.

Pakistan achieved a major political milestone in May 2013, when a successful transfer of power from one civilian government to another took place. It had never ever happened in its history of 68 years since independence. The feat was repeated when Imran Khan assumed prime minister ship of Pakistan

However, democracy in Pakistan has always remained fragile. The overriding influence of the Military on the government functioning and the strength that the jihadist wields to shape the socio-political environment in Pakistan are major concerns which are pushing the country towards economic bankruptcy.

It is very strongly felt that the reverberations of the above three ingredients of this very lethal "Molotov cocktail" can have a destabilising effect on India as well.

Conclusion

Considering that the survival of the Military supremacy is directly related to the perceived

threat from India, the situation in the Kashmir region will continue to remain tense.

The Pak military and ISI will continue to fan the anti-India sentiments, both in Pakistan and in J&K to build up its strategic arm of Mujahadeen fighters to wage Jihad against India.

In the event of unabated and unprovoked sponsoring of cross border terrorism and ceasefire violations, India will have to appropriately calibrate the level of retaliatory action against such brazen infringements.

Lastly, the radicalization of Pakistan by the increasing influence of jihadist operatives, especially, after the exit of NATO forces from Afghanistan by the year end, and with the backup provided by their ISI and military, India must be prepared to poise itself appropriately to take on any/all kinds of eventualities.

With the appointment of Gen. Asim Munir of the Frontier Force Regiment as Pakistani's new Army Chief on Nov. 24, 2022-analysts and the people of Pakistan are hoping that the dust would quickly settle on the controversies that the appointment had generated in recent times.

India apprehends Pakistani's instability more than its strength because nothing could be more alarming than the spectre of the financial collapse of its nuclear-armed neighbour-cum-nemesis. Military conquest on breaking-up of Pakistan would not be a pragmatic approach to resolve the long-standing issue of cross border terrorism, even if possible. India uses military means against Pakistan only when the latter acts cross the threshold, such as in the cases of the Uri attack and the Pulwama attack. Otherwise India mainly uses diplomatic channels. In the last few years, India has successfully isolated Pakistan in the International System.